

Civic Center and Cultural Center:
The Grouping of Public Buildings in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit
and the Emergence of the City Monumental in the Modern Metropolis

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University of Pittsburgh, 2013

Abstract

The grouping of public buildings into civic centers and cultural centers became an obsession of American city planners at the turn of the twentieth century. Following European and ancient models, and inspired by the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and the McMillan Commission plan for the National Mall in Washington, D.C. in 1901, architects sought to create impressive horizontal ensembles of monumental buildings in urban open spaces such as downtown plazas and quasi-suburban parks in direct opposition to the vertical thrust of commercial skyscrapers. Hitherto viewed largely through the narrow stylistic prism of the City Beautiful vs. the city practical movements, the monumental center (as Jane Jacobs termed it) continued to persist beyond the passing of neoclassicism and the rise of high modernism, thriving as an indispensable motif of futurist aspiration in the era of comprehensive and regional planning, as municipalities sought to counteract the decentralizing pull of the automobile,

freeway, air travel and suburban sprawl in postwar America. The administrative civic center and arts and educational cultural center (bolstered by that icon of late urban modernity, the medical center) in turn spawned a new hybrid, the center for the performing arts, exemplified by Lincoln Center and the National Cultural Center (the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts), as cities sought to integrate convention, sports, and live performance venues into inner-city urban renewal projects. Through the key case studies of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit, one-time juggernauts of heavy industry and twenty-first century regions of rust-belt collapse, this study examines the emergence of the ideology of grouping public buildings in urban planning as well as the nineteenth century philology of the keywords civic center and cultural center, terms once actively employed in discourses as diverse as Swiss geography, American anthropology, Social Christianity, the schoolhouse social center movement, and cultural Zionism. It also positions these developments in relation to modern anxieties about the center and its loss, charted by such thinkers as Hans Sedlmayr, Jacques Derrida, and Henri Lefebvre, and considers the contested utopian aspirations of the monumental center as New Jerusalem, Celestial City, and Shining City on a Hill.

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Preface

The first cultural center I ever visited, although I was as yet unfamiliar with that term, was downtown Farmington, Michigan, located at the intersection of Farmington Road and Grand River Avenue. Grand River, a long angled thoroughfare running between downtown Detroit and the state capital of Lansing, was a coach line cutting across agrarian southeastern Michigan. Laid out by Pennsylvania Quakers, I later learned, Farmington retained just enough of its pre-gentrified nineteenth century past to seem exotic yet authentically American to me, an ostensibly middle-class white suburban kid who had grown up in a late-modern (circa 1958) cookie-cutter ranch house subdivision at Six Mile and Inkster Roads, just a short distance away. More importantly, downtown Farmington had Jerry's Bookstore—New and Used, run by a disabled veteran and his sweet wife, my source for second-hand *Doc Savage* paperbacks and cheap, slightly used comic books. Nearby was the Art Alcove, an artists' supply shop that sold me some of my first Speedball pens; a branch of the Farmington Community Library where I signed out books and magazines on art including an *American Artist* issue with an article on illustrator Frank Frazetta; the Classic Movie and Comic Center, source for *Star Wars* 35mm slides and more expensive used comic books; the Civic Theater, a vintage neighborhood cinema showing second-run Hollywood movies; a record store, a photographic supply store, an office supply store, a pharmacy, and some inexpensive eateries. My earliest teenaged visits were enabled by my mom or my friends' moms; later I could bike the three miles and eventually drive myself.

Afternoons or Saturdays spent in Farmington were my source of culture and self-realization all through high school when my world was just a small sector of homogenized suburbia.

Later, I discovered (and lived in) the University-Cultural Center of Detroit, home of the art museum, the main library, Wayne State University where I occasionally attended open figure drawing sessions, and the Center (now College) for Creative Studies, the art school out of which I dropped after attending only a year part-time. There were several used bookstores in the vicinity, including Mudbelly's, Big Books, and John K. King Used Books, several art supply stores, and other authentically urban amenities. Next was Ann Arbor, home of Borders when it was still one bookstore, several art house cinemas and film societies, and of course the ivy-covered halls of the University of Michigan. Wherever I traveled across the U.S. over the next couple of decades, whether it was to a city, a college campus, or an urban neighborhood of a certain vintage and bohemian socioeconomic mix, the first question I asked was: Where is the art museum and the used bookstore? (It's of little use visiting a public library without lending privileges, although I would often scour these as well for their often enlightening exhibits.) These elements to me were essential. More often than not, two completely different but reciprocal areas were implied: the high art cultural center, permanently consecrated in monumental architecture, and post-hippy Bohemia, transiently constituted of makeshift, often funky, rented storefronts. But in another sense, these were simply two sides of the same coin.

The present study has its origins as an undergraduate essay on the Mary E. Schenley Memorial, the fountain right outside our History of Art and Architecture department at the University of Pittsburgh. Initially I had requested permission to study Frederick Marshall's *Spirit of Detroit*, a foreboding, severely modern monument in downtown Detroit that had impressed me from childhood trips to Cobo Hall to visit Santa Claus in the late 1960s. But my professor, Kirk

Savage, advised selecting something more immediately accessible for study here in Pittsburgh, not difficult since we happened to have the largest assemblage of public monuments in the region surrounding our campus. Kirk went on to supervise my senior thesis on the fountain and its planning, and curated an exhibition on the history of Schenley Plaza, our immediate neighborhood at Pitt, where I was able to contribute research. Kirk also supervised my Master's thesis was on the planning of the Oakland section of Pittsburgh, in which the fountain and plaza played a crucial role. Through it all, Kirk's persistent question was why I insisted on describing Oakland as a cultural center when historically the term embraced locally had been civic center. The short answer was that I was from Detroit, where we knew enough to call our cultural center a cultural center; but the more unsettling implications of the question set me on a research path of no return. I say unsettling because, even though urban writers such as Jane Jacobs comfortably used the terms civic center and cultural center and seemed to know what they were talking about, little could be found in on-the-shelf reference.

At one point early in my investigation, I recall being convinced that civic center was simply a more archaic form of cultural center; but then I realized that Detroit had planned both a Civic Center and Cultural Center as official projects simultaneously in the 1940s. This rocked me back on my heels and forced me to reevaluate my assumptions, but I became more convinced than ever that I was onto something. Discoveries in Cleveland, where both terms found early use to describe the downtown Group Plan and quasi-suburban University Circle fleshed out the narrative of this typological emergence considerably, and belated discoveries back in Pittsburgh forced me to confront the scandalous realization that Oakland had been the first place in the country to be described in print as a cultural center, yet for some obstinate reason had rejected the term, clinging instead to the erstwhile term for any grouping of public buildings, civic center.

I have been very fortunate, not only to have found a research topic within driving or Megabus distance (although my research took me to Yale and Berkeley as well), but to have assembled an advising committee supportive and flexible enough to indulge my curiosity beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries. Just as importantly, and through sheer serendipity, I found that Detroit and Pittsburgh, cities in which I had spent nearly all of my adult life, with Cleveland midway between having emerged as a relatively late but gratifying discovery some years ago, were crucial to this narrative of the emergence of the civic center and cultural center. In other words, in important ways I had been researching this topic all my life. Like Enkidu of the Gilgamesh epic who had been instinctively drawn to the city of Uruk, I have always gravitated by some unfathomable fascination to the cultural center. The result is that I have been able to devote much of my graduate studies not only to following my artistic predilections, but to revisiting and reflecting on my own past. I was even able to shoehorn *Spirit of Detroit* into the mix.

I would like to thank my long-suffering advisor, Kirk Savage; co-chair Christopher Drew Armstrong; and Frank Toker, all of the department of History of Art and Architecture at the University of Pittsburgh, for their unflagging support of this project. Drew unobtrusively returned my focus to Europe and Vienna at key intervals, and Frank, for whom being the undisputed Sage of Pittsburgh Architecture is but one of his humbler scholarly accomplishments, encouraged me to at least occasionally allow the work to speak for itself. Edward Muller, department of History, has been involved in my research almost as long as Kirk, sharing prepublication chapters of his and John F. Bauman's *Before Renaissance* with me as early as 2006; Ted has been an avuncular sounding board for my least judicious flights of fancy without having to deal with the procedural headaches I continually created for myself in my own

department. John Lyon, department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, played a crucial role in keeping my theoretical speculations on the center somewhat within the bounds of reason.

Various grants and fellowships enabled my research, including two consecutive Arts and Sciences Fellowship administered by my department; a Henry Luce Foundation travel grant from the University of Pittsburgh; a Friends of Frick Fine Arts Travel Grant for Summer Dissertation Research; and a Summer Dissertation Development Grant, History of Art and Architecture.

I would like to thank the faculty of the History of Art and Architecture, many of whom I wrote substantial research papers, including Terry Smith and Joshua Ellenbogen; Barbara McCloskey, who encouraged my research into the National Cultural Center; Anne Weis, who enabled me to delve into the Salmacis and Hermaphrodite myths in Vitruvius that I fancifully saw as underpinning the Schenley fountain; Melissa Eppihimer, for whom I wrote on Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and ancient concepts of *humanitas* and barbarity in the urbane city and pastoral landscape; and Gretchen Bender, with whom I have corresponded since before I was a Pitt undergraduate, who supervised my independent study of Berlin. I also want to remember the late Josienne Piller, coordinator of the University Art Gallery, with whom I worked on the history of Schenley Plaza exhibit; her buoyant smile and the distinct clip-clop of her heels will always echo in the Frick Fine Arts Building. Our department is fortunate to have been provided by Helen Clay Frick with its own considerable research library, and the assistance and encouragement of Ray Anne Lockard, Marcia Rostek, and Michelle Paquette, and Margaret McGill, who were not only expert but enthusiastic about my project. Our department would not run as smoothly without administrators Linda Hicks and Natalie Swabb, and Veronica Gadzik got me out of more than one jam. I would also like to thank Giuseppina Mecchia, professor of French and Italian languages and literature, and administrator Karen Lillis, both of the Cultural Studies

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Throughout the long journey of my research, I have incurred debts to Martin Aurand, curator, Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives; Marcia Grodsky, assistant curator, Darlington Collection, University of Pittsburgh; Miriam Meislik, Archivist and Curator of Photographs, Archives Services Center, University of Pittsburgh; Lauren Uhl, Curator, Senator John Heinz Pittsburgh Regional History Center; Dwight Fong, independent scholar, University of Pittsburgh; Barry Chad, librarian, Pennsylvania Room, Carnegie Public Library, Oakland; Jilliam M. Pritts, Community Relations Associate, Western Pennsylvania School for Blind Children; Joel Fishman, Librarian, Allegheny County Law Library; Daniel Bonk, independent historian and authority on Forbes Field; Lisa Lazar, Reference Librarian, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Senator John Heinz Regional History Center; Jim Baggett, Head, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Birmingham Public Library; Mary E. (Suzy) Frechette, St. Louis Public Library; Linda Seckelson, Head of Reader Services, Thomas J. Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Thayer Tolles, Assistant Curator of American paintings and sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Lynda Bunting, Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles.

I especially must thank the staff of the Western Reserve Historical Society Research Library: Ann Sindelar, reference supervisor; Vicki Catozza, Library Assistant; George Cooper, III, library

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I conducted research at various archives in Detroit including the Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, where I was assisted by William LeFebre, Reference Archivist; Elizabeth Clemens, Audiovisual Archivist; and Casey S. Westerman, University Archivist; Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Karen L. Jania, Head, Access and References Services; the archives of the Detroit Institute of Arts; and Cranbrook Academy of Art Library, especially Mary Beth Kreiner, librarian, and Cranbrook Archives, Leslie S. Edwards, archivist; and the staff of John K. King Books, Detroit, who allowed me to rifle through filing cabinets in their basement to uncover city planning documents crucial to my research.

This project of going back to college in the middle of my adult life began with the support of my former wife and continued friend, Judy Wieber, and would have been unthinkable without her; my mom, Betty Simpson, was continually supportive; and I especially thank my brother,

Glenn Simpson, who drove me to Detroit, Ann Arbor and Bloomfield Hills to enable my research, so we could visit our own stomping grounds together once more.

1 Introduction

1.1 The Monumental Center in America

In 1911 Sir Patrick Abercrombie remarks in *The Town Planning Review*,

The term “Civic Centre” is one of those Americanisms which expresses not a new thing but an old instinctive idea that has recently come to be self-consciously realised. There has naturally come into existence in most towns some spot, generally an open space dominated by an important building—either a citadel as at Florence, or a cathedral as at Ulm, or a Town Hall as at Brussels—which has become the centre of life to the place; but rarely has any very definite attempt been made to carry out this logically by grouping every other building connected with public life as it comes to be required round this same square. One can call to mind numerous examples of towns in this country [England] where such a centre exists, but it is an exception to find more than one or two of the public buildings placed in direct connection with it.¹

Abercrombie has particular praise for Cleveland, one of the first American cities to self-consciously plan a civic center rather than to allow one to congeal of its own accord, whether by instinct, nature, or the inexorable forces of history. It is precisely the element of intentionality in the American approach that Abercrombie finds superior to the happenstance of the European

experience, pointing out that “one of the chief characteristics which attaches to the modern term civic centre [is] the possession of some definite scheme of development.”² Abercrombie views the Cleveland Group Plan with its federal building, city hall, county courthouse, and main public library arrayed around a formal Court of Honor in a newly cleared downtown sector near Lake Michigan as exemplary of American civic center planning, since “it was one of the first to be projected, it is certainly the finest in design, and it is the furthest advanced towards completion.”³

Along the same lines but taking a more dim view, Montgomery Schuyler remarks in 1912, “The ‘civic centre’ is the latest fad of American municipalities.” The dean of architecture critics regarded the grouping of public buildings as a clumsy attempt to retroactively impose a sense of organic unity on the modern metropolis, and to remediate and reconcile the “individualistic” tendencies inherent in English and Dutch-settled North America. The American civic center could only be an inferior approximation of “the communal idea” inherent in Mexican towns: “Everywhere you find in the Spanish settlements the civic centre or central Plaza; everywhere the ‘Alameda,’ or public garden and place of recreation,” Schuyler observes, which incidentally “show immensely more of artistic sensibility than the English settlements.”⁴ Both Abercrombie and Schuyler agree that the civic center is a planning concept consciously applied to the American city after the fact; for an optimistic Abercrombie this is its strength, for a dubious Schuyler it is an inauthentic contrivance.

But by 1915, Abercrombie too has noticeably soured on the civic center enterprise, regarding the Cleveland Group Plan in particular as emblematic of a trend in picturesque booklet publishing that had produced few results in actual cities. He remarks, “The Civic Centre craze which raged for a while is well exemplified by the Cleveland Report, in gigantic folio size; its lustre now seems strangely dimmed.”⁵ He further laments that on paper at least,

the movement appears to have rather declined into the facile production of Civic Centres and unthought-out Re-modellings accompanied by European photographs. Occasionally they degenerate into frank town Advertisement.

“This may be a harsh judgment,” Abercrombie allows, not only of the published presentations but presumably of the substantive proposals contained therein. But his present purpose is to contrast what he now views as a certain narrow, spent approach to planning a portion of the city with a more clear-eyed, comprehensive vision of the entire city:

The latest phase of American city planning, as shown by recent reports, discovers a growing modesty on the part of the expert and an increasing desire for thorough research before making recommendations, preliminary studies, [and] tentative suggestions, [which] now take the place of the finite plan, elaborated in detail.⁶

Abercrombie finds earlier city plans like Cleveland’s Group Plan guilty of “putting aesthetic considerations first, before social or economic,” an unfortunate precedent set by the MacMillan Commission in their planning of the National Mall in Washington, D.C.⁷ The new trend he wishes to promote is exemplified by planners E.P. Goodrich and George B. Ford, whom Abercrombie quotes in their own words:

We believe that most of the City Planning so far undertaken in America has miscarried and failed of accomplishment because it was not done logically or scientifically. We are absolutely convinced that the first consideration is the economic one; the second, the social one; and the third, the aesthetic—not the reverse order, as has usually been followed.⁸

Abercrombie praises the authors for producing for Jersey City “a painstaking study of actual conditions [...] instead of light-heartedly scoring the town plan with suggested boulevards, civic centre and park system.”⁹

Such repudiations of the civic center as an affectation or merely a passing fad were common just prior to World War II, but in retrospect were premature. Despite the interruptions of the first World War, the Great Depression, and World War II, the civic center not only remained a fixture of American city planning, it flourished as never before as the centerpiece within so-called comprehensive planning. For Arnold W. Brunner, one of the planners in Cleveland, the civic center and comprehensive planning were never antithetical; rather, the latter had always been implied if not immanent in the former. He remarks in 1916, “In designing the Group Plan we were not unmindful of the rest of the city. We had dreamed of a comprehensive plan, but the time had not yet come for its preparation.”¹⁰ At the time Group Planners gestured toward a larger network of tree-lined boulevards and parks to be studied later,¹¹ but in fact were restrained from a fuller consideration of the entire city by a lack of municipal authority, the absence of popular political will, and outright hostility from the private sector.¹² Turn-of-the-century planners like Brunner had little choice but to sublimate their dreams of comprehensiveness into microcosmic civic center plans with the clear intention that these set pieces should serve as models for the rest of the city, inspiring private development to voluntarily fall in line with a communal vision. Brunner claims,

The Civic Centre is where the city speaks to us, where it asserts itself. Here the streets meet and agree to submit to regulation. They resolve themselves into some regular form, the buildings stop swearing at each other, competition is forgotten, individuals are no longer rivals—they are all citizens.

Petty struggles for prominence, small successes and failures disappear. Here the citizens assume their rights and duties and here civic pride is born.¹³

For Brunner, as for Schuyler, the civic center was conceived as a remedy to the excessively individualistic heritage of American town design and its laissez-faire development. Sensing that the time for a more organic and comprehensive approach to planning may now be within reach, however, Brunner is far from suggesting that the concept of the civic center be abandoned as having outlived its usefulness. On the contrary, he declares that for “the full achievement of its dream,” a city requires both the concrete example of “a great Civic Centre and comprehensive plan to guide its future triumphant development.”¹⁴ Thus, in the minds of planners like Brunner, the civic center had always been more than an expedient stepping stone on the way to the fully realized city that could now be dispensed with in the dawning era of comprehensive planning, and it remained an essential cornerstone in the inexorable conquest over the individualistic, competitive, and chaotic modern metropolis that sought to rise toward the ideal of a harmonious and communal city. From this view, the more dour pronouncements of the likes of Abercrombie, Goodrich, Ford, et al, were merely expressions of exasperation; a momentary lull for a movement merely catching its second wind, perhaps, but not a sea change. In fact, the era of the civic center was only beginning.

As originally conceived at the turn of the century, the civic center could include virtually any public building or institution subject to monumental architectural treatment, from a city hall to an art museum, grouped around an urban open space into a coherent composition. Soon institutions were broadly sorted into two classifications according to their respective administrative or arts and educational functions. As the century wore on, the term civic center was increasingly reserved for the first class; cultural center was introduced to describe the second. Neither term

was original to city planning; each had been appropriated from broader nineteenth-century urban and social discourses by planners groping to crystalize their aspirations for groups of public buildings. By the third decade of the new century, the once omnivalent civic center had clearly bifurcated into two distinct urban typologies: the more narrowly defined civic center comprised of municipal and judicial buildings, formally assembled around a downtown plaza or Court of Honor; and the cultural center composed of arts and educational facilities informally arranged adjacent to an exilic quasi-suburban park. Together, the civic center and cultural center comprehended any and all structures and institutions within a given city that could be subject to monumental architectural treatment and arrayed into horizontal campus groupings by public authorities. Business and financial centers, already well-represented on the modern skyline by clusters of vertical skyscrapers, were left to their own devices; indeed, the civic center and cultural center were further set apart from such private formations not only by the public guidance required for their planning, but by their emphatic need to claim as expansive an urban footprint as possible, compared to the footprint-stingy towering office building.¹⁵

The civic center movement was city planning at its most primitive, in the sense of being a primitive attempt to plan the entire city through a very small part of it but also in the sense of reasserting a more primitive idea of the city back into the modern metropolis. The terms civic center and cultural center each had at least one connotation earlier in the nineteenth century that made reference to the entire city: London as civic center, Paris as center of culture. Civilization and cultivation, whatever those terms might have meant, had once been considered attributes, functions, or by-products inseparable or automatically resulting from urban life.¹⁶ By the turn of the century, the city had mushroomed into the modern metropolis, and, apparently oblivious to this history (particularly in America), required civilization and cultivation to be artificially

implanted in the form of citadel-like ensembles consciously patterned after real or imagined city-forms of the past. Not merely quaint vestiges of an earlier, limited mode of civic embellishment, civic centers and cultural centers assumed an even more crucial prominence in postwar master plans as potent symbols of metropolitan urban identity as well as showcases for the planner's art. Architects and planning authorities, freed from networks of parks, civic centers, and tree-lined boulevards that had bounded the world of the Group Plan could now pursue a more comprehensive municipal and even regional organization of urban space. Freeways, neighborhood playgrounds, recreation, land use, and other public services could now be considered holistically. However, this meant that the proportion of area to be transformed directly by traditional city building in an architectural sense was smaller than ever, and paradoxically assumed an even greater importance, both in the public imagination and in the drafting room. Without the civic center and cultural center, master plans risked devolving into a laundry list of engineering or public works projects, important to be sure for the improved functioning of the city, but inspiring at best only abstract public appreciation and even less enthusiasm from architects and planners.¹⁷

Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit, cities not usually prominent in histories of early American city planning, serve as instructive case studies in the national emergence of the civic center and cultural center. Cleveland, for example, as Abercrombie noted, was the first to plan a civic center in its Group Plan; it was also the first to embrace the description cultural center for its arts and educational assets gathered at University Circle in Wade Park. Pittsburgh's Oakland, the first actual district in America to be described as a cultural center, instead favored the term civic center in its broader connotation of social participation and civic pride; another proposed grouping for the Lower Hill, although unrealized, was a forerunner to performing arts cultural

centers such as Lincoln Center and the National Cultural Center, finally named the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. And Detroit in its postwar Master Plan was among the first cities to officially name both a Civic Center and a Cultural Center as crucial focal points in a wider comprehensive planning initiative. Together these three cities contribute to a shared national narrative on the evolution and growing importance of the civic center and cultural center in twentieth-century American city planning. At the same time, each city tells its own unique story, shaped by local contingencies and illustrative among other things of the considerable deviation to which the terms civic center and cultural center could be prone. For example, the main public library for each city, found in Detroit's Cultural Center and Pittsburgh's comparable district of Oakland respectively, instead is located in Cleveland's downtown, where it was a charter member of the Group Plan. Similarly, downtown war memorials predate the Group Plan in Cleveland and provided impetus for the Detroit Civic Center, but a counterpart in Pittsburgh gravitated instead to the Oakland district. Such discrepancies are noteworthy, but even more remarkable are the unlikely conformities that were realized or attempted despite radically different circumstances. One example is the practice of placing museums in parks, established with the Metropolitan Museum and Central Park in New York, and evident in cities from Boston to St. Louis.¹⁸ This almost inviolable convention in city planning had influenced Pittsburgh and Cleveland in the nineteenth century, forming the basis of their cultural centers, as was fundamental to the idea of the cultural center itself.¹⁹ The notion that a cultural center belonged in a park proved so compelling that in 1965 a proposal would have claimed every available interstice around the 1927 Detroit Institute of Arts and neighboring institutions to retroactively create a Cultural Center Park.²⁰ As these three cities demonstrate, the terms civic center and

cultural center could be subject to a considerable degree of local interpretation and variation; their invocation could also summon powerful if not irrational ideological forces to the surface.

The history of the civic center and cultural center as told through the experiences of these three cities is as often one of emergence and recognition as of conscious planning. Although it is the self-conscious aspect of an old instinctive idea that appeals to observers such as Abercrombie, seldom is it the case of planning a civic center or cultural center as such from scratch. More often an element or two are recognized as having occurred in a certain place, and the makings of a civic center or cultural center are identified as such; in so naming, a particular logic for an area's subsequent development is suggested. Cleveland's Group Plan and Detroit's Civic Center were conceived more or less in their entirety, the former contributing to the concept of the civic center at its inception, the latter exemplifying its mature realization half a century later. Pittsburgh's proposed downtown civic center and the cultural centers of all three cities, on the other hand, were planned to incorporate already existing monumental elements such as a courthouse, library, museum, or schools. Indeed, with the exception of Detroit's Civic Center, the civic centers and cultural centers of all three cities began their formation prior to the introduction of those terms, and the initial formation of Pittsburgh's Oakland and Cleveland's University Circle predates even a general consensus as to the desirability of grouping public buildings. Planners and other authorities in all three cities frequently argued for proposals to augment existing assets on the grounds that, if implemented, a more fully realized civic center or cultural center would result. Obviously, opportunity and other contingencies, including the availability of land or the willingness or willfulness of a wealthy donor, was the most important factor in materially shaping the destinies of a particular development. Nonetheless the invocation of the terms civic center and cultural center, after the fact or in the midst of ongoing development

as the case may be, helped to crystalize for planners some of the powerful aspirations and suggest avenues of further development for these urban areas. To be sure, whether a given term was employed merely as a descriptor in a passing newspaper editorial or was permanently enshrined in the official name of a project realized or not often determined its influence, not only on the project itself but on local traditions and language habits. Neither do the terms imply an immutable degree of architectural specificity; on the contrary, like house, church, building, and even city, the terms civic center and cultural center suggested broad conceptual outlines to planners but often required considerable qualification in response to exigent circumstances as well as a good deal of improvisation. This is certainly evident in the civic centers and cultural centers of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit.

Historians of city planning have tended to disregard the civic center and cultural center and the individual experiences of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit for the testimony they offer in a national narrative of their typological formation and development.²¹ Statements like those of the later Abercrombie repudiating the civic center and civic embellishment in favor of scientific, comprehensive planning tend to be taken at face value, while ample evidence of the persistence and growing importance of the civic center and cultural center in the era of comprehensive planning has been downplayed if not completely ignored. Expressions of fatigue with grouping and embellishment have been seized as evidence of a schism in professional planning circles between the City Beautiful and the city practical, largely rhetorical phrases now indelibly reified as periodizing terms. According to this conventional history, an initial enthusiasm for aesthetic embellishment in the first decade of the twentieth century gives way in the second to a more sober and responsible attention to necessary infrastructural improvements affecting the general quality of life and business climate in American cities.²² That much is certainly true, but as

Brunner's statement suggests and the examples of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit abundantly demonstrate, this progression from civic center to comprehensive planning must be seen as an exfoliation of earlier principles, not an abandonment of previous positions. Planners in the second decade, typified by Brunner, are eager to expand their portfolio by embracing the comprehensive planning of the entire city; few sincerely renounce the civic center, or for that matter, civic beauty. A rigorous reading of most such statements of apparent renunciation reveal them to be little more than lipservice to changing tastes; quite a few, when understood in context, are in fact reassertions of the importance of beauty and the primacy of the civic center within a widened conception of professionalized planning, based on scientific research and bolstered by technical specializations such as civil engineering.²³ Much of the manufactured controversy even at the time was readily acknowledged to be little more than posturing and jockeying for status by increasingly competitive experts; nonetheless historians have chosen to dwell upon and exaggerate the discontinuities between City Beautiful and city practical, expending enormous energy to redeem the City Beautiful from what is regarded as the unjust verdict of city practical planners, historians, and critics. What is overlooked in this overdramatization of rather trivial inflections (whether aesthetic considerations are to be rated first or third, as per Goodrich and Ford) is the far more vital historical continuity to be traced in the emergence and progression of the civic center and cultural center as the two most important urban typologies introduced in American city planning in the twentieth century. It is this far more compelling narrative, particularly revealed through the prisms of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit, that the present work seeks to amplify.

This continuity and progress of the civic center and cultural center over and beyond the City Beautiful-city practical divide was first suggested by Jane Jacobs in her landmark work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, in which she trenchantly remarks,

The aim of the City Beautiful was the City Monumental. Great schemes were drawn up for systems of baroque boulevards, which mainly came to nothing.

What did come out of the movement was the Center Monumental, modeled on the [1893 Chicago World's] fair. City after city built its civic center and cultural center. [...]

The architecture of the City Beautiful centers went out of style. But the idea behind the centers [of sorting out certain cultural or public functions from the rest of the city] was not questioned, and it has never had more force than it does today.²⁴

Writing in 1961 at the apex of the civic center and cultural center boom, Jacobs' essential observation is that the enduring contribution of the City Beautiful to city planning was the monumental center, her useful generic term.²⁵ From this mid-century view, the civic center and cultural center had not only survived the cosmetic tumult of the early twentieth century, but had gone on to flourish as never before. Indeed, if the term City Beautiful movement has any useful meaning for historians of city planning, it subsists almost entirely in its aspect as a civic center movement. The principles of sorting and centering were never rejected when the phrase City Beautiful fell into derision; they were simply subsumed into subsequent comprehensive planning practices.

Undoubtedly these more fundamental observations have been obscured by Jacobs' scathing attacks on then-current city planning principles and her derision of the City Beautiful, which

only contributed to a subsequent pro-City Beautiful backlash.²⁶ Whatever our view of Jacobs and her critique of mid-century planning, her essential message for twenty-first century historians of city planning is to attend to the substantive continuities, in this case the persistence and growing importance of the civic center and cultural center in twentieth-century city planning, and not be misled by changes of fashion or internecine struggles for professional status. To that end the present work seeks to set aside the sterile City Beautiful-city practical dichotomy that has hitherto preoccupied American city planning history, and for the moment at least, Jacobs' more trenchant critique of city planning principles, in order to draw attention to the emergence of the civic center at the dawn of the twentieth century and its subsequent bifurcation into civic center and cultural center by the postwar era. Within this more useful historical framework, an initial civic center movement can be seen as giving way to an ostensibly more broad-based, holistic mode of planning, within which the monumental center (i.e., the civic center and cultural center) unexpectedly becomes even more indispensable.

However, this picture must be further complicated when it is realized that both civic center and cultural center are terms that had been used outside of and prior to their appropriation by American city planners to refer to groupings of public buildings. The distinct history of each term brings to their respective urban typology a constellation of ideas and meanings, the implications of which go far beyond their functional utility as labels for distinguishing particular architectural configurations. The physical grouping of public buildings at the dawn of the twentieth century in certain respects has already been extensively analyzed, not in the least through the prism of the City Beautiful-city practical dichotomy; however, the keywords civic center and cultural center which eventually emerged and became attached to these formations from among other possibilities have never been critically interrogated to draw out the ideological

assumptions and aspirations of the planners who appropriated and adopted them. For example, both terms enjoyed a limited use in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in such diverse discourses as Social Christianity, American anthropology, and Cultural Zionism, and yet they only took root in the urban imaginary in a binary opposition to one another, as the only alternatives in which public institutions could be sorted and monumental buildings could be grouped, as progressive social reformers and ultimately professionalized architects and planners sought solutions to overwhelming challenges facing the modern metropolis. But even such a simple question as why certain institutions seemed to belong together and why the sorting of functions happened as it did has never been posed. The particular form and composition of these monumental centers (the civic center as a grouping of governmental, administrative and judicial buildings anchored in downtown cores, and the cultural center as an educational and arts grouping set in more bucolic quasi-suburban parks), as will be seen, was shaped in part by opportunity and experimentation in several important cities more or less contemporaneously. However, the improvisation, invention, and negotiation that took place at the drawing board and work site, often unfolding over generations, can be seen as having been subtly and profoundly directed by the language that was chosen to most concisely communicate purpose and meaning at any given time, and most succinctly in the terms that were ultimately arrived at by consensus to designate each typology: civic center and cultural center.²⁷

One could stipulate that the present study is concerned primarily with groupings of public buildings by whatever name, but the point would be moot; the development of these urban typologies never achieve wide or enduring recognition in the United States under any terms other than civic center or cultural center. The present study therefore proposes to examine the invention and emergence of American monumental centers in its social, morphological, and

terminological aspects, in particular through key case study cities of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit. The ambition will be to deepen our understanding of the formation of these distinct urban typologies through concrete examples, beginning with an exploration of the conceptual formation of the civic center and the cultural center from a terminological perspective, outside of and prior to their emergence as signifiers within American urban planning discourse in the last century and a half. Such a study has never been undertaken before; what it will reveal is not merely the progression of certain ideas, but a complex and radical repurposing of terms to which historians of American city planning have hitherto paid little heed.

1.2 The Ideology of Grouping Public Buildings

The idea of grouping public buildings as a means of exerting control over the modern metropolis was first suggested by the stunning example of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Although temporary exhibition structures, the major buildings for display of the arts and sciences were designed by nationally renowned architects and arrayed around a formal lagoon, conforming in style, height, material, and coloration.²⁸ The ensemble effect of the "Court of Honor" or "White City" had an immediate influence in Pittsburgh, where Oakland was already under development, and in Cleveland, where a number of public buildings were desired and a rundown district provided a central location.²⁹ The inspiration of the World's Fair was supplemented by the "American discovery of Europe"³⁰ later in the decade by urban progressives such as Albert Shaw who reported on the politically efficient, socially harmonious, and architectural beautiful cities they found in their travels in northern Europe. Describing Vienna as "the world's most notable example of a splendidly appointed metropolis"

exemplifying “the adoption of modern ideas and principles,” Shaw proffered the Ringstrasse as a model for American cities that put Chicago, with its failure to group its “monumental public edifices,” to shame in particular.³¹ By the turn of the twentieth century, American city planners were calling for “public or quasi-public buildings” to be grouped into monumental arrangements surrounding large open plazas or malls, sometimes dubbed “Courts of Honor” after the World’s Fair.³² Such groupings were to include municipal, administrative, and judicial institutions as well as arts and educational facilities, buildings subject to monumental architectural treatment, as well as public monuments. These ensembles and their harmonious and suitably grandiose neoclassical architecture were symbolic of three aspirations: reformed governments newly purged of corruption; a moralized citizenry inspired with patriotism and civic pride; and an improved urban infrastructure rendered sanitary, orderly, and efficient. The Macmillan Commission’s 1901 rehabilitation of L’Enfant’s 1793 plan for the National Mall in Washington, D.C., successfully integrating both governmental and arts and educational buildings and public monuments to the highest degree ever achieved in America, became an immediate model. More remotely, modern European cities and ancient sites such as the Roman Forum and Athenian Acropolis provided a diverse range of options.

Important to the ideology of grouping public buildings was the planning of a proposed Model City for the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, realized in truncated form for the St. Louis for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904.³³ Involving leading civic improvement advocates including William S. Crandall, Albert Kelsey, Charles Zueblin, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, and Charles Mulford Robinson, the undertaking was sponsored by the Municipal Art Society of New York and the active involvement of Society president John De Witt Warner and associate Milo Roy Maltbie. Shaw himself was quoted as giving his “hearty approval.”³⁴ As

Charles Mulford Robinson describes the plan submitted to St. Louis [FIGURE 1-1], “The plaza is to be the official center of the town. It will also be the actual center. Around it will be grouped the public buildings, the county court house, the town hall, [and] the post office.” The plaza will be marked by “a fountain or an important bit of civic sculpture” and occasionally transformed into “a court of honor where civic pageants can be officially reviewed.” Additionally, “In another part of the town will be the ‘educational center.’ Here will be located on a square the model school house, standing in its model school yard, and here will be the public art gallery and library.”³⁵ Although the Model City finally realized was little more than a model main street, the important principle of separating public buildings into broad categories of administrative and arts and educational function was laid.³⁶

Civic center, a term appropriated from progressive urban discourse, was first applied to the grouping of public buildings around urban open spaces as early as 1898 and more clearly adumbrated in 1902 by John De Witt Warner and bolstered by his colleague Milo Roy Maltbie shortly thereafter; although somewhat controversial, civic center was adopted by city planners over the remainder of the decade and superseded most other connotations of the term by World War I.³⁷ Warner and Maltbie had always allowed that larger cities could develop more than one civic center, and as early as 1905 institutions were broadly sorted according to governmental, judicial, and administrative functions and arts and educational functions; however, this hierarchy was not immediately seen as dictating a necessary physical separation into multiple centers along those lines.³⁸ Cultural center appeared in print for the first time in 1909, a term introduced by Charles Mulford Robinson to describe Pittsburgh’s Oakland neighborhood as the city’s arts and educational district as distinct from a proposed downtown civic center now more narrowly conceived as a municipal administrative grouping.³⁹ This was followed shortly thereafter by the

delayed publication of Robinson's 1907 proposal for Los Angeles, which also opposed an administrative civic center to an arts and educational cultural center.⁴⁰ Robinson's dichotomy was not immediately adopted by planners in Pittsburgh or nationally until Cleveland did so in the late 1910s and 1920s, abetted by planning expert Charlotte Rumbold.⁴¹ Although Robinson clearly saw the civic center and cultural center as distinct entities, a general understanding persisted in which the cultural center was merely an eccentric, specialized form of a civic center, the latter term retaining a general meaning as any grouping of public buildings regardless of its precise institutional makeup well into the 1930s.⁴² Pittsburgh, despite Robinson's early description of Oakland as a cultural center, preferred the term civic center in this more general sense. No doubt because the city never developed a second center, Pittsburgh remained one of the holdouts while elsewhere the more narrow definition of civic center as an administrative grouping was preponderant by the 1950s. The dichotomy of a downtown civic center composed of municipal, administrative and judicial buildings around a formal plaza, and a cultural center removed from the downtown core composed of arts and educational institutions informally arranged around a more bucolic, quasi-suburban park was first embraced by Cleveland in the 1920s was consecrated in Detroit's postwar Master Plan, which officially named a Civic Center and Cultural Center. More than isolated, self-contained typologies, these monumental centers were intended to play an important symbolic role in solidifying and reasserting municipal identity and the centrality of the "inner city" in the age of the freeway, "white flight," decentralization, urban renewal, and suburban sprawl.⁴³

This is not to say that the civic center-cultural center dichotomy achieves some ideal conceptual equilibrium at mid-century and thereafter remains static. Civic center, at first connoting any grouping of public buildings, and by mid-century is used more narrowly to refer

to administrative centers usually located in downtown cores. Cultural center, however, referring to arts and educational institutions (principally museums, libraries, arts schools and universities) located in urban parks, in the postwar era begins to suggest a new or second-generation typology, that of the center for the performing arts. This is first seen in Pittsburgh' aborted Lower Hill Cultural Center project, an early forerunner to groupings such as the Lincoln Square project in New York (Lincoln Center), and the National Cultural Center (the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts). This development is closely related to Cold War geopolitical rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, principally international trade expositions (the Nixon-Khrushchev "Kitchen Debate" in Moscow) and celebrated defections by performing artists from Eastern bloc nations to the West, as well as intermural rivalries for trade show and convention business in American cities. More recently, the term cultural center has been applied to the campus ethnic study center and the community ethnic center, uses that for the most part no longer pertain strictly to urban planning.⁴⁴

1.3 Methodology: Invention as Facture, Notionality, and Ostensive Naming

The planning and construction of groupings of public buildings in America since the turn of the century, and the determination to name the two distinct typologies that emerged civic center and cultural center respectively, are material and discursive processes that proceeded by trial-and-error over years and decades, arriving at a general consensus only by mid-century. Unheard of before, within half a century every city had to have a civic center and a cultural center, or so it seemed; further, everyone seemed to understand where they belonged, what belonged in them, and what they should be called. Investigating the emergence, recognition, and planning of

particular groupings of public buildings in such cities as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit, and their ostensive naming as civic centers and cultural centers, therefore implies a two-fold methodology. First, through representative case studies, the present work will examine the architectural and planning morphology of both proposed and realized projects, the sorting of institutions into one or another grouping as these are negotiated or as opportunities present themselves, and the social forces that seemed to make a particular plan or project desirable at a certain moment. Second, it will be necessary to examine the underlying ideological assumptions at work in the discourse on grouping public buildings as the terms civic center and cultural center emerge as the predominant descriptors or labels for these developments. Inseparable from a more or less traditional morphologically-based architectural-historical investigation, therefore, there must also be a consideration of the role played by language in general and of the emergence of the key terms civic center and cultural center in particular in the conceptualization and formation of these distinct urban typologies. The terms civic center and cultural center are important not merely because they were selected over various alternative terms to ostensibly name particular contrasting typologies; rather, planners presumably found in these terms the most concise, meaningful and potent descriptors of the ideological aspirations they sought to constitute in these typologies. “City design,” the editors of a recent anthology declare, “is a process of brokering the best metaphor in ways that will shift or consolidate public sensibilities and invent the possibility for new kinds of place attachments.”⁴⁵ However, this brokering is not merely a matter, in their words, of creating “brand identity” for thoroughly preconceived or premeditated projects. Rather, it will be demonstrated throughout the present study that the terms civic center and cultural center were appropriated and adopted by planners because they were the best, most useful, and most powerful metaphors available to describe developments that in some cases were already

emergent, to crystalize important urban aspirations and suggest further ways of shaping urban space according to generic typologies that were themselves in flux. (Indeed, as it is said of cities and Gothic cathedrals, civic centers and cultural centers are never finished.) And, as it is perhaps needless to say, every experiment and experience at the drawing board and on the ground in turn can be seen as making a greater or lesser contribution to the collective, generic concepts named by the terms civic center and cultural center.

The terms civic center and cultural center held such suggestive possibilities for planners at the outset precisely because neither term was original or unique to city planning but entered the discourse already laden with meaning. Each term enjoyed usages outside of and prior to their appropriation by planners to designate groupings of public buildings, all of which are now largely extinct, in part because the terms became so prevalent in city planning. (As will be seen, one competitive advantage architects and planners had over their more prosaic competitors was the ability to illustrate their ideas with plans, drawings, and photographs of proposed or actual projects, and an increasingly sophisticated and pervasive print media allowing wide dissemination.) Taken from discourses primarily preoccupied with urban progress, civilization, and cultivation, the repurposing of the terms civic center and cultural center by city planners brought connotations, associations, and assumptions into the discourse on grouping public buildings that no doubt resonated at the time, lending readymade meanings and purposes to otherwise empty architectural formations. Over time these connotations could be forgotten, submerged, or repressed as civic center and cultural center came to mean only a kind of grouping of public buildings, useful primarily to distinguish one from another; nevertheless unconscious meanings remained present and active. Historians seem to have assumed that the terms civic center and cultural center were either invented by city planners or had negligible use prior to or

outside of city planning; in any case there has been little curiosity about uses of either term before or beyond city planning.⁴⁶ A brief survey of these now obsolete usages will yield not only an instructive disambiguation of each term, but will make explicit long submerged meanings and ideological implications that have subtly influenced the grouping of public buildings since the introduction of the terms civic center and cultural center in city planning discourse.

In the present study it has been helpful to consider the process of invention as explicated by David Summers in *Real Spaces* (2003),⁴⁷ which is analyzed into moments of facture and notionality: facture describing the empirical, trial-and-error making of an object or tool by the direct manipulation of materials to solve an immediate problem or demand; notionality describing the conceptualization of some particular attribute, quality, or relationship manifested in the resulting object which can be abstracted and applied to quite a different or distant problem. Once an object has been crafted, a notion can then be abstracted suggesting further applications and adaptation into new objects. The cycle of facture and notionality thereafter repeats endlessly, reciprocally influencing one other as invention is perpetually refined over vast eons, down to the modern era.⁴⁸ The examples Summers draws upon such as arrowheads and simple stone tools are entirely prehistoric and perhaps even prehuman; in any case they are presumed to be prelinguistic. While a nonverbal process of invention consisting of facture and notionality is conceivable on an individual level, refining ad infinitum (one thinks of the instinctive, largely nonverbal process of the craftsman or artist), human invention is also surely social. What is left out of Summers' account is language, and how the process of invention could be communicated from one human to another to bypass a perpetual reinvention of the wheel. Summers compensates for the lack of language in his account of invention with an almost obsessive etymological and philological analysis of contemporary terms such as planarity, his favorite, to

which he devotes an entire chapter.⁴⁹ Although Summers concedes that the question of the origin of language is highly controversial,⁵⁰ he confidently insists that tools “long preceded language, and [...] certain characteristic elements [...] were already there to be articulated a second time” in language.⁵¹ In this account, whenever language may have arrived on the scene, it only transcribes fully-formed notions already existing in the “mind’s eye” or collective human imagination, but is never integral to the invention process.⁵² In this regard Summers is only following his mentor, George Kubler, whose seminal book *The Shape of Time* (1962) also regards language as a descriptive afterthought appended to invention. For Kubler, any human artifact such as a tool reveals its purpose through a “self-signal,” or “mute existential declaration”⁵³ of itself, to which “other signals, including writing, are added” but are “adherent rather than autogenous.”⁵⁴ Adherent signals can never be integral to the object, let alone intrinsic to its constitution. Kubler avers, “Adherent signals of course are essential to our study,” but warns, “the adherent signals crowd in upon most persons’ attention at the expense of the autogenous ones.”⁵⁵ The scholar’s job therefore is to set aside superfluous adherent signals so as to receive the autogenous self-signals more clearly to facilitate accurate interpretation.⁵⁶

The unfortunate influence of Kubler, one that can be seen in Summers and one suspects remains persistent in the study of architectural history more broadly, is the assumption that artifacts can speak to historians directly through self-signals apart from any consideration of the language that may aided in the process of invention, even and especially when the documentary evidence is ample. While a nonverbal process of invention consisting solely of facture and notionality in a cycle of endless refinement is conceivable on an individual level, it is difficult to imagine the social transference of increasingly sophisticated manufacturing processes or conceptualizations suggesting further application proceeding very far by demonstration and

mimicry alone. Whenever language may have intervened in the process of invention, perhaps arising from the very human need for it within that process, it certainly would have accelerated and quickly become imbricated in the cycle of facture, notionality, and refinement. On the construction worksite at the very least, issuing precise verbal instructions at a distance would seem to have been a great innovation compared to grunts and hand signals. However fruitless such speculation on the influence of language in the development of primitive forms might be, ignoring the role of language in modern invention can hardly be justified.

The civic center and cultural center as urban typologies are compound forms and highly complex inventions in which language clearly played a constituting role, among other things clarifying subtly nuanced goals and aspirations for planners. Not only would it be hazardous to undertake a historical investigation of the emergence of the civic center and cultural center armed only with our own contemporary understandings of these terms, it would be equally negligent to consider only their use in city planning, disregarding the historical uses and evolution these terms enjoyed outside of and prior to city planning (historians have not been motivated to attempt even this much in a rigorous or systematic way).⁵⁷ There is a particular danger in that the same terms are in use today as emerged in city planning during the first decade of the twentieth century. A century later the temptation would be to focus on only present or favored meanings of each term, clarifying these for our own understanding but failing altogether to grapple with what these terms might have suggested for the planners and architects who first deployed them to crystalize their aspirations, and invoked them over successive decades to guide developments already underway. We would not hear what planners and others at the time heard in these terms: the metaphors that not only summed up the aspirations of such schemes but shaped and in certain respects determined the schemes themselves.

For these reasons it is useful to supplement Summers' explication of invention with a philological approach that values and explores the poetic history of the terminology. In *Keywords* (1976, 1983)⁵⁸ and related works, Raymond Williams explores words crucial to ongoing discussions of "culture and society" that are prone to misunderstanding because the full range of their historical meanings has been forgotten or neglected. The purpose of Williams' exploration, as he describes it, is never merely a keyword search resulting in a catalog of miscellaneous past meanings. Rather, his purpose is to "distinguish meanings [...] by examining, not a series of abstracted problems, but a series of statements by individuals." Williams insists,

I find more meaning in this kind of personally verified statement than in a system of significant abstractions. [...] I feel myself committed to study of actual language [...], to the words and sequences of words which particular men and women have used in trying to give meaning to their experience. [...] I have [...] concentrated on particular thinkers and their actual statements, and tried to understand and value them. [...] the method [...] is the study of actual individual statements and contributions.⁵⁹

By constellating these diverse meanings and reminding the contemporary reader of them, Williams hopes to restore something of the metaphorical charge and polysemy to certain key terms, thereby reducing the possibility of crucial social discussions lapsing into tendentiousness based on one-sided or simplistic understandings.

In the present context, *City Beautiful* is just the kind of "significant abstraction" Raymond Williams sought to avoid in his *Keywords* project. As an all too prevalent periodizing term, it has become extremely difficult to hear what planners and commentators intended by its frequent invocation in the 1890s and 1900s. Civic center and the cultural center also risk falling into

significant abstraction simply because they remain in use, and understandings of these terms today drown out the rich connotations they had in the 1900s, particularly of uses outside of an prior to city planning that are now largely defunct. If one were to undertake an investigation of the morphological, architectural, and even social aspects of the emergence of groups of public buildings in twentieth-century America without making an investigation of the terms City Beautiful, civic center, and cultural center themselves an important aspect of that overall study, one would risk adding only to the tendentious conversation that has already grown up around these terms, without advancing a fundamental understanding of the urban typologies in question.

In the case of the terms civic center and cultural center, their earliest uses can be traced as far back as the early nineteenth century, and after their introduction in city planning discourse at the turn of the century occur frequently well into the 1980s at least, and remain in use today. Ad hoc dictionary definitions of civic center and cultural center that have appeared only in recent years have been so amorphous and inadequate as to be utterly useless even as a starting point, and histories of city planning, as noted, have hardly scratched the surface. The only recourse for the present study has been to conduct a direct investigation of the discourses in question, aided by word-searchable databases, and closely read particular texts. In the case of city planning, to use this discourse as an example, the key terms civic center and cultural center usually appear with the impression that the speaker knows exactly what is meant by the term and with the assumption that his or her readers share in this understanding, but seldom with even so much as a partial definition. Often a general sense can only be inferred from careful attention to the context in which a term occurs, usually within the discussion of a particular plan or scheme, and only in a few cases within the context of an individual's larger body of thought. Only a very few individuals devoted serious thought to the problems of grouping public buildings and left behind

a body of written work extensive enough to be of any significance in understanding the terms civic center and cultural center; more generally the record includes a wider public of sometimes anonymous commentators and observers whose remarks have been left behind, regrettably, without further explication. Quite often, one suspects, the terms have been adopted within the discourse by uninformed speakers who mimic prevailing uses with neither a clear understanding of what is intended or a full realization of a given term's implications, although with immersion and experience one can learn to identify and bracket such occurrences. As difficult as this terrain has been, it has been possible not only to recreate a fuller sense of the conversation but to reconstruct general tendencies and ranges of meaning and in some cases pinpoint very precise meanings. It has been very rewarding.

Summers and Williams together suggest a useful approach for the present study. The emergence of the civic center and cultural center in American cities in the twentieth century is a process of invention consisting of moments of facture, notional, and ostensive naming, all playing influential roles in a complex cycle. Planners sought to group public buildings in particular ways, recognizing existing elements already existing in their respective cities in certain cases, and proposing and constructing additional elements in others; principles were abstracted from experiments at the drawing board and on the ground, suggesting possibilities for adaptation and that could be applied elsewhere; particular terminology that was used to describe and ostensibly name particular projects suggested further possibilities and guided developments. These three moments must be understood as interacting in a rich, complex cycle of reciprocal influence resulting in the invention of the two most important urban typologies in twentieth-century America.

1.4 Terminology: City Beautiful, Civic Center, Cultural Center

The terms City Beautiful, civic center, and cultural center are prominent in the present study, making a brief discussion of each term unavoidable. Much of the discussion of civic centers in American city planning hitherto has occurred in reference to the City Beautiful movement, and it is therefore necessary to demonstrate why this periodizing term is not optimal for the present study. Civic center and cultural center, terms that emerged in city planning and persisted beyond the era of the City Beautiful, in some sense came into their own only after City Beautiful fell out of fashion and became a term of derision, and each term had uses outside of and prior to city planning. Recovering those lost meanings is essential to understanding how they appealed to city planners and lent themselves to use as designations for groupings of public buildings, and how those meanings continued to influence each typology.

1.4.1 City Beautiful: The New Jerusalem

The term City Beautiful appears in discussions of the American city at the turn of the century as a largely empty signifier through which planners and public alike were invited to imagine an ideal city, filled with whatever amenities and configured however they pleased. Compared with the actual sprawling and troubled metropolis the City Beautiful was anything and everything the real city was not: clean, organized, healthful, prosperous, and aesthetically pleasing. Although the term City Beautiful suggests no specific architectural or city planning agenda other than a general urge to improve the urban environment, the rich poetic associations with popular American religious imagery charges the term with proselytizing fervor.

“We hear a great deal about The House Beautiful,” laments the editor of *Appleton’s Journal* in 1879, presumably remarking on a collection of *Scribner’s* articles on household hints wildly popular at the time.⁶⁰ “We earnestly wish this aesthetic passion would enlarge its sphere so as to give the world The City Beautiful.” Noting the many progressive societies tending to urban needs as well as New York’s obscured potential for urban beauty, the author asserts, “It only remains for us to secure a better administration of municipal details, and a freer adornment of the streets, to render it approximately The City Beautiful.” With decay, clutter, and visual obstructions eliminated, “fountains and monuments would make beautiful every park and square; taste would inspire our architects and instruct our people; each home, under the general advance of culture and right feeling, would more nearly reach the altitude of The House Beautiful, and the metropolis, in the estimation of its patriotic citizens at least, would become The City Beautiful.” The editor pleads, “If we cannot attain The City Beautiful, let us at least have the City Seemly.”⁶¹

On a practical level the home and its proper furnishing as a refuge of personal culture and development is simply extended to the neighborhood and the city, but the transformation of the House Beautiful into the City Beautiful recalls the allegorical language of John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*⁶² with its “House called Beautiful” set upon a hill as a way station for the protagonist and the “Celestial City,” his ultimate destination. The House Beautiful was commonly interpreted in the nineteenth century as symbolizing the Visible Church of Christ in the world, composed not merely of believers but of professing Christians, specifically the Elect who would be subject to persecution.⁶³ “Celestial City” is identified with the New Jerusalem, the City of God, or Zion, descending from heaven in the Book of Revelations. City Beautiful discourse in the last decades of the nineteenth century repeatedly draws upon Christian imagery

from Bunyan and the Bible, identifying the improvement of the modern metropolis as a divine mandate.

In 1894, a series of lectures in Boston conflates Biblical and Bunyanesque imagery with the White City of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, closed just months before.⁶⁴ Of the lectures, Edwin Doak Mead remarks on the miraculous appearance of the White City, "springing suddenly into existence, like the baseless fabric of a dream,"⁶⁵ a prophetic vision. "It would not seek to reproduce spectacular White Cities all over the country," Mead warns, "for the White City was a World's Fair, and not a city of homes."⁶⁶ Instead Mead commends the cities of Europe as models for American municipal architecture, particularly over the isolated, gaudy city halls of American cities, and stresses the importance of art and education in preparing the populace for the coming City Beautiful.⁶⁷ He concludes with the admonition, "The New Jerusalem let down out of heaven was not simply the holy city, but the city beautiful; it could not be holy, not be whole, till it was beautiful."⁶⁸ Charles Ames in his lecture, "Boston—The City of God," cites John's vision of New Jerusalem as guiding the most important work of Christians today: the improvement of earthly cities.⁶⁹ He remarks, "In a true City of God, there can be no place for the slums."⁷⁰ In 1897, T.J. Cobden-Sanderson declares that the ultimate purpose of man in the universe is to create "the City Beautiful, the beautiful house of Mankind."⁷¹

Frances Hodgson Burnett, author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, is even more explicit in connecting Bunyan and the Bible to the White City through the metaphor of the City Beautiful. In her 1895 juvenile story, *Two Little Pilgrim's Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful*,⁷² two neglected and culture-starved children, sister and brother named Meg and Robin, are stranded on their aunt's farm out west. After their dreary chores are done, they spend every spare moment in the hayloft secretly immersed in Bunyan's allegory. Reading alone one particular afternoon, Meg

dreams of approaching the gates of the Celestial City with Bunyan's hero. She awakens deflated, realizing, "The City Beautiful was such millions—such millions of miles away from Aunt Matilda's barn,"⁷³ and wishes it could be real. Just then, Robin rouses her, reporting that at that very moment there is "a City Beautiful—a real one—on this earth, and not a hundred miles away,"⁷⁴ being built in Chicago. The two plan to scrimp and save to make the pilgrimage themselves. "It won't be on the top of a hill, of course,"⁷⁵ Robin tells Meg. When they finally see the White City illuminated at night by electric light, it seems like a miracle. "The City Beautiful stood out whiter and more spirit-like than ever, in the pure radiance of these garlands of clearest flame,"⁷⁶ Burnett describes, presumably recalling her own experience of the fair. By the story's end, a wealthy widower who befriends the children and accompanies them for several days at the fair arranges with their aunt to adopt them, and they go to live in his large, tasteful mansion, a permanent, domestic version of the White City.⁷⁷

The discourse of civic improvement in which City Beautiful is used makes constant reference to dreams, visions, the divine, and prophecies of a world to come, as well as disbelief and amazement when the City Beautiful is imagined as finally confronting the senses. John James Piatt's "Centennial Ode," composed in honor of Cleveland's Founder's Day in 1896, urges the Good Citizen will work for the common good, to

make beautiful his dwelling-place

Striving to keep his city pure and clean

With avenues to heaven its walls between.

Piatt closes,

So the House Beautiful the poor man's home shall be,
In that far better day,
(Is it so far away?)
The day we may not see,
Save only in prophecy,
When, standing like that City on a Hill,
She shall be seen afar and known to all,
Our City Beautiful—Forest City still,
The seaside Capital
Of our proud Forest State!⁷⁸

If Piatt was aware of group planning efforts in Cleveland inspired by the White City already underway at the time, his ode does not betray this.⁷⁹ Like Burnett before him and even Bunyan himself, Piatt draws upon the Rev. John Winthrop's 1630 sermon delivered aboard the *Arabella* as it sailed from England to establish the Massachusetts Bay Colony.⁸⁰ Its famous image of a "city upon a hill" is derived in turn from the Sermon on the Mount in which Jesus extolls, "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid."⁸¹ Piatt's ode thus links the City Beautiful to millennial promise and pioneer proselytization, perfectly capturing the quintessentially American vision of classical civilization reincarnated in the midst of the western frontier as a fabulist Acropolis bathed in light. It is a vision of an ideal city, to be perfected over generations to come, perhaps incrementally from the inside out, but always viewed from a distance, remote in both time and space.⁸²

The term City Beautiful retained its allegorical aloofness even as the architectural and city planning recommendations to achieve it became more specific. Often the phrase was kept in

reserve for rousing, inspirational endings to articles and lectures on civic improvement, just as the Bible itself saves the promise of a heavenly Zion for the close of the book of Revelation.⁸³ The first time Charles Mulford Robinson uses the term is near the end of his inaugural civic improvement treatise in 1899, a three-part article for *Atlantic Monthly*.⁸⁴ Demonstrating a robust acquaintance with progressive initiatives such as education and social outreach, Robinson quotes a New York newspaper editor for whom “the ideal city, the city beautiful and perfect” appears as an unattainable, wistfully sardonic superlative, against which more modest proposals for urban improvement are sure to seem all the more reasonable. Like the *Appleton’s* editor who would gladly settle for the City Seemly, Robinson’s editor, short of the City Beautiful, is willing to settle for “the city of common sense,” a vast improvement over current conditions.⁸⁵ Robinson himself picks up the refrain, concluding the series with the promise that the City Beautiful will surely arise as the culmination of philanthropic, educational, and aesthetic improvements.⁸⁶ As he says a short time later, “Something very like religious fervor can be put into the zeal for city beauty, sustaining it through long patience and slow work.”⁸⁷ From this point forward, urban thought will become increasingly specialized, with concern for the planning of the physical city diverging from human services. While City Beautiful is increasingly identified with more specific architectural and planning initiatives over the subsequent decade, the term never quite loses its millenarian aspirations nor its allegorical future indefinite tense.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the term City Beautiful movement was certainly used to denote the cottage industry of articles, books and public lectures urging civic improvements of various sorts, suggesting a kind of pre-electronic media event.⁸⁸ Whether the term City Beautiful best characterizes or defines a widespread architectural or planning movement better than another phrase such as the era civic improvement is debatable. No less

prominent an architect and planner as Daniel H. Burnham, often identified as the principal City Beautiful planner, seems to have been reluctant to use the term, suggesting the desire at the uppermost levels of the planning profession to keep certain connotations of locality, smallness of scale and an aura of ladies' clubs activism at arm's length. By 1909 many architects, planners and engineers, seeking to gain distinction as more level-headed practitioners of the practical city planning, expressed open disdain for the term City Beautiful to differentiate their ostensibly more scientific and practical projects from the amateur schemes for merely cosmetic embellishment by laymen and philanthropists.⁸⁹ In the process, the City Beautiful seemed to achieve a greater reality as a pejorative and a straw-man than it had as rallying cry. However, the actual changes occurring in city planning were more a matter of expanding and augmenting professional and technical practices than the rupture of a world view. The argument was more about who got hired and who controlled civic improvements than about the substance or even the style of particular planning proposals.

City planning historians William H. Wilson and Jon A. Peterson in particular have sought to rescue the term City Beautiful from its earlier and later critics. Wilson in particular indicts Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* as "written from ignorance of its purposes and achievements."⁹⁰ Offering valuable accounts of major planning projects and the multiple and broad-based origins of city planning in America, their writings nonetheless offer a frankly polemical revision and redefinition of the term City Beautiful in a strenuous effort to reverse the verdict of what they perceive as the city practical.⁹¹ Both authors concede that the City Beautiful movement was at best diffuse and amorphous, had no clear leaders, and lacked codified principles and values. Nonetheless, by a process of circular reasoning, a number of projects are confidently identified as City Beautiful projects from which can be derived City Beautiful ideals,

which in turn can be used to identify City Beautiful projects, ad infinitum. Wilson and Peterson make a concerted effort to rehabilitate and reify the City Beautiful as a populist movement embodying only positive virtues and as the culmination of a number of benevolent impulses hitherto unfairly misunderstood. Peterson for his part protests that “commentators upon urban and architectural design,” presumably a group that includes Jacobs, “have emphasized two themes, the City Beautiful’s devotion to classic-renaissance taste [...] and its commitment to monumental city planning.” Seeking to “open fresh perspectives,” Peterson asserts that “the City Beautiful had other meanings and origins, and [...] their recovery enables us to recognize the phenomena as a complex cultural movement involving more than the building arts.”⁹² Peterson claims that City Beautiful planning flourished between 1905 and 1909, while Wilson marks the movement’s “heyday” as approximately 1900 to 1910.⁹³ More substantive than such minor discrepancies is the problem of its relation to the civic center idea. Peterson remarks that no planning idea “excited more comment just at the beginning of the century than the civic center.”⁹⁴ But Wilson concedes that when it first appeared, “The concept of grouped public buildings was not yet fitted into the developing City Beautiful ideology,”⁹⁵ suggesting that the civic center was a movement apart. Peterson asserts that by 1904, “the City Beautiful metaphor ceased to express municipal art enthusiasm alone and became everybody’s slogan, as applicable to tree planting as to architectural adornment.”⁹⁶ He further notes that while the phrase City Beautiful had become anathema among professional planners by 1912, a review of plans dating from 1910-1917 “reveals that most planners still recommended park systems and civic centers.”⁹⁷ Jonathan Ritter detects “surprising divergences between City Beautiful aims and civic center rhetoric,”⁹⁸ but insists that the civic center idea originated within the City Beautiful movement and must be understood in that context.⁹⁹ The question arises as to whether such

confusion cannot be bracketed and sidestepped for the sake of a more productive study of the emergence of the civic center and cultural center in American city planning.

Wilson and Peterson clearly have succeeded in repositioning the City Beautiful as a broad periodizing term and it is unlikely to be dislodged at this point. Whether City Beautiful was ever the best term to identify monumental city planning in the first place, the more fundamental question is whether a City Beautiful context offers any insight or understanding into the emergence of the civic center, or instead only adds one more adjectival layer to the discussion, an unnecessary pleonasm itself demanding further explanation. Describing a 1907 civic center plan as imbued with City Beautiful ideals, for instance, tells us nothing specific about the project and little in general that could not already be inferred from the date alone. At the same time, the term arguably has been made to shoulder more determinate meaning than its original allegorical users could have intended, and historians who uncritically employ the term now risk tacitly endorsing certain polemics. What is lost in this dilation of the City Beautiful is our ability to hear any longer the sad, self-consciously poetic irony of Robinson's newspaper editor who, with the invocation of "the ideal city, the city beautiful and perfect," seems simply to have desired a handy, all-purpose chastisement with which to remind the modern metropolis of everything it was not, with the more modest hope of achieving "the city of common sense." The question is not, strictly speaking, whether the use of the term City Beautiful leads us into any incorrect assumptions about particular planning projects or civic improvement initiatives of the era, since all of the positive attributes of the era have already been codified into the term by now. Rather, the question is whether a City Beautiful framework sharpens our questions or promises to further our understanding and offer insight into the projects that form the subject of the present study. The verdict must be that it does not. Therefore the term City Beautiful will appear in the present

study not as self-evident historical description, but only when it occurs in direct quotations or has been invoked in general discussions at a given moment in time.

1.4.2 Civic Center: The Church Militant and Triumphant

The earliest appearances of the term civic center, dating from the late nineteenth century, refer to urbanized, populous regions that enjoyed the fruits of modern civilization, i.e., a “citified” area.

The term more narrowly can describe second-tier cities that are becoming increasingly urbanized, self-aware (developing civic “consciousness and pride”), and becoming competitive with more sophisticated urban centers, especially national capitals; such civic centers play a greater role in the life of the nation, but are still at an intermediate stage between smaller town and larger metropolis (1895).¹⁰⁰ More specifically, the term could denote a metropolitan area and population that was assumed to share similar values and cultural points of reference due to their physical proximity. This cultural, political, and moral homogeneity in some cases could be attributed to exposure to the same mass print media, forming today what would be called a major media market, allowing politicians to “influence public opinion in the great civic centres” (1879).¹⁰¹ In a religious sense, civic center often held the strong connotation that urban populations were more secular or worldly and less pious in outlook than country folk, and by the end of the century, even openly hostile to spiritual values (1862).¹⁰² More directly, civic center could also identify the political administrative capital of a secular state, such as Winchester and later London as opposed to Canterbury, seat of the Church of England. Such a proximal split between church and state was viewed by many with tremendous moral anxiety for the soul of the nation (1887).¹⁰³ In a more metaphysical sense, civic center could connote a generally Christian but non-sectarian internal moral compass or conscience, at the same time individual and

collective, necessary for good citizenship and public safety, inculcated in the young by “moral institutions,” i.e., churches and schools, without which civil society would be at risk (1873).¹⁰⁴

In the 1890s, William T. Stead, editor and publisher of *The Review of Reviews*, put forward the notion of a “Civic Church,” a secular, neo-catholic Christendom reunified on Judeo-Christian principles to address growing urban poverty and vice.¹⁰⁵ In 1891 Stead describes his civic church as “a common centre” or “a social telephonic exchange” linking “all agencies that exist for doing good” in a town. “If there had been a man who was the real bishop of Newcastle, in the sense that the telephone girl is the real nexus between the people whom she switches on,” Stead ruminates. “How much sooner all these improvements might have been made if there had been a centre!”¹⁰⁶ In 1893 Stead declares,

The Civic Church is a phrase recalling to the mind of man that religion is concerned not merely with the salvation of the individual man but with the regeneration of the whole community. The work of the Civic Church is to establish the Kingdom of Heaven here among men—in other words, to reconstitute human society, to regenerate the State and inspire it with an aspiration after a Divine Ideal. For this purpose civic, as referring primarily to cities, is preferable to national or imperial, which deal with larger areas, or municipal or parochial, which unduly limit the range of the idea.¹⁰⁷

The idea achieved its greatest popularity as “Civic Centre,” a term readily synthesized from Stead’s writings deemed more acceptable across sectarian lines, spawning numerous civic organizations in cities in England and the U.S.¹⁰⁸ Stead would have preferred that his original term had been retained since “the Church universal and militant [...] was the machinery Christ devised for saving the world by self-sacrificing love,” and sorely regretted that the term had

“been degraded into the label of ecclesiastical coteries.”¹⁰⁹ Civic center served not only as a substitute,¹¹⁰ but incorporated Stead’s notion of a “common centre” conceived as “a social telephonic exchange” linking “all agencies that exist for doing good” to create an early-warning system alerting charitable organizations to social problems, eliminating redundant effort, and directing limited resources more effectively.¹¹¹ Stead’s civic center is conceived as having no physical footprint whatsoever, even so much as rented office space, presumably so as not to antagonize with existing institutions. The Washington Civic Center, one of many organizations directly inspired by Stead, addressed a range of urban issues in the District of Columbia including poverty, public health, unwed mothers, the suppression of immoral publications, and the creation of public parks and playgrounds, in order to fill a vacuum they saw in laissez faire municipal government. However, events were held in a variety of churches and other public venues, and officers listed only their private addresses, and seem never to have occupied any kind of headquarters.¹¹² The group also sponsored a successful initiative to open closed alleyways,¹¹³ an achievement in civic improvement hailed by Charles Mulford Robinson.¹¹⁴ Generally, however, groups inspired by Stead rarely demonstrate more than a passing concern for the improvement of the physical city.

By the turn of the century, the term civic center could refer to the communal function housed within a single facility, such as a settlement house or a public library.¹¹⁵ In particular, public school buildings, usually the most expensive public asset in many lower class neighborhoods and small towns, stood underutilized in the evenings and completely dormant in the summer months. Known widely as the civic and social center movement, each term could refer to specialized functions in the same facility: social center referring to informal adult education and wholesome supervised recreational alternatives for youth; civic center highlighting non-partisan discussion

of political issues and educational programs aimed at the training and Americanization of immigrants. In practice, however, the two terms tended to be used interchangeably.¹¹⁶ In 1911, candidate Woodrow Wilson affirmed the movement's goal "to make the schoolhouse the civic center of the community"¹¹⁷ in his presidential campaign.¹¹⁸ His daughter Margaret took up the cause following his election, supporting a civic center in a social settlement in Greenwich Village¹¹⁹ and supporting federal legislation to authorize greater communal utilization of school buildings in the District of Columbia known the "Social and Civic Center Bill."¹²⁰ By the second decade of the twentieth century, advocates for school civic centers were frequently forced to disambiguate their use of the term from that of city planners, finally surrendering the term altogether by the 1920s and adopting the term community center instead.¹²¹

John De Witt Warner, former U.S. congressman and president of both the New York Art Commission and Municipal Art Society, and editor of the magazine *Municipal Affairs*, was the first to repurpose the term civic center for use in city planning,¹²² and almost certainly had Stead's idiosyncratic connotation of the term in the back of his mind.¹²³ The first issue of *Municipal Affairs* in 1897 is entirely given over to Warner's massive bibliography of publications concerning civic improvement, and key writings by Stead on the civic church and civic center appear cross-referenced several times.¹²⁴ The following year, Warner refracts Stead's ideas in completely novel ways in a column entitled "Matters that Suggest Themselves," in which the idea of the civic church is manifested as a group of charitable buildings and the term civic center appears for the first time to refer to a grouping of monumental buildings around an urban open space.¹²⁵ "Why, as commerce and wealth enlarge their temples, should not those of Jehovah maintain their old prestige?" Warner wonders. "St. John the Divine, rising on Cathedral Heights" could be "the rich center of such a group of buildings, devoted to the most practical of

church uses.” Using unmistakably Steadian language, Warner suggests that “on the acropolis of each of the other boroughs” could be “a home of the religious and charitable influences that go forth in the name of Christ, clustering about a towering cathedral” symbolic of “the Church Militant.”¹²⁶ Although the term itself is not used, Stead’s ethereal civic church is given emphatic physical and architectural form. Warner then turns to Union Square and its potential enlargement to Third Avenue as a potential site “for the great municipal buildings which we must soon have.” Warner continues, “Such a civic center should be so neighbored by other parks as to relieve the inevitable congestion and give room for the most beautiful and healthful development.”¹²⁷ It is not entirely clear whether by civic center Warner is referring to the open spaces or the proposed groupings of public buildings surrounding them, an ambivalence that will persist in his subsequent use of the term. Although perhaps just as idiosyncratic as Stead’s connotation, there is nothing about Warner’s appropriation of the term civic center that prevents it from making literal sense.

Later responding to the question, “What is a civic center, anyway?” Warner recalls,

I am the originator of the phrase “Civic Center,” in the sense that I know of no one having used it before. [I] Am rather confirmed in its novelty by [the] extent to which, as I recall, it was ironically quoted and commented upon by sundry critics who credited (or debited) it to me.¹²⁸

Presumably, Warner tried out his novel inflection of the term civic center in conversation with the leading exponents of grouping public buildings of the day as they collaborated on the Model City project for the St. Louis exposition.¹²⁹ In 1902, Warner expanded on his conception of grouping monumental buildings arranged around open plazas in an article aptly entitled “Civic Centers.”¹³⁰ Routinely if erroneously cited by historians as the first use of the term in city

planning,¹³¹ a civic center in his elaboration could include a city hall, court house, hall of records, and other administrative buildings as well as arts and educational buildings such as museums and libraries. The White City and the McMillan plan for Washington, D.C. are the immediate inspiration for the new typology,¹³² and Warner illustrates his argument with plans of the Acropolis, the Forum, Vienna, Paris, London, and Berlin, as well as proposed plans for San Francisco and Cleveland. Warner's principle contention is that "as these civic centres develop they are more and more characterized by the provision of the fine arts,"¹³³ offering a lengthy digression on the Athenian development through "culture as religion and religion as expressed by art."¹³⁴ Warner closes by decrying the scattering of public buildings in the modern metropolis, a practice that dilutes their potential for aesthetic effect, and calls for "one or more great civic centres, at which, alike to the beauty and convenience of the city, shall be effectively grouped those public or quasi-public structure that are, as it were, the vital organs upon which its vigor and character must so largely depend." In 1904, Warner's colleague Milo Roy Maltbie further reinforces the use of the term, concurring that the "modicum of art as exists where buildings and parks are indifferently scattered is less appreciated, and by a smaller number [of people], than when they are molded into civic centers."¹³⁵ In such groupings government reforms are expressed architecturally and increased administrative efficiencies are guaranteed, with a boon to civic pride. "Here is something the masses can appreciate and enjoy, something which expresses power, greatness, and which they can point to with pride."¹³⁶ The civic center even functions as a surrogate police force, and by implication can further the Americanization of immigrants.¹³⁷ Maltbie asserts that "these very masses are most easily influenced by visible improvements of a constructive character, and their patriotism is quickly and often permanently aroused by civic

progress.”¹³⁸ Maltbie’s discussion includes photographs and plans of Berlin’s *Spreinsel* and Vienna’s *Ringstrasse* as well as other familiar examples like the McMillan plan and Cleveland.

Although the Warner and Maltbie conception of a public building includes every kind of institution subject to monumental horizontal treatment, within the decade the term civic center becomes more narrowly defined as a group of municipal administrative and judicial buildings. Terms like cultural center, social center, arts center, and educational center vie to designate a secondary grouping of arts and educational institutions removed from the downtown to an urban park.¹³⁹ At the same time, the idea of a hierarchical network of civic centers is elaborated, particularly in a St. Louis plan considering the creation of a city-wide monumental grouping and several satellite neighborhood civic centers.¹⁴⁰ The emphasis of the larger, city-wide “public buildings group” is on architectural harmony, monumental grandeur, administrative efficiency and civic pride in the manner of Warner and Maltbie. The emphasis of “smaller buildings groups” or satellite civic centers is on “the mental, moral or physical improvement of the neighborhood,” and can include institutions like “a public school, parochial school, public library branch, public park and playground, public bath, model tenement, social settlement, church, homes of athletic or social organizations, police station and fire engine house.”¹⁴¹ In this relatively short-lived conception of a network of civic centers, elements of Stead’s civic church, the Model City, and the Social and Civic Center movement are all given localized neighborhood expression in relation to a monumental city-wide civic center.

Use of the term civic center in city planning as a grouping of public buildings rendered most other uses of the term obsolete by the 1920s. What most uses of the term civic center generally have in common is a concern for urban space, and many share a palpable spiritual anxiety in the face of secular modernity. For Stead and Warner, something called a civic center offers a

solution to a crisis in the modern metropolis, and it is significant that the same term can suggest an ethereal as well as a frankly physical architectural expression. Stead sought to center the city on a reconstituted Christendom or civic church while planners believed that the conscious structuring of the physical city could ameliorate and perhaps eradicate social ills, an ideology that in many respects has persisted into our own era. That the term civic center could move from one conception to the other and achieve acceptance in the space of a decade underscores the rapid pace of investigation into these problems and the impatience for solutions.

1.4.3 Cultural Center: Archipelago in the Modern Metropolis

The history of the term civic center is relatively simple; about half a dozen major uses of the term occur in the nineteenth century. However, once the term is appropriated by city planners at the turn of the century, nearly all of these prior connotations are rendered obsolete, and become more or less defunct by the 1910s. In fact, a couple of these earlier meanings appear quite unintelligible to the modern ear without a significant effort to recreate their original context. By the 1920s, the general connotation of civic center as any kind of grouping of public buildings is more narrowly understood as a grouping of monumental administrative governmental and judicial buildings located in downtown cores. Thereafter, the meaning of civic center remains relatively stable and unchanging.

Cultural center has quite a different history. The term and its less common variants, culture center and center of culture, both of which are almost always functionally equivalent, also have a range of uses in the nineteenth century. But when the term is appropriated by city planners in the early decades of the twentieth century to refer to a grouping of arts and educational buildings usually located in an urban park, none of these prior uses necessarily becomes obsolete. Unlike

civic center, cultural center never becomes proprietary to city planning in the same way; indeed, the term is shared and enriched by American anthropology and Zionism at the same time.

Although these discourses abandon the term by the Second World War, cultural center in city planning undergoes a metamorphosis seemingly of its own volition; by the 1950s it increasingly refers to a center for the performing arts. By the 1960s cultural center has become a buzzword in planning, architecture, and real estate development to name projects often involving hotels, convention and trade show facilities, and sports venues, sometimes with little or only spurious arts organization involvement. In the 1970s and 1980s, cultural centers continue to proliferate as single-building facilities, no longer retaining any particular city planning or even urban connotation, usually with exhibition and performance spaces and small libraries in special-built or rehabilitated structures and even rented storefronts, housing campus ethnic studies programs or ethnic-based community activities. Finally, unlike the term civic center, virtually every connotation that cultural center ever had remains at least logically graspable today.

In 1805, a French-language account describes a colonial expedition from London to establish a “center of culture and civilization” off of the coast of Africa, with the explicit aim to “introduce the culture, enlightenment, and religion” of Europe, and ostensibly to curtail the enslavement of the indigenous inhabitants by Europeans.¹⁴² The colonial and paternalistic emphasis of the phrase persists in its earliest use in English. In the 1810 *Encyclopaedia Londinensis*, Swiss geologist Jean-André De Luc introduces a fully-blown conception of the center of culture in an English synopsis¹⁴³ of his previous French language scholarship.¹⁴⁴ In De Luc’s account, the earliest human settlements are established in the most fertile areas by the desire for sedentary society. As these “*centres of culture*” mature they spawn offshoot colonies, subordinate centers which in turn produce yet more centers. Thus “*archipels of culture*” are formed “like *islands* in

wildernesses” or “systems of *celestial bodies* in *space*.” The original centers grow into capitals, exerting influence and drawing strength from ever newer settlements. According to De Luc, this gives rise to the first nations and empires. The process of growth, maturation and replication is ceaseless, and can still be observed at the fringes of civilization in northwest Europe, Asia, and America, but is difficult to discern in highly cultivated regions like southeastern Europe where infill has obliterated the past, making the hierarchical divisions that remain appear merely arbitrary and conventional. Ancient centers of culture eventually become decadent as the original impulse for the “progress of culture,” to feed a growing population, becomes perverted into “schemes of opulence,” luxury and idleness.¹⁴⁵ Thus De Luc’s fluid conception of the cultural center as a living, self-reproducing organism with a finite lifespan encompasses simple to complex, low to high, early to late, primitive to sophisticated, prehistoric to modern, frontier to urban, and colony to cosmopolis. By implication, culture can refer to broad material practices, the totality of social interactions, or only the highest artistic expression; especially noteworthy is the link between culture, colonization and empire.¹⁴⁶ For the remainder of the century virtually every subsequent specialized use of the term cultural center and its variants resonates within De Luc’s parameters.

Contrary to De Luc’s implied progression, the actual historical use of cultural center and its variants tends in the opposite direction. First and foremost these terms are used to refer to advanced, urban, western European cities and regions; secondly to historical cities and regions; and only later to primitive settlements. For example, Stambul is described as a traditional “centre of culture” in Asia (1830);¹⁴⁷ “Galway city [is] a trade and cultural centre” of the Connaught province of Ireland (1846);¹⁴⁸ Periclean Athens deserves “the titles of nurse of the arts, fountain of science, center of culture, [and] home of philosophy and studious thought” (1856);¹⁴⁹ and the

Spanish court in the Middle Ages was “the surest centre of culture in such rude ages” (1863).¹⁵⁰

An article describes Lawrence, “once the capital [and] still the centre of culture” of Kansas, as analogous to Boston and New England (1870).¹⁵¹

The city in general enjoys the status of cultural center as home to artistic, particularly literary, life. From Stratford, Shakespeare “worked his way to the great culture-centre of England,” London, to pursue fame as a dramatist, just as “many a beardless American has in like manner dared destiny [...] in the *melee* of New York” (1873).¹⁵² Such a reputation can rest on a single institution of higher learning, such as the Academy of Geneva constituting in itself a “centre of culture, letters, and education” (1874).¹⁵³ The description can also apply to a region as large as a sea: “Up to the sixteenth century, the Mediterranean was still the centre of culture and traffic for all Christendom” (1881).¹⁵⁴ Outside the western European sphere, cultural center is usually marked by a quaint, sentimental, and nonthreatening folk connotation, as when “the ancient Armenian monastery of St. Maghar” is described as “an historic culture centre of this long-scattered people” (1897).¹⁵⁵

It is only at the end of the nineteenth century that the term cultural center devolves to primordial human settlements and primitive material culture. In American anthropology, a cultural center or culture center is a geographic point of origin for a particular distinctive material cultural practice that becomes diffused over a region or “culture area.” Such a cultural center can be a prehistoric campsite, a settlement, a river valley, an island, or some wider region.¹⁵⁶ In 1891, Franz Boas, a chief proponent of so-called diffusion theory, asserts that the spread of particular Native American folk tale patterns over a sizeable geographic area presumes an origin “from a single centre” or “a certain cultural centre.”¹⁵⁷ Often such centers are hypothetical, with little or no archeological evidence to position them, yet they are assumed to

have once existed. In 1896, Otis Tufton Mason holds that “the environment itself is capable of unlimited education and improvement” of humanity over time, for “the environment of human arts is the combined action of the sun, the moon, and the earth, especially at any given place or in any culture center.”¹⁵⁸ The kinds of wood, stone, and animal and vegetable life, as well as the climate of a given place, interact to produce distinctive tools, weapons, agriculture, cooking, language, and folk tales, i.e. the material culture and social practices characteristic of a particular group of humans. Mason’s account is curiously accompanied by a palpable anxiety that culture in the modern metropolis is not universal but polarized. In Washington, D.C., where “the great minds of the world [are] in touch with all culture,” Mason warns that “all are not in the currents of culture.” He laments, “Here in the nation’s capital you may find men and women who cannot read or perform any skilled labor whatever, who are the survivals of long past ages of ignorance and inexperience, who are only in the eddies of culture.”¹⁵⁹ Thus the anthropological projection of cultural centers into the past is accompanied by an anxiety that the most ostensibly developed cultural centers in modernity are dysfunctional. In the 1910s, Boas protégé Clark Wissler employs “cultural centers,” or more commonly “culture centers, from which culture influences seem to radiate,” to explain diffusion over surrounding “culture areas.”¹⁶⁰ Wissler observes that “the tribes in a culture center have only cultural unity,” i.e., shared material cultural practices, “for they are scarcely ever united politically or speak mutually intelligible languages,” or are related by kinship.¹⁶¹ What is crucial to Wissler’s conception is the accidental if not paradoxically natural character of the culture center.¹⁶²

The term cultural center is prevalent in the early twentieth century Zionist movement,¹⁶³ with political Zionists demanding an autonomous nation-state and cultural Zionists seeking only to establish a cultural center for world Jewry through a more modest token presence. Crucial to this

effort would be certain “colonizing and educational enterprises in Palestine” including the founding of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem, “creating in Palestine a national culture centre which shall radiate its influence upon Jews in all lands.”¹⁶⁴ The debate grew particularly intense in the waning days of World War I as the British Army closed in, pledging to help “revive the Jewish Palestine of old, and to allow the Jews to realize their dreams of Zion in their homeland” by establishing “the spiritual and cultural centre for Jewry throughout the world.”¹⁶⁵ In the aftermath, the debate was between “commonwealth versus cultural center,” with political Zionists arguing, “A living culture-creating and culture-radiating Israel cannot arise and endure without permanent economic foundations,” i.e., the apparatus of a nation-state.¹⁶⁶ If a scholarly institution in Jerusalem could serve as a cultural center for the diaspora, institutions elsewhere might function likewise. In 1923 the Rothschild home in Frankfurt was purchased to house a collection amassed by the Jewish Society of Antiquities; that same year Elkan Nathan Adler donated his massive personal collection of ancient and medieval Judaica to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Both were hailed as international Jewish cultural centers.¹⁶⁷ What Zionism contributed to the concept of the cultural center is the notion that one could be recreated in a particular traditional place or intentionally established almost anywhere to create significance in a new place, especially to safeguard a particular cultural identity.

In 1907, Charles Mulford Robinson appropriated the term cultural center for city planning to designate a grouping of monumental arts and educational buildings in an urban park. The term was placed in direct opposition to civic center,¹⁶⁸ a term hitherto designating any grouping of public buildings whatsoever but thereafter tending to refer more narrowly to a group of administrative, governmental, and judicial buildings situated in a downtown plaza. Although the presence of one or more arts or educational institutions could justify the status of an entire city as

a cultural center, Robinson's use of the term emphasizes their intentional grouping to form a campus for personal enrichment. Proponents of grouping had always allowed the possibility of more than one monumental building group in larger cities,¹⁶⁹ and segregating institutions along the lines of administrative versus arts and educational functions had been implied early on, by Robinson among others.¹⁷⁰ However, by the close of the 1910s few cities had one monumental grouping underway, let alone two; thus there was no immediate dilemma as to what to call a secondary grouping. In the meantime several terms vied with cultural center for nomination, including arts center, educational center, social center, and center of arts and letters.¹⁷¹

Before the mid-century, cultural center enjoyed use in Los Angeles where Robinson had first applied the term;¹⁷² more generally it was used regionally, particularly in western cities such as Chicago and the southwest,¹⁷³ often in connection with opera and usually in competition with eastern cultural enclaves like Boston, Philadelphia and New York.¹⁷⁴ Cleveland and Detroit belatedly accepted Robinson's dichotomy in their development of downtown administrative civic centers and arts and educational cultural centers,¹⁷⁵ but a new inflection of cultural center in connection with the performing arts was already emerging, in an unrealized proposal for Pittsburgh.¹⁷⁶ This second generation urban cultural center culminated spectacularly in Lincoln Center in New York¹⁷⁷ and the National Civic Auditorium and Cultural Center, later the National Cultural Center, in Washington, D.C.,¹⁷⁸ finally named the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.¹⁷⁹ The two projects sparked a "cultural explosion"¹⁸⁰ of performance facilities across the U.S.¹⁸¹

By the mid-1960s, the philanthropic Twentieth Century Fund remarked,

In trying to determine just how many such centers there are in the United States and to find out something about their mode of operation, we encountered

contradictory reports, mostly undocumented, some hailing the cultural center as a prime instrument of the expansion of artistic performance, and others implying that many of these centers are little more than a sham – designed more often than not for conventions, sports activities, meetings, dances and trade shows.¹⁸²

In one notorious case, arts groups were dumped after their crucial role in fundraising was completed and a concert hall was scrapped, but a convention center and civic auditorium was retained, with the declaration by proponents that “cultural facilities do not operate at a profit.”¹⁸³ By 1983, the National Endowment for the Arts estimated 2,000 cultural centers of various configurations in the U.S., prompting *The New York Times* to ask rhetorically, “Have Cultural Centers Benefited the Arts?”¹⁸⁴ A common criticism was that too many had been designed and built without adequate consideration of the arts functions and resident groups they were to house. More recently cultural center has come to refer to campus facilities for African American, Asian, and Latino ethnic studies programs,¹⁸⁵ and neighborhood and community ethnic cultural centers such as the Jewish Cultural Center of Chatanooga,¹⁸⁶ the Akwesasne Community Cultural Center on the Mohawk reservation straddling upstate New York and Ontario, Canada,¹⁸⁷ or the Pacific Cultural Center & Ashtanga Yoga Institute in Santa Cruz, California.¹⁸⁸

The array of meanings and purposes to which the term cultural center has been and continues to be put renders it somewhat difficult to focus on the urban configuration of monumental arts and educational groupings that was the aspiration of city planners through the Cold War era, the typology that particularly raised the ire of Jane Jacobs for subtracting culture from the urban environment rather than diffusing culture over it.¹⁸⁹ But the aspirations of those planners cannot be properly understood without a disambiguation of the past half century of use, or overuse, of the term. What most particular meanings of cultural center hinge upon is an understanding of the

word culture itself, which Raymond Williams has called “one or two of the most complicated words in the English language.”¹⁹⁰ Remarkably, De Luc’s image of cultural centers spreading like archipelagos through the wilderness still serves as a useful model two centuries later; a century ago, cultural centers began a second wave, spreading like archipelagos through the built environment, a process that is still unfolding. If there is a basic distinction between the nineteenth century cultural center and the twentieth, it is this: in the former, the task of the cultural center was to colonize and conquer the premodern wilderness; in the latter, to colonize and conquer urban modernity itself.

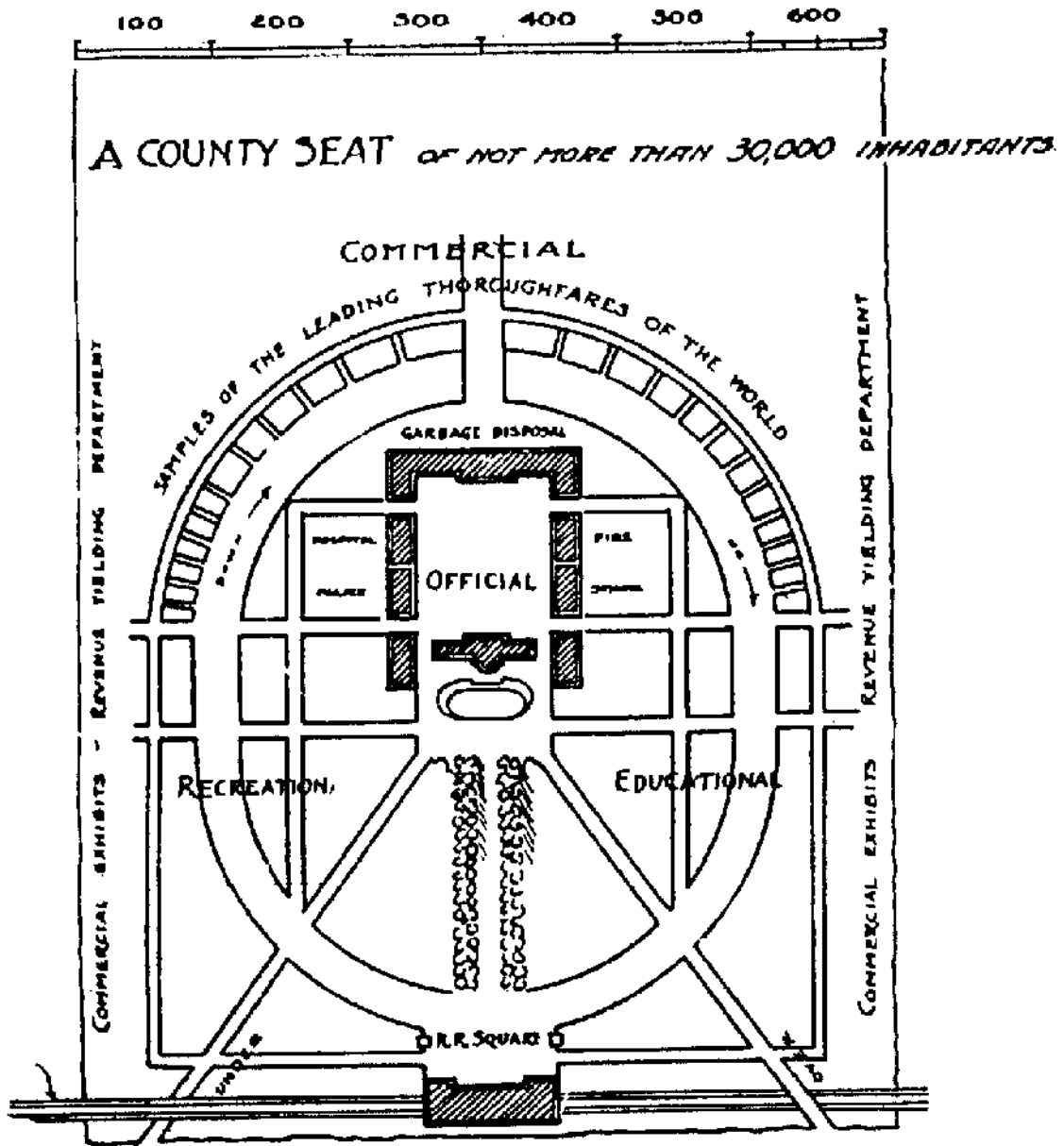


Figure 1-1: From Charles Mulford Robinson, "The Plan of the Model City," *The Criterion*, no. 3 (March 1902), pp. 34-38.

2 Pittsburgh: The Attainment of a Civic Center

The architectural and urban planning development of Pittsburgh is marked by two key nineteenth century buildings: Henry Hobson Richardson's Allegheny County Courthouse and in the 1880s, and Longfellow, Alden and Harlow's Carnegie Institute in the 1890s. The former, a publicly funded Romanesque fortress contiguous with the downtown business and financial districts, marked what might have become the administrative center of the city, if private commercial land use had not all but foreclosed any possibility for expansion. The latter, a privately-bankrolled picturesque palace located in the city's largest lush urban park near its elite residential district, grounded its emerging arts and educational center. The Courthouse and Institute, doppelgangers of one another, shared the same pretensions of self-contained institutional completeness and roots in the architecturally picturesque tradition. For a time, each of the two buildings had dominated their respective landscapes physically and symbolically: one upholding law and order, the other sheltering cultivation and learning. Richardson's elegant yet unmistakably brutal statement of municipal authority created an aura of Gibraltar-like indestructibility that was particularly influential across what once had been America's Wild West, but so complete was this illusion that practical expansion of the Pittsburgh structure was unthinkable. In the early twentieth century, authorities in desperate need of additional office space announced plans to add two or more stories to the courthouse, prompting an outcry from local and national architects who demanded that Richardson's masterpiece remain inviolate. The local chapter of the AIA quickly

countered with a plan for an adjacent grouping of public buildings that would siphon off expanded municipal functions into independent, complimentary buildings, leaving at least the external proportions of Richardson's internationally recognized masterpiece intact.¹⁹¹

Newspapers called this a "Group Plan" in deference to the proposed Cleveland civic center development and its chief administrator, Frederick C. Howe, who came to Pittsburgh to speak on behalf of the Pittsburgh chapter's plan in 1907.¹⁹² But the courthouse, already surrounded by commercial structures, was landlocked, ultimately unable either to expand from its rusticated confines or spawn a contiguous group of sister buildings in a planned and orderly way.

Meanwhile, Andrew Carnegie, fresh from his visit to the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, was inspired to even more grandiose plans in Oakland. No sooner was his Institute completed and dedicated in 1895 than plans were announced to expand the facility to increase its museum space and add a library school to its main public library and auditorium facilities completed in 1907. Unlike Richardson's composition imprisoned within its rough-hewn blocks of masonry, Carnegie's improvisation had immediately burst from its shell, undergoing a rather hasty and haphazard expansion.¹⁹³ At the same time, the plentiful undeveloped land and park around the Institute soon invited a baseball grounds, a botanical conservatory, a soldier's memorial, two school campuses and several clubs and churches.¹⁹⁴

Early on, the proposed downtown administrative grouping and the arts and educational facilities rising in Oakland were identified as a civic center and cultural center respectively, a protocol eventually adopted for similar formations emerging in cities like Cleveland and Detroit. However, Pittsburgh's downtown grouping never materialized, and the emphatic pronouncement of Oakland as the most fully realized civic center in America branded the neighborhood indelibly with that term. Over the next few decades, Oakland was described far more often as a civic

center than a cultural center, depending upon the aspect or social function under consideration, or perhaps simply depending upon whichever term sounded correct to the speaker. This ambivalence in local language practice seemed momentary resolved only in the postwar period, when planners sought to create a distinct performing arts cultural center in the Lower Hill district near downtown, in turn reinforcing Oakland's identification with the erstwhile term civic center. In the decades that followed, Oakland's greatest expansion, as with its counterpart groupings in Cleveland and Detroit, was mostly due to G.I. Bill-fueled university campus and geriatric medical facility expansion, although the appellations civic center and cultural center both lingered as somewhat quaint conceits. In any case it would be difficult to argue that the physical development of Oakland in its formative period was materially influenced by the preponderance of one or the other term in discussions of its planning at any given time. Rather, it seems more the case that Oakland was an unplanned emergence that at various moments was recognized as a civic center or a cultural center in one or another of its aspects. Hence it is far more urgent to understand the aspirations of planners and other commentators as they described Oakland in one or another of its aspects as a civic center, a cultural center, or both, and how this local conversation shaped and was shaped by the national discourse.

2.1 A Strategic Cultural Center, a Real Civic Center

In his 1909 article "Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh," Charles Mulford Robinson describes the downtown AIA proposal for an administrative grouping and the burgeoning Oakland development as a "civic center" and an "educational and cultural center" respectively.¹⁹⁵ The stark, almost apocalyptic contrasts of his portrait of the city and the

generally critical tone that pervade his remarks subside only somewhat when discussing these glimmers of possibility.¹⁹⁶ Robinson describes the downtown proposal as “a civic center plan that is not merely spectacular,” but would improve traffic in the business district. “It would substitute for a mean and shabby portion of the city an ensemble beautiful and effective,” setting the stage for the next target for civic improvement, “the poor tenement section.”¹⁹⁷ In Oakland, Robinson reports that “a very interesting educational and cultural center is developing at the portal of the East End,” although its “consciously directed growth” as yet lacks “professional direction” and a definite plan. Among the buildings, Robinson includes “the Carnegie Institute as the center of the scheme” on the “yet to be formally developed” entrance to Schenley Park, adjacent to the campus of Carnegie’s technical school; the nearby Schenley Hotel and Allegheny Soldier’s Memorial; property set aside for the new campus of the University of Pittsburgh and Schenley Farms subdivision, “a large tract, held at high prices for expensive development, and capable of a picturesque and beautiful treatment”; the University Club and Pittsburgh Athletic Club; and a plethora of places of worship including the Christ Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Paul’s Cathedral, and Rodef Shalom synagogue.¹⁹⁸ Although Robinson finds the educational and cultural assets chosen to be located in Oakland too remote from downtown and therefore most of the city’s population to be ideal, he concurs that “the site of this center is strategic from the civic improvement standpoint,” lying as it does on the main crosstown thoroughfares and their intersection with Grant Boulevard.¹⁹⁹ This is followed by a brief reverie as Robinson suggests a lush parkway through the flats along the Monongahela River, where Forbes and Fifth Avenue run in tandem between downtown and Oakland, “to join the two great improvement projects” into a “single scheme.” He effuses,

the splendid avenue would be democratic in its benefit, since the trolleys would have their place in it. The wage earner would go bowling home or to business as well encompassed as the motorist. The social benefit of that, and of the ceaseless entertainment which the traffic of the gay avenue would offer, is to be esteemed.

There is no park so popular as a great street.²⁰⁰

Thus the identification and reinforcement of two centers in Pittsburgh sets the stage for an infilling of civic improvement and beautification.

“Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh” marks the first published appearance of the term cultural center in American planning discourse, as well as its first meaningfully pairing with the term civic center. Robinson first uses this pairing to describe two different public building groups in his “suggestions” for Los Angeles prepared in 1907.²⁰¹ His proposals include provision for a downtown “civic center” or “administrative center” consisting of a city hall, county courthouse and federal building [Figure 2-1],²⁰² and a separate “acropolis” of literature, music, and religion in the city’s small central park. The latter is to consist of a converted Normal School housing a “public library and art gallery” to be neighbored by an auditorium for performances and lectures, a club and cathedral and parochial school, and a protestant church [Figure 2-2]. As Robinson describes, “With art and literature on the hill, the Auditorium at its foot stands for music, and the churches for the spiritual, and so there is created here a cultural center of which any city might well be proud.”²⁰³ In Los Angeles, Robinson uses the terms civic center and administrative center synonymously, whereas in Pittsburgh only the term civic center, referring to the governmental and judicial institutions grouped downtown, is used. Also, in Los Angeles, the park grouping is referred to as a cultural center, whereas Oakland, significantly, is described as an educational and cultural center, presumably owing to the inclusion of schools. Also, as

noted above, Oakland is too far from downtown for Robinson's taste, whereas in Los Angeles the two centers are mere blocks apart. Despite these minor discrepancies, the general characteristics of the dichotomy of civic center and cultural center, later adopted by cities like Cleveland and Detroit, are present in Robinson's descriptions of Pittsburgh and Los Angeles.²⁰⁴

However, Robinson's dichotomy of civic center and cultural center was not immediately adopted by American city planners, presumably because the term civic center itself was still novel and in its broadest sense covered all groupings of public buildings that could include both administrative and educational and cultural institutions. Further, most cities as yet had only one such grouping of public buildings answering to such a description either on the ground or on the drawing boards. Certainly in Pittsburgh, Robinson's description of Oakland as an educational and cultural center was not immediately and never widely embraced. Undoubtedly this had much to do with the fact that "Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh," apart from its discussion of downtown and Oakland, is written in an overall rancorous tone uncharacteristic of Robinson, who was usually a more relentlessly optimistic proponent of civic embellishment, as well as the article's context within the antagonistic "Pittsburgh Survey," an exhaustively researched, devastating social critique of the corporate exploitation of environmental and human resources in Pittsburgh.²⁰⁵ Whether local sensibilities were sufficiently offended to snub Robinson's description of Oakland, the term cultural center as distinct from a civic center was unlikely to find practical utility in Pittsburgh unless and until a downtown grouping materialized.²⁰⁶

In the meantime, a highly authoritative source indelibly attached the term civic center to Oakland. In "The Building of Pittsburgh," an issue-length treatment of the city for the *Architectural Record* in 1911, Montgomery Schuyler surveys much the same landscape as had Robinson two years earlier, but offering a markedly different appraisal.²⁰⁷ Schuyler considers the

same AIA plan for Pittsburgh's downtown, still pending implementation, noting the dire need for architectural embellishment and traffic alleviation in the downtown business district.²⁰⁸ Although this part of the city was still clearly lacking a grouping of public buildings, Schuyler declares of Pittsburgh that "it cannot be said to be without a civic centre in a larger sense," presumably more broadly defined as any grouping of public or semi-public buildings. Oakland with its philanthropic and educational institutions, Schuyler declares, is "a real civic center," albeit of a different nature than the administrative one proposed for downtown; indeed for Schuyler Oakland is the most fully realized civic center in America. Forbes Field, to which Schuyler favors the term "stadium" over "baseball ground, since it often hosts classical "foot races," is "comparable with the Flavian Amphitheatre in everything but the solidity of its construction."²⁰⁹ Schuyler finds Carnegie's palace of culture, expanded in 1907, a piecemeal construction lacking perhaps in proper "prevision," but the Pittsburgh Athletic Association, "for the moment perhaps, the architectural lion of Pittsburgh," more than makes up for it.²¹⁰ Henry Hornbostel's 1907 Soldier's Memorial, patterned after the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, makes ingenious modern use of its oriental model as a vast auditorium. Schuyler remarks that "if it had been brought to light by Stuart and Revett in the eighteenth century," the motif would have by now become as hackneyed and vulgarized by modern architects as the Parthenon.²¹¹ But despite these few misgivings about Oakland's present buildings and some other elements still to be desired, Schuyler declares that "already the architectural excellence and the architectural impressiveness of this real civic centre suffice to strike the stranger with admiring astonishment, and to foster a just pride on the part of the Pittsburgher."²¹² To underscore his rhetorical point, Schuyler presents a panoramic photograph of the existing neighborhood along with other photographs, allowing the reader to mentally amass a complete civic center from documentary fragments

[Figure 2-3]. Schuyler remarks, “Thanks to the lucky union in all these things, the panorama [...] comprises and combines the social and civic functions which are elsewhere scattered.”²¹³ His exclusive reliance on photographic material (except for a plan of Hornbostel’s Carnegie campus reproduced elsewhere in the issue)²¹⁴ further implies that the myriad lavish civic center plans existing only as drawings and brochures in other cities are beneath discussion. Schuyler confidently declares, “There is no other ‘civic centre’ in this country to be compared with this.”²¹⁵

It is unclear what motivated Schuyler to undertake such a monumental task as writing nearly the entirety of the “Pittsburgh Number” in his semi-retirement, after an already long and illustrious career in architectural criticism. The 280-page article must have required a lengthy visit or visits to the city, extensive research of its history, a thorough acquaintance with its topographical features, neighborhoods, and key buildings, as well as the writing of the text and the compilation of dozens of photographs, most if not all no doubt commissioned by the magazine. The project in its entirety must have consumed several months at a minimum. Further, presumably all of this activity would have taken place in the immediate aftermath of the Pittsburgh Survey, while corporate leaders and their defenders in the press were still reeling from its stinging critique. Schuyler’s issue-length article, therefore, can only be seen as a rebuttal of the Survey in which Robinson had participated. In any case Schuyler’s portrayal of Pittsburgh scrupulously avoids the social strife, poverty, and dilapidation upon which the Survey obsesses. Schuyler’s history encompasses the natural wonders of its geological topography and looks to a bright industrial future. His tunnel vision of the architectural city views only an affluent corridor running from the congested but thriving downtown business district through the gateway of Oakland to the city’s elite residential East End; working class neighborhoods and their plight

simply do not exist. Schuyler's Pittsburgh, therefore, presupposes a certain kind of Pittsburgher who does not labor in a factory or steel mill, but toils in the downtown financial district, takes the trolley through Oakland, and returns home to a mansion or at least an affluent home in Shadyside.

This presupposition permeates Schuyler's description of Oakland as entirely experiential. As Schuyler observes, the migration of the social center of the city to the East End has left the venerable downtown "luncheon clubs" deserted at night. Oakland, Schuyler predicts,

will be the heart of stageland as well as of clubland, for already there is the concert hall of the Carnegie Institute and the great hall of the Soldiers' Memorial which serves on occasion as a concert hall, and the erection is already determined of the chief theatre of the city erected as a pendant to the Athletic Club as the other wing of the group of which the Soldiers' Memorial is the centre. Even now one finds it feasible, between dinner time and train time, to attend vespers in the cathedral, to listen to an organ recital in the hall of the Institute by electric light, and to witness in the Stadium an interscholastic competition in track athletics!²¹⁶

This wistful depiction of an evening's relaxation upon returning from a day of cutthroat moneymaking downtown views the pastimes of the civic center as entirely recreational. Schuyler's real civic center is not the dramatic, heart-pounding scene of civilizational transformation envisioned by Warner or Maltbie. As Schuyler describes Oakland, "This group of monumental or institutional buildings is the imposing entrance to residential Pittsburgh, which stretches eastward from Bellefield to East Liberty and beyond."²¹⁷ It is a gateway, a threshold, an anteroom of contemplation and reflection on one's way home. What is absent in Schuyler's conception of a civic center is the kind of density of public buildings that earlier proponents

seem to value, a fact that is disguised by the photographic panorama but is all too clear from plat maps of the period showing a wide dispersal of institutions [Figure 2-4]. More importantly, Schuyler's conception of Oakland as a civic center does not rest on the civic functions the district and its institutions demonstrably made possible. Schuyler considers the Allegheny Soldiers' Memorial only in its aspect as a public assembly and musical recital venue, not as a Civil War memorial; he makes no mention of Schenley Park as the preferred site for political speeches and official visits from U.S. Presidents since its inception in the 1890s, nor of the pageantry of its parades leading from the memorial into the park that were a frequent occurrence on major summer holidays.

Schuyler was a decided outsider to the discourse on the grouping of public buildings and on civic embellishment and city planning as it unfolded in the last decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries. Nearly two decades earlier Schuyler had warned of the folly of attempting to replicate the fairylike stagecraft of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in real American cities.²¹⁸ Later, Schuyler praised the efforts of the MacMillan commission to rescue L'Enfant's plan for Washington, D.C., even allowing that its grouping of public buildings along the National Mall and around the Executive Mansion, while a violation of L'Enfant's vision of autonomous public buildings in separate quarters, was necessary and possibly an improvement over the original scheme. In 1912, sounding a similar note to Patrick Abercrombie, Schuyler remarks, "The 'civic centre' is the latest fad of American municipalities," a clumsy remedial attempt to reconcile the "individualistic" tendencies inherent in the English and Dutch influence in American town planning with "the communal idea" that Schuyler sees as organic and intrinsic to Mexican town plans.²¹⁹ But apart from these isolated interventions, Schuyler for the most part remained contentedly on the sidelines as others adumbrated an ideology around the grouping of

public buildings in what came to be called the civic center movement.²²⁰ Schuyler's abrupt and admonishing declaration of Pittsburgh's Oakland as "a real civic center," although no doubt sincere, comes near the end of a long and illustrious career in architectural criticism preoccupied mostly with individual structures. His belatedly offering of a somewhat idiosyncratic interpretation of the civic center seems to have had little resonance outside of Pittsburgh. In any case the authority and influence of Schuyler and the *Architectural Record* in Pittsburgh in cementing the term civic center with Oakland proved great indeed.

2.2 The Gospel of the World's Fair

It only became possible to describe Oakland either as a civic center or a cultural center at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century thanks to the neighborhood's previous two decades of development, which had brought its emerging arts and educational institutions into existence. What both Robinson and Schuyler each had discovered and recognized in Oakland, according to concepts and terms still relatively new to American city planners, certainly was not a civic center or cultural center planned as such, but an emergent urban district of Pittsburgh that had been under intensive development since the 1880s, and was even then undergoing an important transition from its first phase of development to its second. The first phase of that development had been overseen by the philanthropic steel magnate Andrew Carnegie and the city's dynamic director of public works, Edward Manning Bigelow; the second largely by Cleveland real estate developer Frank F. Nicola and New York Beaux-Arts trained architect Henry Hornbostel.²²¹

In 1889, Andrew Carnegie wrote two articles for the *North American Review* that came to be known collectively as his *Gospel of Wealth*.²²² In them, he urges his colleagues among the most

privileged classes to bestow parks, art galleries, museums, libraries, schools, scientific laboratories, hospitals, lecture and music halls, and bathing and swimming facilities upon the communities in which they had made their fortunes.²²³ Even the modestly wealthy, Carnegie intones, should be unabashed in using their “surplus means” to embellish an already existing park scheme with “a truly artistic arch, statue, or fountain.”²²⁴ Of Carnegie’s list of eligible donations there is nothing particularly original and indeed as he notes had all been pioneered by others. They are the usual amenities that capitalism, in its workaday routine, had somehow neglected to produce in the urban environment of its own accord, but in its own mysterious way had endowed the privileged few of society with the opportunity and means to contribute through private discretion.²²⁵ What is novel in Carnegie’s conception of philanthropy is his stipulation that the donor be alive and able to personally administer his gifts, rather than they be made posthumously, and that the local municipality undertake the fiduciary responsibility of their perpetual maintenance.²²⁶ In Carnegie’s articles there is no particular recommendation that such amenities be grouped together, but his abundant reverence for “Baltimore’s Enoch Pratt” suggests that Mt. Vernon Place, with its aggregation of learned institutions, likely figured as a model.²²⁷ Carnegie was far from promising to bestow all of gifts he enumerates in his *Gospel* on Pittsburgh, the city that had made him one of the wealthiest men on earth, least of all by himself, but being far and away the wealthiest individual in Pittsburgh there was little to stand in his way if he chose to do so. As early as 1881, Carnegie was on record as offering a quarter of a million dollars to build a central library building in Pittsburgh, and in 1886 the city had successfully petitioned the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to augment their taxing authority to guarantee the requisite revenues for upkeep.²²⁸ The only remaining obstacle was the acquisition of land.

In the fall of 1889, as Carnegie readied his second *Gospel* for publication, Edward Manning Bigelow was on a steamer heading across the Atlantic to secure land, as it turns out, that would enable the building Carnegie's suggested philanthropies in a single place. Wedged between two rivers meeting at its congested downtown, Pittsburgh's contiguous development was fast heading eastward towards undeveloped farmland controlled by an heiress living in London. Bigelow, connected through marriage to the machine politics of the city, had risen from civil engineer to become the ambitious director of public works in 1888.²²⁹ Bigelow first and foremost sought to create parks, "public breathing spots," amid the otherwise unrelieved congestion and filth of Pittsburgh, to provide an ameliorating alternative to the harsh and destructive diversion of working class saloons.²³⁰ Inspired by the ideals of Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted, Bigelow argued that the city's industrial working population would be improved through the scientific and aesthetic planning of parks.²³¹ As Bigelow set sail, Carnegie could have been composing the very plea with which Bigelow might beseech the heiress,

In the very front rank of benefactions public parks should be placed [...]. No more useful or more beautiful monument can be left by any man than a park for the city in which he was born or in which he has long lived, nor can the community pay a more graceful tribute to the citizen who presents it than to give his name to the gift.²³²

The woman capable of leaving such a park to Pittsburgh had been born in Louisville, Kentucky in 1827, and being asthmatic, spent most of her time in boarding schools in the east, away from the already smoky industrial city.²³³ At the age of 14, Mary Elizabeth Croghan impetuously eloped from a Long Island boarding school with Edward Wyndham Schenley, a British captain three times her age, a family scandal that more importantly put into question the

legal control of thousands of acres of land around Pittsburgh for the next several decades. Her heartbroken and vengeful father immediately prevailed upon the Pennsylvania legislature to assign her future holdings to a relative, thus setting the stage for years of legal wrangling over the land.²³⁴ Except for one brief visit of reconciliation shortly before her father's death that did nothing to improve her legal standing, Mary Schenley remained in London and the south of France for the remainder of her life, only obtaining full legal and financial control of her inheritance in 1880.²³⁵ Pittsburgh authorities coveted her land for park and other uses even while it remained in trust, at one point scheming to usurp it through condemnation.²³⁶ After the land was hers she was excoriated in the labor press as an absentee landlord who enjoyed life as an idle widow in London and the south of France as her Pittsburgh tenants, particularly in downtown slums, suffered deplorable living conditions.²³⁷ Although Schenley remained tied to Pittsburgh as the source of her wealth and lifestyle, relations between the heiress and her estranged homeland had been contentious. On the surface, therefore, there was little reason to hope for success in London as Bigelow made a last-ditch effort to prevent the widow's East End holdings from being parceled off for private development. Nonetheless, perhaps employing something like Carnegie's lofty rhetoric, Bigelow prevailed upon the sentiment of Mrs. Schenley to deed 300 acres to the city for a park, with the option to purchase more land at favorable rates as desired.²³⁸ In his department's first annual report, Bigelow effusively praised "the imperial gift made to the people by Mrs. Schenley" and, echoing the language of Carnegie's *Gospel*, proclaimed that her name would forever be "enshrined in the hearts of the people" as well as permanently affixed to her donation.²³⁹

In anticipation, Carnegie enlarged his budget for a central library to a full million dollars.²⁴⁰ In the spring of 1890, Carnegie led a group of his newly-formed Carnegie Library board of

trustees, along with the city's mayor and several select councilmen, up Herron Hill to a view overlooking Oakland to the south. Library board president James B. Scott disclaimed that in the years to come, "This is where the center of the population of the city will be," with Carnegie adding, "That is where you should have your library."²⁴¹ The following year, the city purchased another 100 acres from Schenley contiguous with the donated parkland, and another 19 acres across Junction Hollow specifically for Carnegie's main library, for a total of \$200,000. With a few contiguous parcels already owned by the city or subsequently acquired by Bigelow, Schenley Park had now reached its full extent.²⁴² Carnegie's building, fronting on Forbes Avenue, would sit astride a promontory hemmed in by the hollow on one side and on the other by St. Pierre's Ravine, a crevice reaching a depth of 60 feet as it fed into the hollow. One slight difficulty was that Carnegie's proposed building would obstruct Bellefield Street, the most direct and logical connection between Forbes Avenue and the wooden trestle over the hollow that provided entrance to the park. Although a formal plan for the development of Oakland was never devised, the establishment of the Schenley Park and Carnegie Institute, midway between downtown and the mansions of the East End, set the tone for the neighborhood's subsequent development. Not the least was the meticulous landscaping of Schenley Park itself, which consumed most of the remainder of the decade.²⁴³

Beyond the park and its amenities the Carnegie Institute established a standard for grandiose monumental architecture in the district [Figure 2-5]. The design of Longfellow, Alden and Harlow, modeled on the self-contained library-museum complexes that served as community centers in provincial European small towns, would be crowned by two Richardsonian campaniles along Forbes Avenue.²⁴⁴ As ground broke on the Institute, Carnegie and Bigelow took a carriage ride through the virgin landscape of Schenley Park on which they cajoled Carnegie's boyhood

chum and Carnegie Steel executive Henry C. Phipps into promising to build his largest conservatory across the trestle from the Institute.²⁴⁵ Foundations for the Institute were completed in 1892, the same year one of the most bitter and damaging labor confrontations in American history erupted at Carnegie's recently-acquired Homestead steelworks, two miles west of Pittsburgh. Summering in Scotland, Carnegie delegated authority to quell the unrest to his lieutenant on the ground, Henry Clay Frick. An assault by Pinkertons from a river barge was routed by strikers, and the standoff left ten dead and sixty wounded. Frick called upon the governor to send 8000 state militiamen to Homestead to restore order, and barely survived an assassination attempt by an anarchist unaffiliated with the strife.²⁴⁶ While the strike was soon broken and production of the works resumed, Carnegie's long-term and carefully crafted reputation as a humanitarian suffered severe and irreparable damage. Industrial unions in the region demanded that the city of Pittsburgh return Carnegie's \$1,000,000 library gift.²⁴⁷ Carnegie cabled from Naples,²⁴⁸ "It was indeed pitiable if the wage earners for whom the gifts were chiefly intended should be permanently prejudiced against them by any shortcomings of the donor, however grievous." Asking to be regarded as a "fellow-workmen," Carnegie pleaded "that fair play requires [the unions] to separate the donor and his many faults from libraries and music halls and art gallery, which have none."²⁴⁹

When the enormous glass hothouse of the Phipps Conservatory by Lord & Burnham, when completed in 1893, sheltered some of the plants from Horticulture Hall at the World's Columbian Exposition.²⁵⁰ During the six months of the World's Fair, the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce had conducted groups by locomotive to Chicago to see the "White City."²⁵¹ As Henry Van Brunt noted in *Engineering Magazine*, the exposition was more than "a vast international display of works of industry and art." Its ensemble architecture expressed "the

highest civilization of our times,” suggesting an idyllic urban harmony and “awakening the public mind to the consciousness of architecture as a fine art.”²⁵² Carnegie himself returned from the World’s Fair with greater ambitions for his Institute, proclaiming the World’s Fair to have been “the greatest combination of architectural beauty which man has ever created.” For Carnegie, the White City was an “unrivalled mass of beautiful structures which seemed rather to have dropped from above,” a veritable New Jerusalem. After every work of art and marvel of technology “has faded away,” Carnegie predicted, “the general effect of the purely artistic triumph attained by the buildings will remain vividly defined in the memory and recorded there unmixed with baser matter.” For Carnegie as for many architects and city planners, “the frame was finer than the picture, and more valuable.”²⁵³ When the Institute was dedicated in 1895, Carnegie announced an elaborate expansion to include a new department of fine arts and natural history museum, “which the City is not to maintain.” Carnegie declared, “These are to be regarded as wise extravagances, for which public revenues should not be given.”²⁵⁴ The budget for the expansion would eventually reach \$5,000,000.²⁵⁵ The completed addition, with a new dinosaur hall, plaster cast collection, and murals allegorizing Pittsburgh industry by John White Alexander, would exemplify Carnegie’s *Gospel of Wealth*, now imbued with a perpetual World’s Fair ethos.²⁵⁶

That same year, Bigelow saw a statue of himself set magisterially in front of the Phipps Conservatory, one of only a few living Americans to receive such an honor in the nineteenth century.²⁵⁷ In December of 1896, the Schenley Park Casino [Figure 2-6], a skating rink caddy-corner from the Institute barely 19 months old, burned down when ammonia tanks for cooling the ice exploded in the early morning, taking the wooden trestle over Junction Hollow with it. Regarded as “the finest of its kind in the world,” the \$540,000 multipurpose facility, which in the

summer months served as a 5,400-seat theater for drama and opera and featured a rooftop garden, had been insured for less than \$50,000.²⁵⁸ Never rebuilt, Pittsburgh composer and sheet music publisher J. Markus H. Winteringer issued a waltz in honor of its memory in 1902.²⁵⁹ To reestablish the connection between the park entrance and Forbes interrupted first by the Institute and second by the trestle's destruction, Bigelow ordered engineer Henry B. Rust to create a steel bridge over Junction Hollow and a stone arch bridge over St. Pierre's Ravine in 1897.²⁶⁰ The following year, Ohio developer Francis F. Nicola engaged architects Rutan and Russell to construct the Schenley Hotel at the foot of this new park entrance on Forbes.²⁶¹ At the turn of the century, 73,000 cubic yards of "earth, shale and rock" described as "ugly yellow clay," generated by terracing around the Phipps Conservatory, was dumped into St. Pierre Ravine, the first major deposit. Although the stated intention was not to completely fill the ravine but only to soften the grade from Forbes to the bridge abutments, more deposits were expected once the addition to the Institute began.²⁶² At the same time Carnegie was offering the city \$2,000,000 for the founding of a vocational school on 32 flat acres across the hollow from his Institute, to be administrated by his library trustees.²⁶³

During these years of intense building activity in Oakland, Carnegie was developing a close acquaintance with his propertied benefactor, frequently calling upon Mrs. Schenley in London. Carnegie, himself increasingly spending more time at his home in New York City and Skibo Castle in Scotland, may have bonded with his fellow Pittsburgh expatriate over their shared popular vilification there. Carnegie invited Schenley to his Institute's dedication in 1895, but doctors ordered her to a seaside resort instead for health reasons.²⁶⁴ In 1897, Schenley sent congratulations to Carnegie on the birth of his daughter, and the following year Schenley's last will and testament named Carnegie, her Pittsburgh lawyer John W. Herron, and Denny Brereton

executors of her estate.²⁶⁵ When she passed away in her London home in November 1903, Carnegie cabled from New York, “Pittsburgh’s queenly benefactress passed away suddenly yesterday in London. If ever there was a true and loyal Pittsburgher to the end, Mrs. Schenley was one,” something he clearly wanted to believe. “She was a queen among women, tender and true,” Pittsburgh Mayor William B. Hays affirmed. “Her benefactions to Pittsburgh have endeared her to all our citizens, and will make her memory as lasting as the city itself.”²⁶⁶ The following January, her American estate, valued at \$48,000,000, was placed in the hands of the three estate trustees, each to be paid an annual fee of \$5000 for their services.²⁶⁷

In April 1905, 103 acres of Schenley land in Oakland were sold to Frank Nicola’s Schenley Farms Company, which from this point forward effectively controlled further real estate development in Oakland. In a portion of this land Nicola planned a major development of small residences, boasting of their proximity to Carnegie’s institutions and Schenley Park, isolation from “objectionable neighborhoods,” and investment potential.²⁶⁸ An advertisement in *The Builder* in 1912 boasted of the Schenley Farms subdivision as “The City’s Social, Educational, Club and Best Residence Center.”²⁶⁹ Other large tracts Nicola would ultimately sell to the University of Western Pennsylvania, the Allegheny Soldier’s Memorial, and the Pittsburgh Athletic Club, owner of the baseball franchise known as the Pirates. The disposal of Schenley lands would set the stage for the second great era of Oakland development, but it would also enable completion of the first era with which it overlapped. Sales of properties would generate commissions out of which would emerge Andrew Carnegie’s last personal and most self-effacing benefaction to Oakland, a memorial monument to the late Mary E. Schenley.

2.3 The Andrew Carnegie Memorial Fountain

In December 1903, shortly after Mary E. Schenley's death, Bigelow went to New York for the reading of the will and to discuss land matters in Oakland with Carnegie. He showed Carnegie "the belvedere design for a memorial" he had in mind to honor Schenley. This was likely a photograph of the model Bigelow had commissioned from Giuseppe Moretti [Figure 2-7], sculptor of Bigelow's own commemorative statue in front of Phipps. The double arch, centered by a portrait statue of Schenley flanked by five classical figural groups, would have rivaled Moretti's 1896 entrance to Highland Park, Bigelow's other major public works development.²⁷⁰ Bigelow reported to the press that it would cost the city \$100,000, and beamed that Carnegie thought it "just the thing" to adorn Flagstaff Hill at the entrance to the park, overlooking both Phipps and the Institute.²⁷¹ Despite Bigelow's intimations of pending city council action, a memorial to Schenley remained in limbo for the remainder of the decade. In 1910, Carnegie took up the subject again in earnest with fellow Schenley executor John W. Herron. Following this meeting Herron wrote to assure Carnegie, "It has always been my great desire that a monument should be erected in her memory." Recalling that "some years ago you spoke to me regarding it," Herron averred, "I did not like to annoy you further until you brought the subject up again." Herron stated his willingness to assist Carnegie in any way in carrying out his plans.²⁷² In a separate report of estate sales to date, Herron reminded Carnegie of the latter's desire to forego his \$5000 annual fee and any sales commissions as an executor of the estate, and Carnegie's instructions that any such funds be split between the other two executors.²⁷³ However, Carnegie's recollection was quite different. He wrote to Herron,

From the very first I understood we were to erect a monument to Mrs. Schenley in the Park and I said I did not wish to take any commissions due me for attending to the Schenley estate. I wished to contribute to the monument fund every cent that was due me. This would be just about \$50,000, allowing you the \$6,000 a year extra, which of course is only fair since you have the work to do, and I believe you had that sum before as her agent, but [in any case] I do think that you should take steps to have a monument erected. I will gladly give the \$50,000 fees I would have got, and I suppose yourself and Mr. Brereton might give five or ten thousand each.

Of course when I spoke of not taking any commissions, my thought was that my share would be returned and the heirs of the Schenleys would know that my services were a labor of love for the dear old lady. What I have learned since about the principal recipient of the fund leads me to believe that there is no use in presenting him with money as he has an abundance. He has just built an enormous yacht. I also believe that their daughters are provided for.

Therefore, the foremost uses to which I would now wish to put the money is as a fund for a monument to her. Surely she deserves it if any citizen of Pittsburg does.²⁷⁴

By this time, thanks to the sale of his steel company in 1900 for \$400,000,000, Carnegie was one of the richest men in the world. By his own admission, he faced the almost impossible challenge of dispersing his vast wealth during his lifetime.²⁷⁵ Remarkably, although he had never lifted a finger as a Schenley executor, Carnegie was able to regard his non-exertions as “a labor of love for the dear old lady,” maintain a miserly sense of the deservedness of Schenley’s yachting son,

and consider perfectly appropriate a contribution from his fellow executors to a memorial that was, by the measure of personal net worth, astronomically disproportionate.

Dutifully, in January 1911, Herron stood before the city's Common Council to appeal for a Schenley memorial. Mayor William A. Magee concurred, stating that "the city has been remiss too long in not putting up a memorial of some sort to the woman to whom the city owes so much." Both Common and Select Councils promised to appropriate \$10,000 toward a memorial, and Herron was confident that "at least [another] \$10,000 is in sight at this time" from private sources, coyly eliding Carnegie.²⁷⁶ In February, Carnegie wrote a scolding note to Herron reporting that John Massey Rhind, sculptor of the allegorical figures for the Institute's 1907 Forbes façade, "tells me that you have asked him to prepare a monument costing only \$20,000. Better to have none than to fail to make an adequate memorial. I told him that at least \$40,000 should be the minimum; probably \$50,000 would be more appropriate for the purpose."²⁷⁷ On a drizzly April evening, Select Council passed an ordinance authorizing the creation of a 14-member Schenley Memorial Commission and pledging \$10,000 in city funds, to be matched privately, for a monument placed "at or near the entrance to Schenley Park, at or near Forbes Street." This ordinance was tied to another passed that evening leasing half an acre of Schenley Park to the Pittsburgh Pirates, allowing the expansion of the left and centerfield wall of Forbes Field for \$1000 a year for twenty years.²⁷⁸ Built in 1909, the stadium stood on a plot that had once been Schenley land across the Bellefield Bridge from the Institute that had been sold and developed through Nicola's company.²⁷⁹ The half-acre between the stadium plot and the bridge, part of the 19 acres acquired for the Institute, was all but useless as parkland anyway, marooned as it was by St. Pierre's Ravine. Nonetheless, according to the 1891 deed, leasing any land for commercial purposes required the approval of the Schenley executors, who through the

ordinance reserved the right to revoke the lease any time after five years should the land be required for an improved entrance to Schenley Park.²⁸⁰ In effect, the expanded outfield wall offset the city's subsidy of the Schenley memorial.²⁸¹

Later that month, the mayor met with Carnegie at the annual Founder's Day celebration at the Institute. There they verbally agreed the budget for the memorial should be \$50,000, with the city, Carnegie, and Herron each contributing \$10,000, with a public subscription to make up the balance. In January 1912, Herron and Rhind called on the mayor to see how plans were progressing. Magee subsequently reported to Carnegie that a dismal local economy had made the prospect of a public subscription "hazardous," and warned, "The failure of the enterprise would redound to the disadvantage of the name of the city's benefactress as well as to the city itself." Magee promised to request the city's portion be doubled to \$20,000 in the next appropriation pending before Council.²⁸² But in March, the mayor regretted to report, "Council has refused to add an additional \$10,000 for the Schenley Monument." He advised waiting "a year until either the Council gives an additional donation, or that business conditions might justify a popular subscription."²⁸³ In April, exasperated by the lack of progress on the memorial, Carnegie wrote an angry letter to Herron,

Two years ago I informed you that I did not wish you and Mr. Brereton to get my share of the fees hereafter (I do not consider either of you proper recipients of charity) and that I wished to devote my share hereafter to the Schenley Memorial.

Please give me a statement of the amount of such fees now to my credit, and hereafter keep me advised, and please remit my share for the two years past and I'll transfer it to the Memorial fund.

I had no idea that the Trust was to exist so long. Today it seems as if it may be alive long after all of the present Trustees are gone. I see, if not mistaken, you and Mr. Brereton have already received about a Hundred Thousand Dollars each as Trustees. It seems enormous.²⁸⁴

To this unprovoked diatribe Herron patiently responded, "I judge from your letter that you have not appreciated the position of the Trustees of the Schenley Estate and I do not feel that I can explain it by letter." Suggesting that the three executors meet in New York to discuss the matter, Herron closed,

As to being a "recipient of charity" I have always felt that I was entitled to all and more than I have ever received from the Schenley Trustees, if not according to the law of division, most certainly in equity.²⁸⁵

Carnegie was in no mood for a meeting.²⁸⁶ In May, Herron compensated by preparing an account of estate sales and commissions to date. He recounted once again how Carnegie initially had foregone his fees as executor between the creation of the estate and 1910, but that thereafter Carnegie's portion had been deposited in a separate trust for the Schenley memorial. The amount came to \$12,608.83.²⁸⁷ Carnegie seemed satisfied with this, and reported to Herron,

Mr. Rhind, the sculptor, came and talked with me yesterday about the monument, which he is very anxious to start. I said that he could depend upon me for Twenty Thousand Dollars. As you and Brereton are to give Ten Thousand Dollars and the City is to give Ten Thousand Dollars, I do not think there will be any doubt of the citizens of Pittsburgh giving a dollar apiece to raise another Ten Thousand Dollars. Perhaps you would kindly see the Mayor upon that subject. The gift loses half of its grace unless the citizens of Pittsburgh contribute. I do not think there

would be the slightest difficulty about getting 10,000 of them to do so. Perhaps you could get the leading newspaper to take the matter up.

P.S.: My twenty is conditioned upon the thirty being raised of course.²⁸⁸

Herron reported back that the mayor still advised against a popular subscription and thought an additional \$10,000 from Council was more likely. Herron added cryptically, “When I see you again I will explain why I personally fear the ‘popular subscription.’ If it was not successful it would be worse than not putting up the Monument at all.”²⁸⁹ The clear inference is that Mrs. Schenley was not as beloved among Pittsburghers as Carnegie wanted to believe, or that they were reluctant to participate with Carnegie in funding a memorial, or both. Carnegie, assured by Magee that the city would match his \$20,000, urged Herron to “go on promptly with the matter, because the monument will be finished and paid for some way or other. If the Mayor and you do not approve [of] a popular subscription, I reluctantly yield, but the point is to get the monument under way while we still live.”²⁹⁰

For the remainder of 1912, it was assumed that the Schenley memorial would be “a bronze statue of Mrs. Schenley” sculpted by Rhind. The sculptor expressed his willingness to essay a model on speculation,²⁹¹ and Carnegie instructed Rhind, “Please go ahead as proposed. The monument is sure to be erected.”²⁹² In November, Herron and Brereton visited the sculptor, and the only question was at what age Mrs. Schenley should be depicted.²⁹³ However far Rhind’s efforts progressed, they were moot, as the 14-member Schenley Memorial Commission appointed by the mayor had different ideas, composed equally of members associated with Carnegie and his Institute and city officials. The commission enlisted the services of Hermon Atkins MacNeil, president of the National Sculpture Society, and Austin Willard Lord, director of the department of architecture at Columbia University, who raised the stakes on the Schenley

Memorial considerably by convening a national competition for its design.²⁹⁴ The twenty scale models were gathered in the gallery of the Carnegie Institute for adjudication, first by MacNeil and Lord, then by the Schenley Memorial Commission.²⁹⁵ These included an obelisk, an absurd golden chariot of Apollo drawn by lions, a group of laborers on a pyramid, a panoramic history of industry in Pittsburgh, and several demure portraits of Mrs. Schenley.²⁹⁶ No doubt Rhind submitted a design, and something of the regal stiffness of his Institute figures seems evident in one of few unidentified photographs documenting the competition [Figure 2-8]. The towering allegorical figure of a young woman, perhaps an idealized Mary Schenley, cradles a bouquet in her left arm with a Tempietto-like structure, open space, and tall trees emerging from the floral arrangement. The idea that this fanciful park is being bestowed on the people of Pittsburgh is augmented by what may be the city's coat of arms cinching the neckline of her gown on her breast.

The design selected by the commission was "A Song to Nature" by Victor David Brenner, a sculptor best known as a prolific medallionist and designer of the Lincoln penny [Figure 2-9].²⁹⁷ Pan, with tulips in his hair and reclining in a blissful stupor, seems either is being gently roused from one of his famous naps on a rock or lulled into passivity by a nymph, nude from the waist up, who swirls above him strumming a lyre. The wet gown that holds her suspended in midair sweeps down past his right thigh, merging from the water that seeps from the rock past hooved feet to a granite dish below. Four turtles at its edge spew it out again into the large 30-foot wide basin below. His right arm crossing his abdomen, the nature god's right index finger points away from the composition as if directing the music. This curiously phallic gesture is the only trace of the classical iconography associated with Pan, who is generally depicted as an irrepressible satyr

in hot pursuit of Arcadian nymphs, shepherd boys and livestock. The inscription on the granite basin reads,

A SONG TO NATURE

PAN THE EARTH GOD ANSWERS TO THE HARMONY AND MAGIC TONES

SUNG TO THE LYRE BY SWEET HUMANITY

This sentimental conceit of savage nature gently tamed by culture stands in marked contrast to rapacious environmental degradation visited on the region by heavy industry. A large bronze plaque around the base below the dish reads simply, “In Memory of Mary E. Schenley, Donor of this Park.”²⁹⁸

Although Carnegie was named to the Schenley Memorial Commission and was the monument’s largest underwriter, there is no evidence that he took part in its deliberations or had any influence over the final choice of design. As with the operation of his Institute and schools, and particularly when it came to matters concerning artistic judgment, Carnegie was content to defer to experts and delegate authority in decision making.²⁹⁹ If Carnegie had an opinion on Brenner’s design, presumably it was favorable or else work on the monument could not have gone forward. Although Carnegie had clearly taken an avid personal interest that it be realized, he did not attend the memorial dedication in 1918, the year prior to his death. Whatever were Carnegie’s precise motivations for erecting a memorial in her honor, they certainly included a heartfelt fondness and gratitude to the London widow for making it possible to model all of his *Gospel* philanthropies in one place in Pittsburgh. Smothered in bathos, the Mary E. Schenley Memorial presented the fiction of a benefactress beloved by her homeland; in fact, it was Carnegie’s final personal contribution to Oakland. After 1916, Carnegie’s name seems never again to have been publicly associated with the fountain. Indeed, there appears to have been a

conscious effort on the part of those connected with Carnegie to efface his name from press reports, the better to convey the illusion that the memorial had been the gift of a grateful city to the memory of its kindly benefactress. The *Press*, announcing the arrival of Brenner's bronze group via the Pennsylvania Railroad at Shadyside station in July 1917, reported that beyond the city's financial contribution, "A balance was made up by citizens of Pittsburgh and persons in the estate of Mrs. Schenley," and other publications followed suit.³⁰⁰ This effacement permitted Bigelow, who had been exiled to the state highway commission and not partaken in the selection, to lambast Brenner's design as a blasphemous depiction of Mephistopheles without fear of insulting Carnegie.³⁰¹ To one newspaper he quipped, "I didn't know there was to be the luxury of water in Hades."³⁰² Since then others have scoffed at the idea of Schenley as the donor of the park. Single-tax advocate John C. Rose, well-informed of the financial history of the Schenley properties, suggested in a letter to the editor in 1935, "Perhaps very few persons know that the tract of 300 acres that comprised the gift to the city was very poor land, being mostly made up of gullies, hollows, ravines and hills, and actually not fit for subdivision." He accused the city of paying more than three times the value for additional land from Schenley, in effect more than paying for the original donation, and spending more than \$2 million more to convert it into a park. The resulting appreciation in remaining properties, Rose figured, garnered the heirs a nifty \$2.5 million when it was later sold to Nicola. "In the opinion of many people," he inveighed, "the 'gift' of Schenley Park was a very shrewd business transaction, in which the donor benefited much more than did the city."³⁰³

2.4 St. Pierre's Paved Plaza

The construction of the Carnegie Institute in the 1890s disrupted Bellefield Street, the most direct access from the Forbes thoroughfare leading from downtown into Schenley Park. The construction of the Bellefield Bridge, as its name clearly communicated, was intended to compensate for the loss of Bellefield Street by pushing the path into the park from a narrow strip left at the front steps of the Institute to the other side of St. Pierre's Ravine, creating an inelegant dog leg in the roadway from the Schenley Park Bridge over the Ravine via the Bellefield Bridge and finally to Forbes at its intersection with Grant Boulevard. The ravine itself had received its first deposits of fill from terracing around Phipps Conservatory at the turn of the century, and more fill from the Institute extension in 1904; the radical transformation of its natural landscape it was undergoing is already evident in a photograph of the time [Figure 2-10]. The intense development of Oakland suggested that this dumping was not over. The prospect of a filled ravine offered not only a possible site for the Schenley Memorial but an opportunity to impose a plan on a neighborhood that had grown without a plan. The challenge of the 1910s in Oakland was whether the institutional assets already assembled in the neighborhood as well as others that were gathering there could be retroactively transformed into a cohesive grouping of public buildings to become the civic center and cultural center others already recognized as emergent.

The first planner to broach the problem of St. Pierre's Ravine was Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., who does so within a larger consideration for city-wide improvements undertaken at the behest of the Pittsburgh Civic Commission, itself an outgrowth of the Survey.³⁰⁴ Its 1909 "Statement of Purpose" in *City Planning in Pittsburgh: Outline and Procedure* intones, "City planning, in American cities, has been identified almost exclusively with city beautifying."

However, “City planning, as undertaken by the Pittsburgh Civic Commission, means, the city useful, convenient, economical and healthful, as well as the city beautiful.”³⁰⁵ To that end, the Commission declares, Olmsted has been retained “to make a study of a comprehensive main thoroughfare system for the center of the city and to the principal residence and manufacturing districts,” and on “the locations of the main public buildings and grounds of the down-town section.” In his “Report,” Olmsted emphasizes that a crucial part of his task will be to study “the central institutions, such as public offices, libraries, museums, central educational establishments and the like, considering the possibility of grouping them into Civic Centers,” as well as suggesting “local civic centers” of branch libraries and bathhouses at the neighborhood or community level.³⁰⁶ His conception of city-wide civic centers networked with smaller neighborhood civic centers conform to the thinking of the 1907 city plan for St. Louis with its larger city-wide “public buildings groups” and “smaller building groups” on the neighborhood level, both termed civic centers.³⁰⁷ More importantly, the apparent demotion of beauty, fashionable among professional planners at that moment and falsely signaling a rejection of aesthetic embellishment (the historic turn from City Beautiful to city practical), as this text suggests is a rejection neither of civic beauty nor of the civic center ethos; indeed, Olmsted’s stated objectives suggest a deep and abiding commitment not only to beauty but to the concept of the civic center as foundations for a comprehensive vision of city planning. The challenge for planners in the coming decade is not to abandon these concepts, but to get them to work.³⁰⁸

In December 1910, Olmsted reported his findings to the Commission in *Pittsburgh: Main Thoroughfares and the Downtown District: Improvements Necessary to Meet the City’s Present and Future Needs*.³⁰⁹ Like the local AIA chapter before him, Olmsted, in collaboration with Arnold J. Brunner,³¹⁰ proposes the remodeling of the downtown district with the creation of “a

Civic Center, where the city offices can be grouped in a convenient and dignified manner.” In this plan [Figure 2-11], the courthouse serves as the boundary to a small plaza to the north and northwest, with the county building then about to be built bounding the west.³¹¹ To this grouping would be added another unspecified building to the north and a new municipal building with an imposing tower echoing Richardson’s courthouse, rendered by Brunner [Figure 2-12]. A bridge to the South Hills, crossing over Second Avenue and more freight yards, would lead directly south and a tree-lined thoroughfare would lead to the East End.³¹² Olmsted recommends that the civic center should

occupy land which is not of such high cost as to preclude the setting apart of the open space which is requisite to the highest dignity and beauty of public buildings. All these advantages are embraced to a high degree in a locality now so unpromising and unattractive that it is hard not to feel an unfair prejudice against it.³¹³

This district, presently occupied principally by a railroad yard, would be “be decked over [...], and that a great public square with gardens be laid out thereon.”³¹⁴ Unlike the earlier AIA plan, the proposed civic center would be integrated with a needed rail transportation hub, including a subway.³¹⁵

“Real, thorough-going city planning,” Olmsted subsequently writes for the *California Outlook*, “is not merely a matter of civic centers and boulevards and parks, it is not merely a matter of all the public grounds and all the streets; it is a matter of planning for the successful working together of every element of the physical city which can be in any profitable degree controlled by the community.”³¹⁶ Planning in his conception is not produced in “spasms” of “special temporary” planning commissions producing a single five or ten year plan, but an

ongoing analysis of community needs and constant reevaluation of the physical infrastructure.³¹⁷ In a separate text excerpted by Olmsted, Brunner concurs. “City planning does not mean the creation of a Civic Center and grouping of public buildings” alone, nor any other single aspect of planning in isolation. Rather, “It means all of them considered together.” Brunner declares, “I believe the most practical result to be attained is not the beauty of the City, but the consequent elevation of the standard of citizenship.”³¹⁸ Again, the ostensible rejection of “mere” beauty and the civic center in each statement is deceptive; Olmsted and Brunner share a fundamental commitment to beauty and the grouping of public buildings to produce the visible result of a functional city and the practical result of an improved society.

In *Main Thoroughfares*, Olmsted remarks that in city planning,

One looks to the rearrangement and improvement of what has already been unwisely done through lack of proper planning or through force of adverse circumstances of any sort. The other looks to the wise and economical layout of what still remains to be done, especially at the outskirts of the city where the major part of the city’s growth is bound to occur and where the city plan is daily taking shape out of nothing, whether it is intelligently designed or not.³¹⁹

The downtown district being an example of improving that which had been unwisely done, Olmsted turns to Oakland, one of the city’s most crucial “outlying districts,”³²⁰ and the one perhaps with the greatest potential yet to be intelligently shaped. Olmsted’s keen interest is manifested in not one but two plans, marked Plan A [Figure 2-13] and Plan B [Figure 2-14]. These drawings are labeled simply “Bellefield Improvement.” It would seem that with one city-wide civic center proposed for downtown, Olmsted is ambivalent about how to refer to Oakland. Unlike Robinson before him who identifies the neighborhood as a cultural center, or Schuyler

just after him who confidently describes it as a civic center, Olmsted describes his schemes simply as “plans for a grouping of public buildings in the Bellefield District,” with an emphasis on “improving the entrance to Schenley Park.”³²¹ The principle difference between the two plans, as Olmsted points out, is that Plan A leaves St. Pierre’s Ravine unfilled and the stone arch Bellefield Bridge uncovered, while in the other a filled ravine creates a Court of Honor around which are grouped monumental public buildings. As Olmsted describes, “Plan A contemplates scarcely more than the improvement of the existing layout” in which “this ravine becomes an interesting and inviting branch of the park, and serves also as an informal entrance to the lower park levels.”³²² The dog-leg entrance over the Bellefield Bridge into upper Schenley Park is retained while new, undefined monumental buildings appear fronting along the north of Forbes Avenue, all radiating from the Carnegie Institute. In this version, Bellefield Street is the central axis of the grouping, creating “a more fitting approach to the Institute” that privileges the center of the 1907 façade “by a small [semicircular] plaza surrounded by public or quasi-public buildings.”³²³ The inference of the drawing is that more public buildings could be added to the east in the blocks divided by Bellefield and Dithridge Streets. Olmsted would seem to clearly prefer Plan A, yet seems resigned to the inevitability that the ravine will be filled, therefore necessitating a backup.

Plan B is a bit more complicated, offering “a formal court enclosed by the Carnegie Institute on the east, by proposed public buildings on the north and west, and by a terrace overlooking the valley, on the south.”³²⁴ Here the axis is off center from the Institute, directly over the filled ravine, forming a Y with two roadways branching off to the south from a traffic circle that surrounds an undefined public monument. This monument, presumably a fountain, is shown

sitting squarely on a Bellefield Bridge that has completely disappeared in landfill. In its defense he pleads that

this bridge in itself is very attractive; and the whole scene, the little valley with its informal groups of shrubbery and trees, spanned at one end by a stone bridge, is extremely interesting and pictorial and peculiarly characteristic of the Pittsburgh topography. The novelty of such a scene, in contrast to the stiff formality of the city all about, gives it not a little value, and there is reasonable doubt if it should not be saved even at some sacrifice.³²⁵

Although Olmsted must have been aware of plans for a Schenley memorial, at this early date he could not have known what form such a monument might take, or its eventual location. The plan is further complicated by requiring, “for its happy execution, a control of developments on the Frick property north of Forbes Street,”³²⁶ bisected by an axial tree-lined street pointing to the plaza and monument. The Court of Honor superimposed on the filled ravine creates a “strong axial approach” that “in reality extends the park entrance to Fifth Avenue; and the court at Forbes Street, while adding to the dignity and character of this entrance, becomes a fitting plaza around which will be grouped the buildings of a public character.”³²⁷ Olmsted suggests university buildings in Berlin surrounding an interior plaza as a model for the entrance to Schenley Park, and would have been aware that the University of Western Pennsylvania had just recently relocated to Oakland.³²⁸

However, Olmsted leaves the functions of the proposed buildings in each plan unspecified, focusing instead on the improvement of the “lower park levels” in Junction Hollow as a significant reclamation of area for the park.³²⁹ No doubt the problem in Oakland had been put to him by the Civic Commission first and foremost as one of improving the entrance to Schenley

Park, and not one of monumental grouping possibilities. It is significant that Olmsted does not enlist the collaboration of Brunner in Oakland as he does for the downtown civic center, instead reverting to his roots as a park planner and relying on his own expertise. In his plans, Olmsted clearly goes beyond a mere consideration of an improved entrance to Schenley Park, but in his text underplays the full implications of how additional monumental buildings might further the development of Oakland, or interact with institutions already present or under construction. The result is that in both plans, the groupings of public buildings serve no purpose other than to suggest ornamentation to his proposed park improvements. What is even more curious is that Olmsted refrains from using the term civic center to describe the proposed groupings for Oakland, since both are far more elaborate than the civic center he and Brunner call for in the downtown district. Indeed, when Plan B is superimposed on a contemporary plat map of Oakland [Figure 2-15], we see a grouping of public buildings that is far more densely filled in than the “real civic center” Schuyler subsequently attempts to portray in a pseudo-panorama, and comparable in density to the model plans cited by civic center theorists Warner and Maltbie. Nor does Olmsted adopt the descriptor cultural center from his good friend Robinson, whose Los Angeles plan Olmsted later claims to have carefully studied and whose *Pittsburgh Survey* article was published as Olmsted studied Pittsburgh.³³⁰ Perhaps the buildings of a generic “public character” Olmsted has in mind for Oakland were at one point in his creative process intended as a municipal administrative center transplanted from the downtown. Whatever political realities were holding him in check, Olmsted’s failure to convey his vision of Oakland more explicitly suggest more than an oversight; rather, it seems a conscious decision to sidestep larger debates that the terms civic center or cultural center in this case would have triggered. In any event, by offering two plans for Oakland, the force of Olmsted’s proposals are sadly diluted; by failing to

crystalize the aspirations of his proposed grouping of public buildings in his text, they will be completely ignored.

Olmsted's premonition that St. Pierre's Ravine was doomed was borne out by subsequent preparations for the Schenley Memorial competition. In 1912, consultants MacNeil and Lord recommended placing the monument in the middle of a filled ravine, and the City Planning Commission endorsed this in a perfunctory traffic circle proposal in 1913. After Brenner's design for a fountain was selected in December, the Bureau of Parks officially opened the ravine to public dumping, estimating that some 300,000 cubic yards of fill were still required.³³¹ Such haphazard filling as had gone on since the turn of the century, however, was deemed too unstable for the weight of the fountain without constructing a prohibitively costly concrete and steel platform.³³² In 1914, as Brenner worked on the model of his figural group in New York, Carnegie's surrogates in Pittsburgh sought the advice of Henry Hornbostel, architect of the Institute schools, on the setting for the monument and the design of the park entrance, while the Art Commission let it be known that it favored a national plaza design competition.³³³ Olmsted was approached to adjudicate this but he declined on the grounds that his own thoughts on the matter had already been expressed. When H. Van Buren Magonigle, the architect partnering with Brenner on the fountain, was approached instead, he claimed that the Bureau of Parks had promised to give his suggestions on a plaza an airing, momentarily suspending further deliberations over the summer as the local AIA chapter sorted things out.³³⁴ In the fall, the Memorial Commission and Bureau of Parks bilaterally chose Cannon Circle [Figure 2-16], site of the burned down Schenley Park Casino, as the site for the fountain, and Brenner sank \$3000 into concrete foundations and plumbing there before the Art Commission ordered a stoppage, denying its approval.³³⁵ Of the Art commission, the Schenley Memorial Commission, and the

City Planning Commission (not to mention the local AIA and Bureau of Parks), all with some interest if not measure of authority over the monument, the complaint was made, “No two of them have been able to agree in regard to a general layout for the entrance to Schenley Park.”³³⁶

As late as January 1915, the Art Commission sought to break the stalemate by approaching Edward H. Bennett, nationally renowned for his plans in Cleveland and Chicago, to design the entrance to Schenley Park, and he agreed.³³⁷ However, by the end of the month the various commissions reconciled and formed a joint committee to convene a national competition for a plaza design.³³⁸

The 40 designs submitted to the 1915 Schenley Plaza competition offered a dazzling array of Beaux-Arts plaza design, many with monumental architectural adornments like colonnades, peristyles, and terraces with balustrades overlooking Junction Hollow, and some considering the reclamation of the left-centerfield wall and half acre of parkland from Forbes Field.³³⁹ The winning design was by Horace Wells Sellers and H. Bartol Register was not unlike the earlier MacNeil and Lord or Bureau of Parks plans in emphasizing the roadway into Schenley Park across the filled ravine, and has the dubious distinction of offering the largest quantity of pavement among the submitted designs. The main distinction from the earlier plans is the placement of Brenner’s fountain on the submerged Bellefield Bridge for support, and the suggestion of a semicircular colonnaded peristyle as a backdrop for the monument [Figure 2-17].³⁴⁰ Once again, Bigelow resurfaced, vehemently protesting the loss of the Bellefield Bridge and the 80-foot expanse of pavement that would take away precious park land to the commercial benefit of Forbes Field, which would use it as additional game-day parking.³⁴¹ The *Pittsburgh Sun* sided with Bigelow, arguing that the bridge should remain uncovered, that the lawn on the already existing on the sloping landfill preserved for the view offered of the Institute, and that

the monument belonged on Cannon Circle where Brenner had already laid foundations.³⁴² The Episcopal bishop of Pittsburgh, Cortlandt Whitehead, agreed with the editorial, describing the plaza plan as “a great calamity” of “bad taste” and bitterly alluding to commercial real estate developers who had “pull” to allow “a dumping place for a lot of earth made by excavating in the Schenley Farms district.”³⁴³

What is remarkable about the discourse on Oakland, from the earliest murmurings for a memorial for Mary Schenley to the final selection of a plaza plan over St. Pierre’s Ravine, is that at no time do the discussions rise to a consideration of Oakland as a civic center or a cultural center, despite such recognition of such national figures as Robinson and Schuyler, or of the district as a comprehensive organism, despite the stated planning philosophy of Olmsted. Presented with the perfect opportunity to raise the stakes on St. Pierre’s Ravine and going so far as offering two plans that included expansive groupings of public buildings, Olmsted timidly elected to frame the problem presented by St. Pierre’s Ravine in his text as narrowly as possible: of merely completing the entrance to Schenley Park. Subsequent considerations of the problem by a staggering slate of every conceivable municipal authority supplemented by considerable national expertise failed to transcend this view. Instead of the aspirations crystalized in the terms civic center or cultural center, Oakland expended enormous energy planning a traffic circle and parking lot, a decision not to be reversed until the twentieth century when planners reimagined Schenley Plaza as an urban greenspace along the lines of New York’s refurbished Bryant Park.³⁴⁴

Even the winners of the competition became dismayed. Frustrated with the city’s shoestring budget and dreading the piecemeal implementation of his plan, designer Register quipped to a friend on the Art Commission, “How about calling it Carnegie Plaza & getting Andy for a

million?”³⁴⁵ Register’s nostalgia for the days when urban development could be dominated by a single philanthropist of infinite wealth is poignant, but that era had given way to one of professionalization and bureaucratization; the process that had resulted in the selection of his design was proof enough of that. As *The Charette* later complained, the plaza “was once a beautiful little ravine, bosky with Hawthorne trees and spanned by a graceful bridge of stone; but some mysterious political providence decreed that it should become the dumping-ground for superfluous clay excavated in Oakland building operations.” For years the plaza languished as a “mud flat” and the promised peristyle had never materialized. Thanks to the intervention of the Garden Club of Allegheny County and landscape architect J.L. Greenleaf, an adequately “handsome and fitting entrance to a great municipal park” would soon be completed; but the editors feared that “long before that time, the public will have forgotten [...] the ugly blunders created by the stupid vandalism of myopic self-seekers of the past days in Pittsburgh.”³⁴⁶

2.5 Postwar Progress in Pittsburgh

Walter Hegemann and Elbert Peets, in their 1922 treatise *The American Vitruvius: An Architect’s Handbook of Civic Art*, champion “the civic center movement” as one of America’s most important contributions to civic art.³⁴⁷ They suggest that another American institution, the skyscraper, could play an innovative role in civic center design.

One can conceive of civic centers surrounded by an amphitheater produced by areas of low construction in the immediate neighborhood and of higher and still higher buildings at regulated distances. Thus very interesting plazas of a terraced type—introducing a new dimension so to speak—unknown to European

precedent, could concentrate the interest upon a civic building soaring from a low point in the center.

The intelligent use of the skyscraper in civic design will be America's most valuable contribution to civic art.³⁴⁸

Chancellor John C. Bowman could have been following Hegemann and Peets' prescription for such a civic center in Oakland when he envisioned a towering academic building for the University of Pittsburgh situated on the quadrangle north of Forbes formerly owned by Frick.³⁴⁹ The soaring academic building, the tallest in the world outside of Moscow, was set off perfectly against the ring of low-lying arts, educational, religious, medical and social institutions surrounding it except along Bellefield Street. It was celebrated even before its completion in a map of Oakland described as "Pittsburgh's Civic Center" [Figure 2-18] and in a postcard of the time where it was the centerpiece of the "Schenley District: Pittsburgh's Billion Dollar Civic Center" [Figure 2-19]. Olmsted had daringly considered the development of some sort of grouping of public buildings on this property in his plans for Oakland, but failed to present any argument for it in his text. Twenty years later, the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association still considered the Cathedral the lynchpin in "Pittsburgh's Cultural District" [Figure 2-20]. Their 1961 report on Oakland remarks, "Long before the universities or hospitals were established, Oakland had gained its reputation as the cultural center of the Pittsburgh area."³⁵⁰ The same text also refers to Oakland also as an erstwhile "civic center."³⁵¹ But these infrequent descriptors are overwhelmed in the text by the far more ubiquitous description of Oakland as a "medical center."³⁵² By the 1960s, this was a sign of the changing times also evident in Cleveland's cultural center, University Circle.

The ambivalence in descriptions of Oakland as either a civic center or a cultural center persist throughout the century. On May 17, 1922, William J. Holland addressed the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce and listeners of radio station KDKA with a talk entitled, “Pittsburgh—A Cultural Center.”³⁵³ As a past chancellor of the University of Western Pennsylvania and recently stepped down as director of the Carnegie Institute for more than three decades, Holland naturally boasts of the institutions he was most familiar. “Pittsburgh is not merely fortunate in having in its university a center of higher culture, but through the philanthropy of one of her greatest men she possesses in the Carnegie Institute a foundation [...] which is the admiration of the world.” But Holland seeks to reassure his audience, “Pittsburgh, as a center of culture, does not only point to its University and to the Carnegie Library and Institute,” but to arts and educational assets distributed across the city.³⁵⁴ This rather curious denial that Oakland was the cultural center of Pittsburgh presupposes that the perception was prevalent in Pittsburgh that, in fact, Oakland was the cultural center of Pittsburgh. Discussing the history of architecture in Pittsburgh in 1938, Henry Hornbostel described the Carnegie Library and Museum, the Carnegie Institute of Technology (the campus of which he himself designed), the University of Pittsburgh, St. Paul’s Cathedral, “and other developments in Pittsburgh’s Oakland, a cultural center which no other city can parallel.”³⁵⁵ But just a few months later *The Charette* remarks, “The Civic Center of Pittsburgh with its magnificent buildings and the functions for which they are designed are of great importance to every citizen of Pittsburgh.”³⁵⁶ Robinson, Holland, and Hornbostel notwithstanding, the preponderance of evidence suggests that Schuyler’s descriptor civic center was more heavily favored among Oaklanders.

The peculiar local habit of referring to Oakland as a civic center had a marked influence on Pittsburgh city planning. Perhaps because the term civic center had been so indelibly attached to

Oakland, James A. Mitchell and Dahlen K. Ritchey felt constrained to describe their 1947 Lower Hill development project near downtown somewhat convolutedly as a “civic group” and a “civic and cultural center” that included a “Symphony Hall, Sports Arena, Open-Air Civic Opera, Museum and Cultural Center” [Figure 2-21]. The catalogue of the exhibit, sponsored by Kaufmann’s department store, is heavy on futuristic illustrations but light on text; left unspecified is how a “civic and cultural center” could include some kind of institution called a “Cultural Center,” presumably a performance venue. This indeterminacy did not prohibit the planners from proposing a separate “metropolitan civic center” with “government buildings” on the northern bank of the Allegheny River [Figure 2-22].³⁵⁷ As the latter proposal fell by the wayside, the project for the Lower Hill became known as the Pittsburgh Center, as if to sidestep the indeterminacy.³⁵⁸ By the early 1950s the proposed 70-acre complex was known simply as the Lower Hill Cultural Center [Figure 2-23], but by the end of the decade the urban renewal project was mired in a community backlash that reduced the ambitions of developers to a “public auditorium” and hotel and apartment buildings.³⁵⁹ As the new decade dawned, it was reported, “Development of the Lower Hill as a cultural center could mean a real Renaissance for Pittsburgh, if its flanks are protected—perhaps to Oakland,”³⁶⁰ a vision that recalls Robinson’s “gay avenue” linking Oakland to downtown, and even more overtly implying the complete annihilation of the city’s vibrant African-American neighborhood. Upon its completion, the Civic Auditorium [Figure 2-24], the key feature of the project and the only major public building realized, was hailed as an engineering marvel for its retractable domed roof,³⁶¹ but was soon abandoned by the Civic Light Opera as acoustically unfit, becoming a venue for professional hockey and popular music events. In the meantime, Cincinnati-based planner Ladislav Segoe had reinforced Oakland’s identity as a civic center with his Oakland Study Segoe’s *Civic Center*.

Although primarily preoccupied with traffic, parking and housing [Figure 2-25], Segoe intoned, “A concept of a lofty destiny of the Civic Center as a domain of great humanistic institutions has guided the plan throughout.”³⁶²

In a functional sense, the dichotomy of civic center and cultural center had no practical use in a city where the grouping of monumental buildings of Oakland, however unplanned, had no rival. As a description, either term suited Oakland perfectly well, since there could never be any confusion with another monumental center. Cultural center could be understood perfectly well as a descriptor of Oakland particularly as the century wore on, as comparable groupings emerging in cities like Cleveland and Detroit were either described or explicitly named cultural center. Likewise, civic center as indicative of a certain civic pride also could be reasonably applied to Oakland, even though apart from the Allegheny Soldiers’ Memorial Oakland always lacked the judicial and municipal institutions that marked the term’s increasingly narrow connotation elsewhere as an administrative center. As terms invoking a particular genre suggesting future development, neither civic center nor cultural center had the kind of formative impact that it would have in other cities like Cleveland and Detroit. Oakland had been largely formed by private autocratic interests prior to the emergence of the ideology of grouping public buildings inspired by the World’s Columbian Exposition, and before the advent of the twentieth century movement that would eventually enlist both terms from other discourses. To the extent that Oakland’s development was influenced by larger national trends it was piecemeal at best before the Schenley lands were consumed and future construction became a matter of replacing older structures in the 1960s. That Oakland had been among the first actual developments in America to be termed a cultural center was given little value locally, and the opportunity for Pittsburgh not only to embrace the term but to contribute significantly to its conceptualization was ignored,

even as it served as a model for other cities planning arts and educational districts. By the time Oakland finally conceived of itself as a cultural center, embracing the term for its suggestive potential in its ongoing development, the typology already had been significantly shaped by other American cities.

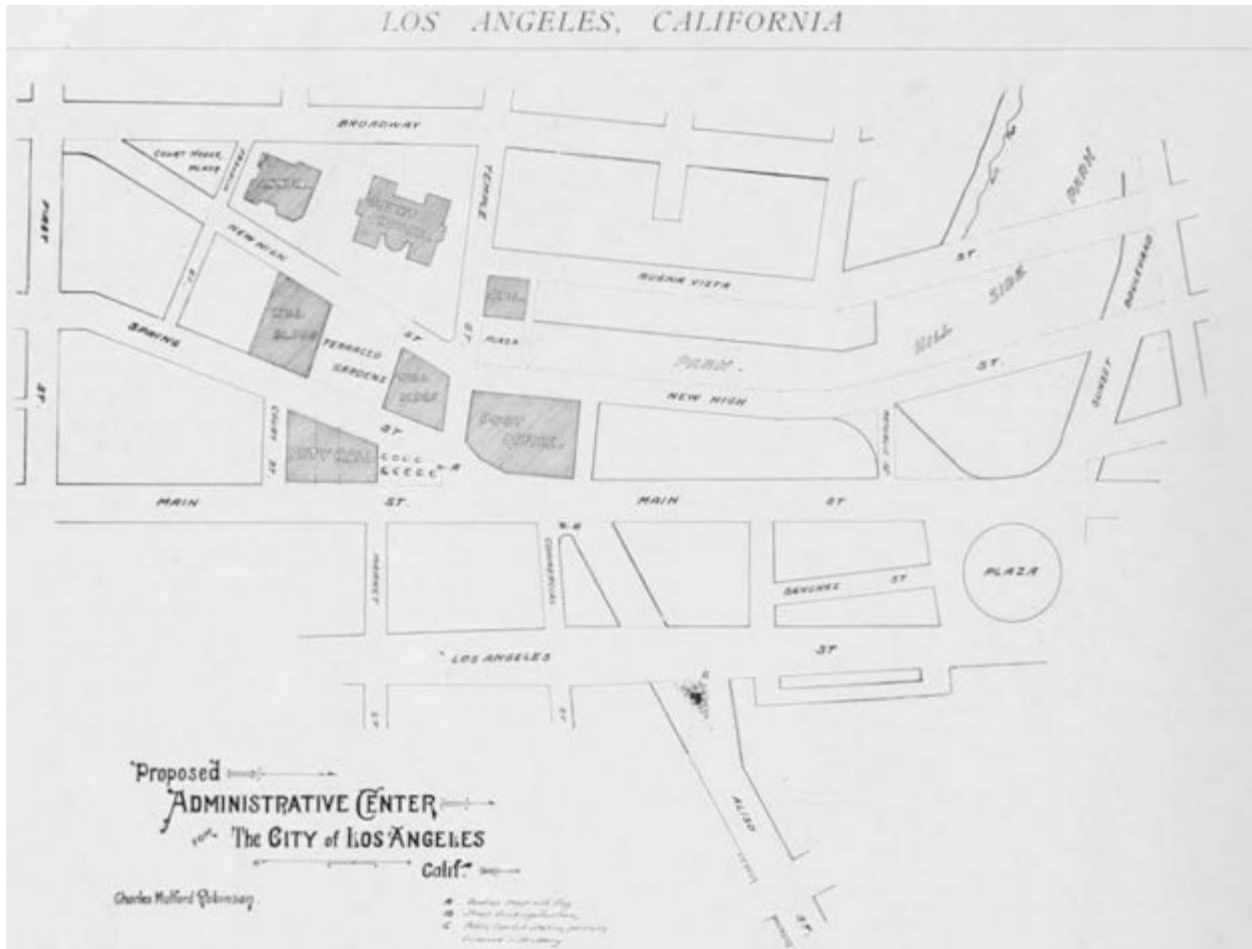


Figure 2-1: Charles Mulford Robinson, "Proposed Administrative Center for the City of Los Angeles [Civic Center]," in "The City Beautiful: Suggestions" [November 1907], in Los Angeles, California—The City Beautiful: Report of the Municipal Art Commission for the City of Los Angeles, California (Los Angeles: William J. Porter, 1909), n.p. [p. 20]. Google Books.

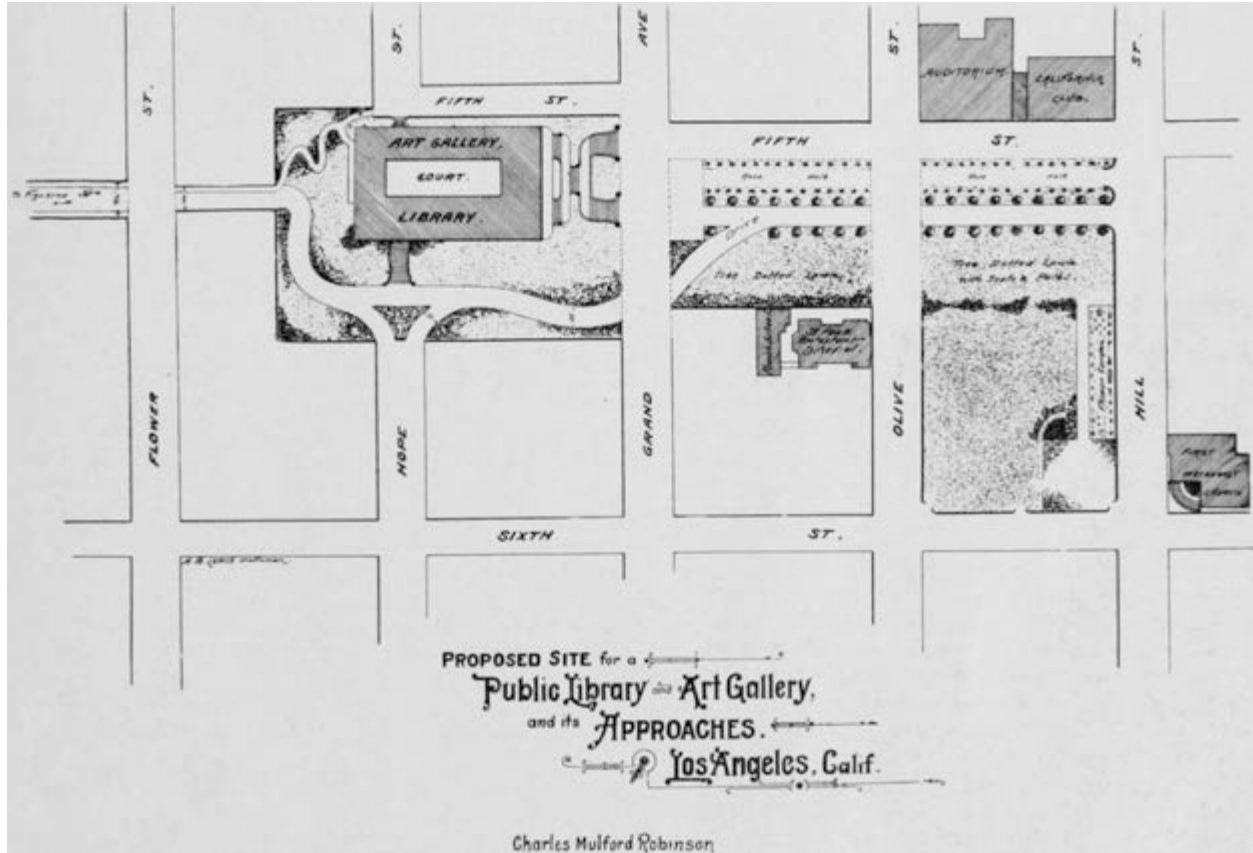


Figure 2-2: Charles Mulford Robinson, “Proposed Site for a Public Library and Art Gallery and its Approached [Cultural Center],” in “The City Beautiful: Suggestions” [November 1907], in *Los Angeles, California—The City Beautiful: Report of the Municipal Art Commission for the City of Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: William J. Porter, 1909), n.p. [p. 23]. Google Books.

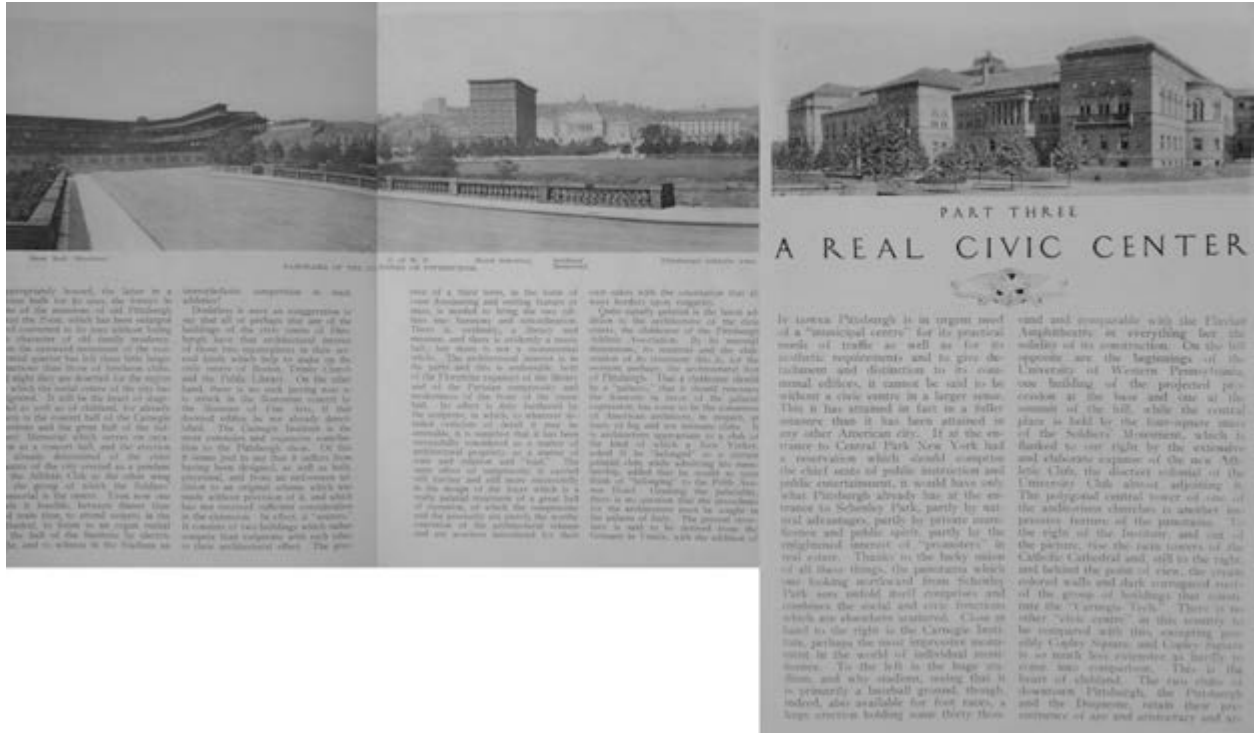


Figure 2-3: Oakland panorama. The balustrade of the Bellefield Bridge in the foreground connects the spread on the left (pp. 230-231) with the image on the right (p. 229). Montgomery Schuyler, "A Real Civic Center," from "The Building of Pittsburgh," *Architectural Record*, vol. 30, no. 3 [whole no. 156] (September 1911), pp. 230-231, 229. Carnegie Mellon University, Hunt Library.



Figure 2-4: Composite by the author of plat maps of Oakland, with key buildings cited by Schuyler highlighted in ochre. G.M. Hopkins Company, *Real Estate Plat-Book*, vol. 2 (Pittsburgh: G.M. Hopkins Company, 1914), plates 23, 24, 25. Historic Pittsburgh.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-5: Longfellow, Alden and Harlow, Carnegie Institute from Forbes Street; St. Pierre's Ravine in foreground, c. 1897. Carnegie Museum of Art Collection of Photographs, 1894-1958, Carnegie Museum of Art. Historic Pittsburgh.



Figure 2-6: Schenley Casino, c. 1895. J. Markus H. Winteringer, “Schenley Park Casino Waltz,” sheet music for piano (Pittsburgh: The Winteringer Music Co., Limited, 1902). Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Music Department.

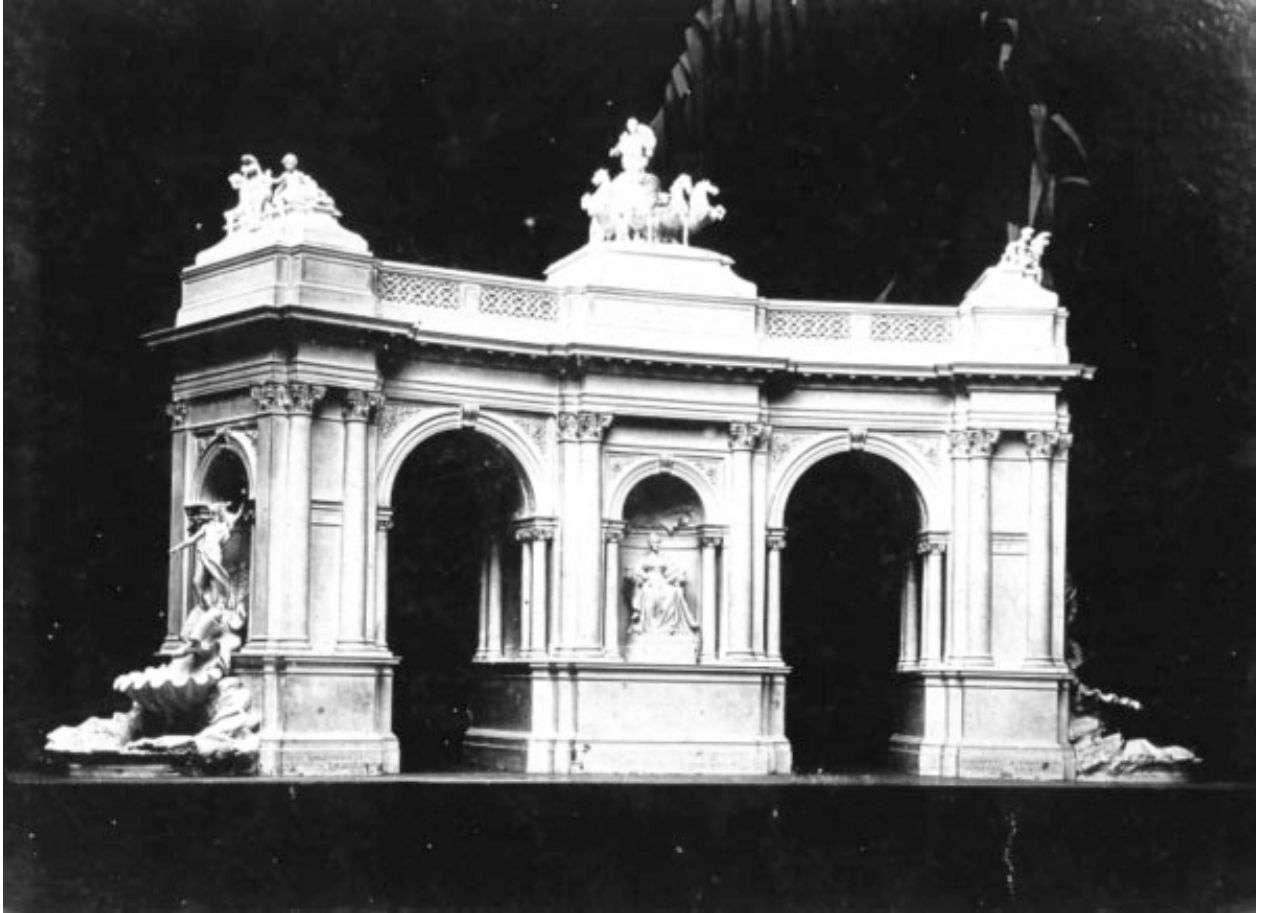


Figure 2-7: Giuseppe Moretti, entrance to Schenley Park, n.d. (c. 1900). Wikipedia.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-8: Unknown artist (John Massey Rhind?), Mary E. Schenley Memorial design, 1913. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-9: Victor David Brenner, “A Song to Nature,” 6-foot model, New York, July 7, 1916. Note the Lincoln plaque behind the drape to the left. University of Pittsburgh, Archives Services Center, Pittsburgh City Photographer Collection, 1901-2002, identifier 715.168647.CP. Historic Pittsburgh.

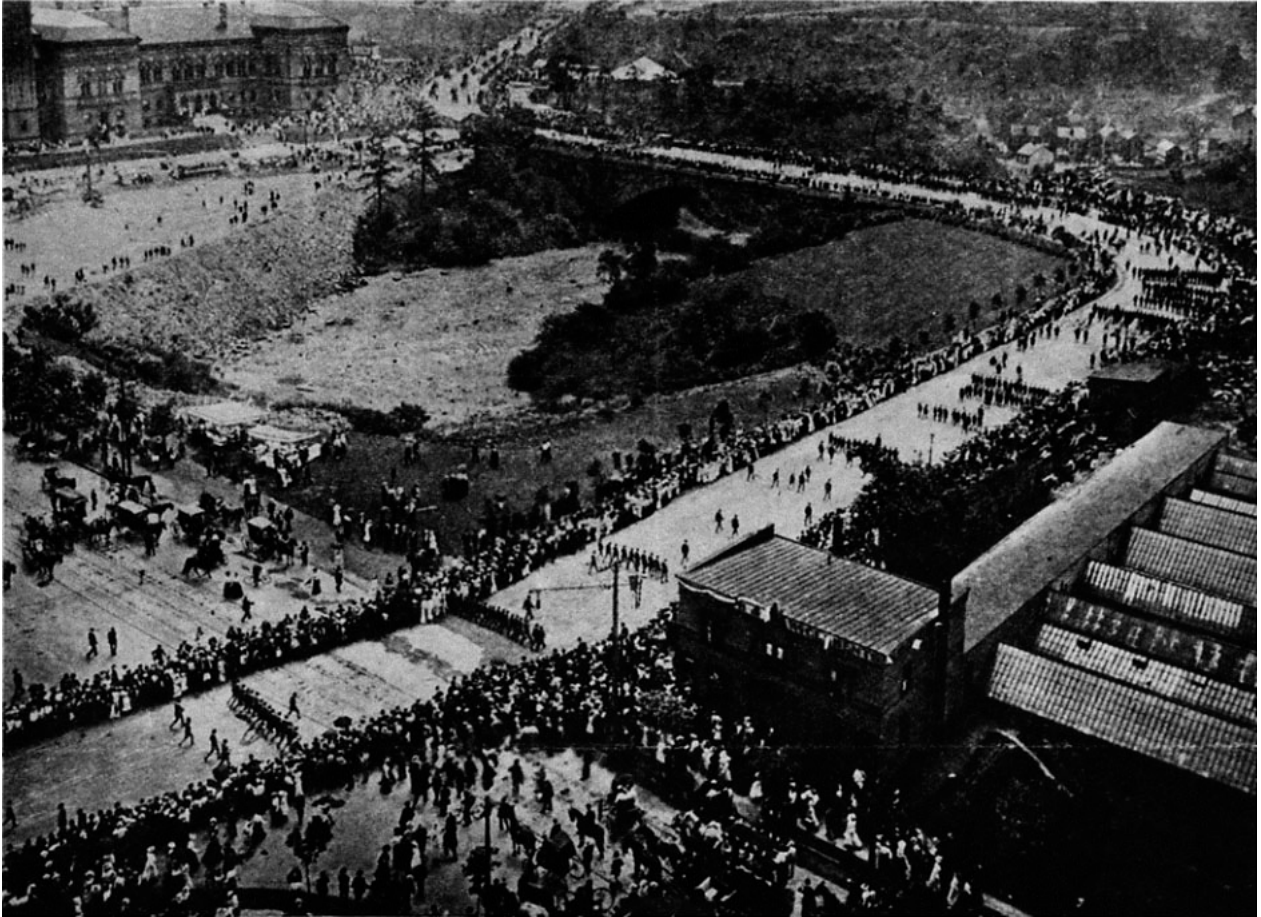


Figure 2-10: Holiday parade in Schenley Park, with Bellefield Bridge and St. Pierre's Ravine, c. 1900. Landfill is clearly evident on the left in front of the Carnegie Institute. Collection, Pittsburgh Parks Conservancy.



Figure 2-11: Frederick Law Olmsted [Jr.] and Arnold W. Brunner, Pittsburgh civic center (detail). Olmsted, Frederick Law [Jr.]. *Pittsburgh Main Thoroughfares and the Down Town District: Improvements Necessary to Meet the City's Present and Future Needs; a Report by Frederick Law Olmsted; Prepared Under the Direction of the Committee on City Planning; Adopted by the Commission December 1910* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Civic Commission, 1911), fold out plan. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.

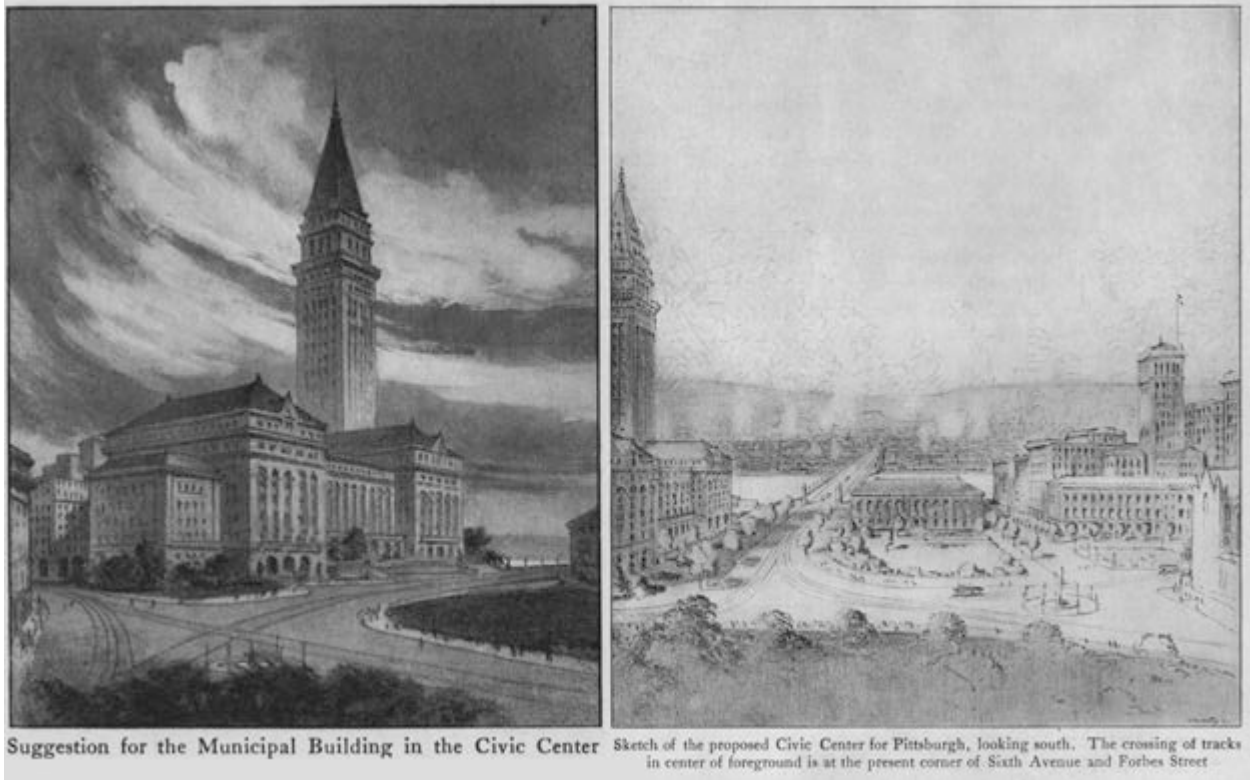


Figure 2-12: Arnold W. Brunner, Pittsburgh city hall and civic center. Olmsted, Frederick Law [Jr.]. Pittsburgh Main Thoroughfares and the Down Town District: Improvements Necessary to Meet the City's Present and Future Needs; a Report by Frederick Law Olmsted; Prepared Under the Direction of the Committee on City Planning; Adopted by the Commission December 1910 (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Civic Commission, 1911), pp. 13, 14.

University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.

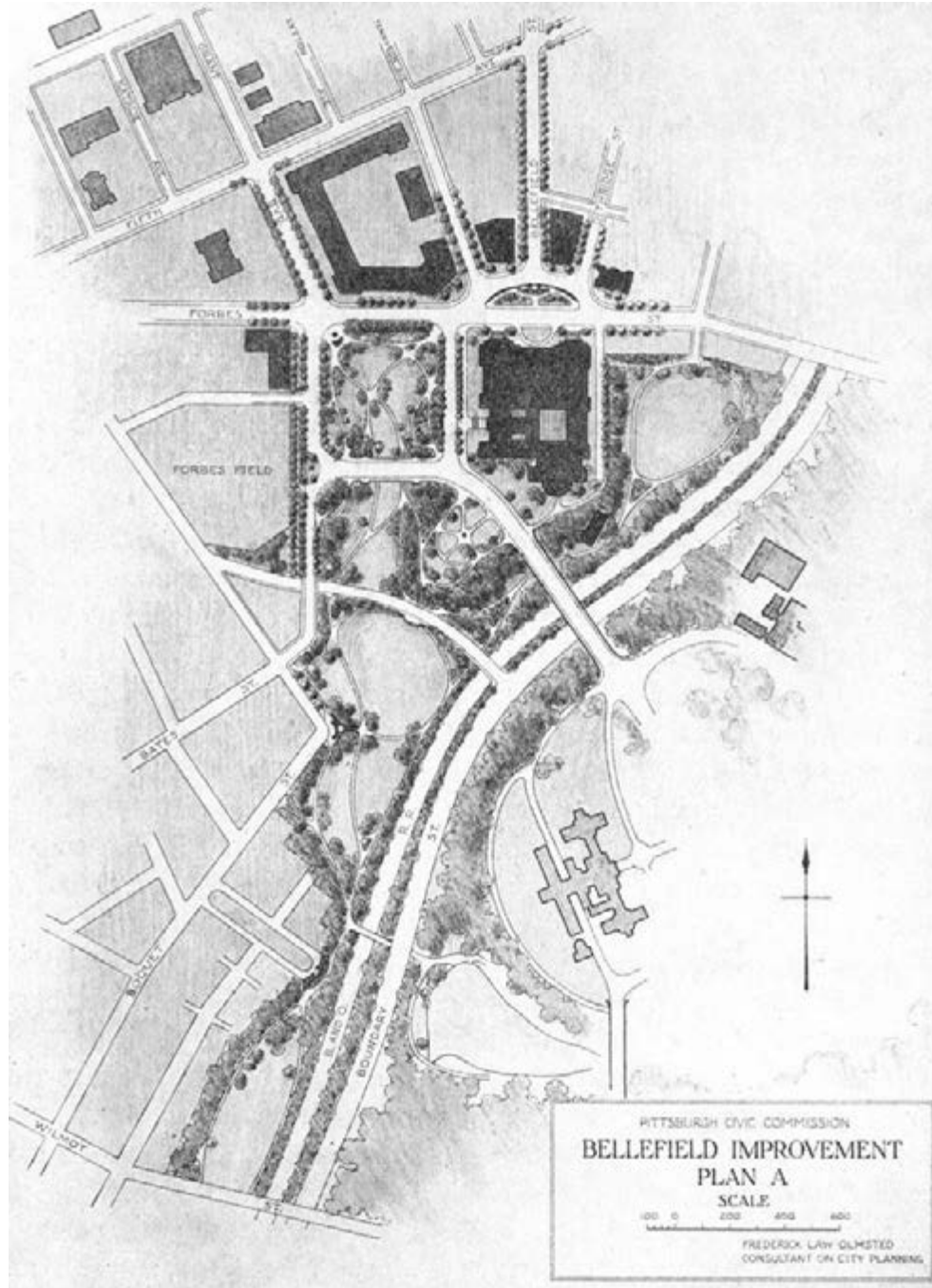


Figure 2-13: Frederick Law Olmsted [Jr.], "Bellefield Improvement, Plan A." Olmsted, Frederick Law [Jr.]. Pittsburgh Main Thoroughfares and the Down Town District: Improvements Necessary to Meet the City's Present and Future Needs; a Report by Frederick Law Olmsted; Prepared Under the Direction of the Committee on City Planning; Adopted by the Commission December 1910 (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Civic Commission, 1911), p. 101. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.

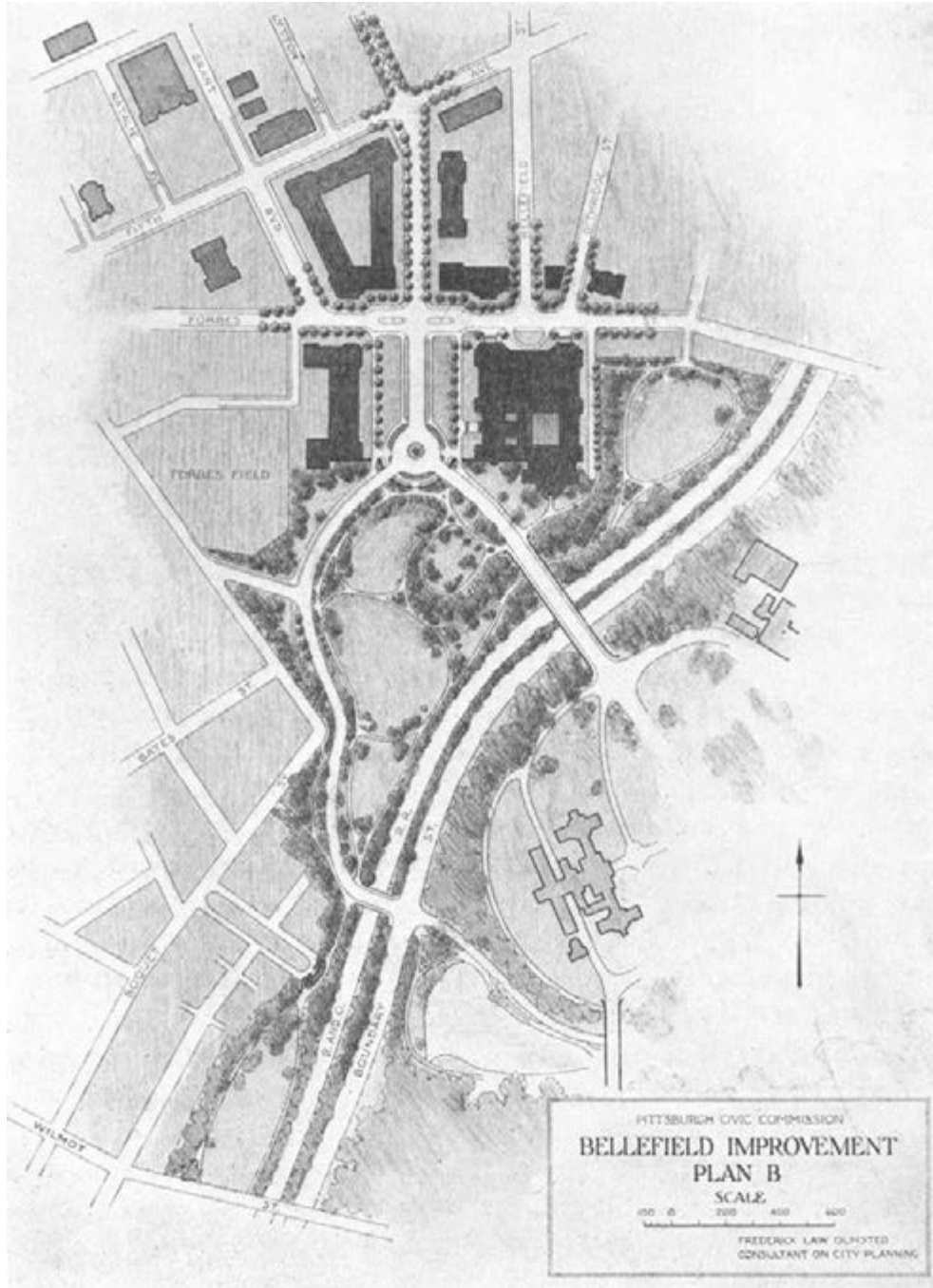


Figure 2-14: Frederick Law Olmsted [Jr.], “Bellefield Improvement, Plan B.” Frederick Law Olmsted [Jr.], “Bellefield Improvement, Plan A.” Olmsted, Frederick Law [Jr.]. Pittsburgh Main Thoroughfares and the Down Town District: Improvements Necessary to Meet the City’s Present and Future Needs; a Report by Frederick Law Olmsted; Prepared Under the Direction of the Committee on City Planning; Adopted by the Commission December 1910 (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Civic Commission, 1911), p. 103. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.



Figure 2-15: Composite by the author showing Olmsted's Plan B in red with green landscaping, superimposed over a composite of plat maps of Oakland, with key buildings cited by Schuyler highlighted in ochre.



Figure 2-16: "Cannon in Fountain Circle [Cannon Circle], Schenley Park, Pittsburgh, Pa.," postcard, n.d., c. 1900.
Collection of the author.

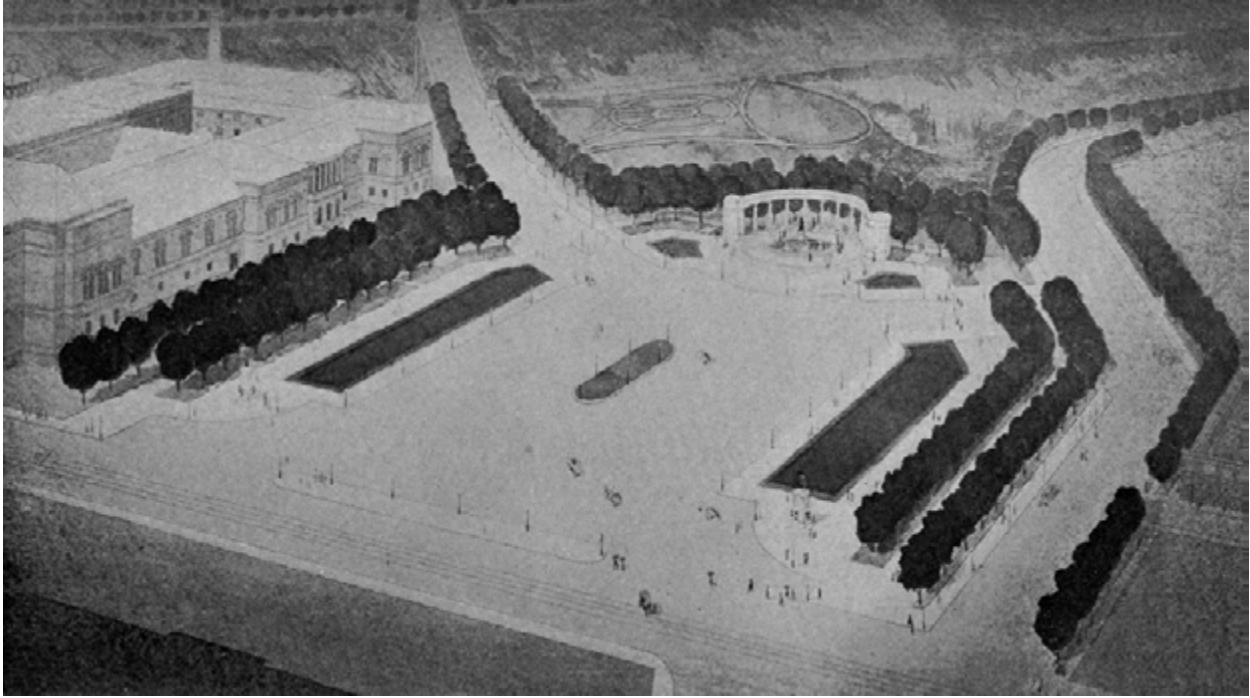


Figure 2-17: Horace Wells Sellers and H. Bartol Register, perspective drawing of Schenley Plaza, 1915. "Art Commission Annual Report," *Annual Reports of the Departments and Offices of the City of Pittsburgh, 1915* (Pittsburgh, 1915), p. 9.



Figure 2-18: Harry G. Sherman, "Pittsburgh's Civic Center." *Pittsburgh's Civic Center* (Pittsburgh: Harry G. Sherman, 1926), inside front cover. Carnegie Library, Pennsylvania Room, vertical file: Oakland 1900-1959.



Figure 2-19: "Schenley District, Pittsburgh's Billion Dollar Civic Center," postcard, n.d. (c. 1925). Note that the Mellon Institute (1931), the Young Men's Hebrew Association (1924), and the Board of Public Education (1927) are absent from Bellefield Street behind the Cathedral (designed 1925). Collection of the author.



Figure 2-20: Oakland. Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association. *A Plan for Pittsburgh's Cultural District, Oakland* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association, 1961), inside front cover. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-21: James Mitchell & Dahlen K. Ritchie, “Civic Group: Symphony Hall, Sports Arena, Open-Air Civic Opera, Museum and Cultural Center.” Mitchell & Ritchie, Architect Planners, Pittsburgh in Progress (Pittsburgh: Kaufmann’s Department Store, 1946), p. 11. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-22: James Mitchell & Dahlen K. Ritchie, “Metropolitan Civic Center Government Buildings.” Mitchell & Ritchie, Architect Planners, Pittsburgh in Progress (Pittsburgh: Kaufmann’s Department Store, 1946), p. 16.
Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-23: James Mitchell & Dahlen K. Ritchie, “Lower Hill Cultural Center,” 1953. Heinz History Center Library and Archives, Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh, Pa.), Photographs, 1892-1981, box 3, folder 16, Culture—Lower Hill Cultural Center.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-24: Lower Hill development, May 22, 1960. *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, <http://store.post-gazette.com/divinity-cart/item/P513/1960-Uptown-Renaissance-Photo/1.html>.

Image Omitted

Figure 2-25: Ladislav Segoe, Oakland Civic Center plans. "Oakland Rejuvenation Planned by Cincinnati Consultants," *The Charette*, vol. 31, no. 1 (January 1951), pp. 11, 12. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives.

3 Cleveland: Civilization and Cultivation in the Forest City

From almost the beginning, proponents of the grouping of public buildings allowed that cities could create more than one civic center, identifying a seemingly natural break between governmental and judicial buildings on the one hand and arts and educational institutions on the other.³⁶³ As we have already seen, Charles Mulford Robinson's unrealized 1907 proposal for Los Angeles posited two centers: an administrative and judicial grouping downtown, and an arts and educational grouping near the city's central park. Although separated by mere blocks, Robinson's two centers implied two different urban worlds, one of municipal participation, the other of self-discovery.³⁶⁴ Mapped to other American cities where urban parks had formed in quasi-suburban upscale residential districts far from bustling downtowns, such dual centers also would have been separated by great physical, not just conceptual, distance. Importantly, Robinson reserved the general term civic center for his administrative grouping and introduced the term cultural center for his arts and educational grouping, a dichotomy he applied to Pittsburgh in 1909.³⁶⁵ The Los Angeles plan never materialized, although Normal Hill site he identified continued to be described as a cultural center in local parlance,³⁶⁶ while Pittsburgh resisted Robinson's labeling of its Oakland neighborhood as "an educational and cultural center," favoring the term civic center in its more general sense of any grouping of public buildings inspiring civic pride.³⁶⁷

Robinson was active in the Playground Association of America at the same time as Charlotte Rumbold,³⁶⁸ a young woman making a name for herself in St. Louis. Rumbold had served on the Housing Committee when the Civic League compiled its 1907 neighborhood civic center plan,³⁶⁹ and in 1914 was described as the “best-known young woman in St. Louis” by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. When she was refused a modest pay increase by city alderman because of her gender in 1915, Rumbold accepted the position of secretary of the City Planning Committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, the body advising the most ambitious grouping of public buildings in America outside of Washington, D.C.³⁷⁰ Cleveland’s downtown administrative Group Plan had been immediately cited as a model civic center by John De Witt Warner in 1902.³⁷¹ The planning committee also took an active interest in the educational grouping emerging in Wade Park five miles to the east known as University Circle. In 1918, the chamber’s University Circle subcommittee issued an invitation to a Christmas party, actually a fund-raising event, “to develop this part of the city as an educational and cultural center.” The wording was likely composed by Rumbold herself.³⁷² Finally, Robinson’s dichotomy of civic center and cultural center had found application in actual developments in an American city.

The University Improvement Company, a land-bank formed by chamber members at that Christmas party, intended to buy up and reserve land around University Circle for architectural development favorable to the arts and educational institutions already gathered there, and particularly to induce more of the city’s cultural assets to relocate there. In her 1920 report to the National Conference on City Planning, Rumbold declares, “It is the confident expectation of the stockholders of the company that they will be able to develop an educational and cultural center second to none in the country.”³⁷³ The planners themselves adopted the term in 1928, describing the development as “a Cultural Center Plan at University Circle [...] analogous to the Group

Plan under which the downtown civic center is being developed,”³⁷⁴ and in 1929 *The Plain Dealer* proclaimed, “The dream of a cultural center for Cleveland at University Circle, to match the developing civic center on the Mall, [...] is slowly crystalizing from clouds of steam and the drumming of rivets.”³⁷⁵ In 1930, now a member of the Cleveland City Plan Commission, Rumbold again appeared before the National Conference on City Planning to report that the civic center and cultural center developing in Cleveland, along with the transportation hub connecting the two, were unique in the United States.³⁷⁶ She recounts,

The plan for the educational and cultural center built about the universities was started about eleven years ago, by practically the same men who started the Civic Center. They optioned or purchased the necessary acreage around the University for buildings for cultural and educational institutions which they knew the city would be obliged to have, and they did it deliberately to establish such a cultural center because they knew of the success of the Civic Center. There are now fourteen such institutions established in the University Circle Group, and there has been approximately the same amount of money spent on it as has been spent on the civic group. But not one bit of this money has come from public taxation money. [...]

In other words, the civic center—the Group Plan of Public Buildings—just because it is dependent upon taxation and must, therefore, run the various gauntlets of councilmanic action and vote of the people, and all the political hazards of partisanship and suspicion, lags behind the economic [transportation] and the cultural center. But there is no doubt that it was the inspiration of both of them.³⁷⁷

Rumbold notes that disappointing modifications to the downtown scheme had left it less than everything its planners had envisioned, the relocation of the train station in fact resulting in the separate transportation center nearby.³⁷⁸ Rumbold nevertheless insists that “the Group Plan is still to be the gateway to the city,”³⁷⁹ and that “its direct by-products are a cultural and educational group of buildings and a commercial and transportation group, both nearing completion, and both as truly representative of different sides of city life as is the civic center itself,” of which the citizens of Cleveland are equally if differently proud.³⁸⁰

Rumbold’s description of Cleveland implies an ideal itinerary. First visitors arrive at the civic center, threshold of the city; then, via its transportation center, they are quickly and conveniently whisked to the cultural center, “with its gardens and fountains and art collection and orchestra,”³⁸¹ serenely removed from the politics, economics, and commercialism of the downtown core. (It might seem rather that visitors would arrive by the transportation center and bypass the civic center altogether, but never mind.) For Rumbold, this ostensibly serendipitous but in fact meticulously preordained journey is the unique genius of the evolving Group Plan, a journey beginning with the grandiose impressiveness of its monumental Court of Honor, symbolic of an industrial juggernaut’s economic might, and arriving at the final destination: the city’s contemplative soul.³⁸² Robinson’s dichotomy had recalled the separate functions of civilization and cultivation in the ideal nation of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, but Rumbold set this ideal into motion, particularly in cultivation’s gathering up of the most able to reside at “the fountainheads of the humanities” to safeguard “the treasures of past civilization.”³⁸³ Left out of Rumbold’s account is the return trip, the dispersal of art and education back into the everyday world of workaday neighborhoods, public schools and branch libraries, factory and office workplaces, humble outposts in the cultural hinterlands. But the planners of University Circle

had by this time already adumbrated a Coleridgean circulatory system in which their cultural center, second to none in the country, would become imbricated in the urban fabric of an everyday American city through reciprocal branch cultural centers. It was a romantic vision every bit as ambitious as the original Group Plan itself.

3.1 The Group Plan for Cleveland: The Unfinishable Civic Center

The immediate inspiration for the Group Plan was the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. In the aftermath of the World's Fair, over the winter of 1894, the people of Chicago were contemplating which if any of the ephemeral plaster and wood exhibition buildings that formed the Court of Honor should be remade in permanent materials to adorn Jackson Park forever after. Montgomery Schuyler, dean of American architecture critics, expressed dire misgivings about the prospect of perpetuating the Fair in replica, either in Chicago or anywhere else.³⁸⁴ The White City had been "a triumph of *ensemble*,"³⁸⁵ he concedes, whose impact must certainly be great, but it would be "a masterpiece of misappreciation" to "be misled by the success of the buildings of the World's Fair into reproducing or imitating them"³⁸⁶ in an actual, workaday city. Schuyler warns,

The White City is the most integral, the most extensive, the most illusive piece of scenic architecture that has ever been seen. That is praise enough for its builders, without demanding for them the further praise of having made a useful and important contribution to the development of the architecture of the present [...]. It is essential to the illusion of a fairy city that it should not be an American city of the nineteenth century. It is a seaport on the coast of Bohemia, it is the capital

of No Man's Land. It is what you will, so long as you will not take it for an American city of the nineteenth century, nor its architecture for the actual or the possible or even the ideal architecture of such a city.³⁸⁷

Schuyler wonders whether any "sensitive person [would] desire to see even the best of [the World's Fair] buildings reproduced for the adornment of an American town" apart from their ideal setting together in Jackson Park.³⁸⁸ "Arcadian architecture is one thing and American architecture is another," he asserts, and if architecture is to be "real and living and progressive," it must be "the correlation of structure and function."³⁸⁹ Schuyler repeatedly contrasts the "stagesetting"³⁹⁰ of the White City and the vital demands of a real American city, and is unequivocal that the former is completely unsuitable as the model for the latter. However, Schuyler's determination was to be directly and immediately challenged.

In 1894, the Cleveland Architectural Club was founded by a number of junior partners, draftsmen and artists from local firms that had attended the World's Fair and were determined to make their city over in its likeness.³⁹¹ Within a year the club's roster had grown from 14 to 35, and included its newly-elected president Benjamin S. Hubbell and secretary Herbert B. Briggs.³⁹² In 1895 the club sponsored a competition for the "Grouping of Cleveland's Public Buildings" to raise awareness of the paucity of administrative and arts buildings in a city that lacked even so much as a dedicated city hall. The competition anticipated a long-deterred building spree to include perhaps monumental federal, county, and city buildings as well as a larger library, a public auditorium, an exhibition hall, a museum, and arts schools. The goal of the competition was to help leading Clevelanders envision these amenities grouped in a White City-like arrangement transferred from the shore of Lake Michigan to the shore of Lake Erie. First mention went to architect Dominick W. Benes for his plan, and the three top designs

contemplated reconfiguring Cleveland's erstwhile Public Square, eradicating the vice-ridden "tenderloin" district, and relating the new configuration of public buildings to the business district.³⁹³ Charles Olney, a juror in the original competition and a trustee of the Cleveland Public Library, served again as a juror in a second, more ambitious competition organized in 1898 that attracted 30 drawings. Supplemented by public discussions and speeches by members of the building committees of the various institutions, the success of this endeavor gave Olney the impetus to submit a resolution to the Chamber of Commerce to create a Grouping Plan committee early in the new year of 1899, which was adopted.³⁹⁴

Throughout the year, the Club hosted meetings and lectures to educate the public and promote the plan, including talks by H.K. Bush-Brown and John M. Carrère.³⁹⁵ Writing in *The Inland Architect and News Record*, Briggs frets over the notoriety Cleveland has garnered for its recent streetcar riots. "How would [Cleveland] be known if she were to so plan her coming public buildings as to present to the traveler a reality, in imperishable material, of the past Court of Honor at the World's Fair." Briggs asserts that the "commercial value to Cleveland of the grouping of her public buildings" could be considerable, "for no one can estimate the number of people who would visit the city to see and enjoy the wonderful picture of municipal enterprise and beauty."³⁹⁶ Briggs is endorsing precisely what would have struck Schuyler as an absurdity: a permanent exposition grounds in the heart of a thriving, workaday nineteenth-century American city. One might wonder how the routine conduct of municipal business by politicians and functionaries could hope to compete as a tourist attraction with the dazzling spectacle, or even the fond memory, of the World's Columbian Exposition.

In December 1899, a report of "the committee of five of the city's most public-spirited men" offers a lakefront scheme [Figure 3-1] that "will put our library, our city and county buildings

and possibly our public auditorium in the very heart of the city, and on its most beautiful and commanding site” in place of a red-light district. “This site destroys no existing structures of importance,” the report notes, but rather “makes an unsightly section beautiful and transforms it into a notable monument of usefulness and of art” while preserving most of the business center. Smoke and dirt from the rail lines cutting off the building group from the lake front park will be a minimal and temporary inconvenience offset by the grouping’s central location; future trains are anticipated to be smokeless within city limits.³⁹⁷ Briggs added in 1900, “An art museum will soon be built in Cleveland, but present plans, unfortunately, make provision to locate this building by itself in Wade Park, some four miles from the centre of the city.”³⁹⁸ Despite this disappointment, Briggs is confident that Cleveland’s citizens are beginning to recognize that their city has “an educational, an uplifting and ennobling side that demands recognition, and must group her buildings to keep abreast of the onward march of improvement and civilization.”³⁹⁹ Another observer claimed that Cleveland’s proposed grouping of public buildings, inspired by the World’s Fair, is the most ambitious urban aspiration to be expressed since the generation of the Founding Fathers.⁴⁰⁰

Progressive mayoral candidate Tom Johnson endorsed the Group Plan during his campaign and pursued its implementation after his election in 1901. The local chapter of the American Institute of Architects prevailed upon the Ohio legislature to authorize a three-man Group Plan commission. The commission was chaired by no less than Daniel Burnham, supervisor of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago; John M. Carrère, planner of the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo; and Arnold W. Brunner, recently named architect for the proposed Federal Building in Cleveland.⁴⁰¹ A preliminary sketch devised by Brunner [Figure 3-2] appeared Warner’s article, immediately elevating the project to a model in the new

movement to group public buildings in American cities. Brunner's early conception envisioned a music hall and art gallery as well as a library, courthouse and city hall surrounding, in Warner's words, "a court of honor overlooking Lake Erie," with Chamber of Commerce and Board of Education buildings flanking a smaller segment of the park at the distal end of the court from the lake.⁴⁰²

In 1903, the Group Plan Commission submitted their finalized report to the mayor in the form of a lavish, oversize folio with sumptuous plans and renderings as well as photographs of examples of key elements from European cities.⁴⁰³ The most widely reproduced image from the folio is a view overlooking the city toward the lakefront [Figure 3-3]. The majestic grouping, arrayed around the Court of Honor on axis with the gateway rail station, is bathed in light and seems to emerge in a sudden clearing from a darkened forest of irregular urban structures in the foreground. The unsettling angle of Euclid Avenue cutting through these structures and arriving at the Civil War memorial at Public Square in the lower left adds to the subtle menace of the unplanned city. The imagery recalls the language of John James Piatt's 1896 Centennial Ode to Cleveland, in which "Our City Beautiful," seen from afar and admired by all, emerges from "our proud Forest State."⁴⁰⁴ The diametrically opposed view from over Lake Erie [Figure 3-4], in some ways equally majestic, is seldom reproduced, no doubt because of the unsightly rail lines in the foreground that planners found stubbornly ineradicable. From this view, the commercial and industrial activity of city in the background is not dark and menacing; instead it fades off benignly and optimistically into a bright, obscuring mist. Significantly, many later civic center projects in cities like Chicago and Detroit would favor views of their proposed groupings from on or over the water.⁴⁰⁵

Burnham, author of the plan's text, sought nothing less than to set the architectural agenda for the entire city through the forceful model of the Group Plan. Citing the unprecedented opportunity for Cleveland and stressing the need for uniformity of classical treatment and material, Burnham asserts that "the architectural value of these buildings does not alone lie in their immediate effect upon the beholder, but much more in their permanent influence in all building operations of the city [...], both public and private." Burnham declares, "The jumble of buildings that surround us in our new cities contributes nothing valuable to life; on the contrary, it sadly disturbs our peacefulness and destroys that repose within us which is the true basis of contentment." The Group Plan should "set an example of simplicity and uniformity" of harmony for the rest of the city to follow.⁴⁰⁶ Some years later, Arnold Brunner reflected on the purpose of the Group Plan as not only providing a successful arrangement of buildings within itself, but of exerting an authoritarian influence over the future development of the entire physical city. "In designing the Group Plan we were not unmindful of the rest of the city," he recalls. "We had dreamed of a comprehensive plan, but the time had not yet come for its preparation."⁴⁰⁷ Brunner considers "a great Civic Centre and comprehensive plan" the two essential components necessary for guiding the city's "future triumphant development."⁴⁰⁸

The divine and eternal authority and influence of the Group Plan are inscribed and permanently affixed within Brunner's 1910 Federal Building, the first component of the plan to be realized (today the Howard Metzenbaum Federal Building). A mural by William H. Low entitled *The City of Cleveland, Supported by Federal Power, Welcomes the Arts Bearing the Plan for the New Civic Center* features a triangular composition of three allegorical female figures painted in oil on canvas and affixed to the wall [Figure 3-6]. In the center at the apex sits the City of Cleveland holding court from her outdoor throne, with Federal Power, a Columbia or

Liberty figure, resting her left arm and cradled sword on the City's right knee. The City, her arms outstretched, gestures toward the Arts, who has arrived on a gondola bearing the Great Seal of the United States, and reaches for the plan of the civic center. Here the already oversized, mass-produced folio has been magically transformed into its pre-modern prototype, an even larger handmade scroll embossed with a seal, which the Arts cradles in her left arm. Seals of the City of Cleveland and the State of Ohio are suspended on pillars behind the two peripheral figures, and the clouded horizon of Lake Erie evokes an eternal, mythological setting.⁴⁰⁹ The hubris of enshrining the Group Plan in the first building of the plan to be erected, as if the entire scheme was an inevitable if not presently accomplished fact, is somewhat disguised by the plan being only partially visible in the unfurled scroll. What is revealed is only the portion of the plan along Superior Avenue where the Federal Building has been located, while the rest of the plan remains hidden from view. The plan in the mural in fact corresponds to Burnham, Carrère and Brunner's more modest "Scheme B" from the folio [Figure 3-5], a version that omits the monumental buildings flanking either side of the Mall in the perspective views, leaving them to a future time. The Arts' coy gesture of modesty, the fingers of her right hand touching her sternum, is also a defensive gesture; her right elbow fends off the entreating grasp of the City who wishes to see all of the plan at once. This interplay seems less an attempt to create suspense (impossible since the ambitions of the plan were already well known) than a calculated decision on the part of the developers to hedge their bets. In the area taken up by the larger unfurled scroll, the Arts could have shown an unobstructed view of a full page of the folio at its printed size, and this may well have been Low's original compositional intent. Instead, the unfinished Group Plan, elevated to divine status in Low's mural, exists complete and inviolable only in the imagination, independent of the future realization of its remaining components.

The Group Plan of Cleveland may have been a divine gift from the Arts, but it was not a legally binding contract on any of the public institutions the planners sought to include. The coy treatment of the plan in Low's mural underscores the fatal flaw of the Group Plan and many civic center schemes that would follow: it could only be a fill-in-the blank layout with a provisional wish-list of public institutions to be named later. In the years that followed, the necessary land for the ambitious project was duly acquired and key components came to pass over the ensuing years: the Federal Building, including a U.S. Post Office, Custom House, and Court House (today the Howard Metzenbaum Federal Building) on Superior Avenue in 1910; the Cuyahoga County Courthouse on Lakeside Avenue in 1912; the City Hall mirroring it on Lakeside in 1916; the Public Auditorium on East 6th Street in the 1920s; the main branch of the Cleveland Public Library on Superior in 1925; and the Board of Education Headquarters Building on East 3rd Street in 1931.⁴¹⁰ But key components such as the Union Railway Station, which Burnham had regarded as the essential modern gateway or "vestibule" to the city,⁴¹¹ was defiantly placed on the other side of Public Square by its private backers.⁴¹² Just as importantly, the art museum dealt a blow to the plan by declining to locate downtown altogether. Although the Group Plan attracted other monumental buildings to the vicinity, such as the Federal Reserve Bank opposite the school board building on East 6th Street in 1923,⁴¹³ much of the Mall's western flank remained undeveloped for decades. Today, a towering Marriot hotel abuts the Howard Metzenbaum courthouse, and construction of a widely-criticized medical marketplace facility intrudes into the planner's central park space.⁴¹⁴

Nonetheless the Group Plan on paper was seen as having a crucial if not exactly divine role in concretizing the ephemeral White City of 1893 in *American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art*. In their 1922 treatise, Berlin-born Werner Hegemann and Cleveland

native and Western Reserve University graduate Elbert Peets champion “the civic center movement” as among America’s most important contributions to modern civic art.⁴¹⁵ According to the authors, “[T]he American movement for ‘civic centers’ got its first impetus” from the World’s Fair of 1893, and although its ideas “had vanished with the destruction of the Chicago Fair,” they had “found permanent expression in the civic center group of Cleveland.”⁴¹⁶ As the Group Plan had at least partially demonstrated, the ideal civic center should consist of “everything the modern civic reformer wants to bring together: council chamber, law court, chapel, library and picture gallery, dance hall and pleasure grounds.”⁴¹⁷ The authors sound a Burhamian tone of benevolent authoritarianism under which the private development of the surrounding city should voluntarily submit. They instruct planners, “The esthetic control of larger areas should be contemplated when it comes to the setting of the civic center of a city.”⁴¹⁸ Like the movement itself, the authors in *Civic Art* are intent on “extending the architect’s sphere of influence,” insisting especially on

the desirability of grouping buildings into harmonious ensembles, of securing dominance of some buildings over others, so that by the willing submission of the less to the greater there may be created a larger, more monumental unity; a unity comprising at least a group of buildings with their surroundings, if possible entire districts and finally even, it may be hoped, entire cities.⁴¹⁹

This had been the precise intention of the Group Plan according to Brunner. Although perhaps imperfectly realized as an ideal grouping of public buildings, the Group Plan idea was by no means constrained to the downtown.

3.2 University Circle: A Museum in Wade Park

In his 1902 article “Civic Centers,” Warner cited the Cleveland Group Plan, already in its early stages of development under Burnham, Carrère, and Brunner, as a model of the civic center genre. Warner noted that “the Art Gallery is seeking for a site,” and reproduced an early sketch by Brunner [Figure 3-2] that assumed an art gallery as part of “a court of honor overlooking Lake Erie.”⁴²⁰ However, this particular institution eluded the grasp of Group Plan backers. The Cleveland Museum of Art, a consortium of collectors, collections and patrons coalescing in promises and on paper over several years but lacking a permanent building in fact, opted out of the downtown scheme early in the planning process. Ostensibly in view of the very real threat of fire that could sweep dense urban districts and wipe out irreplaceable art treasures, the trustees aimed instead for a more contemplative setting in the city’s plush urban park. However, the decision had been influenced just as substantially by a powerful trustee who, in addition to his love of art, wanted a palace of culture near his inherited land holdings as well as the upscale residential district he was developing through his real estate company. The siting of the museum in Wade Park, at the circular streetcar terminus of Euclid Avenue called University Circle adjoining Western Reserve University and the Case School of Applied Science, would form the nucleus of a grouping of arts and educational institutions for the city.

Since the 1870s the city enjoyed temporary art exhibitions, sometimes of the personal prized collections of prominent residents who had gathered works from abroad, and often held in their private mansions. Growing private collections and promises of posthumous gifts of valued objects and cash for a permanent museum building led a coalition of interested collectors in 1892 to approach Jephtha Homer Wade II, heir to substantial real estate holdings on Cleveland’s

upscale East End, to purchase a site for an art museum in Wade Park for \$100,000. Wade's grandfather had attracted Western Reserve University and the Case School of Applied Science to the park in the 1880s, setting aside an 8-acre tract for a theological college that was invited to relocate there. Wade, who had title to this land and was just then developing the city's most luxurious residential district adjacent to it, was a frequent traveler to Europe's art museums and an enthusiastic and discerning collector of a wide range of objects. Facing a mounting lobbying effort to release the set-aside tract for park land, Wade declined to sell; instead, he shrewdly volunteered to donate the land as a museum site, ensuring himself a role in its development as a powerful benefactor of the museum.⁴²¹

The Christmas Eve announcement of Wade's donation was accompanied by further pledges of collections and donations by still more prominent Clevelanders. The editors of *The Cleveland Leader* heralded the gift, effusing that "a magnificent temple of art will stand in a beautiful park which is already the most popular outdoor resort in Cleveland" in the immediate vicinity of the schools. "The visitor can turn from the glories of art to the loveliness of nature," the editors effused, in surroundings fit for "the study and enjoyment of the beautiful." On its location apart from the Group Plan, the editors remarked, "A feast for the beautiful is better enjoyed when it is a little apart from the associations and surroundings of business life."⁴²²

However, hopes of luring the museum back into the downtown grouping did not subside. In 1896, the Chamber of Commerce formed an Art Museum Committee to reconcile the various bequests into a unified plan for a museum building, but also no doubt to keep alive the possibility of siting it in the downtown Mall.⁴²³ In 1897, the Western Reserve Historical Society decided to relocate from its longtime home on Public Square, adjacent to the Mall, to University Circle opposite Wade Park in expectation of the new museum, in order to benefit from the proximity to

educational institutions already clustered there.⁴²⁴ Despite the glimmers of an exodus of culture and learning from downtown to University Circle, *The Ohio Architect and Builder* complained that the museum's site on the outskirts of Cleveland would constrain public attendance to monthly visits at best, whereas on the Mall it could be enjoyed by citizens almost daily. The publication's editors pointed to the poor attendance figures for the Field Museum in remote Jackson Park, a mere one-tenth of the robust numbers enjoyed by the downtown Art Institute of Chicago, and forecasted a similar fate for the Cleveland Museum of Art if it persisted in its plans to locate in Wade Park.⁴²⁵

Nonetheless, there were those who saw great potential in the development of two separate monumental architectural centers in Cleveland. In 1901, *Plain Dealer* owner and real estate investor Liberty Holden spoke eloquently before the Chamber of Commerce,

Magnificent indeed will be the double expression of the group plan when an art museum and the college buildings in the east end shall have been built in such number and with such accommodations as to meet with all the wants of higher education [...] all cooperating under the university idea and grouped in wisdom for convenience in attendance of laboratory and lecture.⁴²⁶

Holden's formulation, liberally permitting the Group Plan to have a "double expression" four miles apart, is remarkable enough, but his regard for the museum and similar institutions as integral components of a "university idea" is perhaps the most visionary pronouncement in the annals of Cleveland planning. In essence his message to the chamber was that the city was not losing an art museum, it was gaining a cultural center, although that term had yet to find use in city planning. Nonetheless the idea of two centers at either end of what was then the extent of

Euclid Avenue and in particular the premonition of the art and educational synergies possible for University Circle were ideas ahead of their time.

Although outwardly the proposed Cleveland Museum of Art appeared to be a single museum, in the small print and in fact it was to be three separate museums derived from three separate large estates, somewhat uncomfortably conjoined within one building. The sometimes contentious negotiations that arrived at this delicate arrangement consumed the remainder of the 1890s.⁴²⁷ More important than the legalistic firewalls within the museum's organizational structure was the fact that Wade, now a trustee, through his gift of land as well as his own considerable wealth and extensive collections of objects, could be seen as an honest broker, neutral and independent of the three estates. As a consequence, Wade was able to exert a quiet but pervasive influence over the physical development and management of the museum in its formative decades. In 1906, the museum's board of trustees was persuaded to elect Wade's personal architect, Dominick W. Benes to design the museum building. Benes, who had received first mention for his Group Plan design in 1895, and in the meantime had designed the interiors of Wade's yacht and the music room of his mansion, had also gone into partnership with Benjamin S. Hubbell, who had presided over the Architectural Club in the late 1890s as it promoted the Group Plan. Hubbell and Benes, with Wade as their patron, set out to design the most advanced public museum in the world.⁴²⁸

When the new museum building debuted in 1916, a stark contrast was noted between the imposing, rigid formality of the downtown Group Plan and the informal character of the nascent "University Circle group," each appropriate for its purpose. "The location of the museum among the trees of Wade Park," as I.T. Frary later recounts, was a conscious decision to stand apart "from the smoke and dust of the downtown district" and for the city "to develop along logical

and artistic lines.” Frary recalls, “[I]t was at one time strongly urged that the new Art Museum be made a part” of the Group Plan, but “wiser counsels prevailed, fortunately, and a new center of educational and ecclesiastical institutions” promises to unfold at University Circle as a result, “adjacent to one of Cleveland’s choice residential districts.” Frary notes, “A formal, arbitrary scheme has been adopted in the downtown group,” although “such uniformity of style and placing would be neither possible nor desirable” at University Circle. “At the National Conference for City Planning held recently in Cleveland a drawing was exhibited by Hubbell and Benes in which the possibilities of this grouping were shown,” Frary concludes, “and it is to be hoped that ultimately some such plan will be adopted” at University Circle.⁴²⁹ The contrast in character between the Group Plan and University was no accident; neither was the exhibition of Hubbell and Benes’ scheme at the conference, an event that had been carefully calculated to coincide with the dedication of their new museum building.⁴³⁰

3.3 The University of Cleveland: The University Improvement Company and the Museum and Educational Council, 1914-1924

In 1900 Frederick Allen Whiting was on a ship to England to study the utopian community of Port Sunlight when he met a member of the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts, a chance encounter leading to his first job in art as secretary of the organization. Whiting was particularly interested in educational efforts through the society and insisted on high standard for goods sold in the society shop, raising the ire of the socialist craftsmen whose works vied for space in the shop who twice sought Whiting’s removal. Despite this turmoil, in 1904 Whiting organized the Division of Applied Arts for the St. Louis Exposition and was recognized as a national

spokesman for the Arts and Crafts movement. Whiting left the society in 1912 to serve less than a year as director of the John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis (its founder having no relation to Pittsburgh's John W. Herron) before accepting the position of director of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Although he had no role in the planning of Hubbell and Benes' museum building, Whiting established the institutional operations within it, particularly the management of collections and organization of educational programs, and worked closely with the architects on completing and refining spaces within the building to meet future operational needs.⁴³¹

Whiting developed a strong working relationship with trustee Wade, who became a strong advocate for Whiting on the board. Wade was also a connoisseur of excellent taste able to offer invaluable and impartial advice to Whiting on art acquisitions, and a major donor of objects to the museum from his own extensive private holdings that were dangled in front of the director from time to time. Wade also shared with Whiting larger ambitions for the educational mission of the museum throughout the city and the development of University Circle in particular.⁴³²

Whiting quickly joined Hubbell on the Municipal Art and Architecture Committee of the Chamber of Commerce in 1914,⁴³³ and served on the committee alongside Hubbell for the duration of his tenure as museum director.⁴³⁴ It was on this committee that the two men could influence the development of the University Circle neighborhood around their new museum, both as surrogates for their patron Wade and on behalf of their own respective agendas.

The idea of uniting Wade Park neighbors Western Reserve University and Case School of Applied Science into a combined "University of Cleveland" had been suggested as early as 1882.⁴³⁵ Despite the logical appeal of economies of scale and increased administrative efficiency, the proposal rankled powerful alumni who cited independent traditions and incompatible academic and institutional cultures. Some even protested the proposed name on the

grounds that the University of Cleveland connoted a mere “municipal” university.⁴³⁶ However, construction of the new museum building in Wade Park presented to those sympathetic to unification an opportunity to revisit the question from the fresh perspective of civic improvement to the area. In February 1914, Hubbell and Whiting both attended a meeting of Municipal Art and Architecture Committee where the subject of discussion was “the future physical development of the city.” Hubbell brought along three drawings, presumably prepared by Benes, which he discussed at length, including “two indicating possible developments in the neighborhood of University Circle,” and one of “a plan for the grouping of buildings to house the University of Cleveland.”⁴³⁷ What these drawings may have indicated is unknown, along with their present whereabouts,⁴³⁸ and it is unclear to what extent Hubbell’s conception of a University of Cleveland was dependent upon the formal merging of institutions under a single administration, or whether a more informal association under something like Liberty Holden’s “university idea” was the intent. In any case, Whiting’s presence as the new museum director signaled his intense interest in the possibilities for development and expansion at University Circle.

In December 1915, the committee discussed the possibility of hosting the 1916 National City Planning Conference as an opportunity to further their goals in developing a city plan for Cleveland, and for educating the public architecturally. Hubbell was confident that necessary funding could be obtained.⁴³⁹ Set for June 5 through 7, 1916, Hubbell served as chair and Whiting as a member on the Subcommittee on Arrangements,⁴⁴⁰ and Hubbell personally travelled to Boston to coordinate programming with the national body.⁴⁴¹ “Cleveland architects were invited to prepare drawings showing possible improvements in various portions of the city,” Hubbell later recalled. “Among the drawings was a plan submitted by Hubbell & Benes

under the title of The Proposed University of Cleveland.”⁴⁴² The drawings were hung in the Chamber of Commerce building on June 5.⁴⁴³ On the following day the main conference luncheon was held there, and in the evening conference attendees were treated to a “social gathering” at the museum on the eve of its public dedication to “secure the attention of some of Cleveland’s socially prominent people.” The rhetorical tour de force of a private preview of Hubbell and Benes’ state-of-the-art museum linked with their plans for the future development of University Circle must certainly have secured attention.

Everything about Hubbell and Benes’ plan [Figure 3-7], produced with the input of the Municipal Art and Architecture Committee,⁴⁴⁴ seems calculated to rival Burnham and company’s downtown Group Plan. Measuring 102” x 65 ½” and originally was surrounded by an ornate frame, with north oriented to the left, the plan shows 51 numbered buildings from Wade Park to the Case and Western Reserve campuses. Building number 1 is the Cleveland Museum of Art [Figure 3-8], indicating that Hubbell and Benes viewed their new building as merely the beginning of a new era of development at University Circle that would tie together all of the educational facilities of the city into one massive University of Cleveland.⁴⁴⁵ No legend for the other fifty buildings naming the intended institutions can be located, but at least one other building can be identified with certainty. Building number 18, seen at the center of the plan on axis with Euclid Avenue before it forks off and continues obliquely to the north, corresponds to the main Administration Building of the University of Cleveland [Figure 3-10] described in other sources,⁴⁴⁶ and a “Future Administration Building” is identified in the corresponding location in a 1927 sketch by Hubbell and Benes [Figure 3-14]. A darkened 5” x 7” hand-painted glass slide in the unprocessed Hubbell papers dating from circa 1916 shows perhaps the original conceptualization of this building [Figure 3-9], clearly on axis with Euclid Avenue as it splits

into a “Y” as it approaches the building, with incongruously disproportioned automobiles and streetcars in the foreground.

Hubbell suggested that the southern extension of Wade Park might be named Liberty Square, “Place de la Victorie” (sic), Rockefeller Quadrangle, or Carnegie Square.⁴⁴⁷ Hubbell also enumerated various institutions he had in mind for the 1916 plan, including the Cleveland School of Art, the school of architecture, the Museum of Natural History, a proposed war memorial museum, the school of music, an addition to the normal school, and a large high school grouping.⁴⁴⁸ Hubbell’s identification of the central curving strip of parkland as the “University Campus” suggests a conception of the university that went beyond the administrative confines of a single institution to heterogeneously embrace all of the assembled art and educational assets of the plan. With Public Square at one end of Euclid Avenue and University Circle at the other, there was a certain geometric symbolism that would be lost by the eradication of the streetcar turn-around; but a new symbolism would be created by the groupings of public buildings. The rectangular Court of Honor of Burnham’s Group Plan would now be complemented by the serpentine curve of Hubbell’s University of Cleveland campus. The nearly symmetrical curve of the campus plan from north to south, hinging on Euclid and the former circle, takes advantage of the happenstance of the lagoon and the somewhat off-kilter placement of the museum north of Euclid, and is reflected by a new extension to the park to the south, and a large building that may have been intended as the Museum of Natural History to balance the art museum. The desire of the plan is make it appear as if it had been the original intent all along, predating even the art museum. The result consciously departs from the rigid rectilinearity of the downtown Group Plan and signals the quite different institutional ambitions of the grouping at University Circle.

No doubt, Whiting's contribution to the University of Cleveland plan was substantial. As partner with the architects in the museum, as the director of the institution on which the entire University Circle plan keyed, and as a member of the Chamber's planning committee familiar with the plan since its earliest moments on the drawings boards, not to mention his participation in the plan's promotion, it follows that Whiting's input for the development of University Circle would have been sought and regarded as crucial. One important contribution Whiting unambiguously claims to have made was the inclusion of a grouping of museums and art schools in the University of Cleveland concept. As Whiting later recalled, he had approached Charles Franklin Thwing, President of Western Reserve University, in 1916 with "my plan for grouping the museums together on East Boulevard," to bring all of the arts and educational assets of the city into physical and institutional relation with the combined university.⁴⁴⁹ Whiting thought that the University should acquire the property immediately to prevent commercial development and hold it until future museum tenants could relocate there. Thwing seems to have been uninterested in the level of cooperation Whiting's proposal implied, and in any case Western University's trustees declined to acquire the land on the grounds that the university already had sufficient land necessary for its own future expansion, and further, was not a holding company.⁴⁵⁰ Still, Hubbell and Benes visibly incorporated Whiting's suggestion, although in their plan the museums and schools are relocated from Whiting's preferred East Boulevard location, where they would be contiguous to the University campus, to East 107th Street on the opposite side of Wade Lagoon. Taken literally, Hubbell's initial 1914 conception of a University of Cleveland envisioned only the unified schools of Case and Western Reserve, and the future expansion of the campus involving facilities directly under the combined university's institutional control. In that case, Whiting's suggestion to invite other independent arts institutions like the Cleveland Museum of

Art to join it at University Circle would have been a significant enlargement of Hubbell's vision, one that the architects enthusiastically embraced.

Following the conference, the plans were exhibited at city hall briefly before taking up semi-permanent residence in a special exhibition room at the museum.⁴⁵¹ In the meantime, the Municipal Art and Architecture Committee was renamed the City Plan Committee, with both Hubbell and Whiting remaining key members.⁴⁵² In January 1918, Hubbell presented slides of more drawings of the University of Cleveland as well as colored drawings by Jules Guerin from the 1909 Plan of Chicago by Burnham and Bennett to the University Circle subcommittee. Of the 160 acres the plan encompassed, 26.9 remained outside of the control of the city or institutions involved in the plan. Hubbell was encouraged to develop these plans further, with particular attention paid to the privately-owned strip of land west of the lagoon necessary for a museum grouping. Acquisition of this strip would require costly condemnation proceedings, or else the present owner would have to be persuaded to keep commercial development within the subcommittee's cultural objectives for the neighborhood. To prepare for either contingency, Hubbell prepared plans for both educational buildings and "high-class apartments."⁴⁵³ Meeting again in August, Hubbell explained the latest plans and drawings, stressing the need to purchase additional properties for their realization. It was suggested that a promoter with a million-dollar pool of capital was needed. Wade took an active part in discussions of real estate values and the need for at least a \$300,000 pool. Western Reserve president Thwing stated that the university was pursuing its own acquisitions east of Adelbert Road while Case president Howe remarked that his school had enough land for the next century. "If at any time, however, the institutions of higher education in that neighborhood should be merged into a University of Cleveland," Howe demurred, "such an institution would be deeply interested. The land would then be needed." But

this was spoken of as if it were only a remote possibility. However, the subcommittee seemed intent on proceeding with improvements to University Circle, notwithstanding the level of enthusiasm of Case or Western Reserve, the ostensive partners in a University of Cleveland.⁴⁵⁴

In the fall of 1918, the City Plan Committee resolved that the Hubbell and Benes plan “will result in a distinct gain in the landscape and architectural effect of this portion of the City and in the efficiency of the religious and educational institutions located on said property.” However, private landowners were reluctant to abide by proposed restrictions on development circulated by the committee.⁴⁵⁵ Hubbell himself had taken options on certain properties, and the University Circle subcommittee discussed forming a stock company to acquire more property directly. Proposed names for the company included the University Circle Improvement Company, the Cleveland Improvement Company, and the Fairmount Avenue Improvement Company. Hubbell was tasked by the subcommittee to settle on a proper name.⁴⁵⁶ Over the Thanksgiving weekend, Hubbell wrestled with the related problem of how to conceive of the development of University Circle. Central to his concept was the overarching idea of a University of Cleveland. A draft memo queries, “Would it not be possible to organize the University of Cleveland so as to embrace all the higher educational organizations of Cleveland and to arrange for a great campus as shown by our plan, building various structures for different colleges?” A wish-list of more than twenty colleges and schools is included, along with proposed benefactors, and the memo intimates that a new Board of Education headquarters might be lured away from the downtown Group Plan in the wake of the Union Station fiasco to join the university group. Almost as an afterthought the memo recommends, “The University should also co-ordinate with it, the work being done by The Cleveland Museum of Art, the Western Reserve Historical Society, the

proposed Army and Navy War Museum, the proposed Natural History Museum, the proposed Scientific Museum and possibly the work of the Cleveland Normal School.”⁴⁵⁷

While the memo ostensibly makes a strong argument for the University of Cleveland, the plea in fact reads like a swansong. On its face, the single university idea seems perfectly rational, but in practice would have required a megalomaniacal administrative structure amply justifying the massive Administrative Building proposed by Hubbell and Benes to dominate the new hierarchy. The frankly plaintive wording of the memo, calling for embrace and coordination as organizing principles, seems to already acknowledge the reality that an administrative unification was unlikely. If the University of Cleveland was not a practical possibility, it was also a dysfunctional metaphor for civic improvement at University Circle.

The name finally adopted for the stock enterprise was the University Improvement Company, a curiously minimalist compromise between the suggested choices. Chamber members were named executive officers, with Hubbell as architectural advisor. An invitation to a holiday luncheon hosted by the City Plan Committee, explicitly designed to enlist stockholders in the new venture, went out to “friends” interested “in the proposal to develop this part of the city as an educational and cultural center.” Featured was a talk by Hubbell to discuss “the University Circle project” illustrated with architectural and landscape drawings, accompanied by a financial status report. The meeting ended with an opportunity for attendees to become stock subscribers.⁴⁵⁸ The new company, with \$275,000 pledged, met for the first time in January 1919, and Wade was a top-level subscriber.⁴⁵⁹ Secretary Rumbold subsequently reported to the National Conference on City Planning, “It is the confident expectation of the stockholders of the company that they will be able to develop an educational and cultural center second to none in the country.”⁴⁶⁰

More important than the naming of the company was the invitation's subtle but profound shift in language. The University of Cleveland, the term Hubbell had invariably associated with the project, had been quietly omitted. The goal to create a monolithic university, a conception that depended upon administrative unification and centralized authority, had been transmuted into something called an educational and cultural center, a metaphor suggesting proximity and shared purpose. The goal was no longer overcoming entrenched institutional resistance but establishing as it were a coalition of the willing, with institutional participation and cooperation left open to a wide degree of interpretation. Rumbold, who almost certainly composed the invitation, introduced Charles Mulford Robinson's term to Cleveland for the first time; more importantly, she accomplished a deft conceptual feat that Hubbell in his ruminations had been unable to do. Not only had the scheme acquired economic leverage in the form of a capitalized stock company; it had been entirely rebranded. Henceforth University Circle would be the educational and cultural center of Cleveland.

Whiting, who was not involved in the company, had been consumed meanwhile with getting the Cleveland Museum of Art and its exhibition and educational programs up and running. As the new decade dawned, key personnel and established routines were finally in place at the museum. Still without a willing partner at Western Reserve University, Whiting pursued his agenda for educational cooperation in Cleveland independently. In November 1921, Whiting invited leaders from the Museum of Natural History, the Western Reserve Historical Society, and the Cleveland School of Education to form what was then called the Museum and Educational Council, the goal of which was to find ways to cooperate on outreach programs and eliminate duplication of effort.⁴⁶¹ Whiting notified Wade in Florida, "I believe [the Museum and Educational Council] is going to have an important influence in developing the kind of co-

operation we desire among the museums and educational institutions of Cleveland.⁴⁶² In an invitation to the first monthly luncheon meeting, Whiting confided to a prospective member, “I believe that this organization means a very important development in museum history and is going to be the means of closer cooperation and of correlation of the work of all the museums” in Cleveland.⁴⁶³

In a 1922 *Scribner's* article, Rossiter Howard, the museum's Curator of Educational Work, identified the key challenge Whiting had set for his museum staff internally and pursued more widely through the Educational Council: to assuage the fears of the connoisseur that the quality of the collection and aesthetic experience would not be sacrificed for the sake of community education. “In cultivating public taste it is not necessary to begin with the poor and progress toward the excellent,” Howard argues. “One can begin with the easily comprehended and progress toward the more difficult—more complex and subtle, always on a high plane.”⁴⁶⁴ To that end, the museum viewed its collections as teaching collections as far as the proper treatment of irreplaceable treasures would permit, supplemented by an educational department collection of replaceable but still beautiful objects that allowed circulation to schools and libraries.⁴⁶⁵

Howard reasons,

The museum cannot go into every place in the city where its influence is needed, nor can it contain all the people who need its inspiration. But means are certain to be found— perhaps through branches, like those of the public library, perhaps through a larger development of lending collections.

Howard sums up the aspirations of the museum as

an active element in the community—lightening the life of the poor, chastening the tastes of the rich, vitalizing the work of the schools, improving the output of

industry, creating more efficient salesmen in the stores, increasing the value of real estate, [and becoming] a possible community centre for music, drama, and all the arts which go to make the city a better place in which to live.⁴⁶⁶

Meanwhile Hubbell and the University Improvement Company, which had experienced early success in acquiring properties around Wade Park, began running into strong headwinds. By 1922 it was becoming increasingly clear that control of properties south of Euclid Avenue, necessary to realize the “Place de la Victorie,” would prove elusive. At an executive meeting in 1922, stockholder and museum trustee F.F. Prentiss declared that extending Wade Park south of Euclid Avenue was impossible, and that in his view “the present stockholders did not care to go further” than protecting the museum by encouraging friendly private development along East 107th Street north of Euclid. Such a pronouncement was another blow to Hubbell’s ambitions for a larger University of Cleveland, and in consideration of his considerable pro bono work Hubbell was offered a consolation prize: the option of acquiring the various stray properties south of Euclid that were no longer of any use to the company at little more than cost.⁴⁶⁷

Hubbell continued to resist the shrinking of his plan, but from this point on the University Improvement Company served little purpose other than to maintain certain properties until future cultural tenants could be located. By 1924, the University Improvement Company was forced to make a land swap with the Epworth Methodist Church to avoid incurring extra fees on certain of its holdings on East 107th. Benes endorsed the trade, declaring flatly that “the architectural possibilities of the neighborhood had already been destroyed.”⁴⁶⁸ Hubbell and Benes continued to refine their University of Cleveland Administration Building, offering a streamlined rendering minus the imposing dome [Figure 3-10], as well as a plan [Figure 3-11] and rendering [Figure 3-12] for a museum grouping around Wade Lagoon.⁴⁶⁹ But the plan, concentrating on

institutions above Euclid Avenue and excluding Western Reserve University and Case School campuses, represented a substantially more modest development than the one originally envisioned by Hubbell and Benes in 1916. The plan and rendering of the new grouping reveals a strong cross-axis between the museum and the lagoon and between what are presumably schools for art and drama, intersecting in a Fine Arts Garden. The proposed Administration Building is nowhere represented in this configuration.

From this point forward, the physical planning of University Circle would be largely restricted to a grouping of monumental buildings north of Euclid Avenue and east of the Cleveland Museum of Art, ironically approximating Whiting's original 1916 idea for an East Boulevard grouping of museums. Hubbell's presence faded from the planning process and the University of Cleveland name was quietly retired. Physical planning would increasingly fall to Frank R. Walker, an architect Hubbell invited into the City Plan Committee as an advisor in 1921.⁴⁷⁰ Even after the dissolution of the University Improvement Company and the disposal of the last property in 1930, Hubbell still called upon the city to extend Wade Park south of Euclid Avenue.⁴⁷¹ But if the 1920s had dashed Hubbell's ambitions to compete with Burnham's Group Plan on the opposite end of Euclid, Whiting in the meantime had finally found a willing partner at the university for his long-abiding educational goals.

In February 1923, Whiting sent a note of congratulations to Robert S. Vinson upon his appointment as president of Western Reserve University, hoping for an "early opportunity to discuss matters bearing upon cooperation."⁴⁷² A year later, Whiting met with Vinson about an art appreciation course to be taught at the university by a museum curator.⁴⁷³ By a remarkable coincidence, a subcommittee charged with studying the issue of unification of Case and Western Reserve in 1920 had just reported back with a favorable recommendation, urging that foundation

support be sought to survey higher educational needs in Cleveland.⁴⁷⁴ Vinson had also just returned from a meeting in New York with Frederick A. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation, who was willing to underwrite an experiment in university, museum, and library cooperation in Cleveland. Vinson suggested working up a proposal with Whiting to present to Keppel. Whiting enthusiastically reported to Wade in Florida, “As you will perhaps remember, I tried to get President Thwing interested in this plan in 1916, and it seems too good to be true to feel that it is now probably on the verge of working out.”⁴⁷⁵ Whiting lost no time in requesting a meeting with Keppel to discuss “an experiment in coöperation on a large scale, which might establish precedents for other cities throughout the country.” Whiting insisted, “I am so thoroughly convinced that we are on the verge of exceedingly important developments along the lines indicated, and the situation is so peculiarly ripe for the big plan I have in mind,” that any delay could be detrimental.⁴⁷⁶ Over the following weeks, Whiting and Vinson continued to discuss cooperation between the university and the museum as well as plans for inviting other museums and educational institutions in the city to migrate to University Circle.⁴⁷⁷

3.4 The Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1926

In March, Whiting and Vinson visited Keppel in New York. Keppel was interested in a more survey of Cleveland’s arts and cultural assets, while Whiting and Vinson wanted to undertake a more thorough survey of the city’s educational needs. Whiting was convinced that the goal of two surveys were “really the same thing stated in its broadest terms,” suggesting to Keppel, “I do not believe that the proper place of the cultural arts in such a program can be justly determined without considering all of the other educational functions in the community.”⁴⁷⁸ Keppel was

noncommittal, but wanted to be kept apprised of developments. Back in Cleveland, without a guarantee of Carnegie support, Whiting and Vinson agreed in principle that the survey of the city's higher educational being planned by the Cleveland Foundation on behalf of Case and Western Reserve could be broadened to "cover the entire educational program for the city."⁴⁷⁹

Calling upon the members of the original Museum and Educational Council, Whiting and Vinson convened the first meeting of a new organization called the Cleveland Educational Council. In attendance were the leaders of the Cleveland School of Art, the Western Reserve Historical Society, the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, the Cleveland Public Library, the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Case School of Applied Science, the superintendent of public schools, the Cleveland School of Education (the teachers' college), and the board of education. The two men laid out their goals. Vinson explained the opportunities represented by foundation interest, and expressed the view that "more extensive cooperation should exist between all of the agencies interested in education in Cleveland."⁴⁸⁰ Whiting believed that "all of the institutions definitely interested in an educational program for the city" should be involved, including the Cleveland Institute of Music, the Musical Arts Association, the YMCA, the YWCA, the play house, and even possibly Catholic and foreign language schools as well as "commercial schools of all kinds." Reading from his prepared "Notes on Proposed Educational Cooperation," Whiting stressed the function of city museums in furnishing hands-on "material for visual education" and "demonstration laboratories" to other educational institutions. To that end, the art museum, the natural history museum, the historical society, and the art school should be all be grouped at University Circle "together within a few hundred yards of each other," since "the more closely they can be brought together physically, the more effective will be their development and the wider their use."

Further, Whiting believed that the two museums and the historical society should establish “branch museums” in the city’s branch libraries, first on the working-class west side and “later in other remote parts of the city,” to be staffed cooperatively by the museums with possible foundation support. Vinson’s appointment, Whiting stressed, created a propitious moment, particularly since a number of the city’s institutions had outgrown their present facilities and might be enticed to University Circle with the prospect of new accommodations.⁴⁸¹ Whiting remarked that educational specialization also “meant also a tendency to pull apart and made all the more necessary a counter-effort towards cooperation,” and that a coordinated city-wide educational plan would not only save money but yield better results. Whiting closed his remarks by expressing that “ever since [I came] to Cleveland to organize the Art Museum [I have] been looking forward to a time when such a community program” could be implemented.⁴⁸²

In April, Whiting reported enthusiastically to Keppel that the Cleveland Council of Education had been formed along the lines Keppel had suggested. The Cleveland Foundation survey was to proceed, and the council endorsed “the general principle of the grouping of museums” at University Circle.⁴⁸³ Keppel responded that the wider survey on educational cooperation in Cleveland Whiting proposed exceeded the narrow scope of the survey of the arts that the Carnegie Corporation had in mind, and that Whiting’s application for funding had been turned down.⁴⁸⁴ Undeterred, Whiting appealed to the Cleveland Foundation, underwriters of Vinson and Howe’s higher education survey, and to Beardsley Ruml, director of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial in New York, for support.⁴⁸⁵ Whiting continued to work on Keppel as well.⁴⁸⁶

In the meantime the Council on Education, in order to avoid confusion with an organization of teachers with a similar name, changed its name to the Cleveland Conference for Educational

Cooperation.⁴⁸⁷ Under the new name Whiting proceeded with a survey of the city's broader educational needs on his own. Whiting's strategy was to compile preliminary reports from conference members in response to a detailed questionnaire, then reapply to Keppel for a grant to fund a more exhaustive survey of Cleveland's educational and cultural resources. By the fall, eighteen reports had been filed, but Case and Western Reserve had yet to respond. Addressing topics such as the scope of work of each institution, current relationships with other organizations, financing, and future plans, the highly detailed responses ranged from as few as three to as many as sixteen pages, averaging eight pages per institution.⁴⁸⁸ Whiting's response on behalf of the Cleveland Museum of Art, a densely-packed fourteen pages, recounts the mission of the museum with particular emphasis on his desire to create a children's museum and promote educational programs aimed at children, and to increase exhibition space.⁴⁸⁹

Even more revealing of Whiting's ambition for the wider conference is a longer, earlier draft of the art museum report, particularly his priorities for "Inter-Museum Cooperation." In his view, cooperative relations between the "three museums" were dependent on the relocation of the historical society and natural history museum at University Circle. After that, the priority was to create "branch museums" or "joint educational centers" through branch libraries, and an "extension exhibit program" with the public schools. By going into the project together, the institutions would achieve economies. Whiting also hoped to include musical programming supplied by Cleveland's orchestra and music school, which would "result in a higher musical standard in the city." Whiting adds, "It is believed that the museum can do its complete task only with the fullest cooperation on the part of all of the agencies" in the conference.⁴⁹⁰ It is clear that in Whiting's mind, the conference, the planning of the circle, and ultimately a network of branch cultural centers were all organic extensions of the art museum's mission.

As 1924 drew to a close, Whiting met with Keppel again in New York the day after Christmas, armed with the conference's preliminary reports. Keppel was sufficiently encouraged by developments in Cleveland to recommend a \$10,000 grant to the Carnegie board.⁴⁹¹ While the conference awaited action on their application, former Cleveland mayor and U.S. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker headed the conference Study Committee to report on the current state of education in Cleveland.⁴⁹² Whiting became concerned that the conference's broader enquiry into educational needs would again run afoul of Keppel's more narrow interest in an arts survey, but was reassured that the conference would have wide discretion in utilizing the grant.⁴⁹³ Whiting was told that what the Carnegie Corporation was "chiefly interested in is the cooperative nature of the undertaking" which could have "a direct bearing on the corporation's general arts program" in other U.S. cities.⁴⁹⁴ Convinced that the conference would have broad discretion in applying the grant, Whiting assured the corporation that "all of the activities represented are cultural within the scope of the arts."⁴⁹⁵

In April, the conference distributed Baker's report. In particular, the Study Committee was concerned to define the conference's collective understanding of the term education.

It is of vital importance to the community that the members of emerging generations should be properly oriented with respect to the society of which they become a part, with respect to the natural environment in which they find themselves, with respect to themselves, their abilities and needs. It is important that these individuals be qualified for productive life. It is important that they should be enabled to draw personal joy and satisfaction from the wealth of experience which the life of the community affords. And finally, it is important

that the individual as a result of his educational experience shall consciously contribute to the general welfare and betterment of his community.

The individual achieves his orientation, be it good or bad, through his experiences with the social and material environment. The process begins at birth and continues as long as capacity for adaptation persists.

Schools, colleges, and museums are useful precisely insofar as they increase “purposefully organized experience,” the report asserts, and diminish “the community’s dependence upon fortuitous experience as a basis for the individual’s growth and development.”⁴⁹⁶ To fully satisfy the city’s needs, it is necessary to investigate “existing and possible relationships between institutions.” Knowing “that one institution cooperates with another, that mutually helpful and cordial relations exist, etc.,” is insufficient, but a program that spells out exchange of service and more importantly shared educational goals.⁴⁹⁷ “Your committee is not thinking either of a financial federation or of a close administrative organization,” the report assured, “but rather of some sort of functional federation that will assure continuous inter-institutional counsel upon and substantial agreement in matters of educational policy and practice.”⁴⁹⁸ This statement was intended as a prolegomena to the pending survey.⁴⁹⁹

A follow-up report by the study committee addressed more prosaic procedural concerns, reminding the conference that some of this work was already under way under the authority of joint committees of Case and Western Reserve, alluding to a recent meeting of nineteen Cleveland institutions including hospitals that had met to discuss the “desirability and practicability of their association with the Enlarged University” and the formation of a “Greater University Committee.” This committee was “charged with the responsibility of studying all questions relating to the organization of the new University.”⁵⁰⁰ With these positive

developments in view, the study committee advised “that the work of these joint committees and of the Conference should develop in harmony.”⁵⁰¹

The University of Cleveland seemed to be a viable possibility once again, and the study committee advised the conference to tread carefully so as not to impede that process. In May 1925, with Carnegie Corporation funding in place, the conference set about assessing the state of education in Cleveland, the role of the city’s educational institutions, and the planning of University Circle. Eight committees were formed and charged with studying aspects of the general problem and issuing reports over the coming year. These included Adult Education, Exchange of Services; Art, Music and Drama; Sites and Finances; Social Agencies; Vocational Instruction and Guidance; Research and Graduate Instruction; and Teacher Training. Whiting served on the Art and Sites committees and chaired the Exchange committee.⁵⁰² Harry N. Irwin, of the Cleveland School of Education, was “loaned” to the Conference for a year to function as field secretary to manage the progress of the reports.⁵⁰³ As work proceeded, in the background loomed the larger question of whether members had sufficient desire to institutionalize the conference on a permanent basis beyond the first year and seek ongoing support from the Carnegie Corporation or other sources. Key draft committee reports were presented in fall and winter meetings of the Conference and greeted with enthusiasm.⁵⁰⁴

However, as 1926 dawned, it was becoming generally recognized that the administrative, legal, and practical merger of Western Reserve and Case was no closer to becoming a reality.⁵⁰⁵ At the end of January, preliminary reports were presented to the Conference by the Adult Education and Arts Committees, but enthusiasm among Conference members was noticeably flagging. Whiting complained that four member institutions had failed to comply with information on desired exchanges of service to his committee, including Western Reserve and

Case. Irwin led a soul-searching discussion on the purpose of the conference, citing the fact that only 16 out of 27 members had bothered to attend. He reminded the meeting that “this was supposed to be a self-study undertaken at the request of the members and for their benefit.” One member suggested issuing an annual publication on Cleveland’s educational activities, but another objected that publishing “too definite a program” would be off-putting and stressed that the Conference’s importance lay in its facilitation of informal discussion between autonomous institutions. Vinson had no doubt that the Conference was serving an important function in the community, and others expressed the need for the work to continue indefinitely beyond the first year. Whiting, perhaps because his idea of institutional cooperation had never depended on the technical unification of Western Reserve and Case, was undeterred. He reminded members of its obligations to the Carnegie Corporation which had made its grant on the basis of Cleveland’s “fine reputation for cooperation,” and ominously warned that abandoning a joint cooperative plan “might seriously affect future relationships with the eastern foundations,” presumably not only for the group but for individual institutions seeking support in the future.⁵⁰⁶ If the outlook for Whiting and the conference seemed bleak, it reached its nadir in March when word reached Cleveland that Jephtha Homer Wade had unexpectedly passed away at his Florida home.⁵⁰⁷

3.5 Branch Cultural Centers and the Educational Group Plan, 1926-1930

By the end of March 1926, the conference had found its second wind. Its “difficult first year” had been productive nonetheless, with eight committees submitting reports on Cleveland education. Harold T. Clark, a major benefactor of the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, remarked that “there was no question that the Conference should go forward” and that its hard

work would really begin to pay off in a second year, and others concurred.⁵⁰⁸ Emboldened, Whiting's contributions to the Third Report of the Sites and Finances Committee is a section entitled "A New Cultural Center: The Branch Library—Plus Branch Museums," a mature manifesto embodying ideas first hinted at in 1922 by Whiting's own hand-picked curator of educational work, Rossiter Howard, and further elaborated in Whiting's 1924 musings. The culmination of Whiting's aspirations in Cleveland and undoubtedly the reason he had doggedly sought educational cooperation in the first place, the report insists that if any museum is to be "one of the educational factors in a community," it "must study the community and adopt any reasonable means for extending its usefulness." Whiting concedes that even "a central museum, no matter how advantageously it may be situated," cannot be equally accessible to every part of a city. Having joined the Cleveland Museum of Art after its site in Wade Park had already been selected, Whiting was painfully aware of the narrow segment of the populace his educational programs were most likely to reach. But, just as the public library establishes branches, Whiting believes, the museum had to establish "branch museums strategically placed to serve portions of the population most remote from the museum." This will "acquaint the people of the community, through frequently changing exhibitions, of the fact that there is the parent museum in the city, and to give such visitors a glimpse of the kind of exhibits which are to be found in the main museum buildings." By circulating works and offering preparatory slide lectures, a larger segment of the public will be induced to make the pilgrimage to University Circle to see "finer examples in the main museum." Such branch museums will require secure exhibition space, classrooms, and lecture auditoria to offer full programs and to further prepare visitors for "a later visit to the parent museum," and several new branch libraries throughout the city offer facilities that can be made ideal with only slight modifications such as additional lighting and secure

display cases. Whiting stipulates that “the branch museum would become part of a cultural center gathered around the normal and understood leadership of the branch library, with the branch librarian in charge,” with the cost of equipment and additional staffing to be borne by the participating museums. Whiting proposes that the new Carnegie West Branch Public Library, located in a working class area of the city west of downtown, be the site of a pilot program undertaken jointly by the Western Reserve Historical Society, the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, and the Cleveland Museum of Art, with funding to be sought from foundations.⁵⁰⁹

Whiting also served on the Committee on Art, Music, and Drama, which offered a detailed report by other conference members backing up and expanding upon Whiting’s recommendations.⁵¹⁰ Harry N. Irwin, in his segment of the report on the present conference activities, distinguishes between the expressive aims of the professional artists and those of the amateur. The art institution may give “principal attention to the ‘extra-ordinary’ art forms and activities” and “rare art masterpieces,” but Irwin insists that these are no more important than the kinds of creative expression that “occur in the round of daily living.”⁵¹¹ Irwin offers particular advice on the discovery, education, and encouragement of the future producers of the arts among the wider populace, and especially on the training of future teachers of the arts. He describes the existing program in which art teachers in the public schools throughout the city recommend talented students for a competitive Saturday program at the Cleveland Museum of Art and similar programs for music and drama.⁵¹² Irwin concedes that at the public school level, “for the 90% who are in the required courses in the arts, the purpose is not to develop artists or producers of art, but to train consumers of art who shall have high standards and real appreciation for beauty in form, color, sound, etc.”⁵¹³ Irwin stresses the importance of aesthetic education for all citizens. He insists, “Practically every individual is today a consumer of art” thanks to mass

media and consumer product design, and will benefit from developing discriminating taste.⁵¹⁴ Irwin foresees a local arts economy so robust that local talent will be able to enjoy lucrative careers in the arts without leaving Cleveland, and that “the encouragement of the native artist” might go so far as to take the form “of membership in the Cleveland Orchestra, of permanent service on the professional staff of the Play House, of appointment to the instructional staff of art institutions, of appearance in the Annual Exhibit of local art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, etc.”⁵¹⁵ One can hardly imagine an arts educator justifying a municipally-funded program if at the end of the process the best artists migrate to other cities. Irwin is optimistic that the most talented and highly-trained creative professionals can be induced to remain at home with Cleveland’s arts organizations.

Henry Turner Bailey of the Cleveland Institute of Art and Rossiter Howard, the art museum’s curator of education, expand on several points made in Howard’s 1922 *Scribner’s* article and reiterate several of Irwin’s points. The authors assert,

An adequate program in art, music and drama would provide for every citizen of Cleveland, of whatever age, the opportunity for enjoyment and for training in the appreciation of these arts, including a somewhat narrower chance for training in amateur expression, either creative or interpretive, and for the specially talented the opportunity for professional training in creation, performance, scholarship and criticism.⁵¹⁶

Their program breaks down “general training for the majority” of children and “special training for the talented.” For the former, the public schools serve to “foster and guide appreciation and abilities in the Fine Arts in a city-wide way.”⁵¹⁷ For the latter, a “Junior Arts Guild” is proposed.

Inasmuch as talented children are to be found in families of every economic class, the Junior Arts Guild should be open to all children of talent, and every effort should be made to establish in the higher institutions of learning sufficient scholarships of one kind or another to insure the higher education of such members of the Guild as are unable to pay regular tuition.⁵¹⁸

The art museum's Saturday instruction program is again cited as a model to be extended to the other arts, drawing talented students to the branch cultural centers and ultimately to University Circle.⁵¹⁹

The recommendations in the Art, Music, and Drama report are tied explicitly to Whiting's branch cultural center plan to form a comprehensive view of arts education in the city, including the general training for the majority and special training for the talented at the high school, college-age, and adult level, with special emphasis on professional preparation.⁵²⁰ Whiting himself closes the report with some general recommendations, including the concrete proposal of erecting a new symphony hall to anchor the orchestra and the city's musical education efforts at University Circle. "With similar [smaller] auditoriums on the West Side and in other remote parts of Greater Cleveland, the Orchestra could widely extend its sphere of usefulness and the numbers of those served would be greatly increased."⁵²¹ Other conference reports take a similar approach to the liberal arts and to scientific, vocational, and general education throughout Cleveland. Together, they envision a city with its arts and educational functions anchored at one main cultural center at University Circle, networked with remote outposts through branch cultural centers as well as public and private schools and other institutions in an immense circulatory system.

Key to the conference's circulatory system of art and education in Cleveland was bolstering University Circle as the city's main cultural center. In April 1926, Vinson, on behalf of the Sites Committee, reaffirmed the desire "to establish in the vicinity of University Circle an educational and cultural group" to include "The Cleveland Museum of Natural History, The Cleveland School of Art, The Musical Arts Society, The School of Architecture, The Cleveland Institute of Music, a branch of the Cleveland Public Library, and other similar institutions."⁵²² In June, the Executive Committee applied to the Carnegie Corporation for a grant of \$8,000 per year for each of the following two years to fund the conference's ongoing operations, with a separate application for \$25,000 for the first year and \$20,000 for the following two years to fund the first branch cultural center at the Carnegie West Branch of the public library, additional funding for the first year being necessary to prepare rooms with exhibit cases and lighting. A revised constitution and by-laws were approved, preparing the Conference for its second year.⁵²³

In its 1926 annual yearbook, the Cleveland Foundation took note of the workings of the conference, particularly of what it referred to as its "Cultural Group Plan" or "Educational Group Plan," as important to the city as the downtown Group Plan.⁵²⁴ "That many institutions, whose primary purpose is education, should become the neighbors of a group [...] in a setting ideal for distinguished architecture, was a dream long cherished," the foundation declares.⁵²⁵ "Because of its New England background" as part of Connecticut's Western Reserve, Cleveland possessed "a soil of unusual fertility for any sound educational project,"⁵²⁶ and could easily grasp the idea of an educational group plan since "twenty-five years ago, Daniel H. Burnham, of Chicago, worked out the group plan for the civic center on the Mall, which plan is gradually being brought to completion and becoming a source of just pride to residents of Cleveland."⁵²⁷ The conference's educational plan for the city, the foundation notes, is predicated on two key components.

First: “Service stations” of museums, the library, the University and others should be established in outlying centers [...].

Second: That central educational plants, “producing” as contrasted with the “distributing” centers mentioned above, should be so related physically that the facilities of one could become the handy reference property of another.

The foundation suggests that “the grouping of central plants [...] naturally turn[s] upon University Circle.”⁵²⁸ Whereas Whiting emphasizes branch museums enticing visitors to the make the pilgrimage to the main museums grouped in Wade Park, this crudely mechanistic vision emphasizes the reciprocal flow, with a “producing” main cultural center at University Circle and “distributing” branch cultural centers in remote areas “servicing” the city. Institutions are concentrated in an Educational Group Plan disperse culture and learning outward, while new initiatives are drawn to the center from the cultural periphery. The foundation’s account echoes the language of the Art, Music, and Drama report with its “producers” and “consumers” of art, and its cycle of drawing talent to Wade Park and diffusing higher standards of taste back to the city.

What is important to note is how quickly planners embraced physical proximity and affinity of institutional purpose as justifications for a grouping of public buildings at University Circle, whereas only a few years earlier an overarching University of Cleveland had been thought essential. In December 1926, the *Cleveland Press* reported, “University Circle is to be the focal point of one of the outstanding art and cultural centers of the world,” requiring twenty to thirty million dollars. “The broad basis of an educational group plan, centering in the circle, similar in scope to the original group plan for the Mall, and clustering about the circle virtually every educational and cultural institution in the community,” was being planned by the conference. The advantages of placing its key arts and educational institutions into such “close physical

proximity” would “have far-reaching consequences” and also serve as example to other cities. An accompanying graphic created by the conference [Figure 3-13] indicates numbered zones west of the Western Reserve University campus and north of Euclid Avenue, but does not depict specific buildings. Instead the story reports that several institutions are committed to relocate to University Circle, including the museum of natural history and the school of art, and that the schools of architecture and music are looking for locations. The graphic also indicates a space north of the art museum reserved for a children’s museum, and a space between the art museum and the lagoon for a fine arts garden.⁵²⁹

Aware of these developments, Hubbell offered some of his old drawings for consideration to the University Improvement Company stockholders, even pledging his own stock valued at \$100,000 to help realize more of his 1916 plan for the University of Cleveland, but found no takers.⁵³⁰ In the new year of 1927 Hubbell and Benes seem to have giving some thought to a revised plan for the University of Cleveland. A legal-sized Photostat with colored pencil [Figure 3-14] dated February 27, 1927 indicates a ghost image of the former proposed Administration Building site on axis with Euclid, over which has been drawn an informal park layout east of the Circle. The park extension south of the Circle clearly shows the John Hay High School surrounded by a park, and the Natural History Museum is the middle of three buildings along East Museum Drive, recalling the truncated 1922 Hubbell and Benes plan [Figure 3-11]. Ghost images of streets evident in the image suggest that the image was created by a tissue overlay on top of an earlier scheme, and was likely a study that was never presented.⁵³¹

Over the course of 1927, the conference’s operational structure was growing increasingly labyrinthine. In the spring, the Carnegie Corporation urged the conference to merge with the competing west side Educational Extension Council, to be funded annually for a \$27,000 on the

condition that the new combined organization would be directed by a single individual.⁵³² The conference complied, although it only increased the administrative challenges it already faced.⁵³³ By the end of the year, several new committees had been formed including one on University Circle headed by architect Frank R. Walker, a branch cultural centers committee led by Eastman and Whiting, and a book committee to edit conference reports for publication to promote their endeavors more widely.⁵³⁴ In February 1928 Whiting reported that the branch cultural center experiment was being extended to the West Park and Collinwood branch libraries, and that “architects had outlined a plan that would unify the rather scattered elements about the University Circle,” the latter suggesting that a reassuring external visual order might be achieved even if internal institutional cooperation was proving more difficult to codify.⁵³⁵ The work of the conference was already influencing other cities, particularly Brooklyn. New research secretary Grace Beaven prepared an overview of conference committee work,⁵³⁶ resulting in an intricate 18” x 24” flowchart illustrating committee interaction which was distributed to members.⁵³⁷ A week later, an increasingly frantic Beaven reported to the university’s W.G. Leutner, “The organization of the Conference seems to be the most outstanding problem facing us just now,” drawing parallels with the League of Nations.⁵³⁸ Beaven extracted five typewritten pages of notes and inspirational quotations from Arthur Sweetser’s 1920 book, *The League of at Work* and distributed these to members of the conference.⁵³⁹

A more promising development in 1928 was the presentation of a tentative plan for University Circle [Figure 3-15] submitted by consulting architects Frank Ray Walker and Walter Roy McCornack.⁵⁴⁰ Described as “a Cultural Center Plan at University Circle [...] analogous to the Group Plan under which the downtown civic center is being developed,”⁵⁴¹ the plan is clearly indebted to the Hubbell and Benes studies of 1922, and considers the campus of Western

Reserve and Case, the John Hay High School, and a cluster of buildings along East Boulevard to the east of the art museum. These are labeled as an art school, the Natural History Museum, symphony, and a library presumably for graduate study. This plan is remarkably consistent with Whiting's initial 1916 suggestions for the Hubbell and Benes plan and in fact determined the eventual sites for the school of art and orchestra hall.

While the planning of the main cultural center at University Circle would take time, the branch cultural center program could take almost immediate advantage of existing facilities at branch libraries. As this program made its presence felt across the city, the activities of the conference became increasingly subject to public comment and criticism. Mildred Chadsey, director of Cleveland's Adult Education Association and a member of the conference, ruminated over the Conference's underlying philosophy in a 1928 article for *The Survey*. Entitled "Cultural Centers and Hinterlands," Chadsey ostensibly endorses the Conference's cultural center-branch cultural center plan, but maintains a skeptical if not pessimistic tone about the experiment.

Every city has, or is in the process of developing, its cultural centers, as monumental buildings, domes, facades, portals, gardens and greenswards emerge from the steam and smoke. Every city, too, has—or is in the process of developing—its cultural hinterlands, those remote neighborhoods of drab houses, treeless streets, garish movies and shoddy stores, grim school-houses and churches that shriek to heaven. Some of the more prosperous have bigger houses, more movies and more stores, lodge-halls and dance-halls and restaurants. The less prosperous have community centers and social settlements that bear feebly a sputtering torch of a dying culture. But most of these hinterlands have neither the vestige nor the semblance of an intellectual life beyond the school walls. They are

far removed from the places where art, music, drama and science flourish and few of them are ever invaded by the purveyors of ideas. What is to be done about salvaging the vestiges of the foreign culture that has all but died in the hinterlands such as these, and in encouraging a new cultural growth in waste places?

Chadsey notes the work of the conference to develop “a Cultural Center at University Circle” over three years and “the expenditure of millions of dollars for the erection of monumental buildings for museums, for the symphony orchestra, concerts, art galleries, lecture halls and laboratories” that will be necessary. “But even as the plans for this vast and elaborate Cultural Center are emerging,” Chadsey reports,

the institutions that are located or are planning to locate at University Circle are struggling to break the fetters that bind them to one place.

The Art Museum and the Museum of Natural History have recently begun to recognize the difficulties that people have in coming from distant districts to them, and look with envious eyes upon the fine and growing system of eighteen branch libraries.⁵⁴²

Just as likely, the hinterlands were looking with envious eyes upon the palaces of culture planned for Wade Park.

Chadsey describes the conference’s experiment at the Carnegie West, West Park and Collinwood branch libraries, where the people of those districts “think of the building not only as a library, but as a cultural center where the library, the museums and the other educational and cultural forces combine to make an oasis.” The appetite in the hinterland for culture is only hampered by the severely limited hours of operation. The centers in some cases are only open a

couple of evening per week, and Chadsey argues for extended hours and wider program offerings including lectures. Chadsey allows that other cities may wish to conduct similar experiments with school buildings instead of branch libraries as Cleveland has chosen to do. She concludes, “When the people of a neighborhood can [...] view the old familiar commonplaces of their lives in the glow of a new appreciation and understanding of values, our hinterlands no longer will be cultural wastes.”⁵⁴³ This is intended as an uplifting ending, but the entire article is pervaded by the dispirited feeling that the underlying ideology of the cultural centers is hopelessly, horribly awry. The primary accusation that the formation of a main cultural center at University Circle is resulting in the inadvertent withdrawal of culture from the rest of the city eerily prefigures Jane Jacobs’ harsh assessment in 1961 that the creation of “monumental cultural centers cloak [...] the subtraction [...] of culture [...] from the intimate and casual life of cities.”⁵⁴⁴

In April 1929, Leutner informed Keppel in New York that “there is something of a split between the Clark-Whiting group,” with some conferees backing museum trustees Harold T. Clark as leader of the conference over Whiting, and that some conferees were calling for “a superior executive or cultural boss” while others preferred “a town meeting style of government.”⁵⁴⁵ Later in the month Mr. and Mrs. John L. Severance agreed to fund a symphony hall at University Circle, the first major monumental building to be constructed since the art museum’s dedication in 1916.⁵⁴⁶ The Cleveland Foundation reported hopefully on the formation of a new conference committee on the Preservation of Racial Culture through Community Music,⁵⁴⁷ a sign that the conference’s work was showing maturity and “historic continuity.”⁵⁴⁸ The foundation claimed that “Cleveland’s vast educational machine” was becoming more of an integrated enterprise,⁵⁴⁹ a fact demonstrated by the “harmonious physical plant for the

institutions that already are or soon are to be units in the cultural center at University Circle,”⁵⁵⁰ including the new symphony hall designed by Walker and Weeks.⁵⁵¹ As a new decade dawned, the conference could boast the 1930 publication of *Cleveland Student Life in the Allied Educational Institutions* underwritten by the Chamber of Commerce.⁵⁵² But an undeniable blow came early in the year as Whiting resigned from his directorship of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation to become the President of the American Federation of Arts in Washington, D.C. Although Whiting’s contributions to the city were roundly praised,⁵⁵³ he complained privately that the museum board could have been more supportive. No doubt the administrative complexities and controversies of the conference had contributed to his burden. The loss of Wade four years earlier was clearly a factor, and Whiting’s desire for a Children’s Museum had been perpetually frustrated.⁵⁵⁴ With plans for Severance Hall on the drawing board and other institutions expected to join it at University Circle, it was time for Whiting to move on.

If Chadsey’s article had been depressing while reaching for optimism, Western Reserve University professor Paul H. Bixler’s 1930 article, “The Cleveland Experiment,” was even more damning with faint praise.⁵⁵⁵ Bixler describes the conference as “an organization so amorphous and at the same time so far reaching” that “estimates of its worth by members [...] are always qualified.”⁵⁵⁶ The conference demonstrates a laudable “lack of a dictatorship” that has “avoided friction” between the member institutions, all the more remarkable given that “the most conscientious leaders in the educational world are prima donnas.” Bixler concedes, “Perhaps its greatest single success has been the educational group plan”⁵⁵⁷ at University Circle and its plan “to bring cultural advantages into neighborhoods in the far reaches of the city.”⁵⁵⁸ Bixler concludes that the conference is “a strange, complex machine, not always strictly efficient

according to business standards but usually lumbering along toward some definite, recognizable end.”⁵⁵⁹ With such presumably friendly appraisals, the conference did not need criticism. The final blow to the conference as an organizational entity came as a belated effect of the Great Depression. In 1932, Cleveland Public Library budget cuts could not be made up by other sources, and the branch cultural center experiment was discontinued.⁵⁶⁰

3.6 Conclusion: Fountainhead of the Humanities

Descriptions of Cleveland’s civic center, cultural center, and system of branch cultural centers, and how they were all supposed to work, recall Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ideal nation with its distinct functions of civilization and cultivation.⁵⁶¹ In his seminal essay, “On the Constitution of Church and State,” Coleridge understood civilization as the political, technical, and industrial organization and administration of the nation, whereas cultivation is conceived as “the harmonious development of those qualities and faculties that characterise our humanity.”⁵⁶² As Coleridge remarks, “We must be men in order to be citizens.”⁵⁶³ It is the job of cultivation “to preserve the stores and to guard the treasures of past civilization,”⁵⁶⁴ and to “feed the higher ranks by drawing up whatever is worthiest from below” from among the “humblest families.”⁵⁶⁵ Like the most talented Clevelanders who will be drawn to and remain affiliated with institutions at University Circle, in Coleridge’s scheme some will “remain at the fountainheads of the humanities, [...] cultivating and enlarging the knowledge already possessed” in the fields of “physical and moral science.” The chosen few will instruct a larger group “to be distributed throughout the country, so as not to leave even the smallest integral part or division without a resident guide, guardian, and instructor.” Like the teachers, librarians, and lecturers in

Cleveland's public schools and branch cultural centers, these more numerous educators in turn are to instruct "the whole community" and "every native" of their rights and duties as productive citizens.⁵⁶⁶ The cycle is to repeat endlessly. As Coleridge famously asserts, "a nation can never be too cultivated, but may easily become an over-civilized race."⁵⁶⁷

Coleridge's schema implies a particular geography, one perhaps that could never have been realized on a national scale in early nineteenth-century England, given its geopolitical realities. But they seemed within reach in early twentieth-century Cleveland, an over-industrialized if perhaps not an over-civilized American city. The technical management of civilization was to be centered in the downtown Group Plan, while personal cultivation resided at University Circle, whence the most talented and capable of the most remote neighborhoods and dispossessed families were to be drawn, to the fountainheads of the humanities. As Ronald R. Weiner has described, the Group Plan and University Circle, the civic center and cultural center, became the "twin loci" of Cleveland linked by the Euclid Avenue corridor, symbolic of the aspirations of the city.⁵⁶⁸ Whether this was a one-way trip for a privileged few as Charlotte Rumbold's description might imply, or a perpetual cycle for the many as the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation envisioned, is another question. Certainly Whiting's branch cultural centers were discontinued, but his idea transcended a particular implementation. Like Jean-André De Luc's primordial archipelagos of culture spreading organically through the wilderness,⁵⁶⁹ the cultural center sought to colonize the wastelands of modern urban America. It is an experiment that has yet to come to an end.

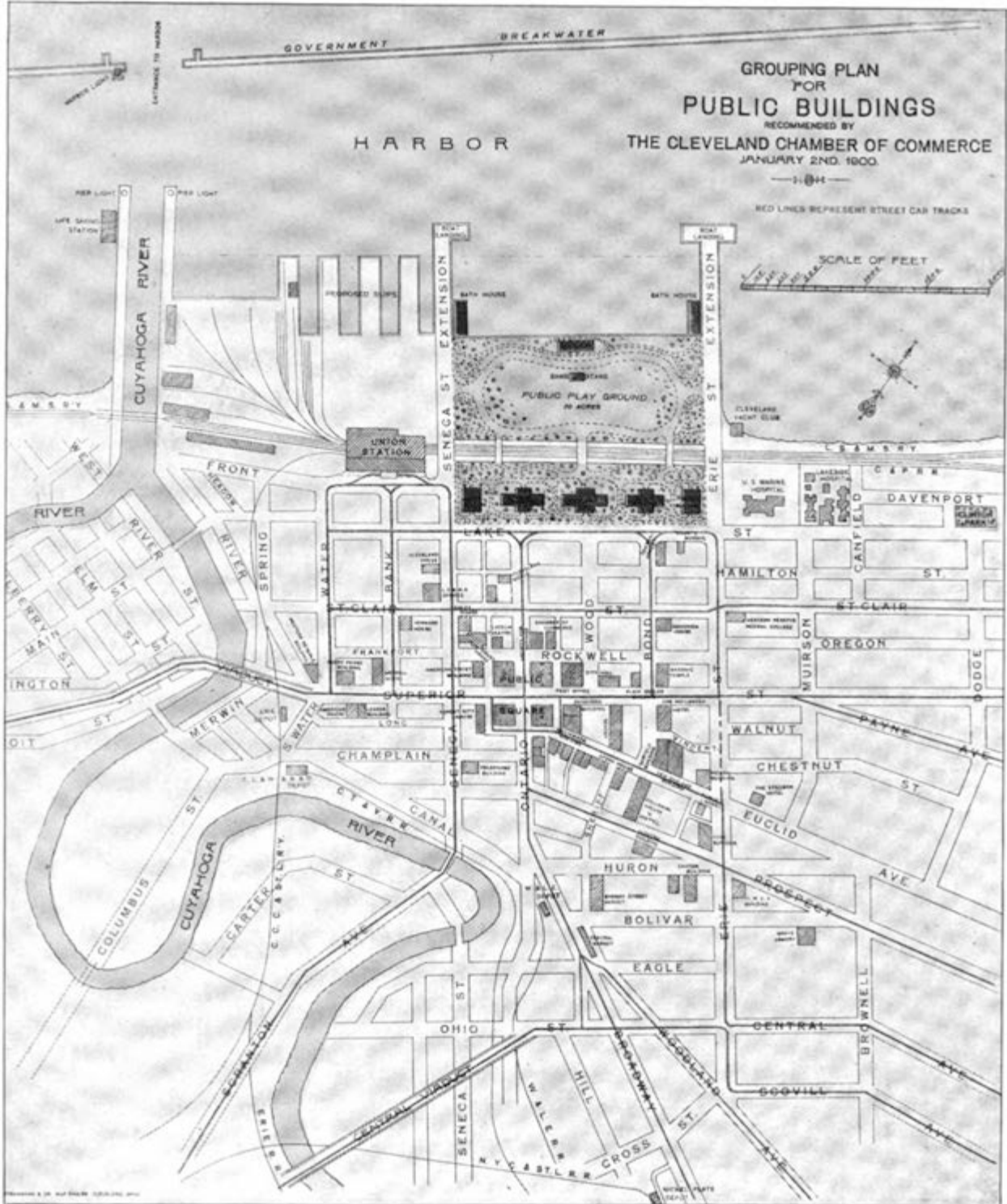


Figure 3-1: Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, "Grouping Plan for Public Buildings Recommended by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce," Herbert B. Briggs, "The Municipal Building Problem in the City of Cleveland," *The Architectural Annual*, ed. Albert Kelsey, (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 45. Google Books.

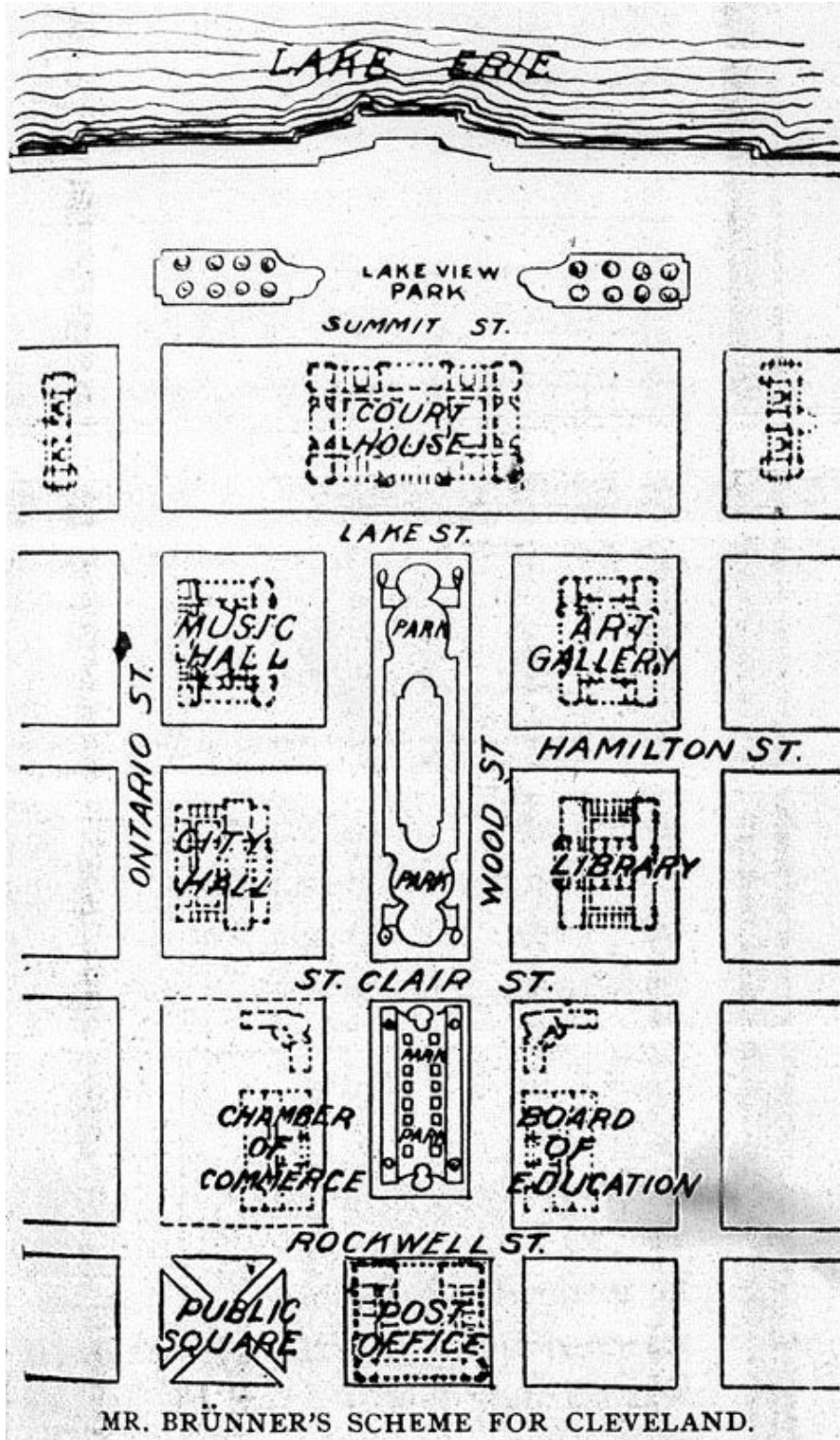


Figure 3-2: Arnold W. Brunner, "Mr. Brünnér's Scheme for Cleveland," in John De Witt Warner, "Civic Centers," *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1(March 1902), p. 19. Google Books.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-3: Daniel H. Burnham, John M. Carrère, and Arnold W. Brunner, “Birdseye View Looking North,”
The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland, 1903.
Cleveland Public Library, Special Collections.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-4: Daniel H. Burnham, John M. Carrère, and Arnold W. Brunner, “Birdseye View Looking North,”
The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland, 1903.
Cleveland Public Library, Special Collections.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-5: Daniel H. Burnham, John M. Carrère, and Arnold W. Brunner, “Scheme B,”
The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland, 1903.
Cleveland Public Library, Special Collections.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-6: William H. Low, *The City of Cleveland, Supported by Federal Power, Welcomes the Arts Bearing the Plan for the New Civic Center*, mural, oil on canvas affixed to wall, c. 1910, Howard W. Metzenbaum Federal Building, Cleveland, Ohio. Holly Rarick, *Progressive Visions: The Planning of Downtown Cleveland 1903-1930* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1986), p. 36.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-7: Tim Beatty, Manuscript Processor, and Margaret Burzynski-Bays, Curator of Manuscripts, hold up Benjamin S. Hubbell and Dominick W. Benes, plan for the University of Cleveland, 1916, 102” x 65.5” with 4” gold border, 3rd floor, Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, October 13, 2001.

Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Acc 1988-089 (unprocessed). Photograph by the author.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-8: Benjamin S. Hubbell and Dominick W. Benes, plan for the University of Cleveland, 1916,
detail of major buildings colored by the author.
Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Acc 1988-089 (unprocessed).

Image Omitted

Figure 3-9: Hubbell and Benes, University of Cleveland administration building, view from Euclid Avenue looking east, hand colored slide, c. 1916. Color balance and brightness adjusted by the author.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers (unprocessed), Acc 704, box 3 of 7.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-10: Hubbell and Benes, proposed University of Cleveland administration building, c. 1920. Michael G. Lawrence, *Make No Little Plans: Architectural Drawings from the Cuyahoga County Archives and the Western Reserve Historical Society*, exhibition catalog (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1980), p. 35.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-11: Hubbell and Benes, Wade Park museum group plan, c. 1920. Michael G. Lawrence, *Make No Little Plans: Architectural Drawings from the Cuyahoga County Archives and the Western Reserve Historical Society*, exhibition catalog (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1980), p 36.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-12: Hubbell and Benes, proposed Wade Park grouping surrounding the Cleveland Museum of Art, c. 1920. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-13: "How New University Circle Will Look," *The Cleveland Press*, December 16, 1926, p. 15.
Western Reserve Historical Society.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-14: Hubbell and Benes, plan for University Circle, 1927, colored pencil on photostat, 8 ½" x 17". Western Reserve Historical Society, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers (unprocessed), WRHS Acc 704, box 1 of 7.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-15: Frank Ray Walker and Harry E. Weeks, plan of University Circle cultural center, c. 1928. Western Reserve Historical Society, PG 109 Walker and Weeks photographs, 1920-1950, folder #3.

Image Omitted

Figure 3-16: “University Circle’s Future,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer Sunday Pictorial Magazine*, April 19, 1959, pp. 24-25. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Clipping files, Cleveland – University Circle I of II (loose clippings).

4 Detroit: A Civic Center As Distinct From Art Center

The 1927 Annual Report of the Detroit City Plan Commission declared, “City planning has passed through many stages in its development and has only, after a period of years, become one of the respected sciences.” It ruminates, “Detroit, like many other cities, passed through a picture plan stage.” The five master plans prepared for Detroit between 1900 and 1918 were perhaps “interesting from a historical standpoint but worthless for other purposes,” and “now occupy valuable storage space in the city garage.” The report further notes, “It took years of practical planning and educational work to convince the public that picture drawing is not City Planning.” Henceforth, it decreed, “All City Planning work must [...] justify itself from an economic standpoint,” insinuating that improvement proposals must be backed up with solid research and valid economic projections.⁵⁷⁰ In the same vein, Eliel Saarinen, in his 1943 treatise *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future*, passes judgment on the previous era of city planning in which “civic embellishment was the fashion of the day and the ‘civic center’ was regarded as the supreme issue.” He pronounces, “Failure to approach the solution of civic problems from a comprehensive understanding has been the basic fallacy of planning in general,” and declares that the “decorative scheming” of the past ignored “vital planning problems,” privileging “civic pride” over “improvements of [a more] fundamental planning character where the welfare of the people was the governing thought.”⁵⁷¹

What is remarkable about both statements is not their fashionable refutation of picturesque planning and groupings of public buildings in particular; rebukes of pretty pictures and scoffing at the primacy of civic centers were pro forma among architects and planners of the era. Nor is it their shared call for science-based, comprehensive planning, which had become similarly *de rigueur*. Rather, it is the fact that in the early 1920s the Detroit City Plan Commission and Eliel Saarinen had already collaborated on a picturesque civic center plan for Detroit; both had worked almost continuously since to revise their scheme; and both would finally succeed in making a downtown Civic Center and a mid-town Cultural Center (capitalized in this case because the terms became the official names of each project) hallmarks of a comprehensive postwar Master Plan for Detroit and the southeastern Michigan region. Saarinen, in fact, would devise plans for both groupings of public buildings, even while presiding over students and architects pondering more abstract regional planning issues.

That it had become compulsory for planners to denounce groupings of public buildings after the first decade of the twentieth century has long been noted by historians of planning;⁵⁷² why civic centers and cultural centers nonetheless were still found to be indispensable in an era of ostensibly scientific, comprehensive and increasingly decentralized regional planning has hardly been noted, let alone analyzed. Planners of Cleveland's civic center at the turn of the century complained that they could only gesture at improvements for the whole city;⁵⁷³ mid-century planners in Detroit found that even under the regime of comprehensive planning, in which they presided over massive public works projects merely as coordinating design consultants over civil engineers, they could have little visible effect on the physical city in a traditional architectural sense outside of the grouping of public buildings, where their city-building imaginations could be given full reign. Science, comprehensiveness, and city-wide infrastructural improvements

projected over decades proved too prosaic, too abstract, and too diffuse to lend themselves to easy, clear, and communicative graphic representation and salesmanship by themselves. By contrast, concrete and geographically finite projects such as the downtown civic center and mid-town cultural center (and less so a sprawling riverfront recreational park and multi-use development project) could serve as vehicles to quickly encapsulate the far-reaching, boldly transformative ambitions of the Master Plan in microcosm. Moreover, these set pieces lent themselves to the traditional language of city planning: human-scaled street-level plans, perspective drawings of imaginable and impressive public buildings, and tabletop models of ideal developments over which beaming officials could tower in staged photographs for the benefit of the press.⁵⁷⁴ Bashing aesthetics and paying lip-service to science and comprehensiveness would persist even while aesthetics were employed to convey the larger aspirations of a futuristic Detroit. Posturing mid-century planners still found themselves in a world where a little of the showmanship, and the occasional bombastic pronouncement, of the Daniel Burnham school was still salutary. For Detroit, the Civic Center and Cultural Center became such integral components of and showcases for the postwar Master Plan that, had they not already been in development for decades and presented themselves as convenient showcases for exploitation, they might have needed to be invented for the occasion.

4.1 Historic Downtown Detroit

Professor and planner Buford L. Pickens, writing during World War II as his city prepared a postwar Master Plan, remarks, “Detroit has the curious distinction of twice having been laid out according to a well-considered plan—and having lost both of them.”⁵⁷⁵ In fact, modern Detroit,

with its cluster of skyscrapers marking its commercial, business and financial downtown near the foot of Woodward Avenue, still bears the traces of three cultures in its street patterns, which can be read as a palimpsest. First inhabited by Native Americans, the Algonquin “Yon-do-ti-ga” or “Great Village,” approximating the present downtown, was the hub of several “old Indian trails” (by tradition if long since beyond archeological verification) leading to settlements corresponding to present-day Toledo, Chicago, Lansing, and points north. In 1827, American territorial Governor Lewis Cass ordered these footpaths widened and paved with planks to form military roads, the basis of Fort Street and Michigan, Grand River, Woodward, Gratiot, and East Jefferson Avenues, all of which persist today as major traffic arteries.⁵⁷⁶ In 1701, Antoine de Lamothe (née Laumet), Sieur de Cadillac led an expedition of fifty of the king’s soldiers and fifty *coureurs de bois* (woodworkers), and as many native Ottowan and Huron tribesmen, to establish Fort Pontchartrain, named like New Orleans’ lake for the French Minister of the Marine (on a site now occupied by a hotel of the same name, a block from the present-day Detroit Civic Center) to make the lower straits of the Great Lakes amenable to the French fur trade. The parceling of land outside the fort into “ribbon farms” produced long, thin properties perpendicular to the Detroit River, four to six hundred feet wide and one and half to three miles in depth. Family names of some of the bounding roads dividing these farms persist in present-day north-south streets such as Beaubien, de Quindre, and Joseph Campau [Figure 4-1].⁵⁷⁷

“La ville de Détroit” or City of the Strait passed through British hands and finally came under American control in 1803 as part of the Louisiana Purchase. However, a devastating fire on June 11, 1805 destroyed nearly all evidence of Cadillac’s colony except for one house and some outlying farms.⁵⁷⁸ The conflagration left a *tabula rasa* upon which the first American territorial governor and his three-justice judiciary, appointed by Thomas Jefferson and instructed

by Congress, could “lay out a new town including the site of the one destroyed and ten thousand acres of adjacent land.”⁵⁷⁹ Chief justice Augustus B. Woodward was the first of the new administrative delegation to arrive on the scene directly from Washington. A personal friend and admirer of Jefferson, lawyer to Charles Pierre L’Enfant and shrewd owner of several key properties near important squares or public buildings within the Baroque design L’Enfant had created for the District of Columbia, Woodward was educated at Columbia and possessed of broad interests that included the surveying and planning of cities. Familiar with Wren’s plan for London, Le Nôtre’s Versailles, the radial design of Karsruhe, and the works of Serlio and Palladio, Woodward seized the opportunity to plan an American city on the frontier *ex novo*, drawing up what became known as the Governor and Judges’ Plan: a late Baroque design that could be scaled beyond the immediate needs of Detroit’s five hundred frontier inhabitants. Based on modular equilateral triangles 4000 feet in length on each side, converging on circular plazas or “circuses” [Figure 4-2], Woodward devised a kind of tri-angled gridiron the unit of which could be replicated indefinitely as settlement expanded inland, punctuated by monumental intersections reserved for fountains, parks, and other landmarks [Figure 4-3]. Although 10,000 acres surrounding the scorched settlement were surveyed, only a portion of one triangle was permanently established, adjacent to the erstwhile fort a very short distance inland, no doubt corresponding to the longest human-inhabited center. The remainder of Woodward’s ambitious plan succumbed as erstwhile French farm property lines were reasserted by owners, the legality of which had continued to be observed as the territory passed from British to French and finally to American jurisdiction.⁵⁸⁰ But this one tantalizing fragment of Woodward’s plan would prove resilient, forming the downtown nucleus of Detroit as a nineteenth-century commercial and administrative entity. Despite its origins as a rational, late-Baroque exercise in geometry,

Woodward's truncated fragment became a gnarled tangle of confusingly winding streets in an otherwise commonplace gridiron, not unlike the labyrinthine medieval settlements at the root of many European and eastern U.S. cities.

Formed by Washington, Miami (a corruption of the Native American Maumee, today Broadway), and Jefferson Avenues, the latter running parallel to the river and forming the base of the triangle, and surmounted by Grand Circus Park at the apex of Washington and Miami Avenues, Woodward's distinctive truncated remnant is still immediately recognizable in maps and satellite views to this day [Figure 4-4]. The thoroughfare bisecting Grand Circus and the triangle, perpendicular to the river, would become known as Woodward Avenue. As mentioned, in 1827 the third territorial governor Lewis Cass reasserted the old Indian trails, authorizing the widening of Woodward, Michigan, Grand River, and Gratiot Avenues as the city's major thoroughfares and links to other major settlements, consecrating the triangle with their convergence at a point Judge Woodward had designated the Campus Martius, and completing the palimpsest of Native American, French and American habitation that forms modern physical Detroit. The bottom two corners at the base of the triangle were truncated in the nineteenth century by Michigan Avenue to the west of Woodward, and by Monroe, parallel to and a block south of Gratiot Avenue to the east. Ironically, Grand Circus was never realized as more than a semi-circle below Adams Street. The result is something of an irregular diamond or chevron shape, the Campus Martius forming its lower apex.⁵⁸¹ It is this truncated remnant of Judge Woodward's plan that would become the center of urban development in Detroit in the nineteenth century, its buildings still forming the largest mass of skyscrapers on the city skyline in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries [Figure 4-5].

Woodward's personal association with both Jefferson and L'Enfant has given rise to occasional speculation that actual credit for the plan might belong to either of them rather than a frontier judge. As Pickens points out, however, Woodward's plan is more original and daring than L'Enfant's in that the District of Columbia is a gridiron overlaid with unrelated diagonals, whereas Woodward envisioned no right angled streets whatsoever.⁵⁸² At the same time, as Daniel M. Bluestone has pointed out, Judge Woodward shares with L'Enfant a similar conception of an urban fabric delimited and defined by prominent monumental landmarks, located in the circuses or circles respectively, with public buildings interspersed among commercial and residential structures instead of being grouped together. At least in the portion of the Detroit following Woodward's scheme, this in fact became the pattern of development.

As it happened, the preponderance of Detroit's public buildings seemed to gravitate of their own volition to the Campus Martius by the end of the nineteenth century, but not to form a grouping by the standards of the early twentieth century, as planners of that era would complain. By this time also the area below Jefferson to the river was thick with commercial and industrial development. As the City of the Strait swelled from a sparsely-populated frontier town to a burgeoning modern metropolis, the logic of its central position at the vortex of major thoroughfares ensured that Woodward's triangle would experience the city's most intensive urban development. This included the erection of city, county, state and federal buildings, the city's financial institutions, its first department stores and skyscrapers, and, until the twentieth century, its most luxurious residential quarters. To this day, Detroit's downtown core still bears the ineradicable imprint of Augustus B. Woodward.⁵⁸³ More importantly, the unrecoverable Woodward plan would serve early twentieth-century planners as the contested imaginary upon which they were free to advance their own interpretations and agenda.

4.2 Charles Moore and the Planning of Modern Detroit

Just as Judge Woodward, longtime resident of the nation's capital, had brought with him to the frontier the most sophisticated planning ideas of the day, a century later a Detroitier, Charles Moore, just returned from a long sojourn in Washington, D.C., would bring back to his home town in the hinterland the latest ideas of modern city planning and architectural grouping, and the political savvy to realize some of them. Veteran of the McMillan Commission, biographer of Daniel H. Burnham, successful banker and businessman, member of the Detroit Board of Commerce, first president of Detroit's City Plan and Improvement Commission, and briefly director of the Detroit Museum of Art, it is not too much to suggest that Charles Moore merits the title First Master Planner of Detroit.⁵⁸⁴ Moore may not have instigated every independent improvement initiative, but he insinuated himself in nearly all of them and was the first of many to attempt to harness them into a comprehensive vision for a twentieth-century American industrial city.

4.2.1 Gibraltar on the Strait: *Improvement of the City of Detroit*, 1905

Aside from private and commercial development, the only major public works projects to take place in Detroit in the century following Judge Woodward's plan were the creation in 1879 of Grand Boulevard, a broad, twelve-mile long ring-road encircling what was then the city's perimeter, and Frederick Law Olmsted's 1880 plan for Belle Isle, the city's largest urban park, where "the Boulevard" terminates.⁵⁸⁵ As the twentieth century dawned, the burgeoning city had built up a reservoir of enthusiasm for needed public improvements, at least among a certain class of citizenry. In the fall of 1904, the Detroit Board of Commerce invited Charles Mulford

Robinson to make a study of proposed improvements for the city.⁵⁸⁶ Shortly after Robinson turned in his brief report, the Board created a Committee on Civic Improvement, chaired by the recently returned Charles Moore. Apparently unsatisfied with Robinson's somewhat awkward effort, Moore immediately invited McMillan Commission collaborator Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to undertake a more expansive study.⁵⁸⁷ These complimentary reports were published together without illustrations as *Improvement of the City of Detroit* in 1905.⁵⁸⁸

Overall, Robinson's remarks are too brief, often vague and overgeneralized, and somewhat disorganized, perhaps because Detroit was his first real-world planning assignment since his landmark catalog of city planning recommendations, *Modern Civic Art*.⁵⁸⁹ On the whole, Olmsted's are longer, more detailed, more concrete, and more aggressive in recommending drastic redevelopment of already-built land. But the two agree on two fundamental points: first, that rectifying as far as possible the improper disposition of monumental public buildings throughout the downtown core and their proper grouping around Campus Martius and Cadillac Square was the most crucial planning problem facing the city; and second, that the link of this monumental grouping to the Detroit River half a mile to the southeast was essential for the image of the future city. Luckily, most of the city's new important structures found themselves already near to one another, and almost in the right place, but desperately in need of a creative solution to transform them into a unified whole [Figure 4-6]. For Robinson, "Nearly all the most serious mistakes of Detroit's past have arisen from a disregard of the spirit of the Governor and Judges' plan." It was the "neglect of the spirit of that plan" and "indifference to fine topographical provision of civic centers" that resulted in the alienation of the County Building, Federal Building, and City Hall from one another.⁵⁹⁰ Olmsted went further, noting, "The city is fortunate in having in the Campus Martius and Cadillac Square a considerable area of public open space at

a point which is definitely and permanently fixed by the convergence upon it of a great series of thoroughfares as a municipal center of dominating importance,” but he decries the “utter shapelessness of the area.”⁵⁹¹ Robinson gently prods his sponsors to make of the Campus Marius “for Detroit what the Place de la Concorde is to Paris,” by clearing away the cheaper two- and three-story buildings screening the County Building from City Hall, widening Cadillac Square, and removing or rerouting the trolley tracks on the Campus, a formidable task but one which he is convinced will repay the effort many times over.⁵⁹² Olmsted, by contrast, urges a more immediate and drastic Haussmann-like overhaul of the entire district.⁵⁹³ But for Olmsted, unlike Robinson, the problem goes beyond the orientation or disorientation of present buildings; planners must take into consideration future monumental additions. Olmsted foresees the time “when Detroit will build a new and worthier public library [...] to take its place in a group of monumental public buildings.” Also, the next generation of Detroiters will surely add “museums, theaters, halls for concerts and conventions, and similar quasi-public purposes.” Following the admonitions of Warner and Maltbie that these amenities not be allowed to stray all over the city, Olmsted suggests they should “form a very imposing group, *provided that they be grouped*— [...] to bring them into agreeable architectural relationship.”⁵⁹⁴

Robinson further proposes that the commercial waterfront “nearest the center of the city” at the foot of Woodward Avenue, extending “almost to Belle Isle Bridge” some two miles to the north and stretching a comparable distance to the south, should be reclaimed for aesthetic development.⁵⁹⁵ Writes Robinson, the “water-gate—the official entrance to the city,” should be the foot of Woodward Avenue on the Detroit River, “where distinguished guests are received. There never was a spot more clearly and splendidly marked for the purpose than this broad

avenue leading straight up to the public buildings.”⁵⁹⁶ Olmsted concurs, remarking that this eyesore to passing international river traffic be transformed into the gateway of the city.⁵⁹⁷

[A]s the middle of the City’s Front, this spot is plainly marked as the site for some great tribune, from which enthroned Detroit shall review the vast procession of the ships in the centuries to come. Not even the towering mass of Gibraltar itself has stood guard over such pageant as must here salute its mistress, and the day will surely come [...] when Detroit will here erect a great and monumental structure dominating all the aggregated buildings of the city and typifying to the traveler from afar the city’s own dominion. Rising from [...] an orderly and dignified treatment of the River Front and spanning the axis of Woodward Avenue, such a structure will be [...] the culminating architectural accent of the City.⁵⁹⁸

If “the treatment of the Campus Martius, of Cadillac Square, of the Grand Circus with its radiating streets” is dealt with successfully, Olmsted assures, “time will surely bring forth at the Water Gate some soaring structure that will demand a recognition of unity throughout the heart of the City.”⁵⁹⁹ This waterfront Gibraltar, Olmsted well realizes, will require the condemnation of several blocks of existing, privately-held commercial property.

Together, Olmsted and Robinson share in the hyperbolic claim that the proper development of Campus Martius and Cadillac Square is the keystone to all future planning in twentieth-century Detroit. But Olmsted is more daring than Robinson in tying the rectification of the Campus, Square and Circus to the eventual development of the waterfront at the foot of Woodward Avenue, envisioning the full realization of Detroit’s downtown core. This was surely what Moore had expected and desired from Olmsted when, apparently dissatisfied with the

brevity, clumsiness, and timidity of Robinson's report, Moore sought the expertise of his McMillan plan collaborator, inviting Olmsted to spend a week in snow-covered Detroit to study its predicament and offer further suggestions to supplement Robinson's findings.⁶⁰⁰ Of course, it is an exaggeration to claim that Judge Woodward's plan had called for the grouping of public buildings any more than L'Enfant's plan had called for a monumental concentration in the District of Columbia. Both planners in their respective late-Baroque conceptions had called for, in the words of Kirk Savage, a "dispersed monumental landscape," and that is more or less what had come about by the twentieth century. But this fact did not prevent modern planners attempting to enlist the "spirit" of the past in support of modern-day ambitions in both cases.⁶⁰¹ As Daniel M. Bluestone argues, the urge to group public buildings, particularly in Detroit, was not attributable to the rediscovery of some timeless principle; rather, it was a rear-guard response by the elite to incursions on civic space made by commercial construction, particularly the skyscraper. Simply put, in a landscape where church steeples and statues on pedestals could dominate a skyline, architectural grouping would have been unnecessary; but in the age of the elevator and in a landscape coming to be dominated by the verticality of the skyscraper, the horizontal massing of monumental buildings around landscaped open spaces seemed to promise a measure of conservative control over unruly modern urban space.⁶⁰²

What is remarkable about *Improvement of the City of Detroit* is that Moore and Olmsted fail to underscore Robinson's invocation of Judge Woodward and his connection to L'Enfant. Moore, as editor of the McMillan Commission report, had declared the ambition of Olmsted and his fellow planners to have been to "restore and develop the original designs of President Washington and L'Enfant," even as these were repurposed to modern ends.⁶⁰³ Perhaps Olmsted was unacquainted with Detroit lore and Moore too modest to compare his hometown's mutilated,

eccentric frontier remnant to the plan that had shaped the contours of the nation's capital. Be that as it may, for the moment a golden opportunity to propagandize was lost. Horace J. McFarland, however, did not fail to exploit this narrative in 1909. He writes, "To find here in Detroit even a little evidence of sane planning, and to find that the Father of his Country, the many-sided Washington, was indirectly responsible for this condition, [is a] surprise." He recounts,

Fire wiped out in 1805 almost every vestige of Cadillac's ugly town, and Judge Woodward, the master spirit of the hurt community, wisely introduced the ideas he had seen being worked into the great plan for the Federal City under Washington's eye by Major L'Enfant. Only a part of his propositions were made effective; but the three fine radial avenues and a central half-circle, the "Grand Circus," remain as monuments to his wisdom. There are two other open spaces, the Campus Martius and Cadillac Square, which might have been made valuable focal points for harmonious architecture if foresight had not in early Detroit days been as absent as in other American cities.⁶⁰⁴

Shamelessly boosting the proposals of Robinson, Moore, and Olmsted, McFarland predicts that amid Detroit's "civic awakening" these opportunities can now be rescued, turning what Olmsted had termed an "ineffective jumble" of public buildings into "a future great water-front, alike doubly effective for a growing commerce and a beauty-needing populace."⁶⁰⁵

Thus was laid out a clear agenda for early twentieth-century planning in Detroit. To the civic center that Robinson recognized as already "nearly realized" in the extant remnant of the Governor and Judges' plan in which could be grouped a new library, museum, and public auditorium, Olmsted would add a towering riverfront structure. This would transform Detroit's downtown core into a complex of administrative and arts and educational institutions almost as

comprehensive as the National Mall itself, the very formation that had inspired John De Witt Warner's initial conception of the civic center in the first place. Here in Detroit, a city with an erstwhile planning link to Washington, D.C., the concept might come to fruition for the first time anywhere in America outside of the national capital. From this point forward the question facing Detroit planners would be whether the Baroque remnant of Judge Woodward's plan could in fact contain and retain all of the necessary institutional ingredients for a single monumental center, or whether certain elements would find themselves expelled to seek refuge as a grouping of their own in a more hospitable district within the growing metropolis.

4.2.2 Exiles on Main Street: *A Center for Arts and Letters*, 1913

Both the Detroit Public Library and the Detroit Museum of Art, as it was originally named, had their origins as institutions housed in the downtown core of the city, within or adjacent to the remnant of Judge Woodward's plan, but not contiguous with the Campus Martius or Cadillac Square.⁶⁰⁶ The library at different times had occupied two different "civic triangles" designed by Judge Woodward between Grand Circus and the Campus [Figure 4-2]. Since its inception in 1865, the public library had occupied a portion of Capitol High School, an 1828 building that originally served as the capitol of Michigan's territorial government on a site Judge Woodward had designed for that purpose on the triangle between Washington, Michigan, and Woodward Avenues. In 1877, the library moved into its own Second Empire building designed by Henry T. Brush and Hugh Smith, across Woodward Avenue on the mirroring triangle called Centre Park [Figure 4-7]. This had been intended by the Judge as a site for a penitentiary, and indeed the previous occupant had been the city jail.⁶⁰⁷ "No thing of beauty," in the words of one historian, the Centre Park library was nonetheless beloved and heavily used by Detroiters, and underwent

almost continuous internal renovation and expansion through the turn of the century to keep up with a burgeoning collection as well as readership.⁶⁰⁸

In 1886, art museum trustees created a building for their collections near an elite residential district on Jefferson Avenue, two blocks east of Woodward at Hastings Street (a thoroughfare now all but obliterated along with the museum in 1960 by the Chrysler Freeway running along its old route north of I-75) [Figure 4-8].⁶⁰⁹ In 1894, James Balfour's Richardsonian Romanesque structure was expanded by adding two wings, with the Detroit Scientific Association leasing part of one of them to house its natural history specimens.⁶¹⁰ In 1904, a further three-story addition provided a library, a six-hundred seat auditorium, and additional gallery space.⁶¹¹ At the time, the *Detroit Journal* protested that the museum galleries were filled with "scientific objects, ethnological exhibits, a display of the antique and a lot of rubbish," rather than "the best objects of the art of painting, sculpture and architecture," and was badly in need of "a nice house cleaning" before a costly expansion.⁶¹² Before long the museum was again bursting at the seams and in dire need of more space.⁶¹³

When Olmsted considered new library and museum buildings to be likely candidates for grouping in an expanded civic center at the Campus and Square, the restlessness of each institution in its respective quarters was common knowledge. Besides their burgeoning material collections and steady rise in patronage, these late nineteenth-century institutions found Detroit's twentieth-century downtown rapidly transitioning around their respective buildings. Whereas its most imposing neighbors initially had been the spires of neighborhood churches, the Centre Park library soon found itself hemmed in on the west side by the mammoth 8-story Hudson's department store building, screening it off from Woodward Avenue. Similar businesses soon surrounded it, chasing out both churches and residences, raining down soot, creating noise for

patrons and librarians, and raising apprehensions of fire. The Jefferson Avenue museum, closer to the waterfront, similarly saw its fine residential neighborhood increasingly giving way to industrial and commercial establishments, particularly those oriented to servicing the growing automobile industry, and proving disruptive to the proper contemplation of beauty; such at any rate were the complaints of each institution.⁶¹⁴

In 1901, George Radford of the Library Commission, persuasively arguing that Michigan's iron ore had provided the raw material for his wealth, secured from Andrew Carnegie a pledge of \$750,000, half of which was earmarked for a "commodious" new main library and half for branch buildings. Pro-labor newspapers and councilmen, however, recalling the Homestead riots of a decade earlier, made it politically impossible to accept the "blood money" until a successful 1907 bond issue diluted its proportional significance in the building fund.⁶¹⁵ But within weeks of Carnegie's initial 1901 offer, Radford was campaigning for a new site two miles up Woodward Avenue, bounded by Farnsworth, Frederick, and John R Streets (the latter being the truncated namesake of Detroit's first official mayor, John R. Williams), while others sought a site closer to Grand Circus. Newspapers took sides on the location and debate raged on for years as Carnegie's gift remained in limbo, but once the bond issue passed in 1907 the Library Commission optioned a parcel of land across the street from the one specified by Radford.⁶¹⁶

The following year, William C. Weber, a newly appointed museum trustee, began lobbying fellow trustees to merge the museum's relocation plans with those of the library along Woodward Avenue, on the site Radford had originally sought for the library. In 1908 Weber privately published a pamphlet entitled *A New Museum Site* outlining suggestions for a new museum building that would also house an "art and crafts school."⁶¹⁷ Weber, a wealthy Michigan land dealer, went so far as to option the so-called Merrill-Palmer and Ferry properties himself,

securing the site opposite the library. At a special meeting held in December 1909, he persuaded fellow trustees that “the effort to obtain [new museum] facilities can be combined with the pending movement for a public auditorium” as well as an art school.⁶¹⁸ In February 1911, the trustees formally requested \$1 million from the city to erect a grouping to include a new museum, art school and public auditorium on the site.⁶¹⁹ In December 1912, the trustees approved a design by a local architect for a single building housing all three facilities, but in January 1913 this scheme was publicly attacked by Weber. Among other criticisms, Weber demanded an AIA-adjudicated national competition to match the just-announced library competition. Worse, it soon surfaced that the plan appeared to have been plagiarized from a rejected Minneapolis art museum proposal, resulting in the departure of both the architect and the museum director who had supported him from the project.⁶²⁰

Following this fiasco, the museum trustees led by Weber approached the City Plan and Improvement Commission to coordinate efforts between itself and the library. This commission, created by the mayor in 1909 as the successor to the Board of Commerce Committee on Civic Improvement, continued to be led by Charles Moore as its first president (Moore was also Weber’s colleague on the Detroit Art Commission). In early 1913, a Joint Committee on a Center of Arts and Letters was formed, consisting of representatives of the museum, library, the Detroit School of Design, the Detroit Orchestral Association, the City Plan and Improvement Commission, and the Michigan Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, with Moore at its head.⁶²¹ Frank Miles Day, a Philadelphia architect already advising the library competition, and Edward H. Bennett of Chicago, were “commissioned to make a study of the whole situation and to prepare a plan embodying the general ideas of the joint committee.”⁶²²

With both the library and museum determined to leave downtown, and most of the necessary properties already optioned, acquired, or in the process of condemnation, it was not so much a question of creating a new arts center as planners declaring one on behalf of the city of Detroit. If these new monumental public buildings could not or would not be grouped downtown as part of the Campus Martius and Cadillac Square or Grand Circus Park, Moore was determined to at least eagerly assist in their proper grouping at Farnsworth and Woodward, and see to it that the scheme was not only suitably artistic, but integrated into other city-wide planning concerns such as traffic flow and strategically tied to other as yet unrealized downtown ambitions.

In October 1913, the City Plan and Improvement Commission issued their *Report on a Center of Arts and Letters*, a short pamphlet containing the plans and recommendations of their architects. The Joint Committee, in their introductory statement, recounted that both library commissioners and museum trustees appreciated the opportunity to create “a great center worthy of the dignity of this city and its standing among the cities of the country,” in response to “public demand.” The boards of the institutions involved “realized that harmonious and concerted action was imperative if Detroit is to realize the full benefit of the gifts and the appropriations already made.” Noting the dignified landscape setting required for the museum and library, the report remarked, “Monumental buildings should not be disturbed by the immediate proximity of business or residential structures” and “should be brought into vital relations with the general plan of the city.”⁶²³ The joint committee recommended the purchase of additional properties not already secured by either the library or museum to create two large blocks on either side of Woodward Avenue. “Any other arrangement would present an irregular and therefore disturbing outline, and would subject the monumental buildings to [commercial] encroachments that would detract seriously from their dignity and impressiveness.”⁶²⁴ The report concludes, “The

committee believes that by carrying out these plans Detroit will take its place among the many communities in this country which are now engaged in improving the physical condition of their cities in manner commensurate with increase in wealth and taste.”⁶²⁵ With civic pride emphatically on the line, not much is left to Bennett and Day except to underscore the point that “additional land be taken,” presumably at municipal expense, to create a complete campus of arts and educational buildings “of a public or semi-public nature intended to house activities consonant with those of the museum and library, for example, an historical society, an horticultural society, a building for learned societies, etc.” These institutions would encircle the central group and “greatly enhance the setting of the library and the artistic value of the whole group.”⁶²⁶ The architects also recommend extending Kirby Street across Woodward and making this the new northern border of the enlarged library site. They also suggest that the museum side be enlarged to 29 acres, securing properties to the south of those already secured, to create “a main building for the art museum with extensions for the future, a school of design and school of music.”⁶²⁷

Bennett and Day accompany their report with two side-by-side maps of the area: on the left showing their proposed grouping of the Woodward site dominated by the museum and library, surrounded by peripheral buildings, the streets rectified; and on the right the present property holdings and recommended acquisitions [Figure 4-9]. The campus is surrounded by tree-lined streets, and approaches to the library and museum along Woodward are evident. Unexplained by the 1913 brochure are two diagonal boulevards that enter the plan at 45-degree angles from the south, intersecting with Farnsworth Street at Cass Avenue and John R Street, respectively. These diagonals are explained only two years later, in another pamphlet issued by the City Plan and Improvement Commission in 1915. The report, entitled *Preliminary Plan of Detroit*, introduces

the wider proposals of Edward H. Bennett for the improvement of city.⁶²⁸ A map of the city shows the Art Center as the apex of a right triangle connecting to the Michigan Central Railroad depot to the southwest and the Belle Isle Bridge to the east, connected by Michigan and East Jefferson Avenues through downtown [Figure 4-10]. Moore explained this boulevard system in 1914 to *The Detrouter* as part of a need to widen heavily-trafficked Woodward Avenue and create cross-diagonals to the radiating “old Indian trails” of Michigan, Grand River, and Gratiot Avenues.⁶²⁹ Already acclaimed by *Michigan Roads and Forests* as “the state’s heaviest traveled thoroughfare” and “among the leading highways in the country,” the twenty-five mile stretch of Woodward Avenue from Detroit to Pontiac experienced a ten-fold increase in traffic in the late 1910s, to the point of being declared hazardous.⁶³⁰ That being the case, one has to question the wisdom of creating a Center of Arts and Letters on an already congested thoroughfare midway between the Campus Martius and Grand Boulevard, its most heavily trafficked section, let alone directing two new arteries, one from the Michigan Central depot and the other from the city’s largest park, to feed directly into the thoroughfare at the center. Nevertheless, Moore rationalizes the new conjunction as part of “a complete system of diagonals [that] has been laid out to connect all parts of the city, [to] give easy access to the main industrial centers for workingmen.”⁶³¹ The map [Figure 4-11], very similar to the one later published in *Preliminary Plan of Detroit*, and accompanying text indicate that the diagonals between the railroad station, the Art Center, and Belle Isle would be made into a complete circuit by a riverfront “esplanade.” To this would be added a second encircling boulevard, lying further out and forming a slender greenbelt punctuated by various parklands, some of which would have dwarfed Belle Isle.⁶³²

What is remarkable is how the western diagonal emanating from the Art Center might have affected the 1896 Central High School building [Figure 4-12]. A buff-colored brick Romanesque

Revival building, its enormous clock tower rising the equivalent of more than nine stories from the ground, Central High was the Center of Arts and Letters' most prominent neighbor and most visible landmark in the vicinity, serving the well-to-do in an elite residential neighborhood. Bennett and Day's 1913 final rendering shows the diagonal originating from the Michigan Central station and terminating at Cass and Putnam as clearly cutting through the block west of Cass and south of Warren, the site of the Central High, probably coming very near the rear wing that had been added in 1908 [Figure 4-13]. The 1915 report reproduces the "Original Study for the Center of Arts and Letters," by Bennett alone [Figure 4-14], showing that in a preliminary plan the same diagonal feeding directly into Woodward would have cut through the same block, in this instance coming perilously close to the southeastern corner of the front façade [Figure 4-15]. In any case the traffic noise alone would have been likely to disturb Central High's educational purpose. This cavalier disregard by the planners of the Center of Arts and Letters is all the more ironic given the crucial and unexpected role the building would play in the subsequent growth of the district.

On the whole, *Preliminary Plan for Detroit* is something of a grab-bag of proposals illustrated by incompatible graphics that are poorly explained in the six unnumbered pages of text. Veering from local history to general city planning history, and offering descriptions of various proposed Detroit improvements in no clear hierarchy of importance, the text, presumably by Moore, is a far cry from his work as editor of the McMillan Commission report. As a supplement to *Report on a Center of Arts and Letters*, the publication offers additional information but also confounds the picture of the exact ambitions of city planners in Detroit at this time. On the whole, however, *Preliminary Plan for Detroit* is almost incoherent, and it is far

from clear who its intended audience might have been, or what exactly it hoped to achieve politically, financially, or otherwise.

One noteworthy feature of the publication is a glimpse at how Bennett might have dealt with the downtown core. Here, Bennett is clearly building upon the 1905 recommendations of Robinson and Olmsted at Moore's request, concurring that Judge Woodward's remnant, in particular Grand Circus Park, is the natural locus for the city's civic center. Moore laments, "It is most unfortunate that we have not developed the city entirely according to the Woodward plan." No longer reticent about his hometown's heritage, Moore now recalls how the Judge had "laid out Detroit, so far as he could, according to the ideas L'Enfant used in Washington." To the Judge Detroit owed the cross-axis of Woodward and Jefferson Avenues, and "He gave us the Campus Martius [and] Grand Circus Park."⁶³³ The text describes how Bennett advocates "making the entire Detroit River [frontage], from the head of Lake St. Clair to Lake Erie," i.e., the entirety of the riverfront within Detroit's city limits as well as that of several municipalities downriver, into "one great park."⁶³⁴

The report publishes two plates of downtown civic centers, which it fails to explain. In Plate VIII [Figure 4-16] Bennett offers his conception of the civic center at the Campus Martius, taking Olmsted's admonition to heart to completely revamp its street layout and property lines. Bennett would have bolstered Lafayette Boulevard and Fort Street to create a perpendicular cross-axis to Woodward Avenue with a monumental main post office between Washington and Shelby to the west. Balancing this would have been a triangular civic center comprised of various city, county, state and federal buildings, beginning at the Campus Martius (its offset rectangle regularized into an oval), with Monroe Street and Cadillac Square radiating from this apex to Brush Street, forming a triangular Court of Honor. Framing the Court would have been

several smaller buildings, and along Brush three larger buildings: two large federal buildings flanking City Hall, which would have been on axis with the post office and the Campus oval. In Plate IX [Figure 4-18], labeled “Suggestion for a Civic Center at the Grand Circus,” Bennett has created a composition of unidentified buildings at Grand Circus, now envisioned as a complete circle. Although the report’s text neglects to offer any explanation of this plan, it seems to be an alternative to the civic center proposed in the previous plate rather than a proposed additional grouping. Indeed, each plate shows both Grand Circus and the Campus Martius and either one or the other center, not both.

If the text was indeed composed by Moore, it at least indicates that he now saw the value in touting if not mythifying the connection between Judge Woodward and Charles Pierre L’Enfant. In 1924, Moore wrote a brief introduction to a special Detroit issue of *Art and Archaeology* on “Detroit as an Art Center.” Attempting to encapsulate the growing myth of Detroit from its French founding to the rise of the automobile industry, Moore’s short piece entitled “Detroit, the City of Romance and Achievement” is even more disjointed than the text of *Preliminary Plan*. Of the 1805 conflagration Moore writes,

One of the new rulers had his legislative apprenticeship in the seat of government at Washington and was acquainted with L’Enfant and his great plan for the National Capital. On the L’Enfant Plan of Washington, Judge Woodward based the new plan or the city of Detroit, with its focal points and its radiating avenues.⁶³⁵

Why Moore had not made this point two decades earlier is unclear. A brief article in the same issue on “The Detroit Plan,” accompanied by a map of the city similar to the one appearing in *The Detroitier* ten years earlier, explains the outer ring road, Outer Drive, as part of a

“Metropolitan Park and Recreation System,”⁶³⁶ only no longer with the diagonal boulevards connecting Michigan Central and Belle Isle to the Art Center [Figure 4-18]. The architecture and private art holdings of the city, as well as Detroit artists, are also highlighted in the issue. But it is the several articles on the Detroit Public Library and Detroit Institute of the Arts buildings (so far, without the proposed periphery of learned institutions) and their holdings that demonstrate the importance of the Center of Arts and Letters in Detroit’s status as an Art Center.⁶³⁷

4.3 A Temple of Democracy and Mad Anthony’s University

Detroit’s Center for Arts and Letters had been established by the erection of new buildings for the library and museum in the 1920s, institutions effectively self-exiled from the congested downtown core of the city. Left unresolved was the downtown core itself, a space both attractive and repellent to planners as a site for proposed public buildings and their grouping, where commercial and public space continued to clash. Ironically, the issue of downtown development would be forced by an institution that had been effectively exiled from the Center for Arts and Letters. The controversy over where to properly site a World War memorial and civic auditorium ultimately occasioned ambitious schemes for both a downtown administrative civic center as well as a full-fledged cultural center.

4.3.1 “More in the Way of a Civic Center”: The Battle for Veterans’ Memorial Hall

In June 1921, a “soldiers’ memorial conference” was convened in Detroit to determine the best location for a proposed war memorial and civic auditorium. At the time, the opposite side of

Woodward Avenue from the newly-dedicated library, where the planned museum had yet to break ground, was viewed as the most appealing site. However, this being firmly allotted to the museum, a memorial committee, led by Mayor James Couzens, considered 24 other sites around the city, and unanimously settled on the block directly west of the library, bounded by Cass, Second, Putnam and Kirby Avenues. In September the committee petitioned the Common Council to place a \$5 million bond issue on the November ballot, although some on council thought cheaper property along John R Street, east of the museum, should have been selected.⁶³⁸ Reported *The Detroit Free Press*, “[I]f the plan is carried through, the war memorial building will comprise one of Detroit’s three finest public buildings in the group which will include the new art museum.” In making its site selection, the committee “considered central location, artistic siting and accessibility to streetcar and motor transportation,” and its goal was “to combine in one magnificent building a permanent home for the various organizations of former servicemen and women in Detroit and a new civic auditorium and convention hall.”⁶³⁹ Advocates further argued that \$10 million in convention revenue was being turned away each year because Detroit did not have an adequate convention venue.⁶⁴⁰ William E. Metzger, automobile showman, complained,

The greatest single factor in making Detroit the first automobile city in the world was the automobile show held annually here in the early days of the “horseless carriage.” The first automobile show in America was staged in Detroit in 1899. Today we can’t hold the national show here because of not having an exposition hall.⁶⁴¹

In October, calculating that the desired site alone could cost \$2.9 million, veterans requested the bond ballot initiative be raised to \$7 million, and received tentative approval.⁶⁴² This

prompted a “resolution of protest” by the City Art and Design Committee of the Twentieth Century Club, the city’s elite organization of socialite women, of the “extravagance of the city administration.” *The Detroit Journal* reported members’ complaints, including the observation, “With the thousands of idle men walking the streets and despondent fathers committing suicide, our first duty is to the living.” The already onerous burdens on taxpayers and high rents were cited, along with the demand, “We should be sentimental toward the living, toward the thousands of unemployed ex-servicemen, and leave sentiment towards the dead to a more propitious time.”⁶⁴³ Although an 11-member committee appointed by the mayor to study the proposal still came back with a request for \$7 million, suggesting \$4 million for the building and \$2-3 million for the site,⁶⁴⁴ council finally capped the bond issue at \$5.5 million, earmarking \$4 million for the building and limiting the site to a budget of only \$1.5.⁶⁴⁵

Michigan governor and Detroitier Alex J. Groesbeck strongly backed the plan. In a lengthy statement excerpted in *The Detroit News*, Groesbeck cited the city’s patriotic desire to memorialize its fallen soldiers as well as its sore need for a convention hall and civic meeting place “to combat the decline of civic strength through loss by the people of a sense of city citizenship.” He also stressed Detroit’s lag behind comparably American cities on all counts. “There occurs to me no more appropriate expression of our debt of gratitude to those who offered themselves as a sacrifice to the cause of liberty than this beautiful temple of democracy.”⁶⁴⁶ This extraordinary plea, combining patriotism, commercial zeal, and a return to the town hall ideal on a massive scale, apparently resonated with voters, who approved the bond issue.⁶⁴⁷

Within a week of the election, the *Free Press* was estimating the site next to the library would exceed the allotted \$1.5 million, and could cost at least twice that amount. In an editorial,

the paper argued that “a piece of land on the river front has already been bought” for this purpose but inexplicably “has been discarded, though why it is less desirable than the one toward which the members of the committee are now turning their eyes is hard to understand. It is a perfectly good strip of real estate, and most attractively located; it is easy to reach from the center of the city and the hotel districts.” It is not clear to what property the *Free Press* is referring, but the editorial concludes that “a million and a half (or three million) of dollars certainly seems worth saving.”⁶⁴⁸ Two weeks later the paper reported that Art Center property owners along Cass, ostensibly “willing to sell at a reasonable figure,” were nonetheless unable to come to terms with the Memorial Committee, and were ominously asked to meet with the mayor later in the month.⁶⁴⁹

Over the winter, it became apparent that the desired site west of the library was beyond reach. But in February 1922 an editorial in the *News* acknowledged that “the civic center of which the Library and the New Art Institute are proposed parts” was still favored, specifically the block to the north of the library. However, the *News* warned, “The most important considerations are space and setting,” and the erection of the Memorial there would not only have to anticipate the eventual widening of Woodward Avenue, but would demand “the erection of another single building on the fourth square” north of the museum in order to maintain the symmetry of the group.⁶⁵⁰ In March 1922, the *Free Press* published a design for a towering memorial by Gottesleben and Bernardi to the north of the library [Figure 4-19].⁶⁵¹ That same month the *News* published a composite map showing 41 of 50 possible sites submitted by “architects and leading citizens” in response to a public plea for suggestions and compiled by two veterans in the City Engineer’s Office [Figure 4-20]. The 41 sites cluster along the Woodward Avenue corridor between Third Avenue and Beaubien Street, from Grand Boulevard

to the River, with 9 others in various parts of the city not depicted. No less than five sites appear in the Art Center, including the site east of the library favored by the Memorial Hall Committee and the museum site, but not the Gottesleben and Bernardi site.⁶⁵² That same month it was announced that the Memorial Hall Committee planned to heed the wishes of veterans' groups who had scheduled a vote on site selection. The *Free Press* reported, "The three most popular locations so far suggested by the veterans' organizations are: the art center, near the public library; Memorial park, on the river opposite Belle Isle; and a downtown site."⁶⁵³ The *News* similarly reported, "The battle among the veterans of Detroit over a location [...] is becoming more and more partisan" as the vote drew near. "The partisans have divided into three groups: Art Centerites, Memorial Parkites, and Downtownites."

In the same article, architect Charles R. Seabrook strongly endorses the Memorial Park site, recounting its acquisition in 1918, and its favorable position to "further the development of the entire river front." Its location "opposite the playground of the city—Belle Isle—the greatest park in America," and in sight of passing international river traffic and the Canadian shore would profess to the world Detroit's aesthetic idealism as well as its solidarity with its allies to join a "cause that is just."⁶⁵⁴ In a subsequent article, former postmaster William J. Nagel similarly argues, "The site now occupied by roller coasters and other amusement features" in the path of "the cooling breezes of the river" would be ideal for a convention hall, and would require no additional transportation infrastructure, since visitors would be served by streetcar lines already serving Belle Isle. "As a clubhouse for the boys," Nagel muses, presumably referring to veterans and conventioners, "it would be ideal [in] offering boating and bathing facilities." He chides his fellow Detroiters, "Chicago and Cleveland are spending millions to develop their waterfronts."⁶⁵⁵

When the city's veterans groups were canvassed in the spring of 1922, twice as many veterans preferred the Art Center over Memorial Park as a site for a Memorial Hall, and less than a sixth as many for a downtown site. The Veteran's Memorial Committee formally petitioned the council to halt plans for construction of the museum until a site for the hall was settled. It is not clear whether veterans hoped to supplant the museum from the Art Center altogether or whether they simply hoped to gain leverage by holding museum construction hostage. In any case, Council reminded the veterans that the city was "pledged to go ahead with the Institute of Arts," and that no site could be obtained in the Art Center for \$1.5 million, and likely not for twice that amount, whereas the city already owned Memorial Park, allowing the surplus funds to be saved or put into the building.⁶⁵⁶ Hoteliers and Detroit's Tourist Bureau, on the other hand, lobbied for the Memorial Hall to be placed in the downtown core. The *Free Press* reported, "[I]f the Memorial building is established at Memorial park, its value as a meeting place for conventions is cut to nothing, and if it goes to the so-called art center, its value, they claim, would be about one-half what it would be if it occupied down-town property."⁶⁵⁷

With architect Paul Cret's museum plans complete and approved, ground finally broke on the new Detroit Institute of Arts on June 22, 1922.⁶⁵⁸ But this by no means settled the question of Memorial Hall. Controversy over selecting its site boiled over into the summer months, with veterans and the *News* still pushing for an Art Center site, council and the *Free Press* holding out for Memorial Park, and still other factions holding out for downtown. Exasperated, Mayor Couzens contemplated putting all three sites on the ballot and allowing voters to decide.⁶⁵⁹ Instead, Council appointed a site committee composed of architects, members of the Art, Library and City Plan Commissions, School Board, City Council, Veterans Memorial Conference and Citizens Memorial Conference.⁶⁶⁰ The Sub-Committee on Site, as it was known, developed

“general principles” to guide its deliberations on determining a site for Memorial Hall. First, the sited requires “a location central as to city activities.” Second, it “must be given an imposing setting to make impressive its memorial significance in a physical way.” Third, “It should tie in intimately with the city plan, to bring out Memorial Hall’s importance as a public building, and in turn add its own dignity to the city plan.” Fourth and fifth, it should be accessible as “the people’s hall” to public and private transportation. And finally, “It should be located convenient to the majority of public hotels” to sustain its function as a convention hall.⁶⁶¹

The first criterion, that of central location, would seem to have ruled out Memorial Park a priori given its relatively remote location, and the final criterion, that of proximity to the majority of the city’s hotels, decidedly ruled out the Art Center which as yet boasted not a single hotel. In December, with the deck stacked for a downtown location, the sub-committee retained the services of Edward H. Bennett to study all the suggested and available sites and report back with his recommendations.⁶⁶² Whether it was anticipated or not, Bennett concluded that the Art Center was still the best site for Memorial Hall. According to the sub-committee’s later account, Bennett had “felt constrained to recommend that location” since it had been presented to him that a downtown site was out of the question. It reported, “Rather than see the Memorial erected as a lone building in a poor setting downtown or to see it built any place where it would be a single structure unrelated to the central city plan, Mr. Bennett preferred to take it to the Art Center where a proper grouping was assured.”⁶⁶³ At the same time, perhaps by no coincidence, Charles Moore, taking time away from his duties as chairman of the National Fine Arts Commission in Washington, conducted his own “informal survey” of Detroit. Not surprisingly, he concurred with Bennett. In a statement, Moore declared that present plans for a two-building Art Center should be scrapped for an Art Center comprised of three or more buildings, including Memorial

Hall. Citing the doubling of Detroit's population from half a million to a million in the decade since the Art Center plan, Moore's reasoning is simple. "It is now possible to accomplish more in the way of a civic center," he argued. "The city is large enough to want and to support an enlarged plan. Moreover, you have your Memorial hall to accommodate and must make room for it somewhere in a convenient place. Why not in an enlarged civic center?" Moore recognizes this will require some reconfiguration, even halting museum construction to allow reconsideration of a larger grouping scheme, but he argues that a "civic center re-alignment" could be accomplished "at a trifle of the cost" to clear the foot of Woodward Avenue or "to obtain an equally advantageous location for Memorial hall elsewhere. It is time for Detroit to consider each monumental building in relation to other monumental buildings—each part of the picture in relation to the whole."⁶⁶⁴

However, with construction of the long-awaited museum finally underway, the last thing in the world anybody connected with the Detroit Institute of Arts wanted to hear was talk of a "civic center re-alignment" or scrapping of plans, least of all from a former director of the museum and planner of the Art Center. And yet amid the conflict the emerging consensus was that Memorial Hall should be considered not merely as a single building or element to be added to the city, however fortuitously located, but as the prospective member of a grouping of public buildings, either in a bolstered Art Center to make of it "more in the way of a civic center," or as the focal point of a new downtown civic center at the foot of Woodward Avenue. For museum advocates, the choice was clear.

4.3.2 The Purpose of a Civic Center: Eliel Saarinen and Memorial Hall

Museum trustees were well represented in the site selection process for Memorial Hall in architect Albert Kahn on the Sub-Committee on Site, and Ralph Harmon Booth, president of the Art Commission. Both Booth and his brother, George Gough Booth, were heavily involved in the arts in Detroit, George founding Detroit's Society of Arts and Crafts in 1906, and each contributing numerous objects of art and craftwork to the museum's permanent collections. Together the Booths controlled a network of Michigan newspapers, including their flagship *The Detroit News*, of which George served as publisher.⁶⁶⁵ Both Ralph Booth and Kahn had been on the commission to select Paul P. Cret as architect for the new museum building, and George Booth and Kahn were avid supporters and benefactors of the University of Michigan's architectural program in Ann Arbor and its director, Emil Lorch. All four men took an active interest in the Memorial Hall project, the Booths and Kahn particularly concerned to see that its siting not interfere or delay in any way with the completion of the new Detroit Institute of Arts building.

The role Lorch plays in resolving the Memorial Hall question is small and perhaps unwitting, but pivotal. In November 1922, Lorch wrote to Booth, who was contemplating underwriting a new building for the architectural program, to cheerlead on behalf on one of his graduates who had offered a design endorsed by the Thumb Tack Club, which the *News* had recently published.⁶⁶⁶ Whatever the plan's details, its implementation would seem to have required considerable disturbance to the museum building presently underway, prompting a somewhat agitated Booth to respond that "only in a remote degree does it seem possible that there will be a revolution in the present plans of the Art Center." Booth admonishes Lorch that "our Thumb-

Tack Clubs and our Architectural Departments and Schools perhaps should always be dealing with hypothetical civic problems,” but should not attempt more than to raise public awareness of all possibilities. Still, it is clear that Booth has adopted the underlying logic of Bennett and Moore, namely that the Memorial Hall can no longer be considered as a building in isolation. Booth confides in Lorch, “I think the new Memorial Building project is forcing a consideration of civic questions, plans and buildings which may be of great value to several future city projects,” including the reconsideration of street layouts hitherto considered intractable.⁶⁶⁷

Failing as a cheerleader for a particular plan, Lorch was nonetheless enthusiastic to report to Booth the latest coup he hoped to achieve for the architecture program in the spring of 1923: bringing Eliel Saarinen to teach at Michigan. Lorch boasts, “His *Tribune* design practically makes him the leading progressive designer of the architectural world, and as such he belongs here!”⁶⁶⁸ A Finnish architect and city planner, Saarinen had placed second in the *Chicago Tribune* tower competition of 1922 [Figure 4-21] with a design that, in the words of David G. De Long, “influenced an entire generation of skyscrapers, recognizable by symmetrical and plastically interwoven setbacks and by a subdued, vaguely medieval detailing.”⁶⁶⁹ The competition made Saarinen into an overnight success in the United States, and a hero to modernists such as Louis Sullivan.⁶⁷⁰ Over the next year, both Lorch and Kahn, who was too busy to undertake the commission himself, promoted Saarinen to Booth as an architect and city planner of sufficient international celebrity and clout to break the local logjam over Memorial Hall.⁶⁷¹

In 1923, while factions in Detroit still held out for a Memorial Park location,⁶⁷² others approached Henry Ford about selling his parcel of land north of the library in the Art Center on Woodward Avenue, creating a site for Memorial Hall as Gottesleben and Bernardi had

envisioned. However, Kahn argued that this latter site was not ideal since the “fourth corner of the intersection,” the block on the opposite side of Woodward to the north of the museum, was slated for a 15-story commercial structure, leaving the three-building monumental group unbalanced (a residential hotel, the Wardell, today the Park Shelton, was built in 1926) [Figure 4-22]. However, Kahn insisted, a site to the east on John R, on axis with the library and museum, “would result in three buildings in a row: the library, the art museum and the Memorial Hall,” creating a cross-axis to Woodward, and “with the proper arrangement of grounds and buildings, the group may be made beautiful and acceptable, at a much lower cost than that involved in the Woodward avenue site.”⁶⁷³ That fall, however, *The Detroit News* began a public campaign endorsing the site at the foot of Woodward Avenue.⁶⁷⁴ Privately, Booth personally underwrote Saarinen’s extended on-site study of Detroit, conducted under the auspices of the Michigan chapter of the AIA and the Memorial Hall Sub-Committee on Site, while Saarinen lectured at Michigan.⁶⁷⁵ Ostensibly free to consider any site in the city, Saarinen was steered to the foot of Woodward Avenue just as surely as Bennett had been steered to the Art Center. When Saarinen unveiled his civic center scheme, it was reported that he had arrived at its site “in an independent way,”⁶⁷⁶ one that just so happened to leave unmolested the construction of the new Detroit Institute of Arts, which was proceeding apace.

The most striking aspect of Saarinen’s 1924 plans is that they no longer solely concern Memorial Hall but call for a picturesque grouping of public buildings comprised of a city hall and municipal complex, surrounding a large wedged-shaped plaza [Figure 4-23]. The resemblance between Saarinen’s scheme and the Piazza San Marco [Figure 4-24], a model adored both by Saarinen and his chief influence, Camillo Sitte, is unmistakable.⁶⁷⁷ Extending from Shelby Street, two blocks west of Woodward, to Randolph, two blocks east, and from

Woodbridge Street a block below Jefferson Avenue to the Detroit River, Saarinen's grouping echoes the confined space of the Venetian model. Although unspecified, the buildings bordering the plaza to the north and east are implicitly enlisted into the grouping, extending the civic center to Jefferson and Brush. Of the original Piazza San Marco, Sitte had written, "So much beauty is united on this unique little patch of Earth, that no painter has ever dreamt up anything surpassing it in his architectural backgrounds."⁶⁷⁸ Saarinen viewed it as perhaps the ultimate model for a grouping of public buildings, later remarking on its "Correlation of individual buildings into a magnificent architectural ensemble—into architectural atmosphere."⁶⁷⁹ On its distinctive wedge shape, Saarinen remarks, "The general form of the plaza is irregular, but gives a distinct impression of formality. There is no symmetry, but the contours of the plaza and the grouping of building masses, varying in simplicity and richness, give to the whole an extraordinarily fine balance."⁶⁸⁰ Saarinen would have immediately intuited the same potential in the similar but much larger plot at the foot of Woodward Avenue [Figure 4-25].

Beyond its wedge shape are the buildings themselves, forming horizontal walls of uniform blocks, punctuated by a towering city hall and the domed Memorial Hall, recalling in simplified volumes the Campanile and church of San Marco, but also referencing Saarinen's own Tribune tower and Helsinki railroad station in a curious amalgamation [Figure 4-26].⁶⁸¹ The Memorial Hall proper features a southerly entrance toward the river dedicated to sailors, and an entrance to the north, on axis with Woodward Avenue, dedicated to soldiers.⁶⁸² This central domed auditorium is attached to a long east wing housing a massive exhibition hall [Figure 4-27]. Below the surface of the pedestrian plaza dubbed Victory Square are two underground decks for motor and rail traffic and parking, connecting to a river shore drive, mass transit, and sewage works along the riverfront. Thus the civic center would involve not only a veterans' memorial,

convention center, city hall and municipal buildings, and plaza, but a massive public works project addressing several of the city's large-scale engineering problems.

In submitting its report to city council, the Sub-Committee on Site announced that Saarinen's plan had "received the counsel of members of the City Plan Commission, engineers of the Rapid Transit Commission, appraisal and taxation experts of the City Government, engineers familiar with Detroit's sanitary engineering problems, and leading men of affairs." Comparison was made to what other cities were spending on similar civic center developments, ranging from Cleveland's \$30 million downtown mall to St. Louis's \$87 million. Daniel H. Burnham's oft-quoted "Make no little plans" remark was quoted in its entirety to steel Detroiters. "The desirability of the artistic grouping of public building is unquestioned," the report declared. "There is not only an esthetic but a commercial value to beauty." The committee urged that, for the "Fourth City of America," "this is a propitious time to consider the working out of a plan for a new group of public buildings in the downtown area—a Civic Center as distinct from Art Center." Last but not least, the report was endorsed by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of Michigan.⁶⁸³

Saarinen's civic center proposal as well as the architect himself seemed to enjoy a considerable honeymoon in the press and among various political, commercial, and public constituencies.⁶⁸⁴ Booth's *News* predictably touted the project, reminding voters in an editorial that the first component in the plan, Memorial Hall, had already been approved by voters and would be a "revenue-producing auditorium" for the city.⁶⁸⁵ A follow-up editorial waxes nostalgic for the "Town Hall" of old as it promoted a new "community center" for the expanding metropolis. Echoing the governor's endorsement as well as the discourse of the schoolhouse civic center movement of the previous decade, the editorial effuses, "Detroit seeks to recapture

the spirit of those meeting-places,” to “draw together all its sons and daughters” to “the shrine of its common faith,” to “assemble its official energies in one place” of “beauty and usefulness,” so as not to lose “the sense of common life and purpose which is the heart of society.” The editorial concludes, “This is the purpose of the Civic Center: To embody in one worthy project those things in which all Detroit’s citizens are as one.”⁶⁸⁶ However, in one crucial respect, the unveiling of Saarinen’s plan had come too late. The Detroit Auto Show, which for decades had been housed in any number of makeshift spaces around the city, finally found a permanent home in the newly completed Convention Hall at Warren and Woodward Avenues. January 1924 had seen the first of nineteen annual shows held there until World War II, when new car sales and the show were suspended for the duration.⁶⁸⁷ A key rationale for the creation of a downtown Memorial Hall and civic center had been eliminated.

Celebration of the plan and its architect continued in the press unabated, however. Lorch, director of the University of Michigan’s architecture program, fretted that Ann Arbor was losing Saarinen to Detroit, plaintively reminding his benefactor Booth that after all the architect had been brought to Michigan to teach architecture at the university.⁶⁸⁸ However, Saarinen’s proposal was beset by another consideration that loomed above all others: the \$5.5 million Memorial Hall had now ballooned into a massive 20-year, \$100 million development requiring an estimated \$30 million alone for the acquisition of 12 blocks at the foot of Woodward Avenue.⁶⁸⁹ The council enthusiastically agreed to place condemnation proceedings on the spring ballot,⁶⁹⁰ but a new mayor elected in the fall of 1924 had different priorities. Although conceding that the plan enjoyed “a wide aesthetic appeal,” Mayor John W. Smith viewed it as an extravagance, no doubt since in the meantime demands for Auto Show space had been already well satisfied, and declared that he preferred to devote scarce municipal resources to more

practical infrastructural improvements.⁶⁹¹ The more equanimous Detroit Board of Commerce called for the Memorial Hall and civic center to be delayed until a comprehensive city plan could be drawn up, such as other cities like Chicago that were spending similar sums had in place, to ensure that money was not wasted.⁶⁹² In 1925, Smith succeeded in blocking the ballot measure, effectively putting the civic center on indefinite hiatus.⁶⁹³ In the meantime, Booth had wooed Saarinen into another pet project, the design of his art academy campus in suburban Bloomfield Hills.⁶⁹⁴

4.3.3 Meanwhile, Back in the Art Center: Wayne University and Campus Expansion

Backers of the Veterans' Memorial, having tied their fortunes to a new city hall at the foot of Woodward Avenue, declined to resurrect ambitions for a separate home near the new main library, hoping instead that Saarinen's plan for a downtown civic center would eventually prevail. As the civic auditorium languished in limbo, construction of the Detroit Institute of Arts proceeded without further interference and was dedicated in 1927, having been joined in 1926 by the Art Center Apartments, a luxurious Romanesque building caddy-corner to the northeast of the museum, and in 1927 by Albert Kahn's Maccabees Building, a stunted 14-story skyscraper with setbacks belonging to a much taller structure, on the block south of the library.⁶⁹⁵ But just as the Center of Arts and Letters had long since been shortened in popular usage to the Art Center, as the aforementioned apartment building as well as postcards of the era attest,⁶⁹⁶ monumental development in the neighborhood came to a standstill. The periphery of "learned institutions" that Moore, Bennett and Day had envisioned encircling the Detroit Public Library and Detroit Institutes of Arts campus failed to materialize, and one has to wonder how sincere their intended inclusion had been.

As Moore's endorsement of the Veterans Memorial suggested, the addition of that structure to the Art Center might have made it "more in the way of a civic center." But as things stood, the two monumental buildings, able to do little more than reflect one another in splendid isolation across busy Woodward Avenue, barely qualified as a grouping of public buildings, and there is little to suggest that synergies along the lines of Cleveland's University Circle, educational or otherwise, were sought by either institution to fulfill more meaningfully the notion of a Center of Arts and Letters. Instead, the two tenant institutions, after taking up residence in their new quarters, seem to have gone about business as usual according to their separate pursuits. In 1924, DIA director and Art Commission secretary Clyde H. Burroughs forwarded the recommendation, perhaps from his board or the City Plan Commission, that patron experience of the Art Center might be enhanced by an underground pedestrian walkway connecting the two institutions.⁶⁹⁷ Museum architect Paul Cret averred that such a tunnel would be "perfectly feasible" from an engineering standpoint, but showed little enthusiasm or empathy. "[I]t is the accepted policy of all museums to reduce the number of public entrances to a minimum, as any entrance must be very closely supervised," Cret lectured, "and as far as possible it is desirable that people coming [in]to the museum should leave by the same entrance, where they can claim the umbrellas, sticks or packages which they had to check on entering." An additional entrance, Cret warned, in effect would be a permanent security breach requiring constant policing, increasing the museum's payroll in perpetuity by as much as two guards.⁶⁹⁸ Pedestrian safety, convenience for the Art Center visitor, and facilitated administrative or educational interaction between the two institutions are never acknowledged by Cret, let alone weighed against these overriding security concerns, and Burroughs does not pursue the subject further. The following year, even as the planned widening of Woodward Avenue from 66 to 120 feet became inevitable,⁶⁹⁹ the idea of a

pedestrian tunnel was not revisited. Instead, the discussion between Burroughs and Cret concerned only how this expansion would eat into Cret's marble and granite approach to the museum, not how the lives of visitors who might also want to take advantage of the proximity of the main library might be further endangered.⁷⁰⁰ To this day, pedestrians crossing between the Detroit Public Library and the Detroit Institute of Arts must hazard Woodward Avenue's nine lanes of traffic.

With the completion of its two principle structures, the Art Center might have settled into complacency were it not for a new spur to growth and further realization coming from an entirely unexpected place. The prosaic educational activities emanating from the erstwhile 1896 Central High School building, a structure that Bennett in his schemes for the original Center for Arts and Letters would have endangered with a diagonal boulevard, were suddenly transformed into those of a makeshift urban university. Built in 1896 by the Detroit Board of Education, Central High School at Cass and Warren Avenues was designed to serve 2500 students from the surrounding elite residential district.⁷⁰¹ As early as 1913, the building offered a one-year premedical program to prepare students for Detroit's medical school, also run by the school board. By 1916, this program had become a 2-year junior college offering liberal arts and sciences as well as adult education classes, and by 1917 the college student cohort at Central numbered 300. Even as the City Plan Commission contemplated locating its idyllic Center of Arts and Letters two blocks away at Woodward and Putnam, the neighborhood was already in transition: rooming houses, convalescent homes, commercial business and service stations slowly infiltrated the neighborhood. As elite residents fled to other parts of the city and high school enrollment shrank, classroom space was readily taken up by more college offerings.⁷⁰² By 1923 Central hosted nearly 4000 high school and college students in classes that went from 8 am to 10 pm. In 1926,

when the school board dedicated a new Central High School three miles to the northwest in a growing part of the city, old Central was given over completely to burgeoning college use.⁷⁰³ Soon 10,000 college students were being taught in a building designed for 2500 high school students, and nearby homes and garages were being rented for auxiliary classroom and laboratory space. Faculty members even rented a house of their own to serve as the University Club.⁷⁰⁴ In 1933, the Detroit school board formally united all of the post-secondary schools and colleges under its control, and in 1934 the medical, pharmacy, liberal arts, education and engineering programs of four separate colleges now officially fell under the rubric of Wayne University.

Named after colonial hero “Mad Anthony” Wayne, for whom Detroit’s county was also named, Wayne University was little more than a letterhead assigned to the old Central High School address. Owing to its origins as separate institutions, Wayne classes were still held at various locations throughout Detroit, as they would continue to be for some time to come. Nonetheless, it was clear that future expansion would take place near Warren and Woodward and Central High, now called Main. A citizen’s committee tasked with assessing the future needs of the university in 1936 returned its recommendations the following year, declaring “the logical place for growth is in the vicinity of the present main building” in the Art Center, which would permit integration of its properties and activities with those of

the Detroit Public Library and Detroit Institute of Arts, making for a significant achievement in city planning. Further, the present location of the University is in keeping with its metropolitan character, accessible as it is to students from all parts of the city and near the focal point of many community activities.⁷⁰⁵

To that end, the committee recommended acquiring the three blocks immediately to the north of the Central High School building between Cass and Second Avenues, immediately to the east of the public library, where most of the homes already rented by the university stood [Figure 4-28].⁷⁰⁶ That this constituency recognized the assets represented by the library and museum and the potential for an expanded Wayne campus to contribute to “a significant achievement in city planning” was a strong indication that the concept of a Center of Arts and Letters was not a moribund idea. Later that year, as the school board successfully acquired its desired three blocks, *The Detroit News* reported, “One of the finest cultural centers in the United States was envisioned by Detroit school authorities today.” It predicted that “the university may have, in the not distant future, a spacious campus integrally associated with the grounds of the Detroit Public Library and the Institute of Arts.”⁷⁰⁷ This was perhaps the first time the term cultural center had been used in connection with what hitherto had been called Detroit’s Center of Arts and Letters, or in the vernacular, the Art Center.⁷⁰⁸ More importantly, that any expanded Wayne campus would make itself “integrally associated” with the Art Center indicated a conscious awareness of the evolving discourse on planning such centers and the role played by urban universities, exemplified by other American cities such as Pittsburgh and Cleveland.

In 1941, the number of monumental buildings in the Art Center rose to three with the construction of the Horace Rackham Education Memorial to the immediate south of the Detroit Institute of Arts between Farnsworth and Warren Avenues, its plaza on axis with the entrance of Kahn’s Maccabees Building immediately to the west across Woodward Avenue [Figure 4-29]. The “stripped classical” modern horizontal façade originally housed the Engineering Society of Detroit in its east wing and the University of Michigan extension in its west wing.⁷⁰⁹ This incursion by a powerful rural state university into Detroit’s urban fabric no doubt spurred

Wayne's own efforts at campus expansion. The following year, Wayne University announced a competition "for a Group Plan and Architectural Scheme, and for the Selection of an Architect for a Students' Center Building." Approved by the AIA and the Michigan Society of Architects, competition was limited to architects whose principle office was located in Michigan. The program specified several key buildings with precise pedagogical and spatial requirement for a highly-compressed, efficient 3-block urban campus. Above and beyond these self-contained campus needs, "It is hoped that the new Wayne University buildings will be planned and designed [...] to become a harmonious part of the adjacent Art Center of Detroit,"⁷¹⁰ the program implored. It further required that the art department on the main campus be situated first and foremost according to "proximity to the Detroit Institute of Arts," secondly with regard to "north light for studios and drafting rooms," and finally in "contiguous relation [...] to [the university's] drama and music departments."⁷¹¹ That architects were instructed to maintain an awareness of the museum, a facility what would be more than a block away from the campus and obstructed by the intervening public library, is remarkable; even more so is that this consideration should take priority even over more practical concerns such as the desirability of natural light for purposes of art study, or the relation of the art building to other creative departments and the rest of the campus. It is clear that its proximity to the Art Center was foremost in the university's mind as it undertook expansion planning, a fact that becomes all the more understandable when it is realized that the jury included Cleveland architect F.R. Walker, by then a veteran of the planning of University Circle in Cleveland and its integration of cultural buildings with the campuses of Western Reserve University and Case School of Applied Science.⁷¹²

The winner of the competition for the campus plan as well as the Students' Center Building was 32-year old Turkish-born Detroit architect Suren Pilafian [Figure 4-30]. In announcing the

verdict, the jury reported that it had based its judgment predominantly on Pilafian's ingenious use of space within the tight plan, not because it found the exteriors of his buildings particularly appealing or inspiring. It especially praised the orientation of the campus main arts building with the Art Center, suggesting again that this relationship was uppermost in the minds of Wayne planners. However, the jury went on to remark, "Neither as abstract architectural forms, nor as expressions of the intent and character of the University," were Pilafian's exteriors "completely satisfactory." They recommended that Pilafian "be invited to restudy his design, and he should feel free to invite the collaboration of other architects [...] to achieve a more expressive quality." The jury seems to have hoped that Pilafian's collaborator would be the second-prize winner for both the campus plan and Student's Center Building, whose entry it found to be almost diametrically complementary to Pilafian's. In this scheme the jury found "a certain distinction and poetic quality [...] in the composition and in the surface character of the buildings," that however "did not offset a certain lack of practical judgment in the planning." The second-prize winner was the firm of Saarinen, Swanson, and Saarinen of Bloomfield Hills.⁷¹³

However, as future Wayne Provost Arthur Neef later recounted, "During the war years, construction was impossible," and the forced idleness of Wayne planners afforded them the luxury of rethinking their entire program, from postwar student enrollment projections to the organization of departmental administration within the university. It soon became clear that, in Neef's words, "the specific plan which had won the competition had already outlived its usefulness, and a similar fate was probable for any static plan." Attention moved to the creation of a Board of Architects for the University, the development of a campus Master Plan, and the naming of a university architect to put in place a permanent long-range strategy beyond the 3-

block conception. It also involved courting the interest of the City Plan Commission, who had postwar ambitions of its own for the nascent Cultural Center.⁷¹⁴

4.4 The Cranbrook Sphere of Influence and the Master Plan of Detroit

Whether Pilafian was following the advice of the Wayne jury in seeking out a prospective collaborator or not is unclear, but he seems to have made a canny move to protect his claim to the planning of the university campus by reaching out to his far more eminent and powerful Cranbrook competitor. In 1943, *The Detroit News* announced that forty Detroit architects were forming the Architects' Civic Design Group under the direction of Eliel Saarinen; on the executive committee was Suren Pilafian.⁷¹⁵ Saarinen's entry in the 1942 Wayne campus competition had been only one expression of his ongoing interest in the planning of Detroit; in truth, since the hiatus of his Veterans' Memorial civic center plan in 1925, except for the energies necessarily directed to the planning and educational program of Cranbrook itself, Detroit never ceased being an object of ambition for Saarinen, or an object of study for his Cranbrook students. Neither did the City Plan Commission, even through the depths of the Depression, give up hopes for a waterfront civic center and a riverside drive [Figure 4-31]. Booth's pronouncement to Lorch that clubs, universities and schools of architecture had best confine their activities to bringing hypothetical possibilities to the attention of the proper planning authorities rather than attempt to usurp the planning process themselves did not seem to apply, strictly speaking, to Booth's own school. Given the affiliation Saarinen enjoyed with the City Plan Commission, Cranbrook clearly had the inside track on the planning of Detroit.

In the mid-1930s, under Saarinen's direction, student Walter C. Hickey revisited the waterfront civic center as his Cranbrook thesis project. Jumping at the chance to "study under Professor Saarinen," as well to make recommendations that might be of practical use to Detroit planners, Hickey worked up a clay model envisioning a waterfront project below Jefferson Avenue that extended from the foot of Woodward Avenue along the Detroit River north to the Belle Isle bridge, and related this in maps to the city within the radius of Grand Boulevard. Like Saarinen's 1924 plan, the civic center features a towering city hall complex, but a plaza covering a railroad station is given greater prominence, dividing it from a second set of monumental buildings for railroad company offices and shops [Figure 4-32]. "[A]n auditorium for civic lectures and public functions" and a hotel appear as part of this group. A highway runs past the civic center along the riverfront two miles to the bridge, and a tree-line boulevard that originates from the plaza is created, running parallel to Jefferson to the bridge. Another monumental complex and riverfront plaza appears on this boulevard midway between the civic center and bridge, and "a group of buildings, to form perhaps a site for some institution" appears just before the bridge. Between the boulevard and Jefferson and below the boulevard between the three groups of monumental buildings is a vast residential development replacing relocated railroad yards and factories. Hickey insists that his project "is not merely a question of civic embellishment, but of meeting practical, present and future needs." In maps, Hickey relates this riverfront set piece to the city within the confines of Grand Boulevard, the 12-mile long ringroad terminating at Belle Isle [Figure 4-33].⁷¹⁶ Eero Saarinen, who had rejoined his father's firm that year, seems to have added his own gloss to Hickey's work and formally submitted it for consideration to the City Plan Commission [Figure 4-34].⁷¹⁷ Detroit and southeastern Michigan offered any number of architectural and planning problems for Cranbrook students, and if found

worthy, projects could always be embellished by one of the master's hands and formally submitted to the proper planning authorities for real-world consideration. In such cases, Saarinen himself might act as sales representative with Cranbrook serving as a seductive backdrop.⁷¹⁸

4.4.1 The City Plan Commission and Detroit's *Master Plan*

While Detroit and its proposed civic center remained an important teaching tool in Bloomfield Hills, the City Plan Commission of Detroit continued to nurse aspirations for a civic center as well as a comprehensive plan for the city through the Depression. In 1936, the Annual Report made an important distinction between “routine corrective” and “constructive planning,” i.e., remedial planning of existing problems and *ex novo* planning for the future,⁷¹⁹ suggesting as the economy regained health and after long-neglected needs received due attention, planners would be able to turn once again to improvement on a vast scale. The 1939 Annual Report recounted the history of Detroit planning from Cadillac to the present, suggesting the time was ripe for a new comprehensive plan. The commission claimed that it had “had to overcome the lingering misconception that it is an agency interested primarily in esthetic and ornamental physical features,” and admitted it had “not been a good sales agent for its work.” Still, in terms of “humanitarian” services and “civic incentive,” the “better citizenship effects” of its work were not easily “registered in commercial values,” nor could they be “clearly or fully expressed in dollars and cents.”⁷²⁰ Although somewhat garbled in grammar, it was clear that Detroit planners were prepared to tackle more transcendental concerns beyond the merely practical infrastructure needs of a growing city.

To communicate these larger ideals, the City Plan commission returned to a familiar motif, the civic center. The report announces,

The Detroit City Plan Commission has given careful consideration to Civic Centers. A city of Detroit's size requires many civic centers such as retail shopping, financial, warehouse, industrial, recreational, amusement, cultural, judicial, music, institutional, etc. Some of these require more than one Civic Center. The sites for Civic Centers should be selected with particular reference to their enduring convenience and service to the greatest number of citizens and to their influence upon and relation to transportation facilities. The location of Civic Centers at well distributed points, aids greatly in lessening traffic congestion.⁷²¹

Recalling the St. Louis model of a network of civic centers, and in contrast to more practical and less visible infrastructural concerns such as zoning, civic centers would also provide a tangible showcase for the city planner's efforts, work that might otherwise get lost in the dreary details of routine municipal maintenance.

That same year, a new mayor, Edward J. Jeffries, was elected, ready to tackle improvement. The planning commission's 1940 Annual Report declared that previous plans dealing with thoroughfares and "recreational matters" that had never been "a part of a comprehensive scheme [...] are now relatively obsolete."⁷²² In January 1941, Jeffries officially tasked the City Plan Commission with devising a new, comprehensive Master Plan for Detroit. Jeffries declared, "[W]e can no longer postpone the making of a comprehensive outline for the physical development of the City." He cited the need for a "guiding plan" to integrate "highways, recreation, rapid transit, civic centers, and rehabilitation" into a cohesive plan.⁷²³ Within the scope of the Master Plan would be "community design and beautification of the City, including plans for the protection, conservation or reclamation of present or potential blighted areas," and the "location and design of public building sites and governmental or civic centers."⁷²⁴ The

following year, the commission reported that “Public-spirited officials of the Art Institute, Wayne University and the University of Michigan Extension School [had] requested the assistance of the City Plan Commission in organizing a campaign for the improvement of the Art Center.” It announced that it had “enlisted the aid of the State Museum Art Project to produce a scale model” for public display at the DIA of an enlarged district “to provide sites for public institutions such as [new] museums and planetariums.”⁷²⁵

4.4.2 “Detroit 1990” and the Architects’ Civic Design Group

In 1942, *Time* described Saarinen’s atelier in Detroit’s northern suburb of Bloomfield Hills as “The world’s most active laboratory of city planning,” where “advanced students of the famed Cranbrook Academy of Art work over maps, diagrams and statistics, rearranging the streets and buildings of such gigantic U.S. cities as Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago.” Presiding over this intense study “is a quiet little apple-cheeked Finn named Eliel Saarinen,” the magazine observed, “who is widely regarded as the greatest living authority on city planning.” Saarinen, the article notes, had just put the finishing touches on the manuscript of his “monumental treatise called *The City*” the week before.⁷²⁶ The planning of Detroit and environs, the project that had brought Saarinen to America in 1924, was an ongoing project in his atelier and the Cranbrook campus; one wonders if it was ever more than briefly dormant. Cranbrook student J. Davidson Stephen undertook a massive planning study under Saarinen in 1942 alternately known as “Detroit 1990” and “The Detroit Sphere of Influence,” published over three consecutive issues of *Pencil Points* in 1943 and 1944. Stephen relates that Cranbrook’s proximity to Detroit and the availability of scientific data made the city a prime case study for the planning process Saarinen outlines in *The City*, in which the raw accumulation of “Data Research” is transformed by the architect-planner

into creative exploration or “Design Research.” The moment is also opportune, Stephen notes, since “the Detroit City Planning Commission was beginning its studies for a Master Plan for Detroit,” and there was a role for Cranbrook to play in considering regional planning issues beyond the confines of the city, since no authoritative regional planning body yet existed.⁷²⁷

Stephens recounts the planning history of Detroit from the ribbon-farm bounding French-named streets to the widening of old Indian trails into the diagonal thoroughfares of Michigan, Grand River, and Gratiot Avenues as factors in shaping the present physical city. More ambivalent than Charles Mulford Robinson, Stephen ruminates that the Governor and Judges’ Plan of 1807, described misleadingly as the “L’Enfant Plan,” “fortunately or unfortunately, was never completed in its entirety.”⁷²⁸ Designating Woodward’s truncated remnant as the epicenter, population concentrations are depicted on a map of southeastern Michigan, not as polygonal shapes bounded by roadways as in Hickey’s map, but as glowing circles [Figure 4-35].

According to Stephen, distribution patterns of railroad lines, industry, and consequent blighted areas have also determined the present conditions of Detroit. Stephen claims that the data “raises the question as to whether the railroads and the industries are [not] wholly responsible for the spreading of blight,” and wonders whether wartime policy of encouraging the dispersal of factories from inner cities into surrounding farm land as a defense against aerial bombardment might not be a good thing, since it would permit planners to remove rail lines and “industrial blight,” and to plan “proper residential developments surrounded by green protective areas” in the open areas left behind.⁷²⁹ Stephen’s inference that the flight of industry and its corresponding tax base from the city could be a positive trend is an alarmingly perverse attempt to find a silver lining in disinvestment on a massive scale, given the subsequent economic and social history of Detroit.⁷³⁰ Indeed, with no means to fund their demolition, many of the factories and rail lines

Stephens hoped to remove still stand derelict in Detroit to this day, to say nothing of his proposed residential improvements.⁷³¹

Stephen cites Saarinen's 1924 waterfront development as offering the still-valid solution of a single railroad terminal beneath the plaza at the foot of Woodward Avenue, promising to streamline rail traffic in the city.⁷³² Stephen further stresses, as per Saarinen's *The City*, that the actual "planning of a city involves an area considerably larger than the legal city limits." It also requires considerable future projection, since "Saarinen assumes that [complete] rehabilitation of the city will take fifty years." Hence, the Detroit Sphere of Influence must be imagined not only as extending geographically 100 miles across Michigan until it encounters the Chicago Sphere of Influence; it must also extend fifty years into the future, to 1990, when population for the metropolitan area is projected to number 5 million.⁷³³ In the face of expected industrial growth throughout the region, the preponderance of the serialized report advises maintaining a flexible outlook while controlling or removing as many rail lines as possible.

Although a civic center for Detroit is not among Stephen's immediate considerations, its echoes can be found in one telling set-piece. Plymouth, a near-western suburb between Detroit and Ann Arbor, is projected to be a major industrial hub by 1990. Greatly increased transportation, educational, and retail infrastructure is anticipated, transforming this small town into a satellite city. Photographs of scale models are described as showing a new civic center to bring the composition to completion, replete with a towering municipal structure. "The civic center is marked by a vertical shaft visible from all parts of the community," Stephen describes. "In a community as large as this, some means of orienting oneself is desirable." The civic center, grouping together principal shopping and education facilities as well as the municipal

auditorium, is also characterized by right angles to distinguish it from the “formlessness” of the surrounding “constantly curving roads.”⁷³⁴

While by no means on the scale of Saarinen’s 1924 vision, the Plymouth civic center is nonetheless conceived as creating a focal point for the surrounding quasi-urban space. The reliance on a “vertical element” to create an orienting landmark recalls not only the towering city hall at the foot of Woodward Avenue, but a fanciful tour of a hypothetical medieval city described at length by Saarinen in *The City*. Beginning at the outskirts of the city where one finds the architecture relatively unadorned but sincere, Saarinen imaginatively observes an increase in interest and ornament as one proceeds on foot, until “we get sight of the massive contours of the Town Hall tower, that symbol of the town’s strength, order, and justice.” Through “the deep canyon of a small alley, narrow and dark,” we come to “the imposing Cathedral,” for Saarinen, “the climax of the town and the ambition of the age.”⁷³⁵ This elegiac ideal, conflating civic power and sacred magnificence, underlies both the Detroit and Plymouth civic center proposals, presenting pinnacles that orient the surrounding region.⁷³⁶

Thus from Saarinen’s 1924 Veteran’s Memorial Hall plan to *The City*, an alternate-reality Detroit was kept alive in the Cranbrook mind. But this vision was more than a cherished dream nursed by a spurned artist in a hermetic cloister, based on a “what if.” The civic center had almost been implemented, and city planners never completely abandoned the project. Saarinen, through his power base at Cranbrook and his own robust architectural practice maintained links with authorities that gave his students’ most avant-garde experiments a palpable plausibility. In the fall of 1943, forty civic-minded architects met at the Engineering Society of Detroit in the Rackham Memorial to form the Architects’ Civic Design Group to consider postwar “highways, residential developments, business and cultural centers, and suburban projects.” Branson V.

Gamber, head of the City Plan Commission, chaired; Wayne professor Buford L. Pickens (who had just published the definitive scholarly article on Judge Woodward's plan), Wayne campus planner Suren Pilafian, and Richard H. Fernbach, Detroit's Senior City Planner were on the executive committee. Saarinen magnanimously agreed to act as general consultant.⁷³⁷ Individual studies to be undertaken included a waterfront development at the foot of Woodward Avenue as a transportation hub, "a cultural area," "typical treatment of express highways," and suburban shopping districts.⁷³⁸ At the third meeting of the group, convened at Cranbrook, it was reported that "the members decided to make an effort to interrelate the studies undertaken by the group with the broad studies of the 'Detroit Sphere of Influence' being made by J. Davison Stephen at Cranbrook under Saarinen's direction."⁷³⁹

Pilafian, reporting on behalf of the group for the *Journal of the A.I.A.*, recounts how the project had been initiated to conduct voluntarily and independent research study "under the inspiring guidance of Mr. Eliel Saarinen." With the blessing of the Detroit City Planning Commission and the promise that their work "does not in any way duplicate or conflict with the work of the Detroit City Plan Commission,"⁷⁴⁰ Pilafian explains how the participants, adapting principles set forth by Saarinen in *The City*, went about furthering Stephen's project. First and foremost was the primacy of family preserved in what Saarinen had called "organic decentralization," a process in which the ingredients of home, work, and communal life would be placed in close proximity.⁷⁴¹ Visually, the architects adapted and modified Stephen's graphic approach [Figure 4-36]. After main thoroughfares were determined and population studies and other data are projected over fifty years, each area was "studied by a member of the Group who juggled cardboard discs of various sizes and colors," Pilafian describes, "until a symbolic pattern was found which represented pictorially a desirable distribution and grouping of neighborhoods,

services and densities in some organic relation to each other.” Once each architect had devised an aesthetically pleasing “bubble” pattern of red and tan discs, these individual projects were integrated “to achieve a well-related group of subcommunities” throughout the metropolitan area. Pilafian reports, “The same process was followed but in greater detail, for the central portion of this area (Detroit proper).” Planners then added “brown, purple, and green discs to designate shopping, public service and recreational areas.”⁷⁴² This decidedly abstract-expressionist method of “symbolic plan study,” as Pilafian goes on to explain, eventually gives way to a more “realistic study” involving the concrete planning of suburban subdivisions and communities.⁷⁴³

Newspapers awaited the results of the Architects’ Civic Design Group with millennial expectations. A 1943 *News* article entitled “Can We Build a City That Will Give Us Health, Happiness?” noted the recent Detroit riots sparked by wartime racial disparities in housing and employment. “Forty Detroit architects are, right now, working out broad plans for a Detroit that will be a better place to live in,” the article reported, alluding to a forthcoming “educational campaign.” In lieu of actual news to report, extensive quotations from *The City* tutored readers in the theoretical underpinnings of the project, with Saarinen portrayed as a futurist seer rendered amiable in a small caricature accompanying the text. To dramatize the peril facing Detroit, the article was illustrated by a photograph of an unidentified European city devastated by war, suggesting that if social crises were not averted through planning, the same fate could befall American cities.⁷⁴⁴ A subsequent *News* article resorted to reproducing Stephen’s glowing circle map of southeastern Michigan while the writer wondered whether our cities “will in 1990 be physically like that of today, with ‘blighted’ and slum districts,” lack of proper zoning to keep industry and residential neighborhoods separate, and traffic problems. “Or will there be order in

place of the chaos, with shops and factories located where they can best perform their function, and homes in protected, clean, healthful residential and play areas, and all other facilities of urban life—cultural, educational, medical, and the like— where they ought to be?”⁷⁴⁵ In the absence of more literal imagery, the *News* resorting to illustrating a subsequent article on “The City of 1990” with Hugh Ferriss’s 1924 rendering of Saarinen’s Memorial Hall, the unrealized plan still symbolizing the future of Detroit despite the lapse of nearly twenty years.⁷⁴⁶

4.4.3 *An Advance-Plan Program, 1942, and Your Detroit, 1944*

The activities of the Architects’ Civic Design Group did not address the grouping of monumental public buildings directly, nor were any civic center plans produced for Detroit under its imprimatur. Nonetheless we can assume that such projects were at stake as architects gravitated to areas suiting their own inclinations and maneuvered themselves into position as the actual Master Plan process unfolded. Saarinen, who had competed for, and lost, the Wayne University campus expansion competition, maintained an abiding interest in the waterfront civic center, and Pilafian, who had won, was invested in the Wayne University-Art Center area, although this had been thrown into question as university officials took advantage of wartime idleness to rethink their goals. As Cranbrook undertook abstract “Design Research,” contemplating data projected half a century into the future and dreaming of a southeastern Michigan region without municipal borders or jealousies over tax revenues, the city of Detroit kept within its own municipal boundaries and an eye on 6-year plans.

In 1942, wartime material and labor shortages forced idleness on both maintenance and improvement projects. With post-war unemployment expected to be high, and with anticipated postwar federal money in the offing, Mayor Jeffries commissioned an “Advance-Plan Program”

to stockpile shovel-ready public works projects to compliment his longer-range Master Plan initiative. For the most part, the Advance-Plan addressed prosaic if not invisible infrastructural improvements while the Master Plan addressed larger, more glamorous projects immediately affecting the visible city, but this was not always the case. Advance-Plan projects could include long-postponed routine street paving, electrical rewiring of municipal buildings, laying of high-voltage underground lines, adding storm water pumping units to sewage stations, and the like, but there were areas of potential overlap, including recreational facilities, school building construction, and library maintenance.⁷⁴⁷ The goal was to compile “an adequate shelf of plans for municipal improvements” to provide work relief and to take advantage of “various federal programs” as these came online at the end of World War II.⁷⁴⁸ Criteria for Advance-Plan projects included that they “be needed immediately”; “that complete working drawings can now be made which are not likely to become obsolete or unusable” even if delayed for some time, especially should architectural fashions change; and that they not depend upon altering city policy, require council or state approval, or place new demands upon the annual operating budget for maintenance. This ruled out projects involving substantial property acquisition, like groups of public buildings.⁷⁴⁹ Anticipating its completion “within a period of a few years,” the mayor’s Capital Improvement Committee anticipated that the Master Plan would “automatically provide [further] sources from which satisfactory projects can be taken in great quantity,” including “major highway improvements, civic centers, rapid transit, parking facilities, and numerous other improvements.”⁷⁵⁰ Because of the overlap between the Advance-Plan and Master Plan, some projects, such as Wayne University library and classrooms, were nominated for “advance preparation of plans,” while others, such as wing additions to the main public library and art museum, were postponed pending the determination of the Master Plan.⁷⁵¹

In the ponderously titled brochure, *Post-War Improvements to Make Your Detroit a Finer City in which to Live and Work*, issued in 1944, the mayor's separate Post-War Improvement Committee alludes to "a 'shelf' of construction drawings of projects" totaling \$270 million designed to make Detroit "a safer, happier, more comfortable community for all of us." After convenient playgrounds, decent homes, "airy surroundings to replace our slums," and "health centers, libraries, recreation centers, safe streets, [and] express highways" throughout the city, the committee extolls the specific objectives of "a larger and better Wayne University," an institution "destined to become one of the nation's great educational centers," and "a dignified, unified Civic Center, which will not only symbolize our pride in our city," but also centralize and integrate municipal departments and offices currently scattered about the city.⁷⁵² Without mentioning that action had been pending for two decades, the report announced council approval of "the development of a Civic Center on the Detroit River at the foot of Woodward Avenue." Most surprisingly, the illustration of a "group of modern, harmoniously planned civic buildings, designed to symbolize our dynamic Detroit"⁷⁵³ is not the work of Eliel Saarinen, but of Wayne campus planner Suren Pilafian [Figure 4-37].

4.4.4 More than a Group of Buildings: *The Civic Center Plan*, 1946

Beginning in 1946, the City Plan Commission began issuing its anticipated Master Plan in serialized booklets, presumably to hasten prepared projects into the Advance-Plan funding queue. Through 1948, seven installments appeared, along with several supplemental publications, and a one-volume compendium of revised and updated reports in 1951.⁷⁵⁴ Four of the serialized parts of the Master Plan deal with recreation, the thoroughfare system, general land use, and a transportation plan. Visually, these decentralized global improvements covering the

entire city proved difficult to represent graphically except by way of emotionally distancing maps, abstract diagrams, charts, cartoon clip art of recreational activities, and the occasional generic photograph of a representative or proxy example of a playground or stretch of freeway. The other three booklets focus on specific, concrete, and geographically finite projects: the downtown Civic Center, the mid-town Cultural Center, and a recreational park and multi-use development project spanning the riverfront from downtown to the Belle Isle Bridge. The subject matter of these three reports lent itself to more conventional illustration in the traditional language of architecture and city planning: flat street-level plans, perspective renderings of groupings of public buildings depicted in contiguous space, and impressive architectural renderings of individual buildings, all at least at a recognizably human scale.

The Civic Center Plan, number 3 in the Master Plan series, appeared in October 1946. Acknowledging that there was “nothing new about the idea of a Civic Center for Detroit” as the “need for a central group of public buildings has been recognized for years,” the report recounted that in the past, “The problem [had] been studied by such eminent planners as Edward H. Bennett and Eliel Saarinen.”⁷⁵⁵ However, the new plan is “based in large part on preliminary studies undertaken for the [City] Plan Commission by Mr. Suren Pilafian” [Figure 4-38]. The proposed 47 ½ -acre Civic Center is composed of two main parts: an Administration Group north of Jefferson Avenue, with a County-City building to the east of Woodward Avenue and state and federal buildings to the west; and the Veteran’s Memorial Group to the south of Jefferson. Of the Administration Group, the report conveys, “The much needed County-City office building will dominate the group. With the existing Union Guardian Building, it will form an imposing gateway to the entire Civic Center.”⁷⁵⁶ Of the \$55 million cost projected for the entire Civic Center, the report points out, the \$10 million cost of the state and federal office buildings will be

borne by those entities.⁷⁵⁷ The \$23.5 million cost of the Veteran's Memorial group, the report points out, would mostly be borne by the city, with some expenses defrayed by state and federal agencies as well as individual donors. As it had in 1924 when discussing price, the report resorts to quoting Daniel H. Burnham's "Make no little plans" passage in its entirety.⁷⁵⁸

The commission stresses that Detroit will be getting its money's worth, with a plaza for outdoor assemblies, a "World Wars Memorial Hall" with assembly rooms for veterans, and a 20,000-seat convention space that "will furnish space not only for veterans' mass meetings but also for the numerous national organizations" that presently take their business elsewhere because of Detroit's inadequate facilities. The report predicts, "The smaller Civic Auditorium, with a seating capacity of 3,500, will be in constant demand by musical, theatrical, and other cultural organizations."⁷⁵⁹ The report points out the centerpiece of this group, what was now being called the World Wars Memorial Hall, was already sited and in the design stage by the architectural firm of Harley, Ellington & Day [Figure 4-39]. Beyond the desire to memorialize the veterans of two world wars, increase governmental efficiency, and provide needed exhibition space, the report declares,

The Civic Center offers Detroit a rare opportunity to give tangible form to its own spirit, to manifest in steel and stone the dynamic drive characteristic of this great metropolis. For this Center can be more than a mere open space flanked by a group of buildings. It can truly become the symbol of the city, a monument on which the visitor will gaze with admiration, which the resident can look upon with satisfaction, proudly saying to himself, "I am a citizen of no mean city."⁷⁶⁰

The commission claims that it considered several possible sites for a civic center, including the geographic center of the city [Figure 4-40], but that ultimately the foot of Woodward Avenue

won out, in part because of its historic significance as the proximal site of Cadillac's original settlement, as well as for the "inherent natural beauty" of the Detroit River.⁷⁶¹ Following the World Wars Memorial, which was expected to break ground first, the County-City Building was expected to be the next structure to be erected in the Civic Center.⁷⁶²

Why Pilafian supplied only preliminary studies for the project is unclear, but the basic placement of buildings he and the commission devised would remain unchanged. In February 1947, the Detroit chapter of the A.I.A. advised the city council and the City Plan Commission to retain Saarinen and Associates as consultants to burnish the plaza plans and set the tone for the architectural treatment of the remaining buildings, as planners only.⁷⁶³ This move oddly paralleled that of the Wayne campus competition jury in 1942 that had advised Pilafian be paired with another architect such as Saarinen to doctor the exteriors of his perfunctory buildings.⁷⁶⁴ More importantly, this meant that 74-year old Eliel Saarinen at least nominally was again revisiting his 1924 Memorial Hall plan; in practical terms it meant that 37-year old Eero Saarinen, who had provided a scheme in 1937, would be exerting greater influence. Their chief contribution to the design was an element that was never implemented: a 1,200 foot long building spanning Woodward Avenue as well as Bates and Griswold Streets north of Jefferson, combining state, federal, city and county offices in one continuous monolithic rectangle elevated on 40-foot concrete columns [Figure 4-41]. Critics lambasted the proposed block as a "tired skyscraper" that had "decided to lie down and rest."⁷⁶⁵ This prompted the elder Saarinen to respond, "Our design process is still a matter of search."⁷⁶⁶

Premised as this model was on the overly-optimistic expectation that the timetables and finances of all four prospective tenants would coalesce, and no doubt in response to critics, the Saarinens wisely prepared at least two alternate designs of this long building. A second design

interrupted the building at Woodward except for an architrave-like roof to maintain a tenuous visual connection between the two portions [Figure 4-42]; this design had obvious affinities with Eero Saarinen's 1937 design, which depicted four buildings connected by two architraves [Figure 4-34]. A third design concentrated only on an isolated, shorter "County-City" building east of Woodward, still imagined with a 40-foot colonnade straddling Bates street [Figure 4-43]. Each revision of the main administrative building also took the opportunity to refine aspects of the surrounding Civic Center, especially the landscaping of the plaza below Woodward.

The Saarinen's insistence that the County-City building could be completed in stages suggests that only those two governing bodies were firmly on board with the project. In July 1947 the City Plan Commission issued a special "progress report" pleading for the County-City building in the same horizontal booklet format as its serialized Master Plan, prepared by a "joint committee" composed of Mayor Jeffries and other city and county officials.⁷⁶⁷ Essentially making the same arguments concerning necessity, central location, public convenience, administrative efficiency, and fiscal economy, the booklet features several renderings of the Saarinen's shorter building and the 40-foot tall colonnade [Figure 4-44]. The report also reproduces a photograph of the original Civic Center model with the original four-block long Federal-State-County-City building, although the accompanying text is markedly more circumspect about the prospects for state and federal involvement than in 1946.⁷⁶⁸ At least some copies of the booklet were circulated with a 4-page mimeographed handout urging voters to pass upcoming referenda including approval of the site, a millage increase, and an \$8 million dollar bond, with an estimated total cost of \$12 million for the shorter building.⁷⁶⁹ The building, the Saarinen's most striking design contribution to the Civic Center, was never implemented to its full 4-block extent, nor did it rise upon a 40-foot tall colonnade. Despite their negligible

contribution to the final outcome, what is essentially Pilafian's basic plan is still routinely credited to the Saarinen, with no mention of Pilafian's more fundamental role.⁷⁷⁰

In 1950, the first element of the Civic Center was completed: Veterans' Memorial Hall by Harley, Ellington and Day [Figure 4-45]. This was followed in 1955 by the City-County Building, as it finally came to be known, by the same firm.⁷⁷¹ The former is adorned with a 28-foot abstract "Victory Eagle" [Figure 4-46] while the latter features a cross-legged male figure of bronze representing "The Spirit of Detroit" [Figure 4-47] holding aloft a radiating golden orb in his left hand while gazing benevolently down upon his right hand, where he supports the tiny golden worshipping figures of a man and a woman cradling an infant. Both works are by Cranbrook-graduate sculptor Marshall Fredericks.⁷⁷²

4.4.5 Wayne University and *Proposed Cultural Center Plan*, 1948

In 1943, the Detroit Board of Education seemed intent to proceed with Pilafian's 3-block main campus and a separate Wayne University "Medical Science Center" located on the Detroit River at Memorial Park, across from Belle Isle.⁷⁷³ The City Plan Commission, however, strongly recommended that an expanded Wayne University campus be considered to include the entire 27-blocks to the north and west of the old Central High School building, an area to be bound by new freeways, with the city's new \$50 million medical center as an integral component. City Planner George F. Emery stated,

The incorporation of the medical center into the Wane University development would greatly extend and strengthen the educational part of a great cultural center development, extending on both sides of Woodward avenue, centered about the

Main Library and the Art Institute. Such a development would provide a stabilizing influence in a deteriorating area and definitely tend to recreate values and encourage rebuilding of blighted areas.⁷⁷⁴

Emery's suggestion does not seem to have been immediately heeded. A year later, Wayne University librarian G.F. Purdy declared to *The Detroit News* that plans for the campus expansion were in a "chaotic" state. Plans for the home campus and the separate Memorial Park medical center, Purdy complained, utterly lacked coordination. A group of Wayne faculty, led by art professor Buford L. Pickens, staged a minor insurrection against the Board of Education "to secure a re-examination of the institutions' postwar building program." This included inviting Joseph Hudnut, dean of the Harvard's Graduate School of Design and a juror in the 1942 competition that had selected Pilafian, to speak at the University Club on campus planning.⁷⁷⁵

Published as a booklet, Hudnut's *Blueprint for a University* is concerned with the role of the distinctly urban university in shaping a new social order in the modern city made monotonous by standardization. Nowhere was this phenomenon more evident than in Detroit. "[T]he rise of mechanized industry shattered the placid, semi-rural order of the eighteenth century," Hudnut declares.

The mass-production system, invented in Detroit, completed this social disintegration. The giant factories escape all social surveillance and yet shape the life of the city. They transform the city into one great machine for productive activity. The machine grows daily more automatic, its movements more coordinated, its elements more regimented. The beliefs, aims, and values of the city dweller become each day like the houses in which they live: so many uniform points in a fabric of monotony. If you fly over Detroit you will see endless miles

of standardized houses: they are like the waves of a limitless sea and as eloquent of spiritual waste.⁷⁷⁶

Democracy cannot function with men turned into automata, Hudnut proclaims; hence the role of the urban university. However, the history of city planning in Detroit thus far has not been encouraging. Hudnet recounts the “brave artistry of Judge Woodward” that “was built of abstractions: of radial avenues and *rond-points* copied from the park at Versailles.” But unlike Robinson and others, Hudnut is not nostalgic. “We should be glad that the expanding city refused that geometric corseting.”⁷⁷⁷ Having escaped that grim fate, Hudnut is no more sanguine about calls for organic decentralization emanating from Cranbrook. Hudnut wonders, “What will happen to the old city when that reshaping is accomplished, when the people leave untenanted the crowded and obsolete centre to live in shining new communities in the far suburbs,” reducing the inner city to “a meadow, dotted with pleasant groves [?]” Hudnut alludes to Saarinen as “a great American architect,” and avers, “I share my colleague’s love of playground and forest,” but warns that the result, however it may be described, “would not be a city.”⁷⁷⁸ For Hudnut, the problem stems from a persistent tendency to “think of planning as something concerned with boulevards and plazas, with river esplanades and the magnificent grouping of public buildings. It is to most of us a pageant art, its objective a civic façade only casually related to work and to social usage.”⁷⁷⁹ Amid these controversies, the urban university has a particular role to play in reconstituting the modern city.

That life which the palace gave to the city of the Renaissance, the university will give to the American city of tomorrow. It will form, with museums of science and art, libraries, concert halls, theatres and schools, a great cultural heart out of

which will flow the currents which inform the life of the city with dignity and meaning.

Hudnut insists,

I cannot think of such a university built at the edge of a city; it should preside at the centre [...]. It should be conscious of its high place in the scheme of the city [...]. It will build itself into the city. It will be a part of the city plan.⁷⁸⁰

An expanded Wayne University as an integral part of a cultural center, one that could counteract the disintegrating effects that industrial modernity that Detroit had wrought upon itself, was an important and expansive claim that had implications beyond a single American city and one cultural center project.

That fall, acting on Hudnut exhortations, Detroit's Board of Education, which still controlled Wayne University, submitted a proposal for a 27-block campus to the City Plan Commission sketched by the Board's Department of Buildings and Grounds. The "octagonal inclosure" depicts eight major buildings radiating from a central "astral observatory" [Figure 4-48].⁷⁸¹ Promptly dubbed "the Snowflake plan," the campus newspaper announced it "evaporated by the City Planning Commission's fiery veto." Dean of the Law School Arthur Neef remarked self-deprecatingly, "Campus planning has become Wayne's favorite extra-curricular activity." Buford L. Pickens responded with a more conservative sketch of an expandable campus loosely patterned after Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia and integrated into the wider cultural center [Figure 4-49].⁷⁸²

Neef composed a synopsis of Wayne campus development for *The American School & University* in 1948. The editor's introduction quips, "His hobby used to be photography; now,

apparently, it is building programs.”⁷⁸³ Neef recalled 1946 state appropriations to expand university facilities for returning veterans, and the initial planning of an expanded campus by Pilafian, Ralph Calder, and himself. Neef does not provide an exact timetable, but recounts,

The interest developed by the university program, and the need of integrating the various cultural activities located in this general area, caused the City Plan Commission to contract for the development of a Cultural Center Plan embracing the proposed university campus, the Public Library, the Art Institute, the Rackham Building, the [proposed] Historical Museum, and several other museums, which taken together would comprise an area of about 150 acres. We now have a Cultural Center Committee with representatives of each of these agencies, and there is close cooperation in the interests of our total joint program.⁷⁸⁴

In April 1948, the City Plan Commission published *Proposed Cultural Center Plan*, the seventh and final booklet in its Master Plan series, representing the work of the joint committees.⁷⁸⁵ The plan, encompassing 175 acres, is best described as an amicable collaboration between Pilafian, who presided over the Wayne campus portion east of Cass Avenue, and Pickens, who chiefly influenced the “Library-Museum Group” to the west. The report notes, “The general location of the Cultural Center was fixed before the City Plan Commission entered the picture.” Although far from ideal owing to the busy north-south traffic cutting through the district via Woodward, Cass, and Second Avenues, the commission argues, “It is the actual cultural heart of Detroit and it is obviously destined to remain so.”⁷⁸⁶ The larger portion at 111 acres, Pilafian’s Wayne University Group envisions the submergence of Second Avenue to create a campus mall.⁷⁸⁷ The report notes that two buildings, Calder’s science building and

Pilafian's classroom building, were already under construction,⁷⁸⁸ and that construction of Pilafian's engineering building and College of Business Administration building would soon begin.⁷⁸⁹ Upcoming developments in the 64-acre Library-Museum Group include dual-wing additions to both the main library and art museum; the Detroit Historical Museum by William E. Kapp; the private International Institute ("to speed the Americanization of Detroiters of foreign birth"); and a possible natural science museum, a planetarium, and a Hall of Man.⁷⁹⁰ The report boasts, "Detroit today is exhibiting an unparalleled interest in cultural activities," proof that "a substantial body of citizens in this city want Detroit to be something more than the leading industrial center of the United States." The report continued, "They know that the real stature of a city is measured by the strength of its cultural institutions," a rather late realization that "gives Detroit a magnificent opportunity to develop a cultural center which cannot be matched in any major American city."⁷⁹¹ The report states, "The need for the creation of a Cultural Center Plan has been vaguely apparent for a long time," and discloses that the Commission's work had really been a matter of combining and making harmonious eight separate initiatives including library and museum expansion, campus expansion, and the creation of new institutional buildings.⁷⁹² The report concludes, "[T]he Center as a whole will give vivid expression to a facet of Detroit's many-sided personality which hitherto has remained unrecognized—the quiet appreciation which this industrial metropolis possesses for art and science and learning, for the things of the spirit and the things of the mind."⁷⁹³

In 1951, the City Plan Commission published *Detroit Master Plan: Plans for a Finer City*, a lavish compendium of their serialized reports, revised and updated "in one convenient volume."⁷⁹⁴ The Civic Center, Cultural Center, and Riverfront Development, the three most concrete and finite projects in the serialized reports, are given their own section at the conclusion

of the publication. Of the Civic Center [Figure 4-50], the report stresses efficiency, convenience, and centralized location of administrative offices. It adds, “A second function of the Civic Center is to provide a place for larger civic affairs in which many people can be brought together” in facilities of various sizes, “grouped around a central plaza dedicated to public use as a fitting memorial to the veterans of the two World Wars.”⁷⁹⁵ Of the Cultural Center [Figure 4-51], the Commission sought “[t]o encourage the grouping of further museums, scientific and cultural institutions in the vicinity of the existing cultural center group,” and “[t]o create through skillful arrangement of buildings, [and] harmony of design [...] an appropriate physical setting for the educational and cultural activities of the center.”⁷⁹⁶ In this dichotomy between administrative efficiency and civic participation on the one hand, and architectural harmony and contemplative activities on the other, we see explicitly in Detroit’s two centers the basic binary implicit in the erstwhile conception of the civic center as this was being worked out by Maltbie, Robinson, Burnham and others in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁷⁹⁷

What is striking about *Detroit Master Plan* is the visual language employed by the publication. Of the several dozen illustrations, the preponderance are identical full-page maps of the entire city of Detroit, differentiated only by the color-coded information being highlighted (trafficways, recreational areas, housing, etc.), at a scale in which several city blocks appear per inch. Detail, consequently, is minimal, and buildings and other topographical features are omitted. On the other hand, the Riverfront Development, being a much smaller section of the city, is illustrated with a full-page map at a significantly larger scale; details include identifiable green spaces and several just-visible tiny buildings. The Civic Center and Cultural Center, however, are illustrated by full-page maps of considerably smaller areas of only several blocks; consequently the scale is greater still. The footprints of key buildings are all distinctly discernible

and street widths and other notations are clearly legible. Apart from maps, the two Centers are distinguished by perspective renderings embedded in the facing text pages: one of the Saarinen's Civic Center [Figure 4-52] and the other of Pilafian and Picken's Cultural Center [Figure 4-53]. By concluding *Detroit Master Plan* with the Riverfront, Civic Center, and Cultural Center in their own special section, by illustrating each with enlarged maps, and by including architectural renderings for the Civic Center and Cultural Center in particular, the importance of these developments are clearly set off from the rest of the Master Plan's more prosaic agenda. The extremely distant, abstract, and uninvolved graphic treatment that obtains otherwise throughout the publication gives way, in the case of the two centers in particular, to recognizable buildings, streets, and open spaces, places and indeed one-of-a-kind destinations in which the reader can imagine themselves. This graphic amplification of the two centers imparts to them a symbolic and narrative valuation far out of proportion to their geographic and budgetary significance within the overall Master Plan. Without the Civic Center and Cultural Center in particular (less so for the Riverfront), *Detroit Master Plan*, and the entire decade-long Master Plan process, would have the appearance of a series of rather cold, scientific public works projects for an enormous metropolitan area rather than a city plan in which one might emotionally participate.

The Civic Center and Cultural Center plans figured not only in the promotion of the Master Plan but thereafter of the city of Detroit itself. The indicia of *Detroit Master Plan* notes, "Published in 1951, Detroit's 250th Anniversary," and indeed, the culminating publication of the Master Plan coincided with year-long celebrations honoring Cadillac's founding of the city in 1701. A lavish full-color souvenir program for the city-wide festival of parades, pageants, and other civic events includes a four-page feature, "Birthday Gifts of Permanence," recommended by the Festival Capital Gifts Committee for the civic-minded Detroiter. The committee, we are

informed, are seeking \$8.5 million to fund the civic auditorium, convention hall, and City-County Building in the Civic Center, and the Detroit Historical Museum (the first completed portion to be dedicated on Detroit's birthday, July 24), the International Institute, and Wayne's Community Arts Building in the Cultural Center, as well as two outlying branch libraries.⁷⁹⁸ A separately-issued, even more sumptuous 250th birthday "invitation," actually a fund-raising brochure, featuring tipped-in full-color plates of renderings of Wayne's Community Arts Building, the Cultural Center, and the proposed Convention Hall and Exhibits Building [Figure 4-54] pleads for civic-spirited citizens to "Bring a present when you come to the party" by making a financial donation for "useful and beautiful birthday gifts which you will want to give to your city."⁷⁹⁹ The Historical Museum for its part offered a commemorative portfolio of 20 plates of pencil renderings mixing great moments in Detroit history, industrial achievements, and prominent landmarks and, including the most recent additions to the Civic and Cultural Centers [Figure 4-45].⁸⁰⁰ The Convention and Tourist Bureau, not surprisingly, also boasted of both developments, along with slum clearance, industry, education and other amenities in its intermittently-updated booster magazine-format publication *Detroit: The City Beautiful* [Figure 4-5].⁸⁰¹ Although many details remained to be worked out, the basic footprint and framework of Detroit's Civic Center and Cultural Center established in the Master Plan process were immediately treated as sight-seeing destinations even as their elaboration continued to unfold.

4.4.6 *The Detroit Medical Center, 1958, and Detroit Cultural Center, 1965*

The 1948 *Proposed Cultural Center Plan* had observed, "The Cultural Center provides for the needs of Wayne University."⁸⁰² In 1955, Provost Arthur Neef returned the compliment, remarking in an internal report, "The University completes the concept of a "Cultural Center" to

be shared by the entire metropolitan area without regard to municipal boundaries—itsself a priceless asset.”⁸⁰³ Neef does not elaborate on what he means by the concept of a cultural center, or how the university completes it, just as Charles Moore three decades earlier had failed to explain precisely how a Veterans’ Memorial would have made the Art Center more of a civic center, although much can be inferred. What is clear is that development around the Detroit Public Library and Detroit Institute of Arts was guided at various times by one conception or another of what constitutes a civic center or cultural center, and the urgent necessity to complete that conception. This urge persisted beyond the immediate postwar phase of the Master Plan.

The ambitious plans for Wayne University could not be realized all at once. The property for the 27-block campus required endless rounds of funding, condemnation, and approval, with ample time for building priorities to shift.⁸⁰⁴ After the plans and the initial set of building designs by Pilafian and Calder, Minoru Yamasaki contributed a revised campus plan and completed five major structures between 1954 and 1960, some of which in retrospect appear as stunted studies for the twin towers of his later World Trade Center.⁸⁰⁵ While these modifications altered the face of the main campus, Wayne’s plans coalesced for Detroit’s medical center, now to be sited north of Mies van der Rohe’s Lafayette Park along the eastern side of Woodward Avenue, extending north of Warren to land immediately east of the Detroit Institute of Arts [Figure 4-54].⁸⁰⁶ Fueled by Wayne’s new designation as a state university in 1956 as well as federal urban renewal initiatives, this project would have made the medical center virtually contiguous with the university and Cultural Center, much like arrangements in Pittsburgh and Cleveland.⁸⁰⁷

The medical center as realized did not extend north of Warren Avenue, however. Beleaguered neighborhoods east of the Detroit Institute of Arts, targeted by urban renewal, remained a lingering issue for Cultural Center planners well into the 1960s. A charismatic young

mayor, Jerome P. Cavanaugh, hoped to garner for the city and coordinate even larger federal urban renewal funding under President Johnson's Great Society, targeting in particular the central city core bounded by four freeways including the Cultural Center at its northernmost extent.⁸⁰⁸ The City Plan Commission's 1965 proposal, *Detroit Cultural Center*, was created amid these ambitions, promising to complete the Cultural Center by 1990. Apart from the particular design recommendations and social implications of its particular proposals, *Detroit Cultural Center* is perhaps the most eloquent and historically knowledgeable text written in the discourse on cultural centers up to that time, offering a lucid rationale. The text begins,

The purpose uppermost in the creation of a great cultural center is the development of a physical environment that will satisfy man's emotional and material needs and will enhance his spiritual growth. A city has a commitment to its citizens which includes a lasting dedication to human enrichment as well as to social and economic stability.

Promising a cultural center comparable to the great European centers, the text asserts, "The basic purpose of this Cultural Center is to expand the cultural life of Detroit citizens by opening new horizons to them—new avenues of cultural, social, economic, and educational growth for today and generations hence."⁸⁰⁹

The cultural assets of Detroit, "so richly concentrated in the Cultural Center area,"⁸¹⁰ the planners insinuate, nonetheless lack a sense of completion. Just as prior development had been guided by prevailing conceptions of the civic center and the cultural center, *Detroit Cultural Center* is guided by a new conception, that of the performing arts center. Inspired by New York's Lincoln Center and Washington, D.C.'s Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Detroit Performing Arts Center would provide an array of performance space to accommodate "a wide

variety of musical activities, ranging from choral music and chamber music to university and community symphony and opera performances,” for arts groups and audiences of all sizes.⁸¹¹

These facilities, as well as a Hall of Man, a planetarium, and a science museum, would be grouped around a central reflecting basin to the east of the Institute of Arts, of which the first of its two expansion wings was already under construction, transforming its rear façade into a new main entrance [Figure 4-55].⁸¹² Aside from forming “a gigantic teaching aid scaled to the interests of the people of Detroit,” this landscaped green space replete with sunken gardens “should have something of the character of the make-believe world of little children and should become almost a reality in a fairyland plaza.”⁸¹³

Noteworthy are the many “interlinkages” planners hoped to create “by future pedestrian greenways, beautiful boulevards, and landscaped freeways to every section of the City and Region,” including between the downtown Central Business District and the New Center, site of the General Motors and Fisher Buildings, along the Woodward Corridor.⁸¹⁴ But perhaps the most striking aspect of the plan is the visual continuity planners hoped to create by linking the Cultural Center Gardens with the mall of Wayne State University, creating a vast “Cultural Center Park” embracing existing and proposed institutions [Figure 4-56]. Whereas other cities such as Pittsburgh and Cleveland had first created a park to which arts and educational institutions later flocked, Detroit was now effectively seeking to insinuate a park amid already established cultural institutions. Planners considered the park the most importance element in their proposal. “The Institute of the Arts would be the focus of the grand composition,” the report intoned. “The Park would bind together the total composition, and would relate the existing and proposed structures to one another.” Attuned to “visitors’ spatial and sensory experience,” the park would deploy

“Contrasts of texture, both natural and architectural, and the surprise elements of surging fountains, changes in level, outdoor sculpture, and cloistered gardens.”⁸¹⁵

The planners promise, “A further benefit of grouping Detroit’s major cultural facilities in one magnificent setting will be the tremendous impetus created for the regrowth of the extensive blighted area adjacent to the Cultural Center.”⁸¹⁶ In its most stirring tour de force, the text pleads, “It is inconsistent to attempt to teach civic pride and a full appreciation of the creative arts to children, while denying them beautiful surroundings.” The planners declare that it is necessary “to believe that beauty is essential and that it will leave lasting impressions on the public mind and on the personalities of children and adults alike, to stop feeling apologetic about attempts to feed spiritual hunger, to stop trying by computers to justify every item of expenditure intended to add beauty to the city.”⁸¹⁷ In a discourse too often marked by clumsy prose, bewildering technical detail and inept presentation, the uncredited *Detroit Cultural Center* surely ranks as one of the most elegiac, well-written and emotive city planning texts ever published, including the early days of the so-called City Beautiful movement.

However, none of its proposals were ever implemented. Rising racial tensions exploded in the early morning hours of July 23, 1967, as white Detroit police officers raided a unlicensed bar or “blind pig,” precipitating five days of the most destructive and deadly rioting since the New York draft riots. Michigan governor George W. Romney ordered in Michigan National Guardsmen and President Johnson sent in army troops to help police quell the unrest, but 43 were dead, 467 injured, over 7,200 arrests were made (involving innumerable allegations of police brutality), and more than 2,000 building destroyed by fire before order was restored. The events in Detroit triggered a week of race riots across the country. As historian Robert Conot observes, “In five years Detroit had received more than \$230 million in federal grants, and it had

produced the most explosive riot of all.”⁸¹⁸ In the aftermath, the glorious visions of Cultural Center Park evaporated like the mists of a storybook fairytale.⁸¹⁹

In postwar Detroit, skid rows formed near the City-County Building and south of Wayne State University, brought about, it was alleged, by the dislocation of urban renewal as well as the riots.⁸²⁰ This trend only lent credence to Jane Jacobs’ assertions that civic centers and cultural centers produced their opposite: run-down, shabby, uninviting areas; urban blight.⁸²¹ Backlash against Wayne State’s proposed University City, a plan to develop recreational facilities and housing west of the main campus, stiffened after 1965, as community groups claimed that the area was not, in the words of historian Charles K. Hyde, “a slum full of substandard housing, but merely a neighborhood whose residents happened to be predominantly African American.”⁸²² As the 1970s dawned, the university backed down, launching a series of introspective reports on its past urban renewal sins.⁸²³ Nonetheless, Hyde observes, 1973 plans to demolish the original Central High School building, since dubbed Old Main, “evoked no protest from alumni or current students,” although the venerable structure miraculously escaped the wrecking ball, and has since been renovated.⁸²⁴ It was not until an 1895 Queen Anne house, once home to Central High School principle and first Wayne University president David Mackenzie, was slated for demolition in 1975 that students launched an historic preservation movement dubbed Preservation Wayne.⁸²⁵ Conscious of this initiative and harkening back to the 1948 Cultural Center and 1965 Cultural Center Park plans, the University-Cultural Center Association, consisting of seventeen institutional members ranging from the library and museum to the university, incorporated in 1976, proposing a general plan of preservation and development in the north Woodward Avenue corridor.⁸²⁶ In the meantime, much of the surface area of Detroit

has reverted to vacant ruins strewn amid grassland or wilderness, as continued loss of industry, population, and tax base has made maintenance of basic city services increasingly untenable.⁸²⁷

4.5 Conclusion: Detroit Beyond 1990

From aspiration to preservation, the development of Detroit's Civic Center and Cultural Center encapsulates the conceptual and physical development of the civic center and cultural center in the American city, a process in which the two emerging urban typologies are so uniquely and inextricably imbricated with one another it seems almost analogous to cell division. This extrusion of one from the other, of the grouping of public buildings giving rise to the administrative center on the one hand and the arts and educational center on the other, in turn takes place against the rise of so-called comprehensive, scientific planning. Detroit's earliest twentieth century planners, Robinson and Olmsted, sought to control the unruly urban space of the modern metropolis by integrating all public buildings into a single downtown grouping. Moore and Bennett more pragmatically sought to integrate two inevitable centers into a plan for a more efficient, rational traffic circulation plan for Detroit. Saarinen and the City Plan Commission, who together planned a picturesque civic center and later seemed to renounced the concept, discovered that such developments became even more essential as the *Detroit 1990* and Master Plan process encompassed ever-increasing terrain, while Pilafian's schematic contributions to both centers has yet to be sufficiently acknowledged.

The paradox of planners attempting to escape from the stigma of mere aesthetics but falling back on the tour de force iconography provided by the grouping of public buildings is only apparent. The more abstract and diffuse the planning process became, the greater seemed the

need for geographically finite developments to summarize and make legible the aspirations of planners in grandiose but still humanly-scaled terms. Detroit's Civic Center and Cultural Center, while representing only a tiny fraction of the surface area of the city and proposed improvement budget, still permitted visual representation in street-level plans and table-top models, not only harkening back to the acropoleis and fora of the past, but also offering the all-important public relations opportunity for dignitaries in the present. The 1965 Cultural Center Park plan, if nothing else, reveals an abiding faith planners maintained in the osmotic powers of architectural beauty, decades after mere aesthetics had ostensibly gone out of fashion. While historians of city planning have ruminated over and amplified contrasts between the "City Beautiful" and the city practical, they have ignored the continuities in the emergence and evolution of the civic center and cultural center, most prominently demonstrated in the planning history of Detroit.

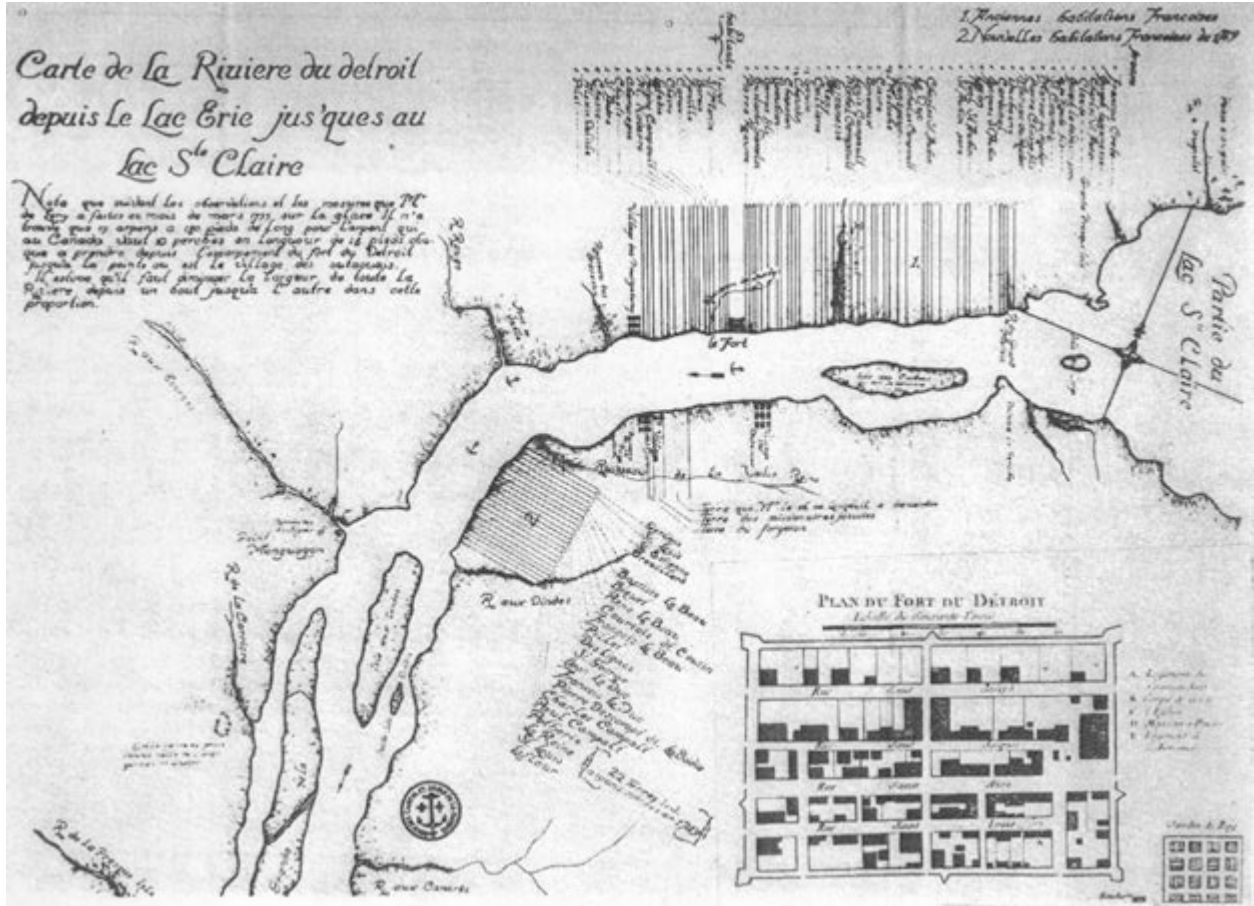


Figure 4-1: Cadillac's "ribbon farms" for early Detroit. Source: Buford L. Pickens, "Early City Plans for Detroit, a Projected American Metropolis," *Art Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Winter 1943), p. 41. Carnegie Mellon University, Hunt Library.

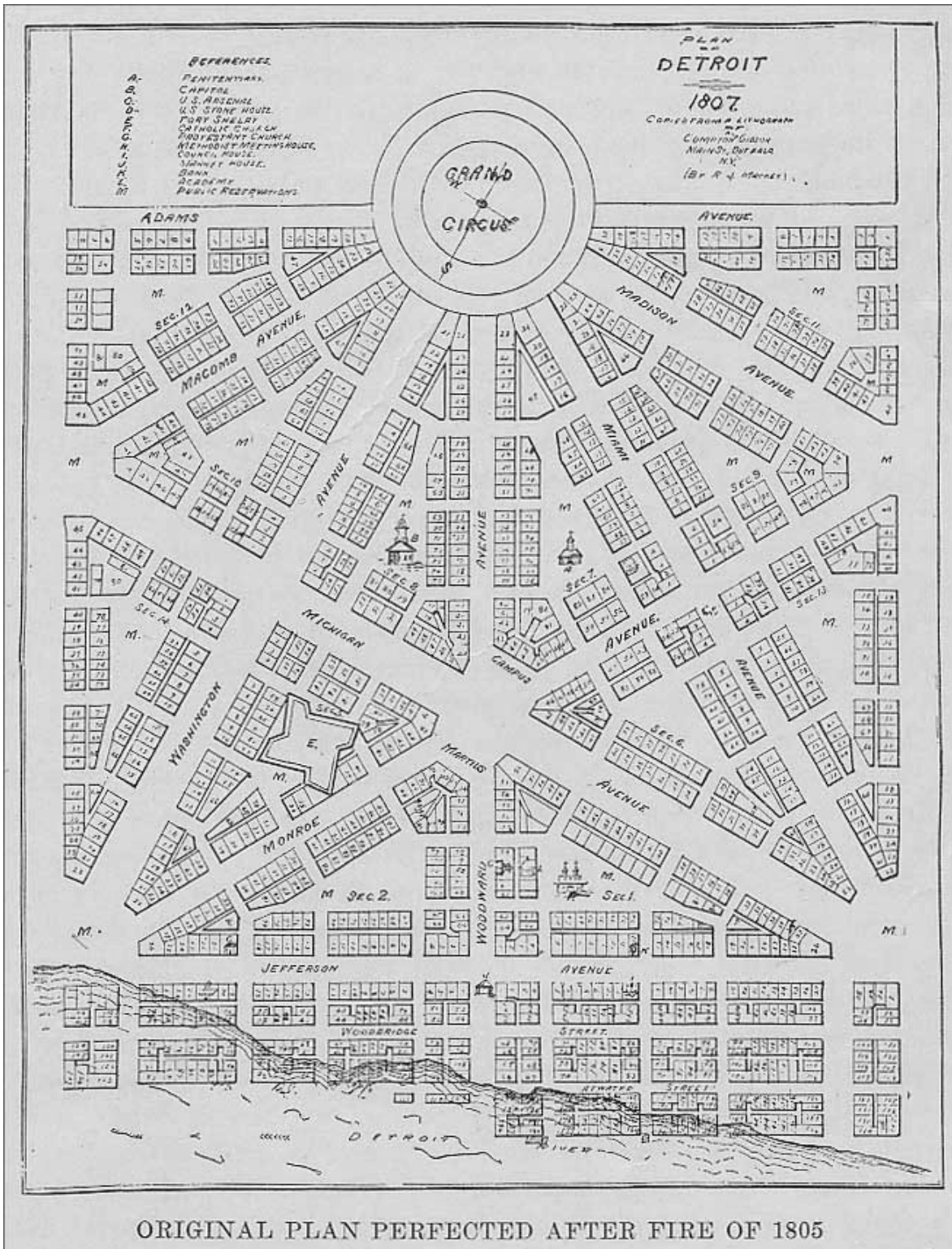


Figure 4-2: Judge Augustus B. Woodward's plan ("The Governor and Judges' Plan"), 1807. Wikipedia.

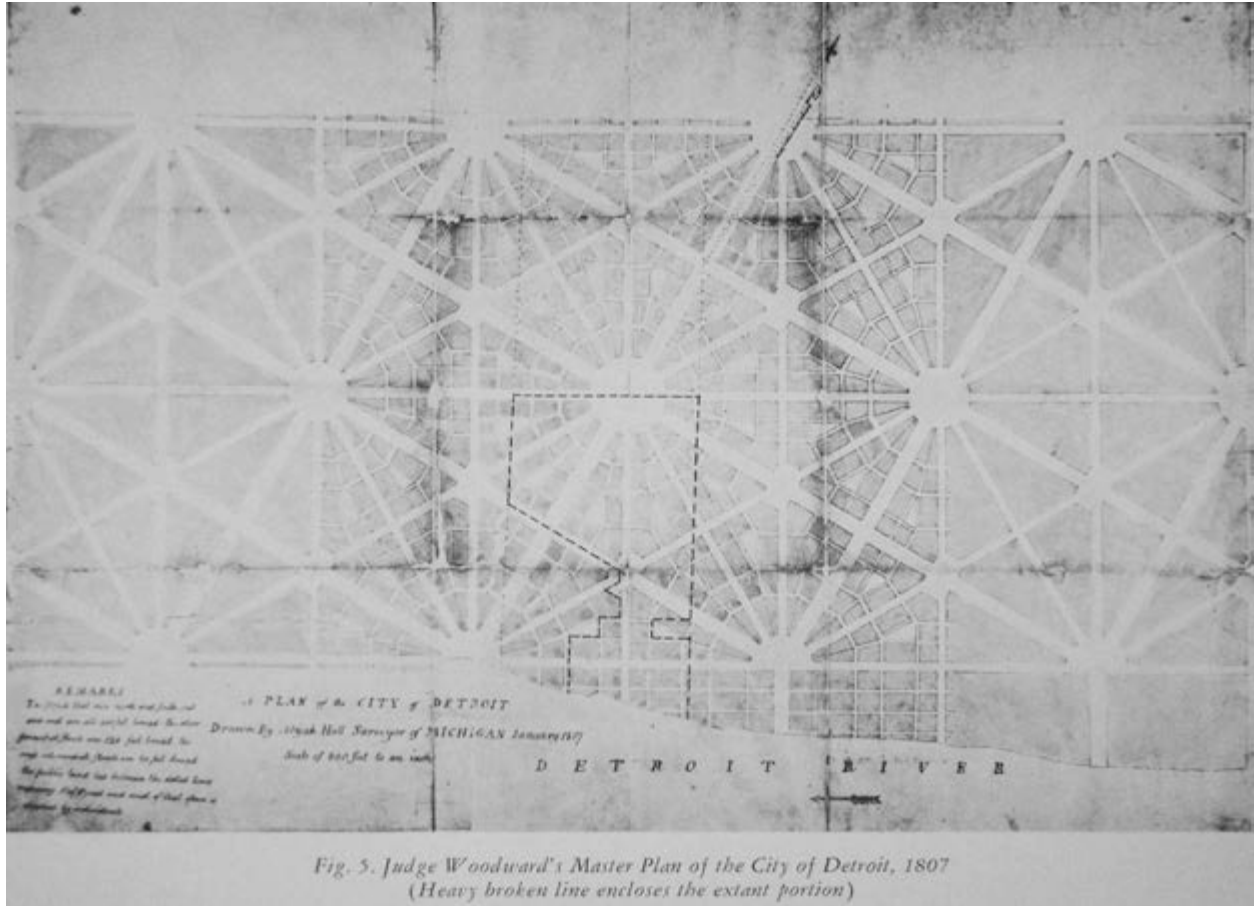


Figure 4-3: “Judge Woodward’s Master Plan of the City of Detroit, 1807.” Cadillac’s “ribbon farms” for early Detroit. Source: Buford L. Pickens, “Early City Plans for Detroit, a Projected American Metropolis,” *Art Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Winter 1943), p. 42. Carnegie Mellon University, Hunt Library.

Image Omitted

Figure 4-4: The “necklace” below Grand Circus Park. The Campus Martius is in the center; Comerica Park baseball stadium and Ford Field football stadium are in the upper right; Cobo Hall, Hart Plaza and the Renaissance Center are along the river on the bottom. Google Maps.



Figure 4-5: Aerial view of Detroit's downtown core in 1953, from Grand Circus in the foreground south to the Detroit River. Detroit Convention and Visitor's Bureau, *Detroit: The City Beautiful*, n.d. (1953), cover. Collection of the author.

Image Omitted

Figure 4-6: Major public buildings in the vicinity of the Campus Martius and Cadillac Square, detail of plat map, 1901. *The Enlarged Business Atlas and Shippers Guide* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1901). University of Alabama, Historical Map Archive, Historical Maps of Detroit, http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/us_states/michigan/Detroit.html.



Figure 4-7: Henry T. Brush and Hugh Smith, Detroit Public Library, Centre Park, 1877. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection, reproduction number LC-D4-19537.



Figure 4-8: James Balfour, Detroit Museum of Art, East Jefferson Avenue, 1888. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection, reproduction number LC-D4-3752.

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Figure 4-9: Edward H. Bennett and Frank Miles Day, “Plan for Proposed Center of Arts and Letters and Its Land Requirements,” 1913 (north is oriented left). Detroit City Plan Commission, *Report on a Center of Arts and Letters* (October 1913), foldout. Detroit Institute of Arts Research Library and Archives.

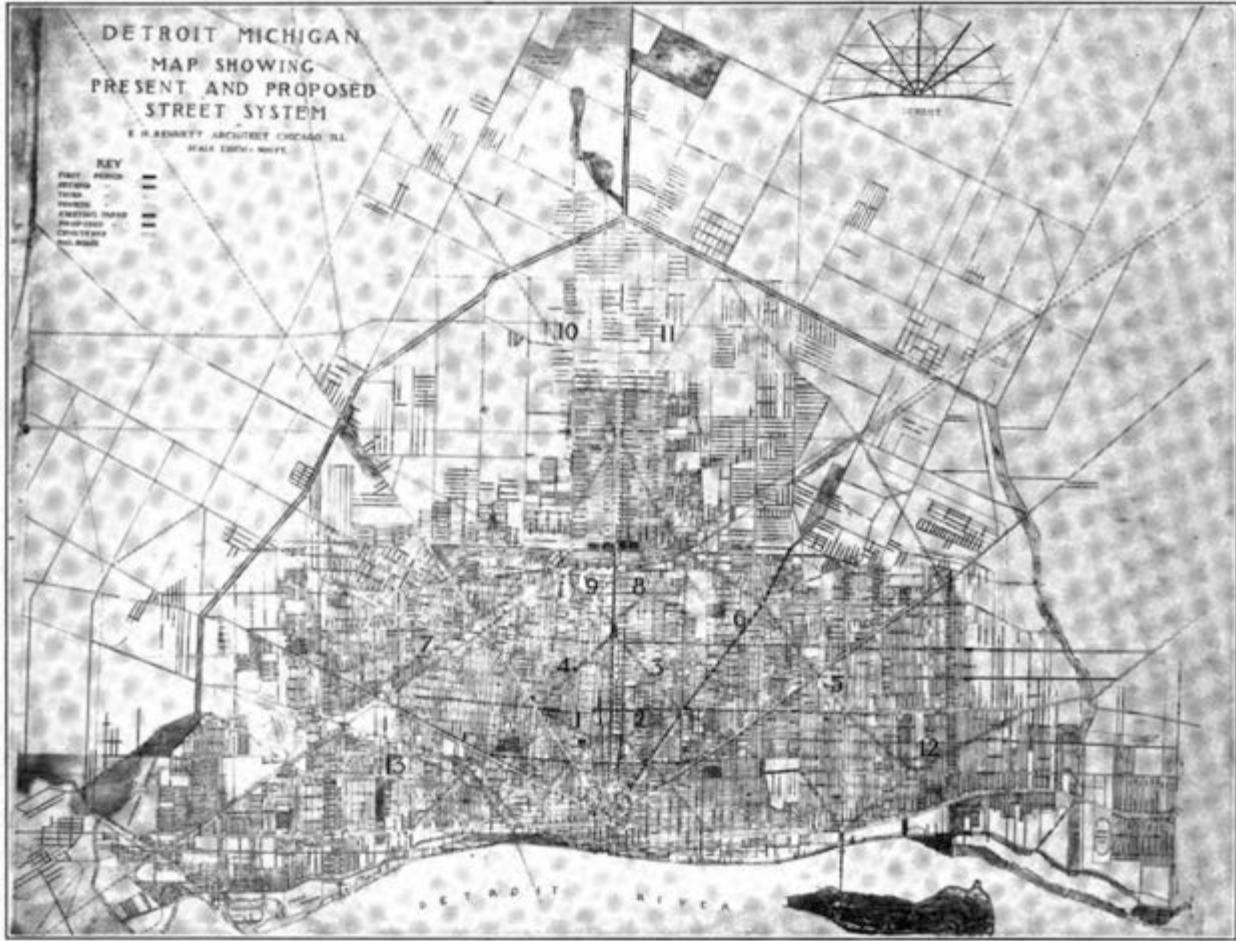


Figure 4-10: Edward H. Bennett, “Detroit Map Showing Present and Proposed Street System.” The Center of Arts and Letters is located at the crux of the “X” between the numbers 9, 8, 4, and 3 in the lower center. Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, *Preliminary Plan of Detroit* (1915), PLATE II.

Google Books.

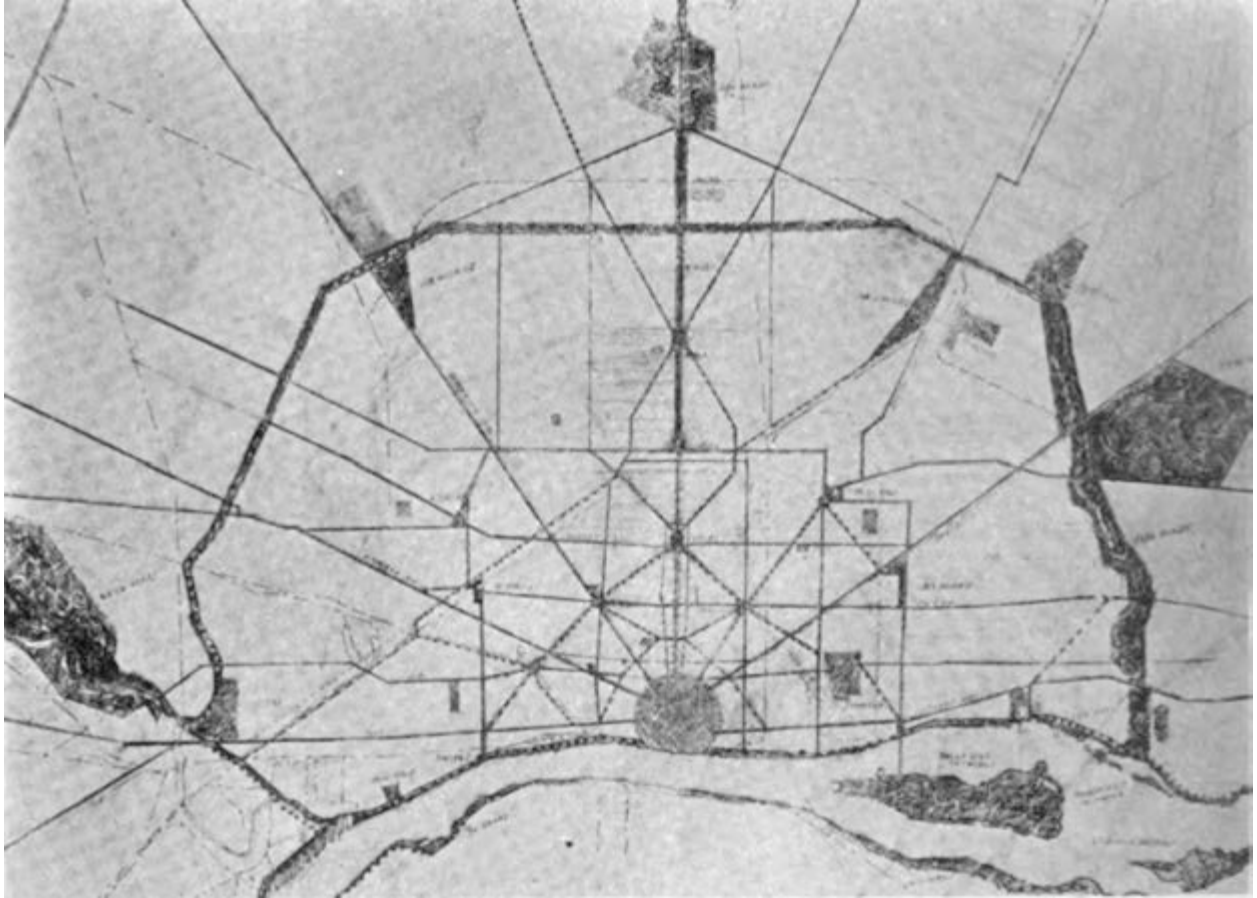


Figure 4-11: Detroit City Plan Commission, map, 1914. *The Detroit*, vol. 6, no. 6 (November 9, 1914), p. 4.
Google Books.



Figure 4-12: Central High School, Detroit, 1896, fronting on Cass Avenue. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection, reproduction number LC-D4-17235.



Figure 4-13: Central High School, rear wing, 1908. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection, reproduction number LC-D4-39251.

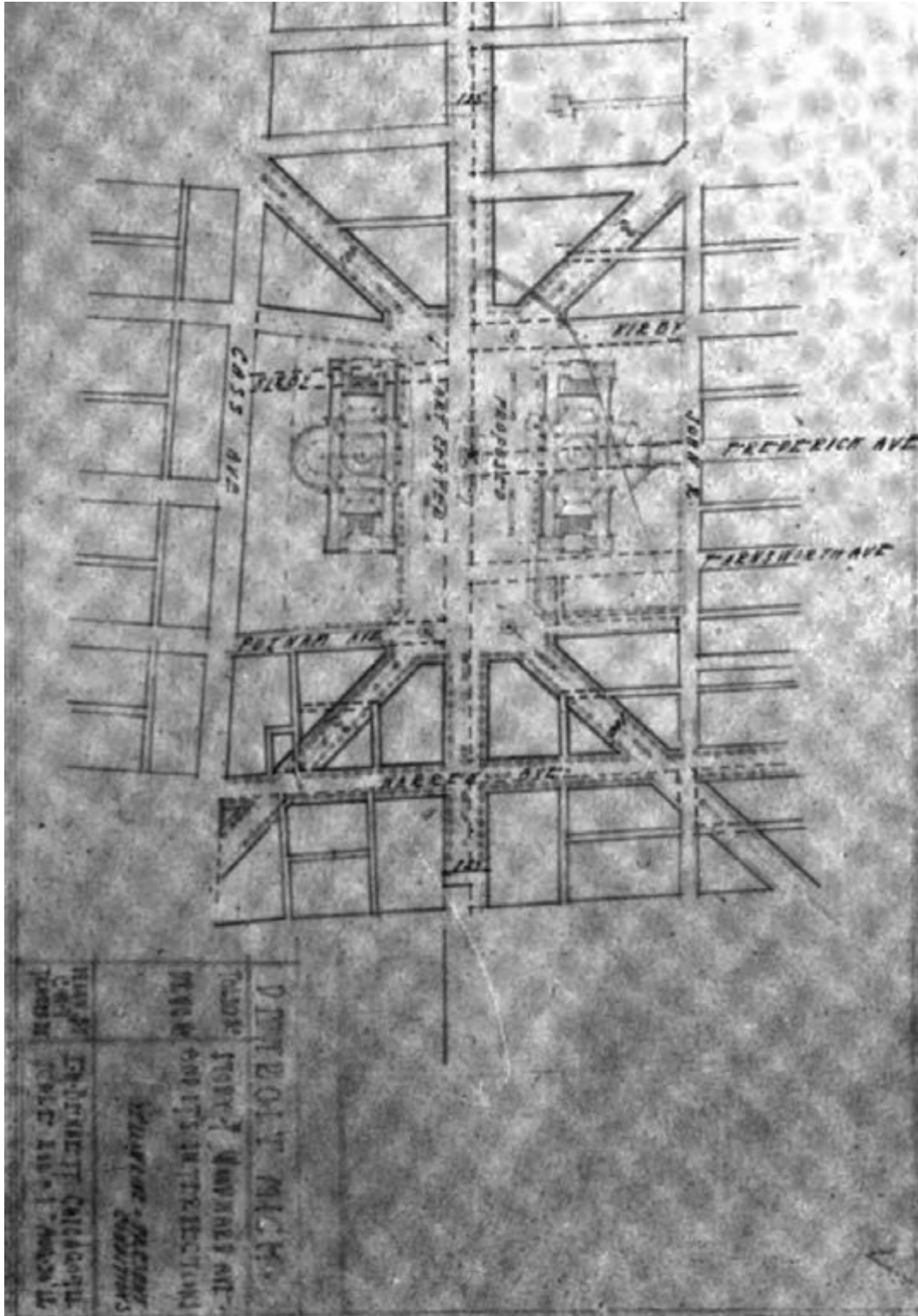


Figure 4-14: Edward H. Bennett, “Original Study for the Center of Arts and Letters” (detail). Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, *Preliminary Plan of Detroit* (1915), PLATE XI. Google Books.

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Figure 4-15: Central High School (now Old Main, Wayne State University), Detroit, with two diagonal boulevards leading to the Michigan Central Railroad Station, from Edward H. Bennett's 1913 and 1915 plans for the Center of Arts and Letters. Google Maps, modified by the author.

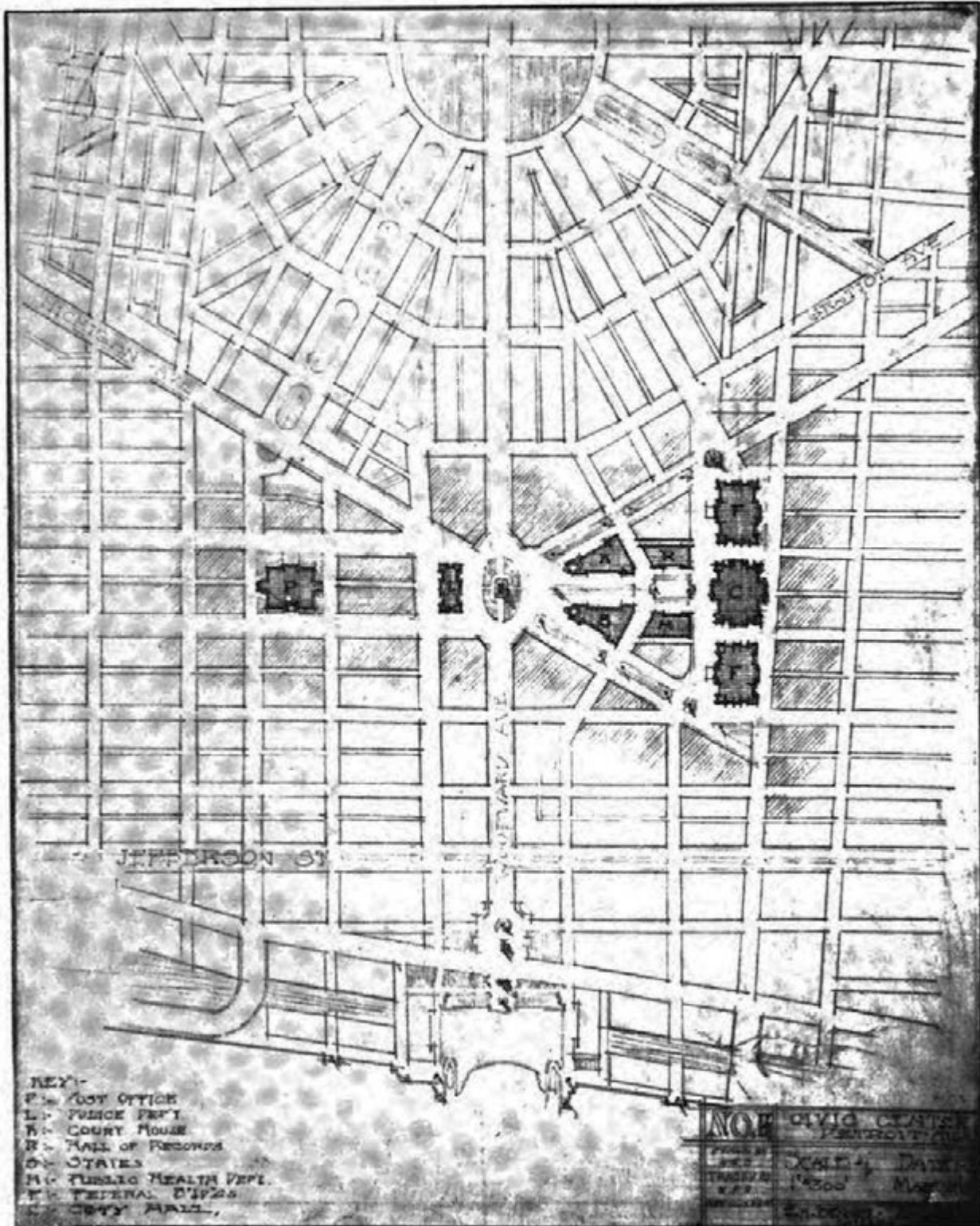


Figure 4-16: Edward H. Bennett, "Ideal Treatment for Campus Martius, Cadillac Square and the Foot of Woodward Avenue." Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, *Preliminary Plan of Detroit* (1915), PLATE VIII. Google Books.

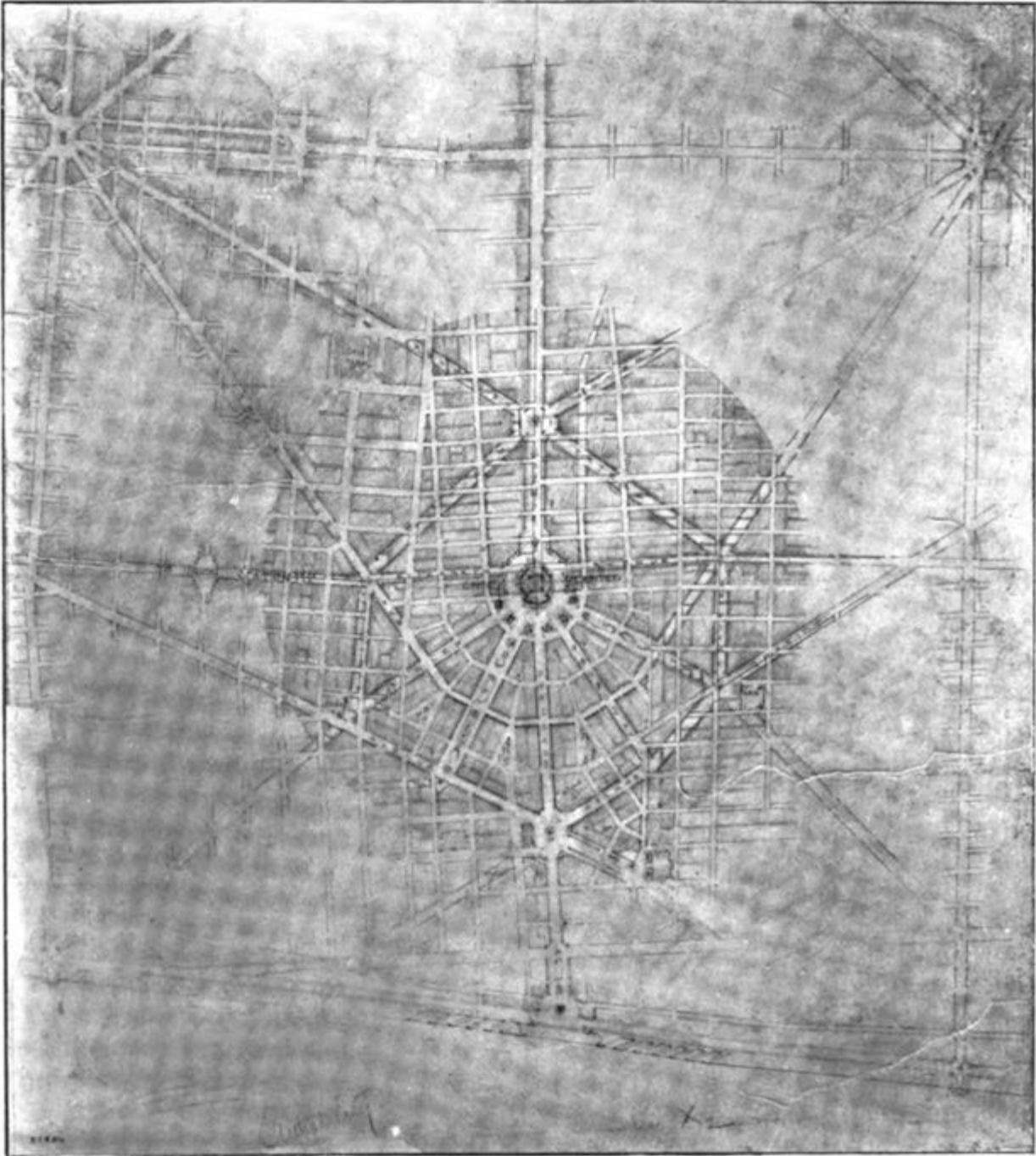


Figure 4-17: Edward H. Bennett, "Suggestion for a Civic Center at the Grand Circus," Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, *Preliminary Plan of Detroit* (1915), PLATE IX. Google Books.

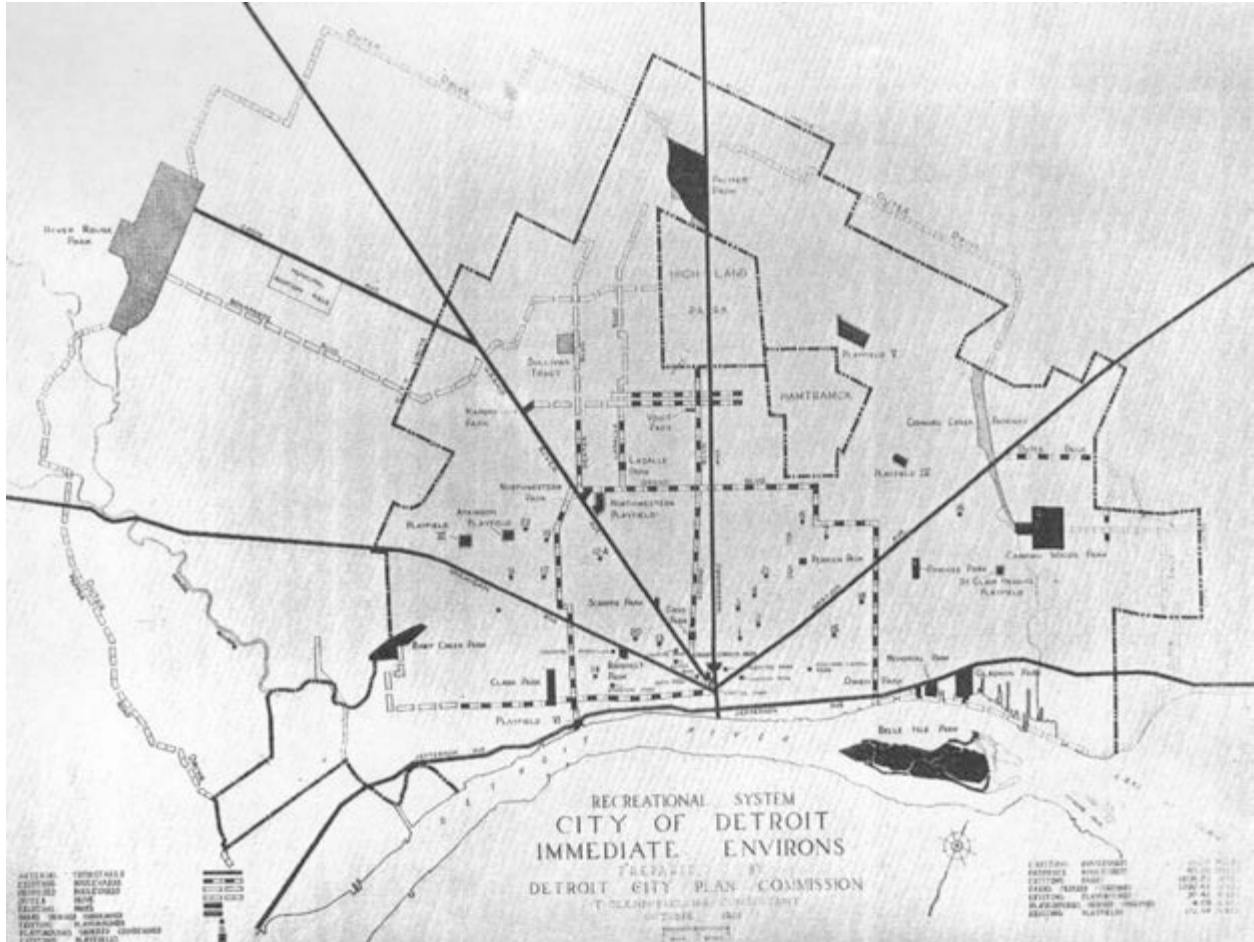


Figure 4-18: Map of Detroit no longer indicating the Art Center as a central hub in a system of diagonal boulevards. *Art and Archaeology*, vol. 17, no. 3 (March 1924), Detroit Art Number, p. 121. Carnegie Mellon University, Hunt Library.

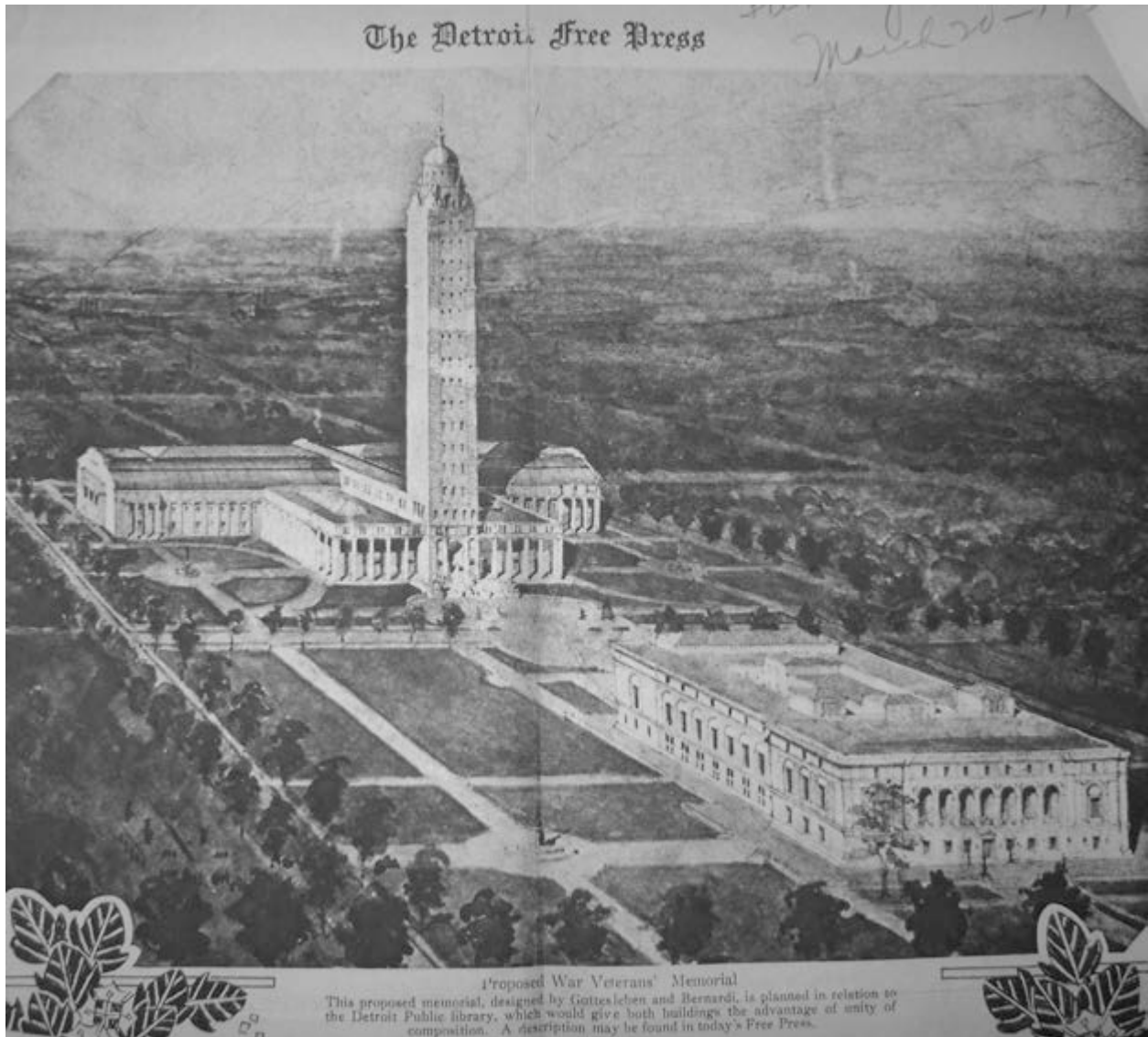


Figure 4-19: "Proposed War Veteran's Memorial," captioned photograph, *The Detroit Free Press*, Sunday, March 20, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.



Figure 4-21: Eliel Saarinen, Tribune Tower, 1922, rendering by Hugh Ferriss. Google Images.



Figure 4-22: Arthur S. Siegel, photographer. "Detroit, Michigan. Looking north on Woodward Avenue from the Maccabee Building, with the Fisher Building at the far left and the Wardell hotel at the middle right, July 1942." The Detroit Public Library is on the left, the Detroit Institute of Arts is on the right. Critics like Albert Kahn asserted that adding a monumental building on the empty square north of the library, across from a planned commercial structure (the Wardell), would make for an asymmetrical grouping. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, U.S. Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information collection, reproduction number: LC-USW36-765.

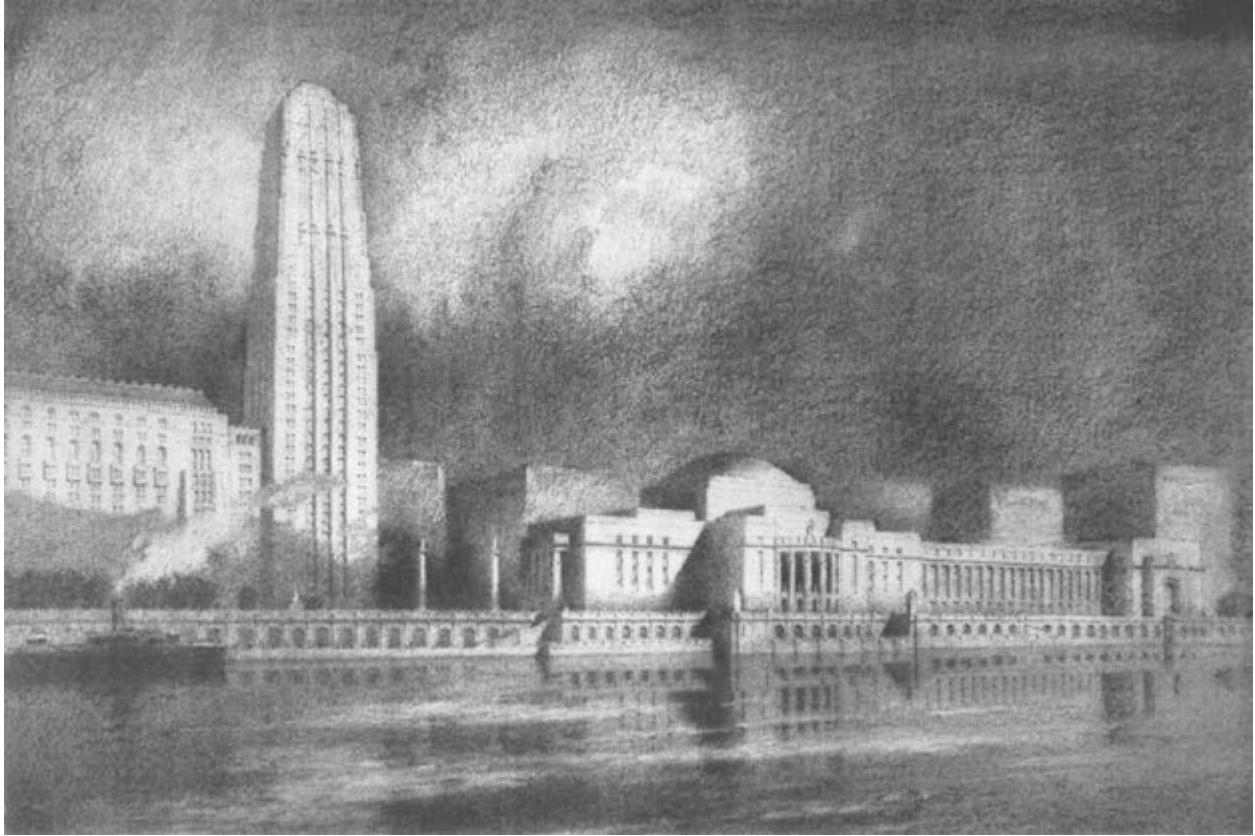


Figure 4-23: Eliel Saarinen, “Project for Water Front Development, Detroit, Mich.,” 1924, *The American Architect*, vol. 129, no. 2495 (April 20, 1926), p. 481. Cranbrook Academy of Art Library.



Figure 4-24: Piazza San Marco. City Plan Commission [Detroit], *The Civic Center Plan* [City of Detroit—A Master Plan Report, No. 3 of a Series], (Detroit: October 1946), p. 4. Library of Congress.



Figure 4-25: Eliel Saarinen, clay model of Detroit Civic Center, 1924. Left: City Hall Tower and municipal buildings. Right: Veteran's Memorial Hall and Exhibition Hall. Collection of the author.



Figure 4-26: Eliel Saarinen, clay model of Detroit Civic Center, 1924. Left: City Hall Tower and municipal buildings. Right: Veteran's Memorial Hall and Exhibition Hall. Collection of the author.

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Figure 4-27: Eliel Saarinen, Project for a River Front Development, 1924. University of Michigan, Bentley Historical Library, Emil Lorch Papers, oversize folder #11, Eliel Saarinen, Memorial Hall Plans, c. 1924.

Image Omitted

Figure 4-28: Central High School Building, then Wayne University Main Building, and the proposed 3-block campus to the north, where Wayne already rented several residences and other structures to hold classes. Left: Detroit Board of Education, “Citizens’ Committee Report on the Needs of Wayne University,” brochure (Detroit: 1937), n.p. [p. 6]. Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, vertical file: campus, folder: undated to 1969. Right: “New Culture Hub Visioned,” *The Detroit News*, December 15, 1937. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: campus, folder: clippings—undated to 1939.

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Figure 4-29: Harley, Ellington, and Day, Horace W. Rackham Memorial. <http://michiganmodern.org/architects-designers-firms/firms/harley-ellington-day/horace-h-rackham-education-memorial-building/>.

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Figure 4-30: Suren Pilafian, Competition for Wayne Campus, 3-block campus plan, 1942. Leslie Hanawalt, *A Place of Light: The History of Wayne State University* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968), p. 234. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs.

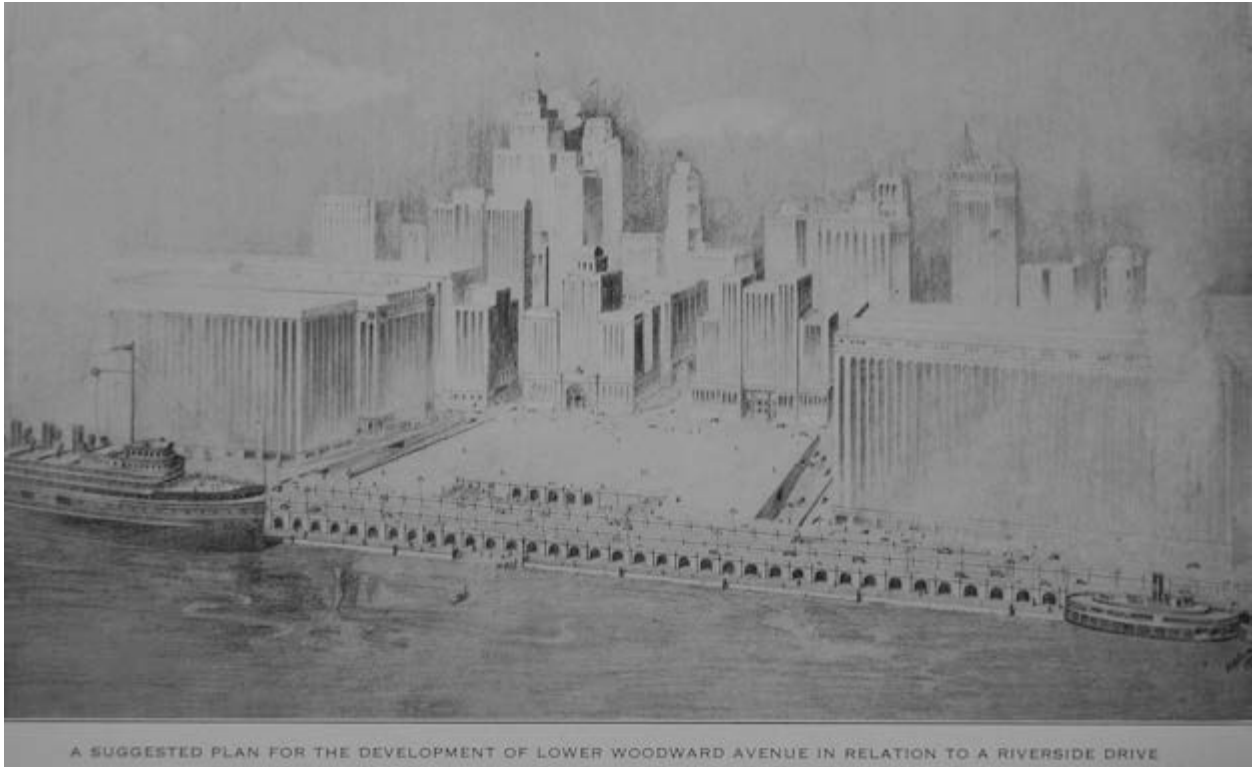


Figure 4-31: City Plan Commission, “A Suggested Plan for the Development of Lower Woodward Avenue in Relation to a Riverside Drive,” 1929. City Plan Commission, *Annual Report of the City Plan Commission, 1929* (Detroit: 1929), p. 2. University of California Berkeley, Doe Library, Northern Regional Library Facility.

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Figure 4-32: Walter Hickey, Detroit plans, thesis, Cranbrook Academy of Art. Walter Hickey, “Studies for Detroit City Plan and Water Front Development,” *Weekly Bulletin, Michigan Society of Architects*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January 4, 1938), p. 9. Cranbrook Archives.

Image Omitted

Figure 4-33: Walter Hickey, Detroit plans, thesis, Cranbrook Academy of Art. Walter Hickey, “Studies for Detroit City Plan and Water Front Development,” *Weekly Bulletin, Michigan Society of Architects*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January 4, 1938), p. 9. Cranbrook Archives.

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Figure 4-34: Eero Saarinen, "Proposed Civic Center for the City of Detroit," 1937. Cranbrook Archives, original negative number 4630. Cranbrook Archives.

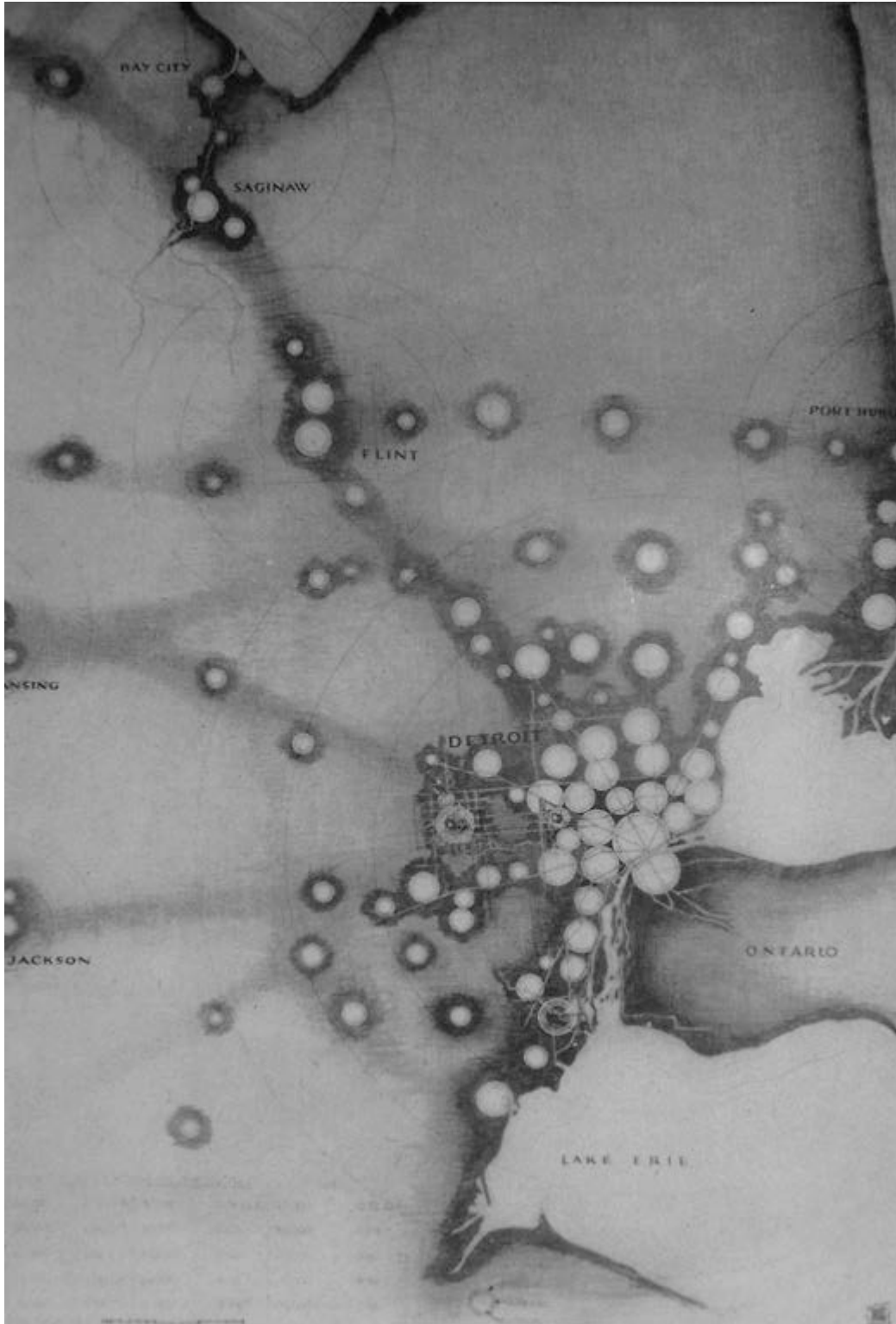
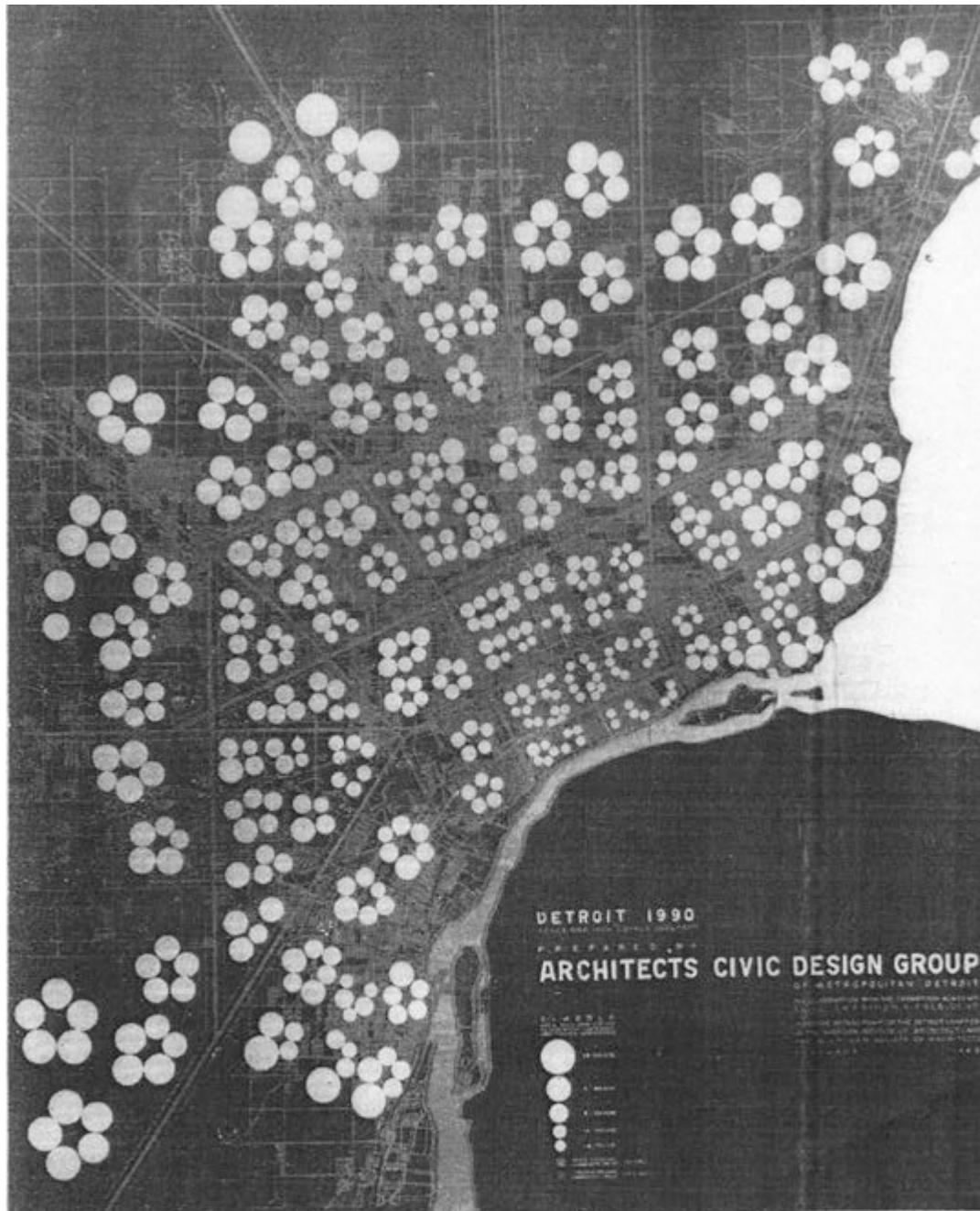


Figure 4-35: "Detroit Sphere of Influence: Southeastern Michigan; Organic Decentralization 1990; Urban Population 5,000,000." J. Davidson Stephen, "Detroit and the Detroit Area," *The New Pencil Points*, vol. 24, no. 12 (December 1943), p. 50. Carnegie Mellon University, Hunt Library.



WORK OF THE ARCHITECTS' CIVIC DESIGN GROUP OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT

On this over-all population district study the largest discs represent the area required for a neighborhood of 1000 families at 2.5 per acre; the smallest light-color discs, 16 per acre. Original scale, 2300 ft. to the inch

Figure 4-36: "Work of the Architects' Civic Design Group of Metropolitan Detroit," from Suren Pilafian, "The Architect's Civic Design Group of Metropolitan Detroit," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, vol. 10, no. 4 (October 1948), p. 163. Carnegie Mellon University, Hunt Library.

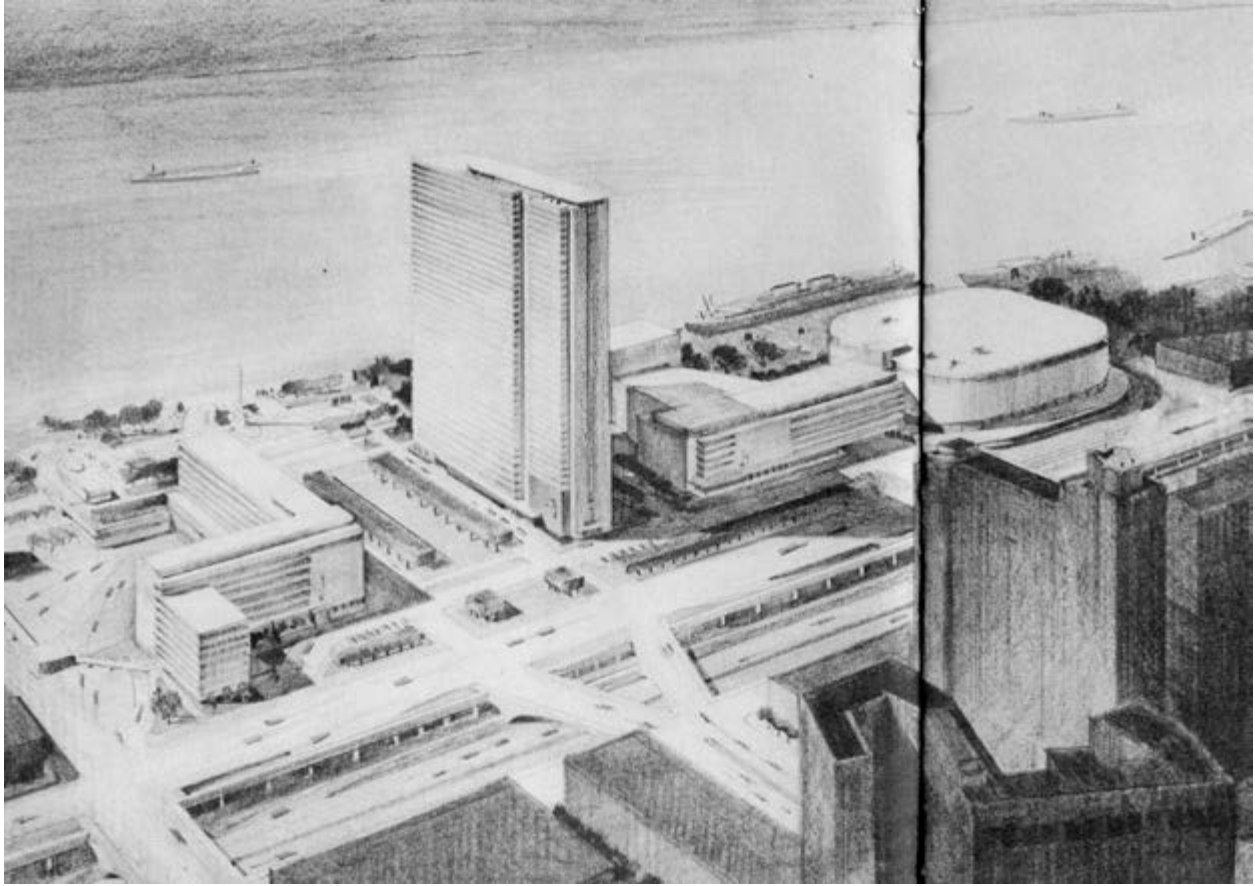


Figure 4-37: Suren Pilafian, architect, Frank Montana, delineator, Detroit Civic Center, 1944. The Mayor's Post-War Improvement Committee, *Post-War Improvement to Make Your Detroit a Finer City in which to Live and Work* (Detroit, 1944), p. 13. Hathitrust.Digital Library. University of Illinois at Urbana Champagne.

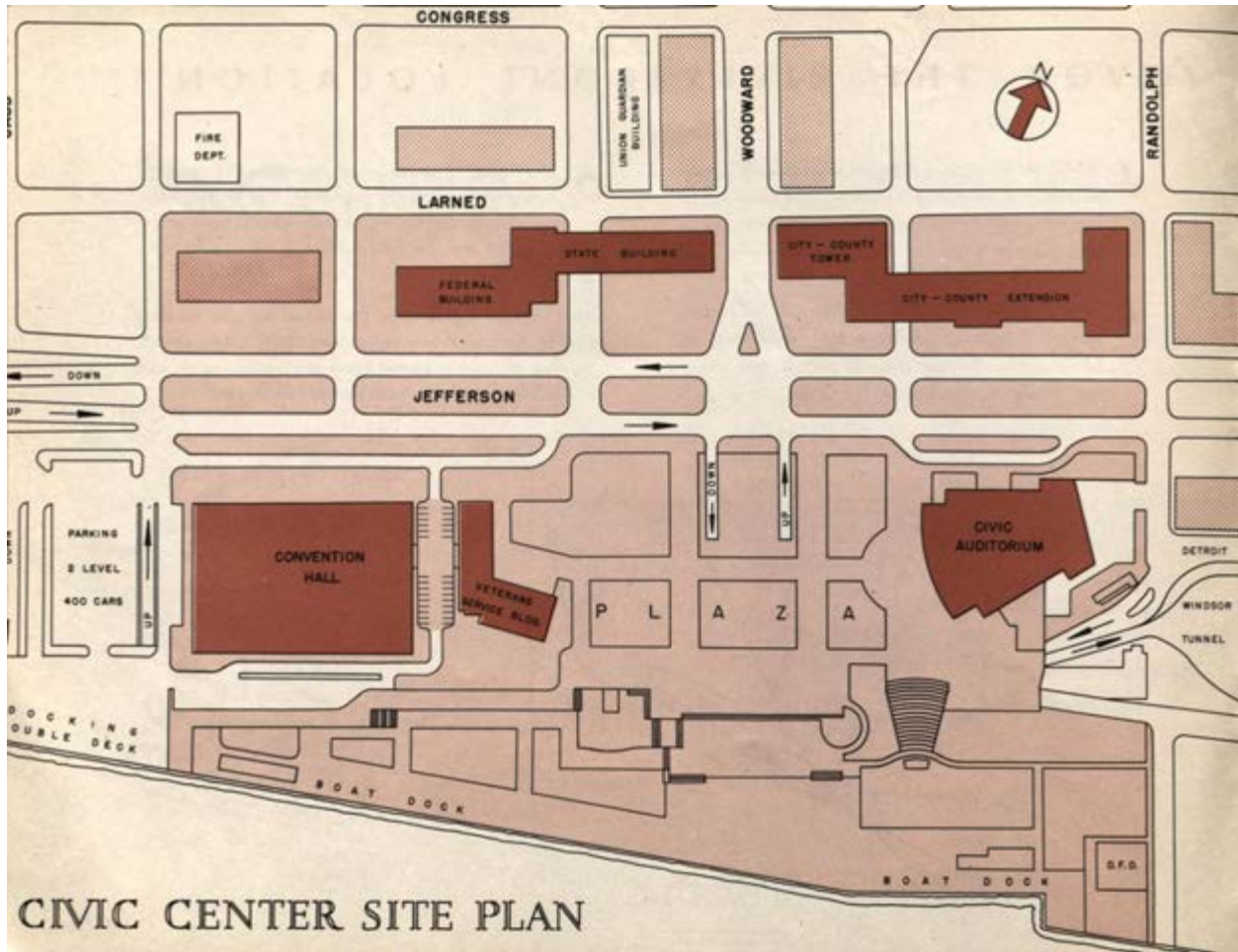


Figure 4-38: Suren Pilafian, preliminary studies; City Plan Commission, final design; Detroit Civic Center plan, 1946. City Plan Commission [Detroit]. *The Civic Center Plan* [*City of Detroit – A Master Plan Report, No. 3 of a Series*], (Detroit: October 1946), p. 12. Library of Congress.

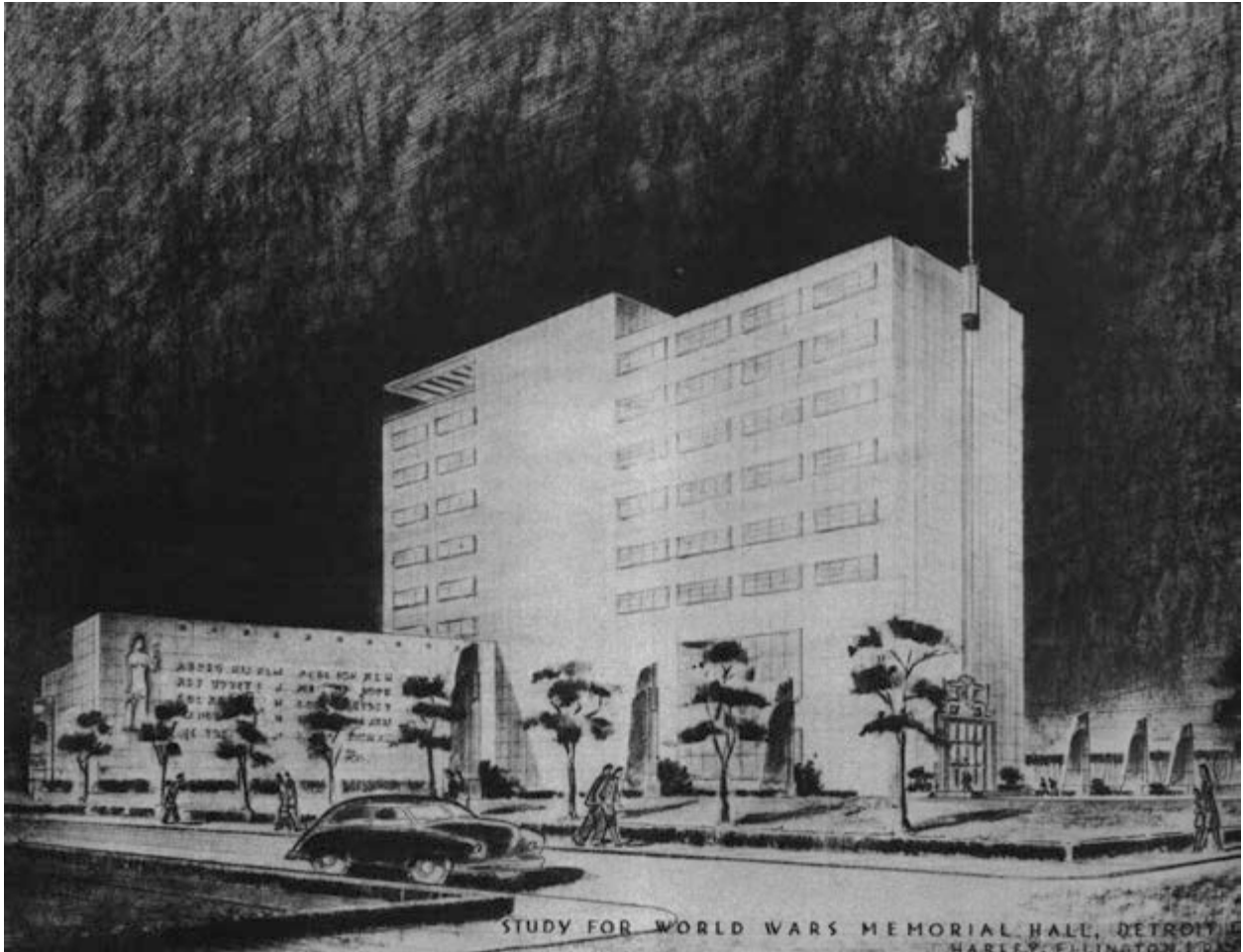


Figure 4-39: Harley, Ellington & Day, World Wars Memorial Hall, 1946. City Plan Commission [Detroit]. *The Civic Center Plan [City of Detroit – A Master Plan Report, No. 3 of a Series]*, (Detroit: October 1946), p. 14.

Library of Congress.

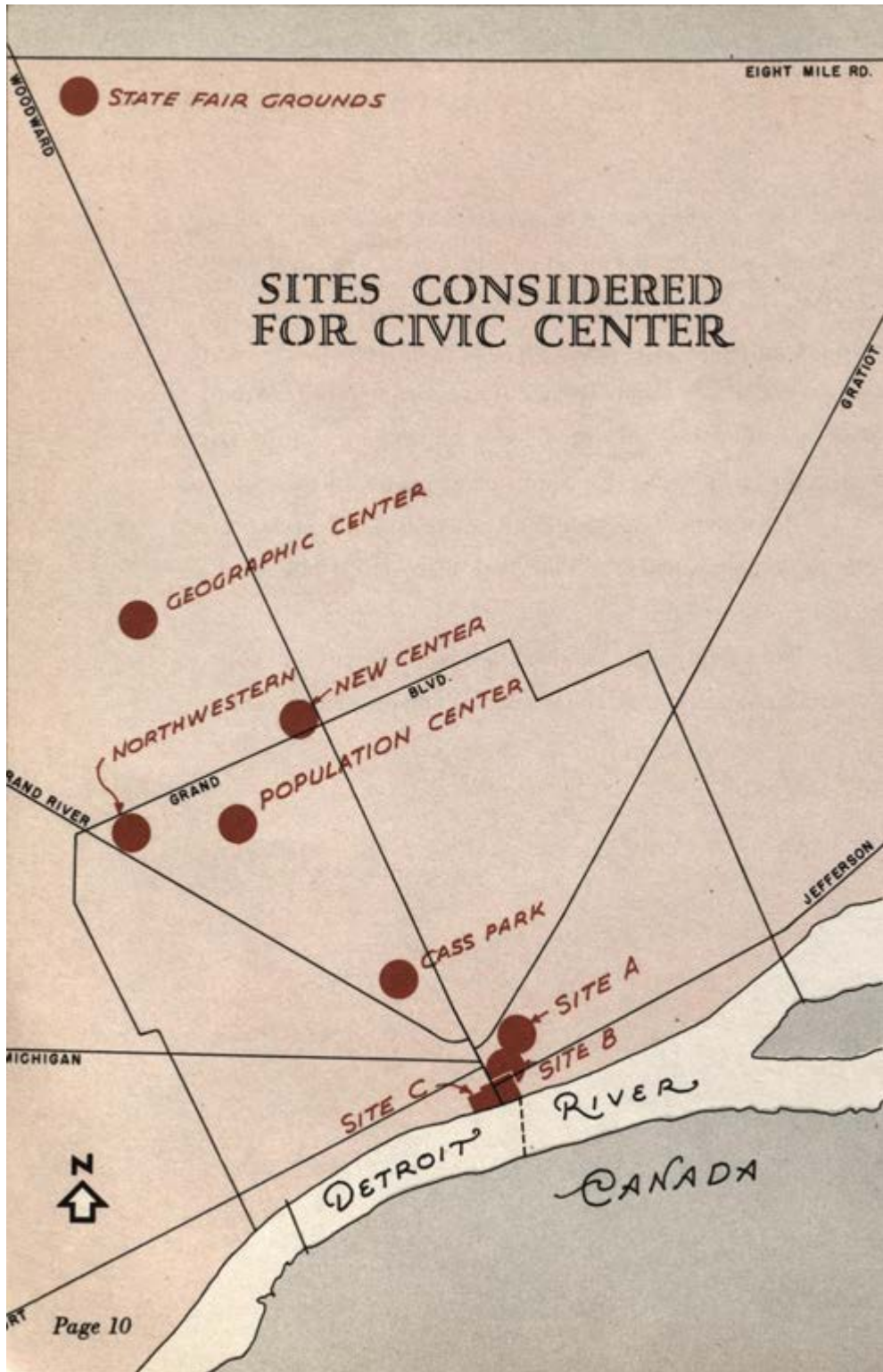


Figure 4-40: City Plan Commission [Detroit]. *The Civic Center Plan* [City of Detroit – A Master Plan Report, No. 3 of a Series], (Detroit: October 1946), p. 10. Library of Congress.

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Figure 4-41: Saarinen and Associates, Civic Center model, 1947. Cranbrook Archives, accession number AA2224.

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Figure 4-42: Saarinen and Saarinen, Detroit Civic Center, December 1947, negative AA2295-1. Cranbrook Archives.



Figure 4-43: Saarinen and Saarinen, County-City Building, Detroit. City Plan Commission [Detroit], *The County-City Building* (Detroit: April 1947), p. 7. Collection of the author.

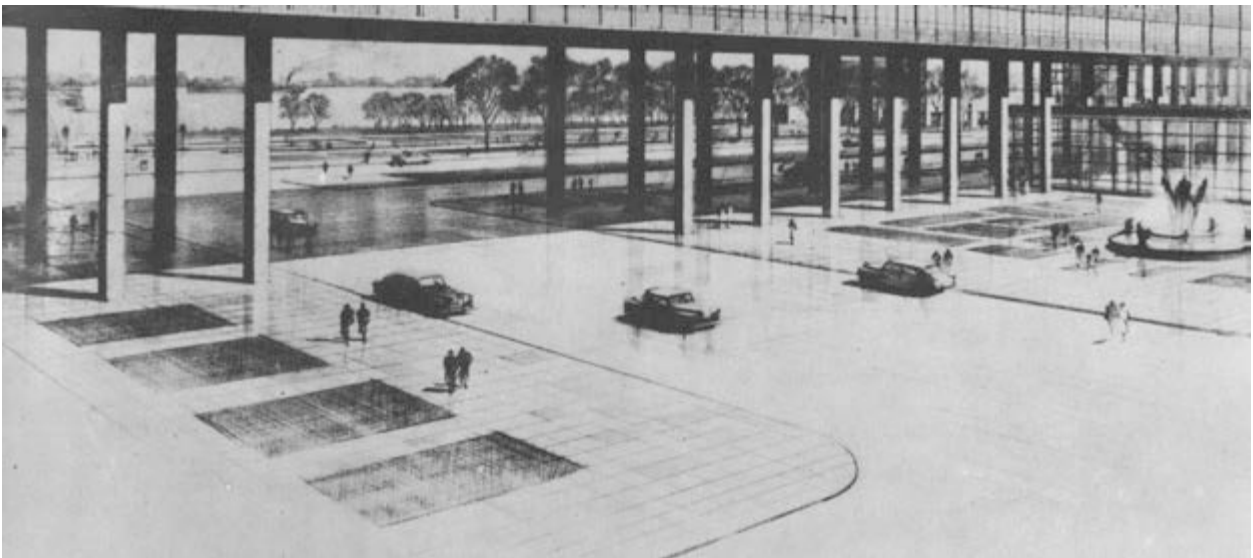


Figure 4-44: Saarinen and Saarinen, County-City Building, Great Colonnade. City Plan Commission [Detroit], *The County-City Building* (Detroit: April 1947), p. 11. Collection of the author.

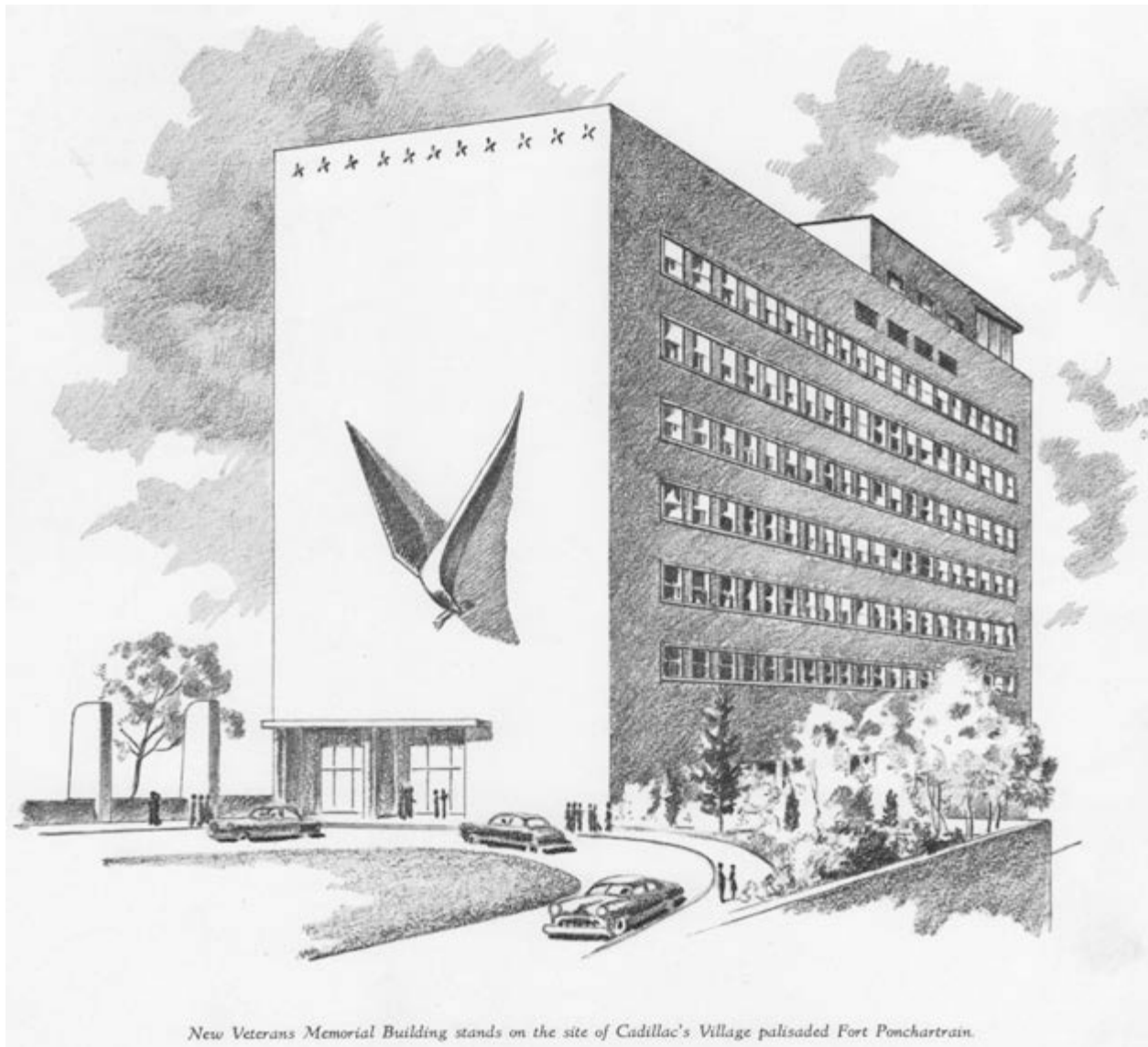


Figure 4-45. F.E. Bange, pencil rendering of Veteran's Memorial Hall by Harley, Ellington, and Day, with Marshall Fredericks, *Victory Eagle* over the entrance. Ivanov Studios, *Then and Now: Detroit's 250th Birthday, 1701-1951*, portfolio of 20 halftone plates and cover letter in folder (Detroit: Ivanov Studios, 1951). Collection of the author.



Figure 4-46: Marshall Fredericks, *Victory Eagle*, Veterans' Memorial Hall, Detroit. Photograph by the author.



Figure 4-47: Marshall Fredericks, *The Spirit of Detroit*, City-County Building, Detroit. Photograph by the author.

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Figure 4-48: Detroit Board of Education, Department of Building and Grounds, radial plan for Wayne University campus (the “Snowflake Plan”). “School Board Seeks 27-Block Wayne Campus; Submits Blueprints to City Plan Commission,” *The Detroit Teacher*, vol. 4, no. 1 [whole no. 29] (September 12, 1944), p. 1. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Clippings—Undated to 1939.

Image Omitted

Figure 4-49: Buford L. Pickens, plan for Wayne University campus. Arthur N. Neef, “Forum Presents Concept of Expanded Wayne; Dean Neef Compares Development of University to Marital Planning,” *The Detroit Collegian*, November 10, 1944. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Clippings—Undated to 1939.



Figure 4-50: Civic Center plan. City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Detroit Master Plan [Plan for a Finer City]*, (Detroit: 1951), p. 93. University of Pittsburgh, ULS Storage.

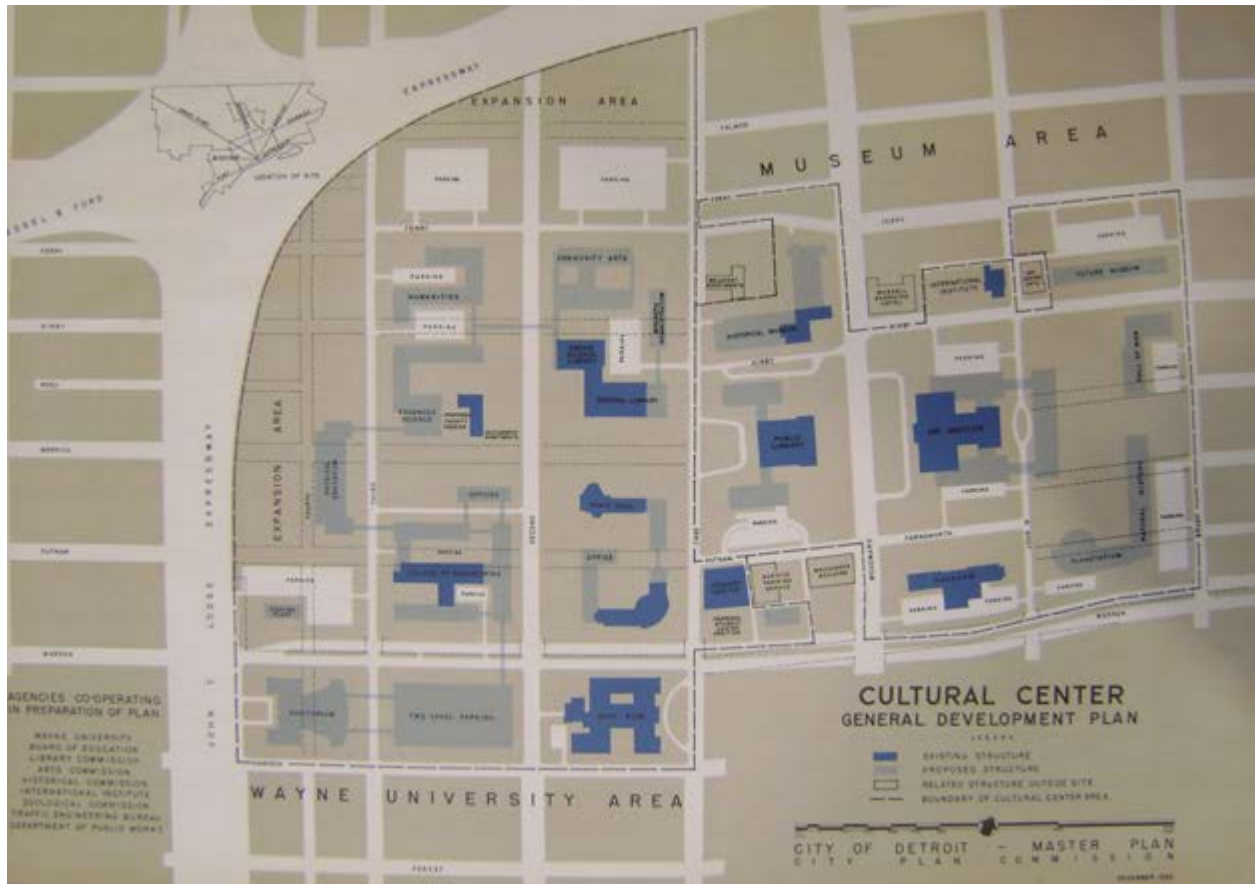


Figure 4-51: Cultural Center plan. City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Detroit Master Plan [Plan for a Finer City]*, (Detroit: 1951), p. 95. University of Pittsburgh, ULS Storage.



Figure 4-52: Saarinen and Saarinen, Civic Center rendering. City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Detroit Master Plan [Plan for a Finer City]*, (Detroit: 1951), p. 92. University of Pittsburgh, ULS Storage.

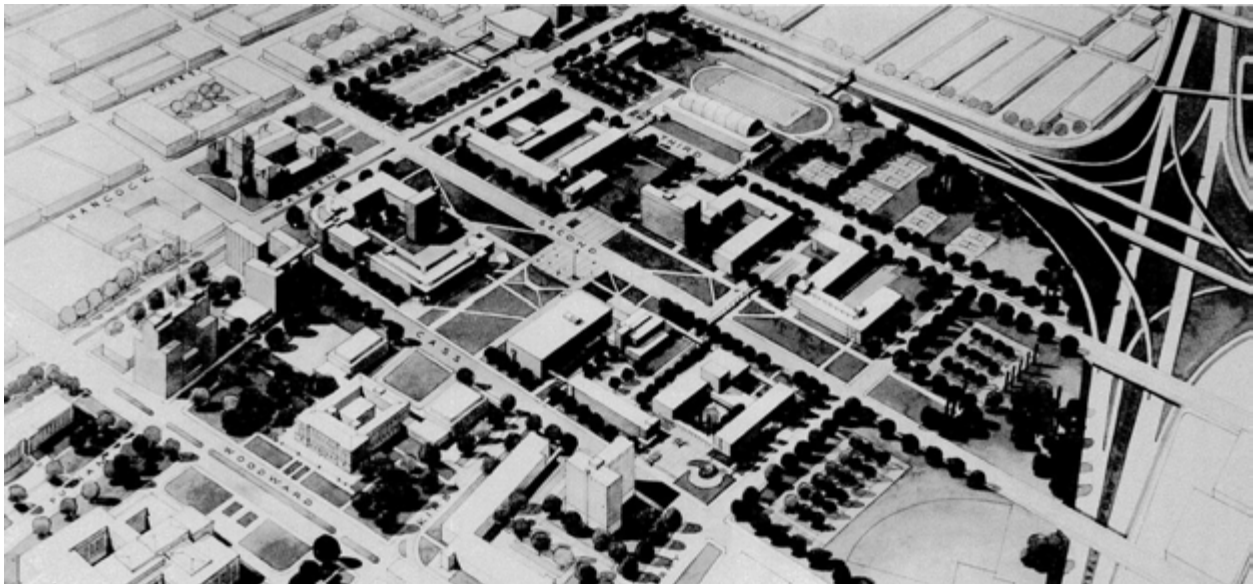


Figure 4-53: Pilafian and Montana, architects, Cultural Center rendering. City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Detroit Master Plan [Plan for a Finer City]*, (Detroit: 1951), p. 94. University of Pittsburgh, ULS Storage.

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Figure 4-54: Giffels and Vallet inc., L. Rossetti, associated engineers and architects, “Proposed Convention Hall and Exhibits Building,” Capital Gifts Committee, *An Invitation to Detroit’s 250th Birthday Party: Suggestions* (Detroit: Capital Gifts Committee, 1951), n.p. [p. 6]. Note Harley, Ellington, and Day’s Veteran’s Memorial Hall with Frederick Marshall’s *Victory Eagle* in the lower left foreground. Yale University, Sterling Memorial Library, Eero Saarinen Papers, Series III, Office Records, box 32, folder 14, Detroit Civic Center, Master Plan: miscellaneous publications, 1946, 1947, 1951, no date.

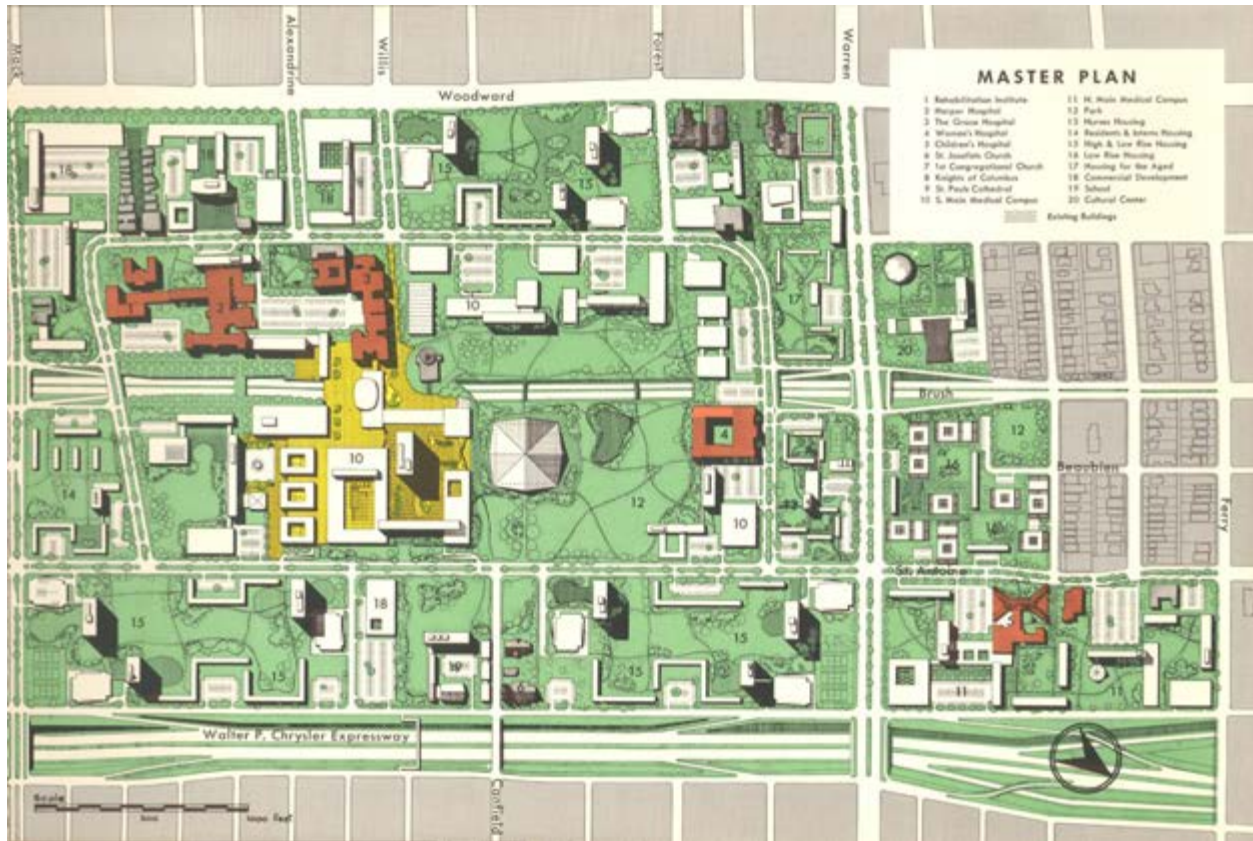


Figure 4-55: Detroit Medical Center. Detroit Medical Center Citizens Committee, *The Detroit Medical Center: A Proposal for the Re-Use of Land Cleared Under the Federal and City Urban Renewal Program* (Detroit: 1958), p. 17. Collection of the author.

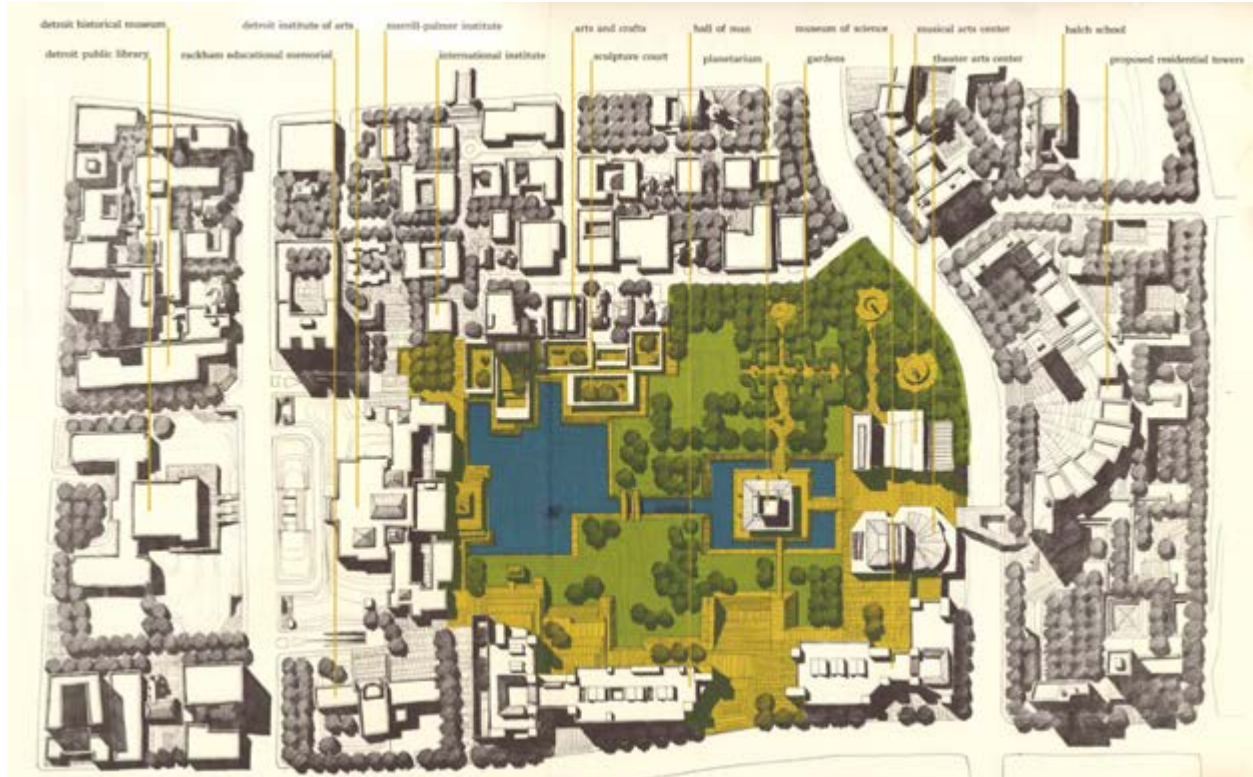


Figure 4-56: Detroit Performing Arts Center. Detroit City Plan Commission, *Detroit Cultural Center*, (Detroit, n.d., [c. 1965]), p. 5. Collection of the author.

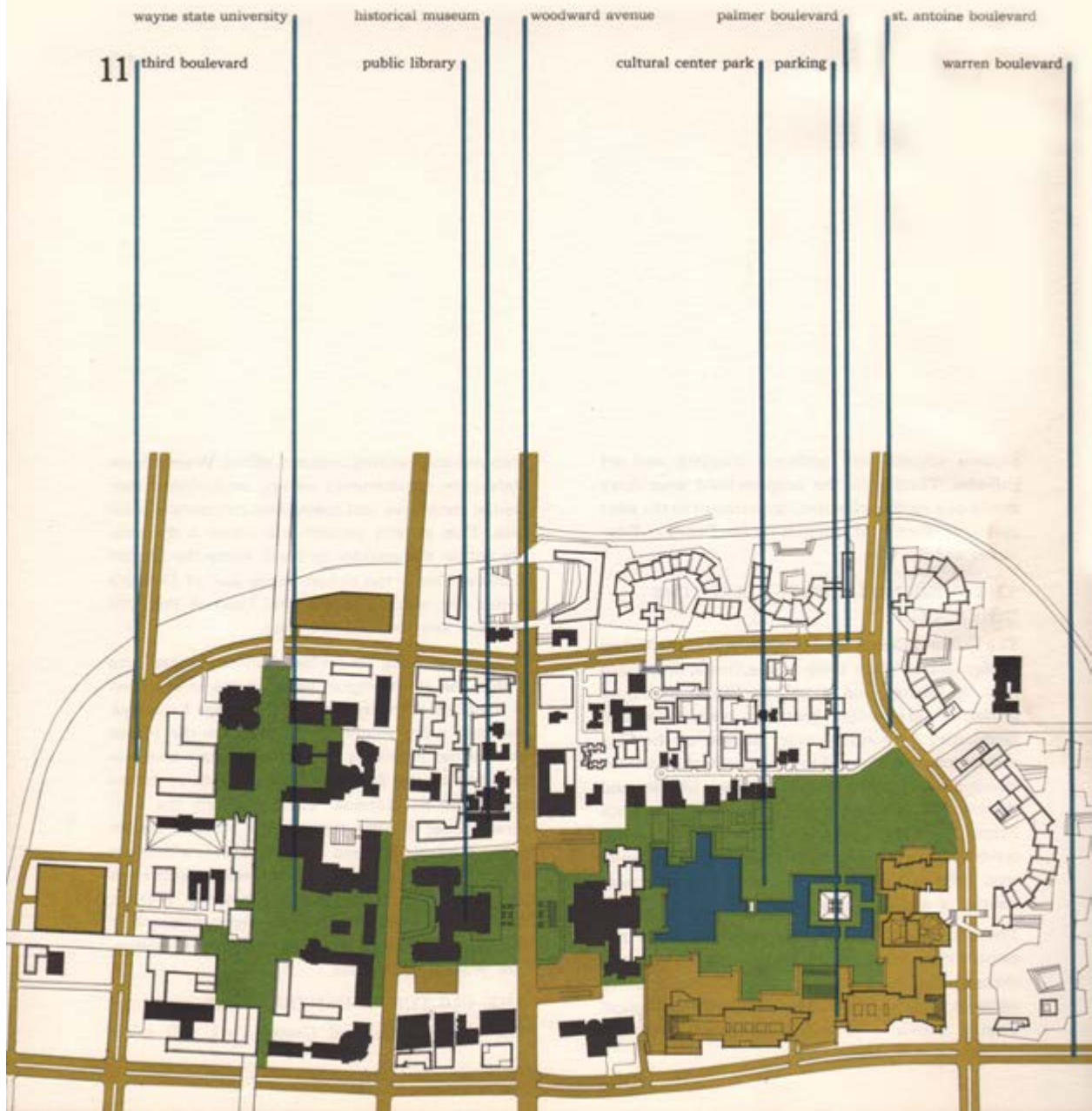


Figure 4-57: Cultural Center Park. Detroit City Plan Commission, *Detroit Cultural Center*, (Detroit, n.d., [c. 1965]), p. 11. Collection of the author.

5 Conclusion: The Search for the Center

As we have seen, early proponents of the ideology of grouping public buildings originally aspired to create a single civic center in the midst of the modern metropolis to rectify a number of urban problems or shortcomings, based on models such as the World's Columbian Exposition, the National Mall, European cities such as Vienna, and romanticized reconstructions of ancient models like the Forum and the Acropolis. Such a complete center would provide everything the modern, and particularly the capitalist and American, metropolis lacked, including a sense of civic participation, social communication, and personal cultivation. As a practical matter, however, planners divided administrative groupings from arts and educational groupings, creating civic centers in traditional downtown cores and cultural centers near elite residential districts in more remote parks, in part because of the lack of adequate land to create a single comprehensive center, but also because some cities were simply too big to be centered at one point. This resulted in the paradoxical doctrine of not allowing public buildings to wander but to group them at all cost, then break up and distribute groups more or less evenly and arbitrarily throughout the city. Arts institutions themselves, particularly art museums, claimed an aversion to dirt and noise and fear of fire in crowded and hazardous downtowns, and actively fled the core. More proactively, elites desired arts and educational institutions to be conveniently near their residences in urban parks. The bifurcation of the cultural center from the civic center, therefore, only belatedly follows a trajectory similar to the exodus of wealthy elites from

downtown cores that took place beginning in the late nineteenth century.⁸²⁸ From this view, the double-centered metropolis is the result of a certain failure on the part of planners to overcome selfish social forces and achieve a single monumental center.

However, this formulation overlooks an obvious alternate proposition, that administrative and arts and educational institutions were somehow anathema to one another in the first place, and that two centers or groupings of public buildings were inevitable. Or from another perspective, perhaps planners were ambivalent about what absent activity (civic participation or self-improving cultivation) should be deployed to center the modern metropolis, and thus desired multiple centers to hedge their bets. From this view, the multi-centered metropolis was not the pragmatic response to a lack of space or too great an expanse, but the desired goal all along. “City after city built its civic center and cultural center,” Jane Jacobs could be amended to say, not because planners could not find, create, or designate a single center, but because the proper organization of the modern metropolis seemed to depend upon the creation of multiple points of orientation, with particular functions gravitating to them— not planned centralization but planned decentralization. Civilization and cultivation, felt to be somehow vulnerable in modernity since Coleridge, were simply the foremost candidates for public encouragement in dedicated urban centers, set apart from the surrounding urban fabric by monumental architecture.

The city at one time had been thought to be the center of civilization and cultivation simply by virtue of its concentration of human activity, a view that persisted even into the twentieth century.⁸²⁹ The explosive growth of the city in the nineteenth century shattered that view; civics and culture became elements alien to urban life; no longer automatically produced by the city, these functions had to be restored through private philanthropic and ultimately massive public planning effort. Civil and cultural functions had to be implanted in the metropolis, and thereafter

safeguarded from hostile urban forces; otherwise the metropolis would slip into, or never have hope of climbing out of, chaos and barbarity. The implications of this admission are damning enough. But the more fundamental question is what could it mean to impregnate urban space with multiple centers? For that matter, what does it mean to create a single center anywhere?

5.1 Decentered Modernity

The discourse on the grouping of public buildings and the creation of monumental centers coincides with a veritable modern obsession with the center, or more precisely, with the absence or loss of the center in modernity. The uncentered urban environment, from this view, is merely one aspect or manifestation of an uncentered modernity. In explorations of primitive religion and myth, the center is something of primal significance, representing the *omphalos*, the *axis mundi*, the world navel, the sacred.⁸³⁰ Exemplary of this outlook are the writings of Mircea Eliade.⁸³¹ For him, traditional, that is to say premodern, man must always live at the center of the world. “Life is not possible without an opening to the transcendent,” Eliade explains, “in other words, human beings cannot live in chaos.”⁸³² Humans must organize chaos into a cosmos, undifferentiated nature into an organized world, and the center, symbolic of the world axis, becomes the orienting origin point of that cosmos. Traditional man must always be at the center of the world, and virtually anything of significance can mark the center, and therefore the sacred, from a post to a particular tree to a tabernacle. To mark a place is “always a consecration,” and therefore a reenactment of the divine work of the gods.⁸³³ The result of innumerable centers corresponding to as many significant places poses no problem for traditional man, since the center is carried about with him, and the world made sacred in the process.⁸³⁴ Although modern

man has lost this mystical view of the world, the center as form still compels. “Something of the religious conception of the world still persists in the behavior of profane man,” Eliade asserts, and even modern man is driven to establish centers.⁸³⁵ From this view, the establishment of monumental centers in urban space manifests nothing more than nostalgia for a more immersive, deeply meaningful view of life.

The loss of a genuine center implied by Eliade is most famously and succinctly adumbrated by Yeats, for whom “the centre cannot hold.”⁸³⁶ Man is without moorings in modernity, a tragedy perhaps most keenly felt by Hans Sedlmayr, for whom the Death of God is the cataclysmic event in the history of western civilization, and the beginning of secular modernity.⁸³⁷ Although civic life is by no means Sedlmayr’s primary concern, the loss of the center on the divine plane has immediate and visible implications for art and architecture, and most of the examples he provides are decidedly urban. For Sedlmayr, the medieval church or cathedral were the original “composite works of art,” generating organic forms that inherently unified all artistic production of the era, from books to stained glass to stonework. With the passing of that era, churches continue to be made, but could no longer generate new forms, that is, relevant, organic style. The palace, the castle, and the town hall attempt to fill this creative void as God is succeeded by man, then politics, then a succession of lesser motives on the spiritual plane, including nature, culture, and commerce. The landscape garden or park, the architectural monument, the museum, the theater, the exhibition building, and last and not least the factory present themselves in succession as collective “master problems of the age,” challenging the most brilliant creative minds. But these material and social projects never rise to the premodern universality of the church, and can no longer harness the totality of human creativity. The arts fracture and splinter into a profusion of unrelated forms and diverse media. Architects

continue to search for creative expression in a confusion of styles, Sedlmayr notes, “But the old certitude and self-assurance is gone and the new edifices lack the power to originate styles,”⁸³⁸ or one characteristic style. Harmony is lost: the dissonances of modern art, society, and urban space are all symptomatic of this loss of a spiritual center.⁸³⁹

Something of Sedlmayr’s devolution from God to less and less satisfying organizing principles animates Jacques Derrida’s excursus on “the concept of structure” in modernity.⁸⁴⁰ For Derrida, the “center,” the “point of presence,” or the “fixed origin” was never anything more than a historical illusion, the growing realization of which announces the beginning of modernity itself.⁸⁴¹ Following the “rupture” that occurs in modern thought, history can be seen as nothing more than “a series of substitutions of center for center,” in which a “linked chain” of “transcendental signifieds” assumes “different forms or names.” A declension echoing Sedlmayr, “God, man, and so forth,”⁸⁴² are by turns placed at the center, until the next substitution comes along. The tragedy of modern man in his search for a center is the horrible realization that there is none to be found. As Derrida writes, “even today, the notion of a structure lacking any center represents the unthinkable itself,”⁸⁴³ reason enough to carry on the search at all costs in abject denial. Initially, Derrida calls for a halt in the search for a center, since none will ever be found; the noncenter is not a loss of the center but for him an affirmation, a liberation.⁸⁴⁴ The notion that perhaps he was writing in a moment of final rupture but merely of transition from center to center seems never to have occurred to him, although he later backtracks. “I do not believe in decisive ruptures, in an unequivocal ‘epistemological break,’ as it is called today.”⁸⁴⁵ As he subsequently claimed, “I didn’t say that there was no center, that we could get along without the center. I believe [rather] that the center is a function, not a being—a reality, but a function.”⁸⁴⁶ This apparent ambivalence explains Derrida’s exhilaration that modernity might be giving birth

to a new age of possibility and freedom, which is paired with a Yeats-like dread of “the as yet unnamable which is proclaiming itself [...] in the formless, mute, infant, and terrifying form of monstrosity.” After the apparent rupture, the center may simply be reforming around some new, menacing, transcendental signified.⁸⁴⁷

In such unsettling times, we seek the comforts of nostalgia. As Marshall McLuhan observed, “When faced with a totally new situation, we tend always to attach ourselves to the objects, to the flavor of the recent past. We look at the present through a rear-view mirror. We march backwards to the future.”⁸⁴⁸ In terms of the modern metropolis, what had been lost in the sprawl of laissez-faire capitalism was the old image of the city, or the citadel, and what presented itself was the World’s Columbian Exposition, Vienna, the Acropolis; the Shining City on a Hill. “When our identity is in danger, we feel certain that we have a mandate for war. The old image must be recovered at any cost.”⁸⁴⁹ Warfare describes the schemes of Baron Haussmann and Robert Moses, but the comforting form of the monumental center enshrines a very different transcendental signified than did the sacred and ceremonial centers of the past. Terry Eagleton remarks that, “culture becomes the new absolute, conceptual end-stop, the transcendental signifier. Culture is the point at which one’s spade hits rock bottom, the skin out of which one cannot leap, the horizon over which one is unable to peer.”⁸⁵⁰ This would certainly seem to be borne out by the proliferation of cultural centers in modern life, and not just those of the monumental urban variety.⁸⁵¹

It is true that Derrida’s brief intervention into the debate on “the concept of structure” is primarily concerned with the center as a metaphor as it historically structures metaphysics.⁸⁵² But Derrida’s remarks on structure and the center must be applicable to actual space for his metaphor to be salient, otherwise the result would be catachresis. In any case, Derrida was

consciously and knowledgably participating in a broader discourse on space taking place particularly in France, a discourse that included Gaston Bachelard,⁸⁵³ Georges Matoré,⁸⁵⁴ and Henri Lefebvre, among others, the latter of whom regarded Derrida's intervention with tremendous hostility. Although he may have thought he was refuting Derrida, Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*⁸⁵⁵ can be read more productively as a response and an elaboration of Derrida's brief remarks. Lefebvre sees his basic dispute with Derrida as a question of whether language precedes, accompanies, or follows the actual production of social space. In any case Lefebvre stipulates that "an already produced space can be decoded, can be *read*. Such a space implies a process of signification." In his account, a certain language common to architects, urbanists, and planners based on Euclidean geometry, flourishing "roughly from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth" that codified the relationship between town and country, finally collapsed.⁸⁵⁶ Capitalism produced "abstract space," in which the town or city, once the "fountainhead of wealth and centre of historical space, has disintegrated."⁸⁵⁷ Knowledge that had been centered "around a particular focal point, a kernel, a concept or a group of concepts," lasting only "for a finite length of time, long or short, before dissolving or splitting," was toppled with the removal of that center.⁸⁵⁸

Although his timeline is no more specific than Derrida's, Lefebvre seems to have in mind the turn of the twentieth century as the point of this particular epistemological collapse, precisely the moment the city was recognized to have grown beyond all reasonable bounds and become the modern metropolis, and planners became preoccupied with creating monumental urban centers. In Derridean terms, it was time for a new center to substitute the old, a new transcendental signified; Sedlmayr might have described it as the new master problem of the age; for Eliade it would simply have been the hollow nostalgia for a once-vital primal form. In McLuhan's terms,

the old image of the city had to be recovered at any cost. For Eagleton in the twenty-first century, it has become abundantly clear that the current transcendental signifier is culture. In this composite narrative I have constructed, the twentieth-century effort by urban planners to reinscribe abstract capitalist space with the monumental center becomes understandable as an attempt to render the urban fabric of the modern metropolis legible, and to array knowledge around the transcendental, perhaps empty, twin signifiers of civics and culture. Whether such an account is persuasive, the modern obsession with the center exemplified by the forgoing thinkers is, like the grouping of public buildings, another symptom of the same root phenomenon.

5.2 Harmony, Utopia, Heterotopia

For Jane Jacobs, it precisely the desire for premodern harmony, the motive force behind the monumental center, that elicits her harshest criticism of modern planning practices. She describes this impulse as “deeply reactionary,”⁸⁵⁹ indeed “Utopian,” a term uses consistently throughout *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* as a pejorative.⁸⁶⁰ Thanks largely to her withering attack, the discourse on planning and the monumental center in particular has since been imbricated in the vehement postwar controversy over utopia, a controversy that only appeared more urgent after 1989 when, as Charity Scribner remarks, “State socialism’s ruin signaled that industrial modernity had exhausted its utopian potential.”⁸⁶¹ The literature on utopia is vast,⁸⁶² but the anchors in the twentieth-century debate are Karl Mannheim, who champions utopia as a necessary platform from which to critique modern society,⁸⁶³ and Karl R. Popper, for whom the striving for wholesale perfection in society rather than piecemeal improvement leads inevitably to totalitarianism and suffering on a massive scale.⁸⁶⁴ Jacobs’ use

of the terms utopia and utopian clearly aligns her with Popper, and *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* has made city planning a lasting if somewhat minor site in the controversy over social and political utopias in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, a status affirmed by later writers such as Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter.⁸⁶⁵ For Rowe and Koetter, “the predicament of architecture” owes to the fact that “it is always, in some way or other, concerned with amelioration, by some standard, however dimly perceived, of making things better.”⁸⁶⁶ In other words, to build something or to seek to improve the built environment in any way is an act of optimism, even if only to the extent that one hopes a building will be maintained and not vandalized. The fear that such optimism always runs the risk of spilling over into a narcotizing utopianism and a thirst for unbridled social engineering may seem far-fetched. But because of this blurred line, and lest we regard every free library as a beachhead for totalitarianism, it is necessary to understand exactly what is at stake when Jacobs dismisses city planning, and the City Beautiful monumental center in particular, as utopian.

The echoes of Popper in Jacobs are unmistakable.⁸⁶⁷ When Jacobs asserts that “modern city planning has been burdened from its beginnings with the unsuitable aim of converting cities into disciplined works of art,”⁸⁶⁸ one is immediately reminded of Popper’s more dire warning that the Platonic decree “that society should be beautiful like a work of art leads only too easily to violent measures.”⁸⁶⁹ When Jacobs condemns American planners for demanding that “the complete physical environment of a community and all the arrangements that comprise it must be in the total, absolute and unchallenged control of the project’s architects,”⁸⁷⁰ one is reminded of “the aestheticist’s refusal to compromise” in Popper.⁸⁷¹ Jacobs’ autocratic modern planner, it would seem, is the younger sibling of Popper’s “Utopian engineer.” Popper offers another stern caution,

The reconstruction of society is a big undertaking which must cause considerable inconvenience to many, and for a considerable span of time. Accordingly, the Utopian engineer will have to be deaf to many complaints; in fact, it will be part of his business to suppress unreasonable objections. . . . But with it, he must invariably suppress reasonable criticism also.⁸⁷²

Jacobs further declares modern city planning to be a “pseudoscience,”⁸⁷³ buttressed by a myopic, over-specialized professionalism, and a misplaced faith in expertise. This recalls Popper’s denunciation of social engineering as “scientism,” a practice of chicanery that only superficially apes of the methods of real science.⁸⁷⁴ Jacobs’ harshest accusation is that modern city planners are “incurious” about the true nature of real cities, “and are guided instead by principles derived from the behavior and appearance of towns, suburbs, tuberculosis sanatoria, fairs, and imaginary dream cities—from anything but cities themselves.”⁸⁷⁵

This language is strikingly similar to that of another critic of utopia, Eric Voegelin, although the lectures he gave on the subject in the 1950s were not available in English until after Jacobs’ book.⁸⁷⁶ Briefly, Voegelin views such modern social movements as Hegelianism, Marxism, psychoanalysis, and National Socialism as modern forms of Gnosticism, a secular alternative that has always shadowed Christianity in western civilization.⁸⁷⁷ Indeed, for Voegelin, these pernicious movements form the basis of modernity itself. Utopia, from this view, is a perversion of the Christian eschatology in which the paradise of the afterlife is mistaken as immanent or possible in this world. Voegelin intones, “the fallacious immanentization of the Christian eschaton” makes man responsible for his own perfection as well as the perfection of the world.⁸⁷⁸ The pronouncements of early advocates of the City Beautiful would seem to place planning among these Gnosticisms.⁸⁷⁹ Both Jacobs’ incurious city planners and Voegelin’s modern

Gnostics can be said to shrug aside reality, to indulge in what he terms a “second reality,” an edited view of human nature. For Jacobs, this is a blindness to the empirical workings of the living city; for Voegelin, is the denial that human ontology is grounded in a transcendent, otherworldly God.⁸⁸⁰ In either case, when a social movement is based on such flawed assumptions concerning human nature, whether it concerns the planning of a city or of a whole society, the inevitable result is social catastrophe. Certainly as Jacobs battled New York planner Robert Moses, comparisons to Voegelin’s worst dictatorial examples would not have been out of the question.⁸⁸¹ American city planning and urban renewal from the 1950s on affected hundreds of thousands if not millions of lives, certainly comparable in scope if not severity to the more overtly political social movements that were the targets of Voegelin’s (and Popper’s) ire.

The trajectory of the monumental center in America, particularly the cultural centers of such cities as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit, from its origin as a conservative, elitist, and philanthropic attempt to create a New Jerusalem amid the modern metropolis to its morphing into a progressive site of protest, marks it as a peculiar kind of utopia. For Foucault, utopia could never be realized; his unstated implication is that, at best, one might plan a utopia but the best one could hope for is to wind up with a heterotopia (although there are many manifestations of unplanned heterotopias as well). Libraries and museums, the nuclei of American urban cultural centers, are for Foucault quintessential examples of nineteenth-century heterotopias.⁸⁸² He asserts,

First there are the utopias. Utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces.

There are also [...] places that do exist [...] which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, [...]. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias.”⁸⁸³

As productive as these posthumously-published remarks have been, one might wish from Foucault a bit more guidance on the nature and function of heterotopias.⁸⁸⁴

Whether American planners in the early twentieth century aimed for utopia but succeeded only in creating heterotopia, or even succeeded in creating a center, is an open question. An organism like the modern metropolis perhaps cannot have a center insofar as any center is a fiction.⁸⁸⁵ Another way of saying this is that an urban center is only real so far as it is legible. How can one tell when one is in a civic center or a cultural center unless one can read the architecture, the activities, or even the signage as distinguishing it from the surrounding urban fabric? One can only learn to read such signs, and this study has been an attempt to further such a process of learning.

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Notes

¹ Patrick Abercrombie, "Cleveland: A Civic Centre Project," *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 2, no. 2 (July 1911), p. 131.

² *Ibid*, p. 131.

³ *Ibid*, p. 131.

⁴ Schuyler continues, "Yet it is impossible to find an ancient Spanish settlement which did not begin with this to us novel notion as a primary essential of its existence and growth. [...] Everywhere [in Mexico] you find in the Spanish settlements the civic centre or central Plaza; everywhere the "Alameda," or public garden and place of recreation. All this ought to instruct while it shames us. And even this is not the worst of it. From the earliest settlement down to the present day, the Spanish settlements show immensely more of artistic sensibility than the English settlements." Montgomery Schuyler, "The Architecture of Mexico City, Part I: Ancient," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 32, no. 3 (September 1912), p. 215.

⁵ Patrick Abercrombie, "Town Planning Literature: A Brief Summary of Its Present Extent," *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (October 1915), p. 94.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 95.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 94.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 85. For original source, see E.P. Goodrich and George B. Ford, *Report of Suggested Plan of Procedure for City Plan commission, City of Jersey City, New Jersey* (Jersey City NJ: City Plan Commission, 1913), p. 6.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 85. Goodrich and Ford's original passage continues, "We believe that the first attention in laying out a city planning scheme should be given to that which will make the city as a city a better place to work in and a better place to live in. A city should be made efficient in the same way the manufacturer studies for efficiency in his private plant." Goodrich and Ford, p. 6.

¹⁰ Arnold Brunner, "Cleveland's Group Plan," *Proceedings of the Eighth National Conference on City Planning, Cleveland, June 5-7, 1916* (New York: 1916), pp. 14-24; quote p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 22; Brunner quotes a brief passage from the original 1902 Group Plan promising a broader consideration of parks and boulevards connected to the grouping of public buildings, but in context it appears rather speculative: "Your commissioners will take up the study of this problem with a view to suggesting some solution, but it did not seem best for them to make any more detailed suggestion at this time, until the main part of the scheme—the grouping of the buildings—was more definitely determined upon." See Daniel H. Burnham, John M. Carrère, and Arnold W. Brunner, *The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland: Report Made to the Honorable Tom L. Johnson, Mayor, and to the Honorable Board of Public Service* (Cleveland: August 1903), n.p. [p. 5].

¹² In Cleveland, comprehensive planning faced obstacles into the 1920s. See Ronald R. Weiner, *Lake Effects: A History of Urban Policy Making in Cleveland, 1825-1929* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), esp. ch. 7, pp. 116-132.

¹³ Brunner, "Cleveland's Group Plan," p. 24.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 24.

¹⁵ On “monumental control of the ground” versus the skyscraper, see Daniel M. Bluestone, “Detroit’s City Beautiful and the Problem of Commerce,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 47, no. 3 (September 1988), p. 246.

¹⁶ On the erstwhile linkage between urbanity and sophistication, see for example Edwin S. Ramage, *Urbanitas: Ancient Sophistication and Refinement* (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press/University of Cincinnati, 1973) and Brent D. Shaw, “Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk,” *Ancient Society*, vol. 13/14 (1982/1983), pp. 5-31.

¹⁷ See the discussion on the postwar Master Plan of Detroit in chapter 4.4, below.

¹⁸ On the placement of museums in urban parks, see Ingrid A. Steffensen-Bruce, *Marble Palaces, Temples of Art: Art Museums, Architecture, and American Culture, 1890-1930* (Lewisburg, 1998), pp. 83, 94, 96, 215.

¹⁹ A museum in a park is present in Charles Mulford Robinson’s earliest conceptualizations of the cultural center, which appeared in 1909. See Charles Mulford Robinson, “Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, vol. 21, no. 19 (February 6, 1909) [*The Pittsburgh Survey II: The Place and Its Social Forces*], pp. 801-826, and Robinson, “The City Beautiful: Suggestions” [November 1907], in *Los Angeles, California—The City Beautiful: Report of the Municipal Art Commission for the City of Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: William J. Porter, 1909), n.p. [pp. 29, 32].

²⁰ Detroit City Plan Commission, *Detroit Cultural Center*, (Detroit, n.d., [c. 1965]), pp. 10-12.

²¹ Jonathan Ritter’s 2007 doctoral thesis is an important recent contribution to the study of the civic center in many respects, but is flawed in assuming the more narrow definition of the civic center as an administrative governmental and judicial center to have been the term’s only meaning. Also, it almost completely ignores the advent of the cultural center as emerging as a distinct typology from the broader concept of the civic center. See Jonathan Ritter, *The American Civic Center: Urban Ideals and Compromise on the Ground*, doctoral dissertation, New York University, May 2007.

²² See William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), and Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

²³ Wilson in particular makes polemic and selective use of several key statements by planners that, when read more fully in context, are clearly assertions on behalf of civic embellishment and civic centers within comprehensive planning, not repudiations thereof. See Wilson, pp. 287-288. Peterson also tends to overdramatize organizational maneuvering rather than underscore continuities. See also Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, pp. 240-255.

²⁴ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961[repr. Vintage, 1989]), pp. 24-25.

²⁵ In *Death and Life*, Jacobs never uses the term “monumental center” per se. However, beside “Center Monumental” as already noted, she uses “monumental cultural center” on pp. 93 and 161. I will employ the term monumental center throughout the present work when the term civic center, referring to the class encompassing both civic centers and cultural centers, may lead to confusion.

²⁶ See Wilson, pp. 3 (note 2, p. 307) and 301.

²⁷ I am following Giulio Carlo Argan in his somewhat elusive elaboration of typology. He claims, “It is never formulated *a priori* but always deduced from a series of instances.” By the time it can be recognized (and, one might add, named), a type “already has an existence as an answer to a complex of ideological, religious, or practical demands which arise in a given historical condition.” Argan further remarks that “typology is a notional base on which formal development” rests. See Giulio Carlo Argan, “On the Typology of Architecture,” in Kate Nesbitt, ed., *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory, 1965-1995* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), pp. 243, 245.

²⁸ Charles Mulford Robinson notes, “To say that the world’s fair created the subsequent aesthetic effort in municipal life [would be] false; to say that it immensely strengthened, quickened, and encouraged it would be true. The fair

gave tangible shape to a desire that was arising out of the larger wealth, the commoner travel, and the provision of the essentials of life; but the movement has had a special impetus since 1893.” Charles Mulford Robinson, “Improvement in City Life, Part III: Aesthetic Progress,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 83, no. 500 (June 1899), p. 771. References to the influence of the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 on American city planning are ubiquitous, and the literature is vast and growing. See for example Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 55-73 and William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 53-74.

²⁹ See the chapters 2.2 and 3.1, on Pittsburgh and Cleveland respectively, below.

³⁰ On “the American discovery of Europe,” see Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe* (New York: The Century Co., 1895), pp. 410-412; Lucy Fitch Perkins, “Municipal Art (Civic Progress, Part 5),” *The Chautauquan*, vol. 36, no. 5 (February 1903), p. 524; Lloyd J. Graybar, *Albert Shaw of The Review of Reviews: An Intellectual Biography* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974), pp. 39-42, 64, 68; William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 85-86; Axel R. Schäfer, *American Progressives and German Social Reform, 1875-1920: Social Ethics, Moral Control, and the Regulatory State in a Transatlantic Context* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), pp. 88-94, 113; and Andrew Lees and Lynn Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914* (Cambridge UK / New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 169-170.

³¹ Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, pp. 410-412. On the importance of Vienna in modern city planning, see Carl E. Schorske, “The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism,” *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books/Random House, 1981), pp. 24-115.

³² See Charles Mulford Robinson, “Improvement in City Life, Part III: Aesthetic Progress,” *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 83, no. 500 (June 1899), p. 772.

³³ Mel Scott is one of the few recent planning historians to offer a cursory account of the Model City (reduced finally to a “model street”) at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, but does not delve into its conceptualization and planning which had been going on since 1899. See Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890: A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1971), pp. 69-71. Peterson gives it even more cursory and incomplete treatment in *The Birth of City Planning*, p. 147. For the history of the Model City leading up to the St. Louis fair, I draw upon William S. Crandall, “The Model City: A Suggestion for the St. Louis Exposition,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 5, no. 3 (September 1901), pp. 670-674; “Municipal Art at the St. Louis Exposition,” *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, vol. 11, no. 4 (October 1901), p. 169; “The Model City at the St. Louis Fair,” *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, vol. 11, no. 5 (November 1901), p. 225; “The St. Louis Exhibition and the Municipal Art Exhibit,” *American Architect and Building News*, vol. 75, no. 1370 (March 29, 1902), pp. 98; “The Municipal Art Society of New York and the proposed ‘Model City’ at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition,” *American Architect and Building News*, vol. 76, no. 1373 (April 19, 1902), p. 17; Charles Zueblin, “The White City and After (The Civic Renaissance),” *The Chautauquan*, vol. 38, no. 4 (December 1903), pp. 373-384; Albert Kelsey, “A Municipal Exhibit,” *Architectural Review*, vol. 11, no. 8 (July 1904), pp. 185-188; “The Model City at St. Louis,” *Charities: A Review of Local and General Philanthropy*, vol. 12, no. 6 (February 6, 1904), pp. 126-127.

³⁴ On Shaw’s approval, see William S. Crandall, “The Model City: A Suggestion for the St. Louis Exposition,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 5, no. 3 (September 1901), p. 674, and “Municipal Art at the St. Louis Exposition,” *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, vol. 11, no. 4 (October 1901), p. 169.

³⁵ Charles Mulford Robinson, “The Plan of the Model City,” *The Criterion*, no. 3 (March 1902), pp. 34-38.

³⁶ See Scott, p. 71.

³⁷ John De Witt Warner was the first to use the term civic center in reference to grouping public buildings in 1898. He and his New York Art Commission and Municipal Art Society colleague Milo Roy Maltbie were the first to elaborate a conception of grouping under that term over the next few years, most famously in Warner’s 1902 article for *Municipal Affairs*, which they co-edited. Warner affirmed his novel use of the term in a letter to Bernard J.S. Cahill. See John De Witt Warner, “Matters that Suggest Themselves,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1898), p. 128; Warner, “Civic Centers,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1902), pp. 1-23; Milo Roy Maltbie, *Civic*

Art in Northern Europe: A Report to the Art Commission of The City of New York (October 12, 1903), p. 3; Maltbie, "The Grouping of Public Buildings," *Outlook*, vol. 78, no. 1 (September-December 1904), pp. 37-48; and Bernard J.S. Cahill, "The Bond Issue and the Burnham Plan—A Study in 'Panhandling,'" *The Architect and Engineer of California Pacific Coast States*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1909), pp. 69-71. For background on Warner and Maltbie, see Michele H. Bogart, *The Politics of Urban Beauty: New York & its Art Commission* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 44-47.

³⁸ See Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, "General Theory of the City," *Report on a Plan for San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1905), pp. 40-41.

³⁹ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh," *Charities and the Commons*, vol. 21, no. 19 (February 6, 1909) [*The Pittsburgh Survey II: The Place and Its Social Forces*], pp. 801-826.

⁴⁰ Charles Mulford Robinson, "The City Beautiful: Suggestions" [November 1907], in *Los Angeles, California—The City Beautiful: Report of the Municipal Art Commission for the City of Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: William J. Porter, 1909), n.p. [pp. 29, 32]. See chapters 2.1 and 3, below.

⁴¹ See I.T. Frary, "The Cleveland Museum of Art, Hubbell & Benes, Architects," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 40, no. 3 (September 1916), pp. 195-211; 211; Charlotte Rumbold, "Cleveland's Progress in City Planning," *Proceedings of the Twelfth National Conference on City Planning, Cincinnati, April 19-22, 1920* (Cincinnati: National Conference on City Planning, 1920), pp. 22-26, and "City's Dream of Culture Riveted," *The Plain Dealer*, December 26, 1929, p. 1; Charlotte Rumbold, "What a Civic Center Means to the Citizens Who Create It," *Planning Problems of Town, City and Region: Papers and Discussions at the Twenty-Second National Conference on City Planning Held at Denver, Colorado, June 23 to 26, 1930* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell Co., 1930), p. 196. This is further elaborated in chapter 3 on Cleveland, below.

⁴² See R.L. Duffus, "Civic Centres Crown Our Proud Cities: A Movement in Which New York is Urged to Join Is Giving American a Nobler Architecture," *The New York Times*, February 2, 1930, pp. 81-82. This can also be seen at various points in chapters 2 and 4, on Pittsburgh and Detroit respectively, below.

⁴³ See City Plan Commission [Detroit], *The Civic Center Plan [City of Detroit – A Master Plan Report, No. 3 of a Series]*, (Detroit: October 1946); *Proposed Cultural Center Plan [City of Detroit – A Master Plan Report, No. 7 of a Series]* (Detroit: April 1948); *Detroit Master Plan [Plan for a Finer City]*, (Detroit: 1951), pp. 92, 94. This is further elaborated in particular in chapter 4.4, below.

⁴⁴ For postwar cultural centers, see chapters 1.4.3, 2.5, and 4.4.6, below.

⁴⁵ Lawrence J. Vale and Sam Bass Warner Jr., eds., *Imaging the City: Continuing Struggles and New Directions* (New Brunswick NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, 2001), p. xv.

⁴⁶ Jonathan Ritter, for example, only speculates in passing that the term civic center "perhaps better expressed the public ambition of City Beautiful reformers, while appearing less technical and strictly architectural" than phrases such as "Group Plan." Jon A. Peterson remarks, "Before 1902, 'civic center' commonly referred to a meeting place for the discussion and debate of civic affairs, not a civic architectural ensemble." The former leaves much to be desired; the latter is factually inaccurate and misleading. See Jonathan Ritter, *The American Civic Center: Urban Ideals and Compromise on the Ground*, doctoral dissertation (New York: New York University, May 2007), p. 76, and Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 376n15.

⁴⁷ David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2003).

⁴⁸ David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2003), pp. 74-117. See particular sections 1.8, "Facture," and 1.14, "Notionality," pp. 74-77 and 107-114.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 107, 344-430.

⁵⁰ Summers, note 4.1, n.p. (p. 672).

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 251.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 107.

⁵³ Kubler, George. *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven / London: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 25.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 25-26.

⁵⁷ See note 21, above.

⁵⁸ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, 1983). On his overall project, see esp. Williams' introduction, pp. 11-26.

⁵⁹ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press 1958, 1983), pp. xviii-xix.

⁶⁰ Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Company, 1878). On its popularity, see Catherine Hoover Voorsanger, "Clarence Cook," *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*, exhibition catalog (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Rizzoli, 1986), p. 413.

⁶¹ "The City Beautiful," editorial, *Appleton's Journal*, vol. 6, no. 13 (no. 33) (March 1879), pp. 280-281.

⁶² John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come* [part 1 (1678); part 2 (1684)] (New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2005).

⁶³ References to the "Palace Beautiful" (part 1) and "House Beautiful" (part 2), built by the Lord of the Hill to shelter wayfaring pilgrims, is commonly interpreted as representing "the visible Church of Christ on earth," i.e., the congregation of publicly professing Christians. See "Key to the Pilgrim's Progress," in John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come* (New York: William Borradaile, 1822), p. 479; George B. Cheever, *Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan* (Glasgow and London: William Collins, 1839), p. 196; W.J., *A Short Exposition of The Pilgrim's Progress, with a Narrative of the Life of John Bunyan, in Six Lectures* (London: John Farquar Shaw, 1857), p. 53; Thomas Babington Macaulay, "John Bunyan (*Edinburgh Review*, December 1831)," *The Complete Works of Thomas Babington Macaulay: Critical and Historical Essays*, vol. 1 (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1910), pp. 746, 755; Macaulay, *The Pilgrim's Progress and John Bunyan: An Essay by Lord Macauley* (New York: Clark and Maynard, Publishers, 1882), pp. 13, 18, 26; and Macaulay, *Selected Essays of Macaulay: Milton, Bunyan, Johnson, Goldsmith, Madame D'Arblay*, ed. Samuel Thurber (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1892), pp. 49, 54.

⁶⁴ Edwin Doak Mead, "Editor's Table," *The New England Magazine*, vol. 10, no. 3 (May 1894), pp. 387-392; see also Rev. Charles G. Ames, "Boston—The City of God," lecture, *The New England Magazine*, vol. 10, no. 6 (August 1894), pp. 769-777.

⁶⁵ Mead, p. 387.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 388.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 389-392.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 392.

⁶⁹ Ames, p. 769.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 773.

⁷¹ See T.J. Cobden-Sanderson, "Of Art and Life," in *Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities: A Series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896* (London: Rivington, Percival, & Co., 1897), pp. 43-44.

- ⁷² Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1895).
- ⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 9.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 10.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 14.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 171.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 202-203.
- ⁷⁸ John James Piatt, "Centennial Ode," in Edward A. Roberts, comp., *Official Report of the Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the City of Cleveland and the Settlement of the Western Reserve* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Printing & Publishing Co., 1896), pp. 65-69; quote from p. 69; reprinted in Emerson Venable, ed., *Poets of Ohio* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke, 1909), p. 334.
- ⁷⁹ On Cleveland's early Group Plan, see Walter C. Leedy, "Cleveland's Struggle for Self-Identity," in *Modern Architecture in America: Visions and Revisions*, ed. Richard Guy Wilson (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), pp. 74-105, esp. pp. 78-82.
- ⁸⁰ The "Shining City on a Hill" was a favorite trope of President Ronald Reagan throughout his political career even before speechwriter Peggy Noonan helped turn it into an unctuous cliché in the 1980s. See Larry Witham, *A City Upon a Hill: How Sermons Changed the Course of American History* (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2007), p. 208; Amos Kiewe, Davis W. Houck, and Davis L. Houck, *A Shining City on a Hill: Ronald Reagan's Economic Rhetoric, 1951-1989* (New York: Praeger, 1991), p. 216; and William Safire, *Safire's Political Dictionary* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 126.
- ⁸¹ Matthew 5:14.
- ⁸² If Piatt was aware of the Group Plan, inspired by the White City, there is no indication of this in his ode.
- ⁸³ See Charles R. Lamb, "Civic Architecture from its Constructive Side," *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1898), p. 72, and Halsey Ricardo, "Of Color in the Architecture of Cities," in *Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities: A Series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896* (London: Rivington, Percival, & Co., 1897), pp. 259-260.
- ⁸⁴ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Improvement in City Life," *Atlantic Monthly*, Part I. "Philanthropic Progress," vol. 83, no. 498 (April 1899), pp. 524-537; Part II. "Education Progress," vol. 83, no. 499 (May 1899), pp. 654-664; Part III. "Aesthetic Progress," vol. 83, no. 500 (June 1899), pp. 771-785.
- ⁸⁵ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Improvement in City Life, Part III: Aesthetic Progress," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 83, no. 500 (June 1899), p. 772.
- ⁸⁶ Robinson writes, "The happier people of the rising City Beautiful will grow in love for it, in pride in it. They will be better citizens, because better instructed, more artistic, and filled with civic pride." This appears in the concluding paragraph of his first published article on city improvement, a 3-part, 40-page treatment of the subject. *Ibid*, p. 785.
- ⁸⁷ Charles Mulford Robinson, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities; or, the Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics* (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1901), p. 288.
- ⁸⁸ See for example the list of books on "Civic Improvement [...] compiled by Miss Elfrida Everhart, of the reference Department, [...] intended to call attention to the City Beautiful movement." *Monthly Bulletin Published by the Carnegie Library of Atlanta*, vol. 5, no. 8-9 (August-September 1908), p. 1.
- ⁸⁹ Wilson, p. 285.
- ⁹⁰ Wilson, p. 301.
- ⁹¹ Wilson concedes he is offering "a revisionist planning history" and to "advance a set of arguments about the City Beautiful movement." Wilson, p. 4.

⁹² See in particular Jon A. Peterson, "City Beautiful: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," in Donald A. Krueckeberg, ed. *Introduction to Planning History in the United States* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1983), pp. 40-57.

⁹³ Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, p. 96; Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, p. 1.

⁹⁴ Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 156.

⁹⁵ Wilson, p. 91. For Wilson, the theorizing begins with such publications as Frederick L. Ford, comp., *The Grouping of Public Buildings* (Hartford CT: Municipal Art Society of Hartford, 1904); Albert Kelsey, "The City Possible: Utility, Beauty, Economy," *The Booklovers Magazine*, no. 2 (August 1903), pp. 162-173; Charles Zueblin, "The White City and After (The Civic Renaissance)," *The Chautauquan*, vol. 38, no. 4 (December 1903), pp. 373-384. However, it is difficult to see how these writings contain much in the way of a theory of civic centers.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 44.

⁹⁷ Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, p. 265.

⁹⁸ Ritter, *The American Civic Center*, p. 9.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ "The protest of great French cities like Lyons, Nancy and Bordeaux against holding the next great World's Fair, in 1900, in Paris is a significant testimony to the fact that Paris is not France [...]. With the commercial expansion of France and the rapid growth of civic centres, these great municipalities have developed a consciousness and pride of their own which awakens jealousy of the preponderance of the capital." "Paris and Other French Cities," *The Watchman*, vol. 76, p. 37 (September 12, 1895), p. 2.

¹⁰¹ "Dr. Busch's Bismarck," *The Christian Union*, April 30, 1879, p. 409.

¹⁰² "Lay Delegation Difficulties," letter to the editor, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, January 9, 1862, p. 10, and "Face Both Ways," *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, vol. 82, no. 36 (September 4, 1890), p. 568.

¹⁰³ Mariana Griswold [Mrs. Schuyler] van Rensselaer, "Canterbury Cathedral," *The Century Magazine*, vol. 33, no. 6 (April 1887), p. 838.

¹⁰⁴ Rev. A.D. Mayo, "Our Public Schools: The Two Parties Fighting for Their Control," extracts of an address, *The New York Times*, August 1, 1873, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ See William T. Stead, "The Progress of Man," *The Universal Review*, vol. 2, no. 8 (December 1888), pp. 449-468; "Programme" and "To All English Speaking Folk," *The Review of Reviews* [London], vol. 1, no. 1 (January 1890), pp. 14-20; Stead, "The Reunion of Christendom," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 3, no. 16 (May 1891), pp. 362-367; Stead, "The Next Step Toward the Civic Church," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 5, no. 25 (February 1892) pp. 52-60; Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago! A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer* (London: Review of Reviews, 1894), p. 334-335; and Albert Shaw, "The Laymen's Movement," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 5, no. 25 (February 1892), pp. 45-60.

¹⁰⁶ William T. Stead, "The Next Step Toward the Civic Church," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 5, no. 25 (February 1892) pp. 52-60; quote pp. 57, 59.

¹⁰⁷ Stead, "The Civic Church," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 8, no. 4 (October 1893), pp. 438-445; quote p. 438.

¹⁰⁸ The term was probably devised for a headline by Albert Shaw, editor of the American edition of Shaw's *The Review of Reviews*. See Albert Shaw, "The Laymen's Movement," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 5, no. 25 (February 1892), pp. 45-60, esp. p. 59.

¹⁰⁹ Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago! A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer* (London: Review of Reviews, 1894), p. 334-335. On this book and its reception in post-World's Fair Chicago, see James Burkhart Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 214, and Paul T. Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880-1940* (University Park

PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), p. 64-65. Albert Shaw's biographer claims that this book embarrassed Shaw and further strained their already difficult professional relationship.

¹¹⁰ The term civic center seems to have been devised by Albert Shaw, editor of the American edition of *The Review of Reviews*, in the headline "The Proposed Civic Centre" that accompanies a reprint of one of Stead's seminal addresses, fusing together words used but not hitherto conjoined by Stead. See Albert Shaw, "The Laymen's Movement," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 5, no. 25 (February 1892), pp. 45-60; headline p. 59. Stead later grudgingly acknowledges the term as a poor substitute for civic church. See Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* p. 334-335.

¹¹¹ W.T. Stead, "The Next Step Toward the Civic Church," in Albert Shaw, "The Laymen's Movement," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 5, no. 25 (February 1892) pp. 52-60.

¹¹² Albert Shaw, "Our Civic Renaissance," *The Review of Reviews* [New York], vol. 11, no. 4 (April 1895), p. 415.

¹¹³ "Abolish the Alleys: One of the Reforms Undertaken by the Civic Center," *The Washington Post*, December 15, 1896, p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Improvement in City Life, Part III: Aesthetic Progress," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 83, no. 500 (June 1899), p. 772. Robinson also singles out the Washington Civic Center for praise in Robinson, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities: Or, The Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons and the Knickerbocker Press, 1906), pp. x, 31.

¹¹⁵ See "The Library, University Settlement," *The New York Times*, December 13, 1896, Sunday Magazine, p. 15. On the Lower East Side's Neighborhood Guild (later the University Settlement) as the first such settlement house, see Bayrd Still, *Urban America: A History with Documents* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), p. 293; see also Mary Frances Isom, "The Library as a Civic Center," *Public Libraries*, vol. 19, no. 2 (March 1914), pp. 93-96.

¹¹⁶ The literature on the schoolhouse civic and social center movement, see John Dewey, "The School as Social Centre," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-First Annual Meeting Held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 7-11, 1902* (Chicago: National Education Association and University of Chicago Press, 1902), pp. 373-383; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, "Public Beauty and Good City Government," in American Park and Outdoor Art Association, *General Addresses of the Sixth Annual Meeting: Boston, Aug. 5, 6, 7, 1902* [vol. 6, pt. 2] (Rochester: January 1903), pp. 36-43; Charles Eliot, "The Full Utilization of a Public School Plant," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Second Annual Meeting Held at Boston, Massachusetts, July 6-10, 1903* (Winona MN and Chicago: National Education Association and University of Chicago Press, 1902), pp. 241-247; William R. Hood, "Recent Progress in City Schools: Social and Recreational Centers," *Report of the Commissioner of Education, in 2 Volumes*, vol. 1, [Reports of the Department of the Interior] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 155-157; Edward J. Ward, "Civic and Social Center Bureau," excerpted in "Report of the Dean of the Extension Division, Department of General Information and Welfare," in The University of Wisconsin, *Biennial Report of the Board of Regents for the Years 1910-11 and 1911-12* (Madison WI: Democrat Printing Company, State Printer, 1912), pp. 172-17; Edward J. Ward, *The Schoolhouse as the Polling Place*, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, no. 3, whole number 638 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915); Edward J. Ward, "The Schoolhouse as the Civic and Social Center of the Community," in National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fiftieth Annual Meeting Held at Chicago, Illinois, July 6-12, 1912* (Ann Arbor and Chicago: National Education Association and University of Chicago Press, 1912), pp. 436-449; Clarence Arthur Perry, "A Survey of the Social-Center Movement," *The Elementary School Teacher*, vol. 13, no. 3 (November 1912), pp. 127-128; Edward J. Ward, "Use of the Schoolhouse for Social Centre Development," *The New York Times*, November 17, 1912, p. X11; Josiah Strong, "The Social Center Movement" [Address delivered before the First National Conference on Civic and social Center Development, at Madison, Wis., October 25, 1911], *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, Serial no. 455, General Series no. 302 (Madison WI: The University of Wisconsin, 1911), pp. 4, 8, 9; Woodrow Wilson, "The Social Center: A Means of Common Understanding" [An address delivered by Hon. Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, before the First National Conference on Civic and Social Center Development, at Madison, Wis., October 25, 1911], *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, Serial No. 470, General Series, No. 306 (Madison WI: The University of Wisconsin, 1911), pp. 3-4;

¹¹⁷ Woodrow Wilson, "The Social Center: A Means of Common Understanding" [An address delivered by Hon. Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, before the First National Conference on Civic and Social Center Development, at Madison, Wis., October 25, 1911], *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, Serial No. 470, General Series, No. 306 (Madison WI: The University of Wisconsin, 1911), pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁸ On Wilson's campaign and social centers, see Edward J. Ward, *The Social Center* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1913), p. vi. On Ward's orchestration of Wisconsin legislation and efforts to place social centers on the national agenda through Senator Robert LaFollette and Governor Wilson, see Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 66.

¹¹⁹ "Miss Wilson Visits Greenwich Village; President's Eldest Daughter Guest of Honor at New Civic Centre; One of Her Own Plans," *The New York Times*, April 29, 1913, p. 4.

¹²⁰ See "Schools as Civic Centers; Smith Bill, Allowing Use of Buildings, Indorsed by Supt. Davidson," *The Washington Post*, May 9, 1913, p. 14; "Many New Teachers; Board of Education Orders Changes in Staff; Hears Plea for Play Room," *The Washington Post*, October 16, 1913, p. 2; Homer Smith, "Wants Schools Open; Homer Smith Would Educate Both Parents and Children; Advantage of Civic Centers," *The Washington Post*, November 30, 1913, p. 14; and "Won by Miss Wilson; She Smooths Way for Use of School Buildings; Conference at White House," *The Washington Post*, December 14, 1913, p. ES 19. On S. 4316, the "Social and Civic Center Bill," see George F. Bowerman, "The Report of the Librarian: School Stations and Social Centers," Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees and Sixteenth Annual Report of the Librarian of the Public Library of the District of Columbia, for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1914 (Washington [D.C.], 1914), p. 20.

¹²¹ See Edward J. Ward, "Summary of the Report of the School Extension Committee," *Proceedings of the Buffalo Conference for Good City Government and the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League, Held November 14, 15, 16, 17, 1910*, Clinton Rodgers Woodruff, ed. (National Municipal League, 1910), pp. 353-374; *Tenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I*, "The Rural School as a Community Center," B.M. Davis, ed., and *Part II*, "The City School as a Community Center," S. Chester Parker, ed., 2 vols., (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1911); University of Washington, "The Civic Center Idea," *The Social and Civic Center*, University Extension Series No. 2, General Series No. 63, Leaflet No. 1 (Seattle WA: University of Washington, 1912), p. 3; and Lyda Judson Hanifan, *The Community Center* (Boston: Silver, Burdett & Company, 1920), p. 8.

¹²² On Warner, see Michele H. Bogart, *The Politics of Urban Beauty: New York & its Art Commission* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 44-47.

¹²³ It is inconceivable that Warner could have been unaware of Stead's (and Shaw's) employment of the term civic center in progressive urban discourse in the 1890s. In addition to the bibliography presumably compiled by Warner cited in note 124 above, Warner was a U.S. congressman in the 1890s, the heyday of the Washington Civic Center, an avowedly Steadian group, and their activity in the nation's capital. Further, both Stead and the Washington Civic Center are given coverage by *Municipal Affairs*. In particular, a subsequent review of Stead's *Despairing Democracy* by Robert C. Brooks suggests that Stead was regarded as something of a caricature by the magazine. Indeed, Warner may have felt free to put the term civic center to better use, and perhaps even that he was rescuing it from ridicule. See Katharine Hosmer, "What Women Have Done in Washington's City Affairs," *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 3 (September 1898), pp. 514-522, and Robert C. Brooks, "Despairing Democracy in New York," book review, *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 2 (June 1898), pp. 304-306. On the Washington Civic Center, see the discussion in chapter 1.4.2, above.

¹²⁴ "A Bibliography of Municipal Administration and City Conditions," *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1897), pp. iii-224; esp. pp. 24, 26, 61, 156, 212.

¹²⁵ John De Witt Warner, "Matters that Suggest Themselves," *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1898), pp. 123-132, esp. pp. 126-128.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 126 and 127.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 128.

¹²⁸ Bernard J.S. Cahill, “The Bond Issue and the Burnham Plan—A Study in ‘Panhandling,’” *The Architect and Engineer of California Pacific Coast States*, vol. 17, no. 2 (June 1909), pp. 69-71.

¹²⁹ See chapter 1.2, above.

¹³⁰ See John De Witt Warner, “Civic Centers,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1902), pp. 1-23.

¹³¹ Both Wilson and Peterson properly credit Warner with coining the term civic center in city planning in 1902, unaware that Warner had used it in print as early as 1898. See Wilson, *The City Beautiful*, p. 91, and Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, pp. 156-157 and 376n15.

¹³² Warner, “Civic Centers,” pp. 2-3.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7. Warner includes a footnote covering nearly two pages not particularly necessary for his argument condensing Pausanias’s description of the artistic wonders of the Acropolis. What is remarkable is that Warner uses some 35 ellipses to condense some 174 pages of material from a translation, not cited, from Margaret de G. Verrall’s *Mythology & Monuments*, a work known affectionately as the “Blue Jane.” Mary Beard remarks that in its day the “Blue Jane” was a significant and indeed “indispensable” English-language archeological publication, “one of the most famous books on Pausanias to be written in Victorian England, a radical contribution to Archaeology (myth and religion included) and for years an indispensable guidebook for the up-market tourists to Athens.” Beard notes, “Today *Mythology and Monuments* is almost entirely forgotten.” See Margaret de G. Verrall, trans., and Jane E. Harrison, comm., *Mythology & Monuments of Ancient Athens: Being a Translation of a Portion of the Attica’ of Pausanias by Margaret de G. Verrall, with Introductory Essay and Archaeological Commentary by Jane E. Harrison* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1890; corrected ed. 1894); and Mary Beard, “‘Pausanias in Petticoats,’ or *The Blue Jane*,” in Susan E. Alcock, ed., *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 224-239, esp. pp. 231-236; quote p. 231.

¹³⁵ Milo Roy Maltbie, “The Grouping of Public Buildings,” *The Outlook*, vol. 78, no. 1 (September-December 1904), pp. 37-48; quote p. 39. See also Milo Roy Maltbie, *Civic Art in Northern Europe: A Report to the Art Commission of The City of New York* (October 12, 1903).

¹³⁶ “The Grouping of Public Buildings,” p. 40.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹³⁹ See chapter 1.4.3 on Cultural Center, below.

¹⁴⁰ The Civic League of St. Louis, “A Public Buildings Group” and “Civic Centers for St. Louis,” *A City Plan for St. Louis: Reports of the Several Committees Appointed by the Executive Board of the Civic League to Draft a City Plan* (St. Louis, 1907), pp. 30-53.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴² The English settlement on the western coast of Africa was intended to establish « des colonies destinées à y introduire la culture, les lumières et la religion; en particulier à abolir, par des moyens graduels, l’esclavage des Nègres. » (“[...] colonies destined to introduce culture, enlightenment and religion, and particularly to gradually abolish Negro slavery.”) The extract describes, « Une souscription fut ouverte à Londres, dès 1791, pour la fondation d’une colonie dans l’isle de *Bulama* (ou *Bulam*) en Afrique, par le 11^e degré de latitude, sur la côte de ce vaste continent, à l’embouchure de la rivière dite *Rio Grande*, deux degré et demi au sud de la Gambie. Diverse raisons et divers rapports favorable déterminèrent le choix de ce lieu. Le but de cette entreprise étoit d’établir sur la côte d’Afrique un centre de culture et de civilisation. » (“A subscription was offered in London, in 1791, for the foundation of a colony on the island of *Bulama* (or *Bulam*) in Africa, near the 11th degree of latitude, on the coast of the vast continent, at the mouth of the river called *Rio Grande*, two and a half degrees to the south of Gambia. Diverse reasons and diverse favorable circumstances determined the choice of this location. The goal of this enterprise was to establish on the coast of Africa a center of culture and civilization.”) My trans. See *Le Capitaine*

Philippe Beaver, « Voyages: Souvenir de l’Afrique, » extrait, *Bibliothèque britannique*, vol. 30 (Genève: Bibliothèque britannique, Sept. 1805), pp. 353-354.

¹⁴³ Jean-André de Luc, quoted in “Earth,” John Wilkes, *Encyclopaedia Londinensis, or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, vol. 6 (London: J. Adlard, 1810), pp. 177-201.

¹⁴⁴ De Luc, a correspondent of Rousseau whose ambition was to reconcile Genesis with natural history, specifically cites his previous work in *Letters on the History of the Earth and of Man* [*Lettres physiques et morales sur l’histoire de la terre et de l’homme*], 6 vols. (La Haye: de Tune; Paris: V. Duschene, 1779-1780) as the source of his synopsis on p. 200 of “Earth.” De Luc uses the phrase “centre de culture” and offers a short précis in *Lettres sur l’histoire physique de la terre, adressées à M. Le Professeur Blumenbach* (Paris: Nyon, 1798), p. 243ff. On de Luc, see Wolfgang Pross, “Naturalism, anthropology, and culture,” *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 226.

¹⁴⁵ De Luc, “Earth,” pp. 200-201.

¹⁴⁶ As Raymond Williams has pointed out, culture and colonization derive from the same Latin root. See Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, 1983), p. 87.

¹⁴⁷ Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century, Part II: The So-Called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia, Division II* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1830), p. 948.

¹⁴⁸ Roderic O’Flaherty, *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught* (Dublin: The Irish Archeological Society, 1846), p. xxvi.

¹⁴⁹ Benjamin Apthorp Gould, Jr., “An American University,” *The American Journal of Education*, no. 6 [vol. 2, no. 2] (September 1856), pp. 265-293.

¹⁵⁰ It is worth noting that cultural influences can also be transmitted by other means, such as conquering armies. See George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. 1, corr. enl. ed. (London: Trübner & Co., 1863), p. 43.

¹⁵¹ “Kansas,” *The Western Monthly*, vol. 3, no. 18 (June 1870), pp. 455-459; quote, p. 459.

¹⁵² “Motives and Struggles of Shakespeare,” *The National Quarterly Review*, no. 52 (March 1873), pp. 238, 240.

¹⁵³ “The Life and Death of John Barneveld, of Holland,” review, *The Quarterly Review* [London], vol. 137, no. 273 (July 1874), pp. 131-159; quote p. 153.

¹⁵⁴ G.A., “The Origin of London,” *The Living Age*, vol. 149 (April 1881), pp. 47-56 [repr. from *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 43, no. 254 (February 1881), pp. 169-182]; quote p. 54 [pp. 178-179].

¹⁵⁵ “[T]he ancient Armenian monastery of St. Maghar [is] an historic culture centre of this long-scattered people, hidden amid the northern mountains, but with a domain [...] stretching from the forest to the sea.” Patrick Geddes, “Cyprus, Actual and Possible: A Study in the Eastern Question,” *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 71, no. 6 (June 1897), p. 905.

¹⁵⁶ See Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture* (New York: Crowell, 1968), pp. 374-378; Stanley A. Freed and Ruth S. Freed, “Clark Wissler and the Development of Anthropology in the United States,” *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 85, no. 4 (December, 1983), pp. 800, 810, 812, 814; and Freed and Freed, “Clark Wissler, 1870-1947,” in *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. 61 (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1992), pp. 474-478.

¹⁵⁷ Franz Boas, “Dissemination of Tales among the Natives of North America,” *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 4, no. 12 (January-March, 1891), pp. 13-20; quotes pp. 14-15, 18, 19.

¹⁵⁸ Otis Tufton Mason, “Influence of Environment Upon Human Industries or Arts [Saturday lecture in Assembly Hall of United States National Museum, May 2, 1896],” *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution to July, 1895* (Washington, D.C., The Government Printing Office, 1896), pp. 639-665; quotes pp. 640, 645. See also Mason, “Ethnological Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the World’s Columbian Exposition,” in C. Staniland Wake, ed., *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology* (Chicago: The Schulte Publishing Company, 1894), pp. 208-216.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 663.

¹⁶⁰ Clark Wissler, *The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World*, 1st ed. (New York: Douglas C. MacMurtrie, 1917), pp. 233, 242; 2nd ed. (London: Oxford, 1922), pp. 249, 258.

¹⁶¹ Clark Wissler, "Material Cultures of the North American Indians," *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 16, no. 3, (*Facts and Problems of North American Anthropology I*) (July-September, 1914), p. 468.

¹⁶² In 1914 Wissler notes that "the origin of a material center seems due to ethnic factors more than to geographical ones," and are "largely a matter of ethnic accident" that endure "even in the face of many changes in blood and language." In 1922, Wissler substitutes "culture center" for "material center" and "historic accident" for "ethnic accident." See Wissler, *The American Indian* (1914), p. 472 and (1922) p. 372.

¹⁶³ See Lewis Fried, "Creating Hebraism, Confronting Hellenism: *The Menorah Journal* and its Struggle for the Jewish Imagination," *The American Jewish Archives Journal*, vol. LIII, no. 2 (2001), pp. 156, 159, and Paul Mendes-Flohr, "Cultural Zionism's Image of the Educated Jew: Reflections on Creating a Secular Jewish Culture," *Modern Judaism*, vol. 18, no. 3, *100 Years of Zionism and the 50th Anniversary of the State of Israel* (October, 1998), p. 227.

¹⁶⁴ "Zionist Cause Advancing: \$100,000 Contributed Toward a Jewish University in Jerusalem," *The New York Times*, September 29, 1913, p. 8. See also "Dr. Glushak Speaks for Zion," *The Washington Post*, November 19, 1915, p. 9, and "Kehillah Cheers for Free Russia," *The New York Times*, April 29, 1917, p. 16; Kimmy Caplan, "'The Significance of a Jewish University': A Sermon on the Founding of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem," *The American Jewish Archives Journal*, vol. LIII, no. 2 (2001), p. 65; and Israel H. Levinthal, "The Significance of a Jewish University," sermon, quoted in Caplan, p. 78.

¹⁶⁵ "Objects of Advance into Holy Land: Urgent Need to Drive Turks from Syria for Egypt's Future Safety," *The New York Times*, April 15, 1917, p. 14; also quoted in "The Gates of Jerusalem soon to Open to a New Civilization," *New York Herald*, April 21, 1917, in *Zionism Conquers Public Opinion* (New York: Provisional Executive Committee of General Zionist Affairs, 1917), p. 23; see also p. 7. See also Henry Moskowitz, "Palestine Not a Solution of Jewish Problem: Zionism Has No Positive Message to Jews in America—Preservation of Hebraic Spirit Needed Rather than Separate Nationality," *The New York Times*, June 10, 1917, pp. 66-67; "Jerusalem Freed from the Moslem Yoke," *Current Opinion*, vol. LXIV, no. 1 (January, 1918), p. 6; Frederick Jones Bliss, "Reply to Dr. Gottheil," letter to the editor, *The New York Times*, April 11, 1920, XX9 (quoting an interview with Prince Feisal in *The Jewish Chronicle* reprinted in *Palestine*, October 29, 1919); Philip Marshall Brown, "Zionism and Anti-Semitism," *The North American Review*, vol. CCX, no. 768, (November, 1919), p. 657.

¹⁶⁶ Zionist Organization of America, *Summary of the Position of the Zionist Organization of America in Conference with Dr. Weizmann and Associates*, pamphlet (New York, 1921), quoted in W.H. Worrell, "A Christian View of Zionism," *Forum*, vol. 66, no. 5 (November 1921), p. 391. See also "Fervid Reception to Zionist Leaders: Metropolitan Opera House Jammed in Honor of Weizmann and Einstein," *The New York Times*, April 11, 1921, p. 9; "City Will Pay Honor to Mr. Schiff Today," *The New York Times*, September 28, 1920, p. 3.

¹⁶⁷ See "Rothschild Home is Now a Museum: Founders of Jewish Society of Antiquities Select Frankfort as Cultural Centre," *The New York Times*, February 10, 1923, p. 10, and "Greatest Jewish Library Now Here: Adler Collection Makes Seminary the Jewish Cultural Centre of World, Professor Says," *The New York Times*, July 26, 1923, p.1.

¹⁶⁸ See Charles Mulford Robinson, "The City Beautiful: Suggestions" [November 1907], in *Los Angeles, California—The City Beautiful: Report of the Municipal Art Commission for the City of Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: William J. Porter, 1909), n.p. [pp. 29, 32], and Robinson, "Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh," *Charities and the Commons*, vol. 21, no. 19 (February 6, 1909) [*The Pittsburgh Survey II: The Place and Its Social Forces*], pp. 801-826.

¹⁶⁹ John De Witt Warner, "Civic Centers," *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1902), p. 23.

¹⁷⁰ See Charles Mulford Robinson, "The Plan of the Model City," *The Criterion*, vol. 2, no. 12 (March 1902), pp. 34-38 and Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, "General Theory of the City," *Report on a Plan for San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1905), pp. 40-41.

¹⁷¹ See Otto Wagner, "The Development of a Great City," trans. A.D.F. Hamlin, *The Architectural Record*, vol. 31 (May, 1912), p. 494; T. Harold Hughes, "The Principles to be Observed in Designing and Laying Out Towns Treated from the Architectural Standpoint," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (December 7, 1912), pp. 65-82 and (December 21, 1912), pp.125-132; <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/hughes.htm>; Frank Koester, *Modern City Planning and Maintenance* (New York: McBride, Nast and Company, 1914), p. 25; and Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, *Report on A Center of Arts and Letters* (October 1913).

¹⁷² See "Fact and Comment," *The Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 1921, p. V1; "Great Civic Center Plan Joins Beauty and Utility," *The Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1925, p. A1.

¹⁷³ "Treasures of the Southwest," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 1911, p. I9.

¹⁷⁴ See "Mrs. H.F. M'Cormick Talks on 'Civic Opera': Praises 'Popular Guaranty' Plan and Predicts for Chicago a 'Great Cultural Centre,'" *The New York Times*, October 20, 1921, p. 27; "Golden Singer's Great Greeting," *The Los Angeles Times*, April 7, 1912, p. V27; and "Chicago Opera Meets With Warm Reception: Los Angeles, Taking Rank Among Music Capitals, Greets Organization of Great Singers," *The Los Angeles Times*, 5 April 1921, III.

¹⁷⁵ See chapters 3 and 4, on Cleveland and Detroit respectively, below.

¹⁷⁶ See chapter 2.5, below.

¹⁷⁷ Ross Parmenter, "Lincoln Square Plan Developing Toward World Cultural Center," *The New York Times*, July 23, 1956, p. 25.

¹⁷⁸ *Plans for a National Civic Auditorium and Cultural Center for the Citizens of the United States, submitted to the President of the United States and the Congress, January 31, 1957, by the District of Columbia Auditorium Commission* (Washington: The District of Columbia Auditorium Commission, 1957). See also Jarold A. Kieffer, *From National Cultural Center to Kennedy Center: At the Front End of the Beginning* (Fairfax VA: Kieffer Publications, 2004).

¹⁷⁹ See "Johnson Backs Site for Culture Center," *The New York Times*, December 12, 1963, p. 28; "House OK's Kennedy Culture Center Bill," *The Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1964, p. 32; Marjorie Hunter, "House Approves Kennedy Center," *The New York Times*, January 9, 1964, p. 1; Jean M. White, "House Votes Memorial to Kennedy," *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, January 9, 1964, p. A1.

¹⁸⁰ "John D. Rockefeller 3rd Envisions Support for Arts as Public Duty," *The New York Times*, October 7, 1959, p. 45.

¹⁸¹ Alvin H. Reiss, "Who Builds Theatres and Why?" *The Drama Review*, vol. 12, no. 3, *Architecture/Environment* (Spring, 1968), pp. 75-92.

¹⁸² William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, *Performing Arts, the Economic Dilemma: A Study of Problems Common to Theater, Opera, Music, and Dance* (New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1966), pp. 39-40.

¹⁸³ "Arts Center Plan Dropped in Utah," *The New York Times*, December 11, 1966, p. 152, cited in Reiss, p. 78.

¹⁸⁴ Harold C. Schonberg, "Have Cultural Centers Benefited the Arts?" *The New York Times*, July 10, 1983, p. H1. Schonberg's source for National Endowment for the Arts figure is not cited.

¹⁸⁵ See David Hefner, "Black Cultural Centers: Standing On Shaky Ground? As College Campuses Become More Diverse, Many Find the Future of Black Cultural Centers in Question," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, vol. 18, no. 26, (February 14, 2002), p. 22; Marlon A. Walker, "The Evolution of Black Culture Centers," *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*, vol. 23, no. 24 (November 1, 2007), pp. 16-17; and Toby S. Jenkins, "The Five-Point Plan: A Practical Framework for Campus Cultural Centers," *About Campus*, May-June 2008, p. 25.

¹⁸⁶ Jewish Federation of Greater Chattanooga, <http://www.jewishchattanooga.com>.

¹⁸⁷ *A Design for an Akwesasne Mohawk Cultural Center* (St. Paul: National Indian Education Association, 1972), pp. 137-144.

¹⁸⁸ Pacific Cultural Center & Ashtanga Yoga Institute, <http://www.pacificcultural.org>.

¹⁸⁹ Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁰ Williams, *Keywords* (1983), p. 87.

¹⁹¹ Pittsburgh Architectural Club, "The Year 1904-1905," *Third Exhibition, 1905, Gallery of the Carnegie Institute* (Pittsburgh, 1905), n.p. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives [hereafter cited as CMU].

¹⁹² See "Giant Group Plans, Wide Thoroughfares, in a New Pittsburgh," *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, November 17, 1907, sec. 4 p. 6; "Architects Are Planning to Improve Pittsburgh; Show Nature of Their Scheme in Exhibition," *Pittsburgh Post*, November 17, 1907; and "Art Society Pleads for More Beauty; Meeting is Held at Carnegie Hall and Frederic C. Howe Speaks—Steelmaster Sends His Good Wishes," *Pittsburgh Sun*, November 23, 1907; "Time to Begin," editorial, *Pittsburgh Post*, November 24, 1907, sec. 2 p. 2.

¹⁹³ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie* (Washington, 1919), pp. 3-29.

¹⁹⁴ John F. Bauman and Edward K. Muller, *Before Renaissance: Planning in Pittsburgh, 1889-1943* (Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006).

¹⁹⁵ Charles Mulford Robinson, "Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh," *Charities and the Commons*, vol. 21, no. 19 (February 6, 1909) [*The Pittsburgh Survey II: The Place and Its Social Forces*], pp. 801-826.

¹⁹⁶ Robinson's article begins, "In studying the civic improvement possibilities of Pittsburgh, one is impressed by a curious mingling of antagonistic conditions. A wonderful natural picturesqueness is contrasted with the utmost industrial defilement, smoke and grime and refuse pervading one of the finest city sites in the world. Similarly great wealth and great squalor are side by side. Nation-wide business is done on very narrow streets. A royal munificence in public benefaction goes with a niggardliness that as yet denies to many children a decent playspace. Immense private houses, with the amplest grounds to be found perhaps in any great City, abut on meanly proportioned streets. One is impressed first by the hugeness of the city and then by its lack of coherence. It has been built up as an aggregation of integers, mighty, resourceful, pushing; but lacking as yet in unity. That power, which is the keynote of the city, is not civic. It is not communal power but a dynamic individualism." It ends famously with "a plea for comprehensive planning. Surely, if ever a city needed the definite plan that an outside commission could make for it, it is Pittsburgh. In most cities the "improvement" problem is largely aesthetic. In Pittsburgh, it is also economic and social. Its correct solution is something more than a desideratum; it is a need." *Ibid*, pp. 801, 826.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 812.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 817-819; quotes p. 819.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 819, 821.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 821.

²⁰¹ Charles Mulford Robinson, "The City Beautiful: Suggestions" [November 1907], in *Los Angeles, California—The City Beautiful: Report of the Municipal Art Commission for the City of Los Angeles, California* (Los Angeles: William J. Porter, 1909). The precise date of publication of this pamphlet is not given, but notices elsewhere suggest that it appeared later than Robinson's "Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh" on February 6, 1909. For example, *The American Institute of Architects Quarterly Bulletin* lists it among "Pamphlets Received after September 30, 1909," and *Municipal Journal and Engineer* lists it in a book section along with articles appearing "during the past month in leading periodicals" for February 1910. See *The American Institute of Architects Quarterly Bulletin*, vol. 10, no. 4 (January 1910), pp. 339, 342 and "Municipal Index," *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, vol. 28, no. 5 (February 2, 1910), pp. 189, 191.

²⁰² "An Administrative Center. In the County Courthouse, superbly situated on its mound; in the new Federal building, under construction, diagonally across from it; and in the need of a new City Hall, yet to be located, there are furnished the sufficient ingredients for a very imposing Civic Center." Robinson, "The City Beautiful: Suggestions," n.p. [p. 29].

²⁰³ *Ibid*, n.p. [p. 32].

²⁰⁴ See chapter 3, below.

²⁰⁵ On the reception of the Pittsburgh Survey in Pittsburgh, see John F. Bauman and Margaret Spratt, "Civic Leaders and Environmental Reform: The Pittsburgh Survey and Urban Planning," Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, eds., *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), pp. 153-169.

²⁰⁶ Robinson's proposed centers for Los Angeles never materialized either, although the Normal Hill development, as it was known, was referred to as a cultural center in discussions throughout the 1920s.

²⁰⁷ Montgomery Schuyler, "The Building of Pittsburgh," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 30, no. 3 [whole no. 156] (September 1911), pp. 3-282.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 213, 215.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 229.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 232-233.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 241-242; quote p. 242.

²¹² *Ibid*, p. 243.

²¹³ *Ibid*, p. 231.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 262.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 232.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 235.

²¹⁷ Montgomery Schuyler, "The Building of Pittsburgh," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 30, no. 3 [whole no. 156] (September 1911), pp. 3-282.

²¹⁸ Montgomery Schuyler, "Last Words about the World's Fair," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 3, no. 3 (January-March 1894), pp. 291-301.

²¹⁹ Montgomery Schuyler, "The Architecture of Mexico City, Part I: Ancient," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 32, no. 3 (September 1912), p. 215, discussed in chapter 1.1, above.

²²⁰ Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1922), pp. 1-6, 99ff.

²²¹ On the development of Oakland, see Franklin Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), pp. 79-86; John F. Bauman and Edward K. Muller. *Before Renaissance: Planning in Pittsburgh, 1889-1943* (Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 42-100; Martin Aurand, *The Spectator and the Topographical City* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), pp. 137-200.

²²² Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *The North American Review*, no. 391 (June 1889), pp. 653-664, and "The Best Fields of Philanthropy," *North American Review*, no. 397 (December 1889), pp. 682-698. "Wealth" was reprinted in *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 5, 1889, under the title given by editor William T. Stead, "The Gospel of Wealth," an appellation Carnegie immediately appropriated. Carnegie himself anthologized these and subsequent articles under the title *The Gospel of Wealth, and Other Timely Essays* (New York: The Century Co., 1900), and they have been most recently collected in David Nasaw, ed., *The "Gospel of Wealth" Essays and Other Writings* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006). Stead addresses the retitling of "Wealth" in William T. Stead, *Mr. Carnegie's Conundrum: £40,000,000, What Shall I Do With It?* (London: Review of Reviews, 1900), p. 79. See also Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth, and Other Timely Essays* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), note, p. 14. Kenneth Fox alleges that Stead was attempting to "scandalize his readers" by airing Carnegie's views, and that "Stead was probably disgusted when Carnegie took the revised title as a compliment and used it proudly for his own reprintings," but this seems absurd given Stead's demonstrable admiration for Carnegie. See Kenneth Fox, "A Businessman's Philanthropic Creed: A Centennial Perspective on Carnegie's 'Gospel of Wealth,'" in Dwight Burlingame, ed., *The Responsibilities of Wealth* (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 94.

²²³ Carnegie, "The Best Fields for Philanthropy," pp. 687-97.

- ²²⁴ Carnegie, "The Best Fields for Philanthropy," pp. 694, 697.
- ²²⁵ Carnegie, "Wealth," p. 663.
- ²²⁶ Carnegie, "The Best Fields for Philanthropy," p. 691.
- ²²⁷ Carnegie, "Wealth," p. 663, and "The Best Fields for Philanthropy," pp. 689-90.
- ²²⁸ *A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie*, p. 3.
- ²²⁹ Erasmus Wilson, ed., *Standard History of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: H.R. Cornell & Company, 1898), pp. 1065-66.
- ²³⁰ Edward Manning Bigelow, "The Public Parks," in *Department of Public Works Annual Report 1889* (Pittsburgh, 1890), pp. 17-19; quote p. 17.
- ²³¹ See Barbara Judd, "Edward M. Bigelow: Creator of Pittsburgh's Arcadian Parks," in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, vol. 58, no. 1 (January 1975), pp. 54-55.
- ²³² Carnegie, "The Best Fields for Philanthropy," p. 692.
- ²³³ On the life of Mary Schenley, see S. Kussart, "One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Mrs. Mary E. Schenley," *Western Pennsylvania History*, vol. 9, no. 4 (October 1926), pp. 209-220; Samuel W. Thomas, "William Croghan, Jr. (1794-1850)," *Western Pennsylvania History*, vol. 51, no. 3 (July 1968), pp. 213-227; and Bernice Shine, "Oakland: Mary Croghan Schenley: Schenley Park Donated by a Girl Whose Romance Shocked a Queen," *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, September 15, 1941.
- ²³⁴ See *Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Passed at the Session of 1842, Sixty-Sixth Year of Independence* (Harrisburg, 1842), No. 48, p. 94.
- ²³⁵ Charles William Shetler, *The Evolution of the O'Hara-Schenley Lands in Allegheny County to 1880*, masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh, 1949), 30-62. On the elopement, see Ruth Salisbury, "Pittsburgh's Great Romance," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 47 (January 11, 1964), pp. 343-54.
- ²³⁶ Howard Stewart, *Historical Data: Pittsburgh Public Parks* (Pittsburgh, 1943), supplement, pp. 32-37.
- ²³⁷ "Landlordism at Home: How the Schenley Estate in Pittsburg is Managed," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 10, 1886, 3 [reprinted from *Labor Tribune* [Pittsburgh], March 27, 1886, 2], and "Alien Landlordism in Pittsburgh," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 28, 1890, p. 14.
- ²³⁸ John F. Bauman and Edward K. Muller, *Before Renaissance: Planning in Pittsburgh, 1889-1943* (Pittsburgh, 2006), 20. See also Stewart, pp. 33, 37.
- ²³⁹ Edward Manning Bigelow, "The Public Parks," in *Department of Public Works Annual Report 1889* (Pittsburgh, 1890), pp. 17-19; quotes p. 17.
- ²⁴⁰ See Rosemary Ruhig Dumont, "The Founding of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh," in Robert Sidney Martin, ed., *Carnegie Denied: Communities Rejecting Carnegie Library Construction Grants, 1898-1925* (Westport, 1993), pp. 3-4, cited in David Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), pp. 354, 822n27.
- ²⁴¹ "A Growing City. Surprises the Library Trustees Met in Viewing Proposed Sites," *Pittsburgh Post*, May 9, 1890, p. 1.
- ²⁴² See Stewart, pp. 33, 37. The deed for the 19-acre parcel made provision for "a site for [a] public library or art buildings, or such institutions for the promotion of the arts and sciences as the city of Pittsburgh by its duly constituted authorities may elect." See the Mary E. Schenley deed to the City of Pittsburgh, June 15, 1891, Allegheny County Deed Book #750, p. 96.
- ²⁴³ On the development of Schenley Park, see Barbara Judd, "Edward M. Bigelow: Creator of Pittsburgh's Arcadian Parks," in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, vol. 58, no. 1 (January 1975), pp. 57 and Howard Stewart, *Historical Data: Pittsburgh Public Parks* (Pittsburgh, 1943), supplement, pp. 32-37.

²⁴⁴ On the design and construction of the Carnegie Institute, see *A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie*, p. 5; Margaret Henderson Floyd, *Architecture After Richardson: Regionalism before Modernism—Longfellow, Alden, and Harlow in Boston and Pittsburgh* (Chicago, 1994), pp. 8, 23, and 203; James D. Van Trump, *An American Palace of Culture: The Carnegie Institute and Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute and Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, 1970), p. 3; and James D. Van Trump, “The Past as Prelude: A Consideration of the Early Building History of the Carnegie Institute Complex,” *Carnegie Magazine* 48 (October–November 1974), p. 346.

²⁴⁵ “Public Works Director and a Foremost Citizen Succumbs After Operation,” obituary, *The Gazette-Times* [Pittsburgh], December 7, 1916. Clipping, Carnegie Public Library, Pennsylvania Room, vertical file: Phipps Conservatory.

²⁴⁶ The Homestead strike has been much written about. See Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie*, pp. 405–70; Joseph Frazier Wall, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 537–582; Charles Morris, *The Tycoons: How Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Jay Gould, and J.P. Morgan Invented the American Supereconomy* (New York, 2005), pp. 196–206; Les Standiford, *Meet You in Hell: Andrew Carnegie, Henry Clay Frick and the Bitter Partnership that Transformed America* (New York, 2005), pp. 199–226; “The Homestead Strike,” *Pennsylvania Cavalcade* (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 238–70.

²⁴⁷ “To Reject Mr. Carnegie’s Gift: A Proposal to Return the Money Given for the Pittsburg Library,” *New York Times*, July 10, 1892, p. 5.

²⁴⁸ Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie*, pp. 458–459.

²⁴⁹ “A Letter from Carnegie: He Deplores the Objections Raised to His Proposed Gifts,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1892, p. 2.

²⁵⁰ See Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*, pp. 103–104.

²⁵¹ Bauman and Muller, p. 43.

²⁵² Henry Van Brunt, “The Architectural Event of Our Times,” *Engineering Magazine*, 6.4 (January 1894), pp. 430, 432.

²⁵³ Andrew Carnegie, “Value of the World’s Fair to the American People,” *Engineering Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 4 (January 1894), pp. 417, 418, 419.

²⁵⁴ *A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie*, p. 6.

²⁵⁵ *A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie*, pp. 5–7; Floyd, *Architecture After Richardson*, pp. 214, 216.

²⁵⁶ Rina C. Youngner argues that the Alexander murals embody Carnegie’s “Gospel of Wealth” philosophy and Franklin Toker notes that Carnegie “surely intended his own Carnegie Institute to act as a perpetual fair for art and natural history.” See Rina C. Youngner, *Industry in Art: Pittsburgh, 1812 to 1920* (Pittsburgh, 2006), pp. 133–140 and Franklin Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait* (University Park PA, 1986), p. 81.

²⁵⁷ Barbara Judd, “Edward M. Bigelow: Creator of Pittsburgh’s Arcadian Parks,” in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, January 1975, pp. 54–55.

²⁵⁸ “Pittsburg’s Casino Burned; Destroyed with the Park Bridge across Four Mile Run,” *The New York Times*, December 18, 1896, p. 2.

²⁵⁹ J. Markus H. Winteringer, “Schenley Park Casino Waltz,” sheet music for piano (Pittsburgh: The Winteringer Music Co., Limited, 1902). Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Music Department.

²⁶⁰ On the Bellefield Bridge, see Walter C. Kidney, *Pittsburgh’s Bridges: Architecture and Engineering* (Pittsburgh, 1999), pp. 194–99.

²⁶¹ Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*, p. 91.

²⁶² On the filling of St. Pierre's Ravine, the *Press* reports, "It is not the intention that it shall ever be entirely filled in, as in that event the symmetrical lines of the beautiful and costly bridge, which had to be constructed to provide the boulevard entrance a few years ago, would be completely obliterated. But when the dump has become quite filled, it is intended that the ravine shall be so graded and sowed with grass as to form a beautiful terrace, extending in amphitheatrical form from the abutments of the bridge to the crest of the 'made' ground." See "Falconer Has Plan for Park; Would Grade and Roll St. Pierre Ravine This Fall; Present Appearance is an Eyesore to Visitors to Park; Grass Will Be Sown for Sod," *The Pittsburgh Press*, September 14, 1902, pt. 3, p. 3.

²⁶³ *A Manual of the Public Benefactions of Andrew Carnegie*, pp. 7-9.

²⁶⁴ Andrew Carnegie, letter to Mary E. Schenley, July 2, 1895, and Mary E. Schenley, letter to Andrew Carnegie, July 9, 1895. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 32.

²⁶⁵ Mary E. Schenley, last will and testament (two drafts with lawyers' notes), July 6, 1898. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 53.

²⁶⁶ "Mary E. Schenley Died At London Home; Andrew Carnegie Wires Tribute to Memory; Pittsburgh to Honor Queenly Benefactress," *Gazette* (Pittsburgh), November 6, 1903, p. 1.

²⁶⁷ "Mrs. Schenley Leaves \$4,300,000. Property Goes to Her Children – Andrew Carnegie Gets \$5000." *New York Times*, 20 December 1903, p. 8; "An International Will. Andrew Carnegie a Trustee of \$48,000,000 Estate." *New York Times*, 14 January 1904, p. 9.

²⁶⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times*, eds., *The Story of Pittsburgh and Vicinity Illustrated* (Pittsburgh, 1908), pp. 67-8.

²⁶⁹ "The Schenley Farms," display advertisement, *The Builder* [Pittsburgh], vol. 30, no. 4 (August 1912), inside back cover.

²⁷⁰ Marilyn Evert and Vernon Gay, *Discovering Pittsburgh's Sculpture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), p. 277.

²⁷¹ "One More Gift to Pittsburg; Bigelow Says City Will Acquire 11 Acres Without Cost; Sand in Schenley Estate; Director Had Talk with Carnegie, One of the Trustees; Plans for the Memorial," *The Pittsburgh Press*, December 12, 1903, p. 1.

²⁷² John W. Heron, letter to Andrew Carnegie, April 4, 1910. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 175, p. 33654.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 33656.

²⁷⁴ AC to JWH, October 2, 1910. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 181, p. 34545.

²⁷⁵ Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie*, pp. 587, 766.

²⁷⁶ "A Memorial to Mrs. Schenley: After 20 Years It Is Now Proposed to Erect Monument to Donor of Beautiful Park," *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, 10 January 1911, p. 2.

²⁷⁷ AC to JWH, February 25, 1911. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 188, p. 110.

²⁷⁸ See *Municipal Record: Minutes of the Proceedings of the Select Council of the City of Pittsburgh For the Year 1911* (Pittsburgh, 1911), Appendix, pp. 1, 10; "Solons Have A Busy Night," *Pittsburgh Sun*, April 20, 1911, p. 3; "Council Acts on Important Ordinances: Park Ground Granted to Baseball Club for Field," *The Gazette-Times* [Pittsburgh], April 20, 1911, p. 3; "City Solons Brave Rain to Meet and Consider Ordinances," *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch*, April 20, 1911, p. 7; "Solons Vote for Big Right Field: Select Council Favors Granting Ground to Extend Ball Park," *Pittsburgh Post*, April 20, 1911, p. 1; "Great Crowd Gathering at Forbes Field," *Pittsburgh Sun-Times*, April 20, 1911, p.1.

²⁷⁹ After the 1910 baseball season came to an end, Pittsburgh Pirates owner Barney Dreyfuss sought to expand the left and center field walls of his new, state-of-the-art fireproof stadium, designed by Charles W. Leavitt and built by Nicola's brother Frank, into Schenley Park so as to make what he considered "cheap" home runs less frequent than

they already were. On the design and construction of Forbes Field, see Daniel Bonk, "Ballpark Figures: The Story of Forbes Field," *Pittsburgh History*, vol. 76, no. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 55-56. On Dreyfus and "cheap home runs," see Dennis and Jeanne Burke DeValeria, *Honus Wagner: A Biography* (New York, 1996), p. 248; on the paucity of homers at Forbes Field, see "Homers Put Over Concrete: Hans Wagner heads the List of League Batsmen Who Have Knocked the Ball Out of the Lot at Forbes Field," *Pittsburgh Sun*, April 18, 1912, p. 2 and "Home Runs Not Numerous Now: Only Three Drives Over Wall in Deeper Forbes Field," *Pittsburgh Sun*, April 17, 1913, p. 3.

²⁸⁰ See *Municipal Record: Minutes of the Proceedings of the Select Council of the City of Pittsburgh For the Year 1911* (Pittsburgh, 1911), Appendix, p. 1.

²⁸¹ A brick iteration of a portion of this wall still stands near the Schenley Memorial.

²⁸² William A. Magee to AC, January 6, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 202, pp. 38572-38573.

²⁸³ JWH to AC, March 16, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 204, p. 38910.

²⁸⁴ AC to JWH, April 27, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 205, p. 39162.

²⁸⁵ JWH to AC, April 30, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206, p. 39179.

²⁸⁶ James Bertram to JWH, May 2, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206, p. 39200.

²⁸⁷ JWH to AC, May 7, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206 [page unrecorded].

²⁸⁸ AC to JWH, May 9, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206, p. 39245.

²⁸⁹ JWH to AC, May 10, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206, p. 39257.

²⁹⁰ AC to JWH, May 13, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206, p. 39280.

²⁹¹ John Massey Rhind to AC, May 13, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206, p. 39289.

²⁹² AC to JMR, May 14, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 206, p. 39292.

²⁹³ JWH to AC, November 20, 1912. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Andrew Carnegie Papers, 1803-1935, Box 210, p. 40061. Other correspondence relating to the Schenley memorial among the Carnegie papers includes JWH to AC, May 15, 1912, Box 206, p. 39308; JMR to AC, May 15, 1912, Box 206, p. 39316; AC to JWH, November 8, 1912, Box 210, p. unrecorded; and JWH to AC, November 13, 1912, Box 210, p. 40003.

²⁹⁴ For the Schenley Memorial Competition and selection of the memorial design, see Donald E. Simpson, "American Halicarnassus: The Mary E. Schenley Memorial, Andrew Carnegie, and the Origin of Pittsburgh's Oakland Cultural Center," Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2009, pp. 22-25.

²⁹⁵ George W. Burke, Secretary to [the] Schenley Memorial Commission, letter to John W. Beatty, President, Pittsburgh Art Commission, 2 December 1913, CMU.

²⁹⁶ See Grace Humphrey, "A Song to Nature," *International Studio*, vol. 61, no. 242 (April 1917), p. LVII.

²⁹⁷ Only one newspaper, the *Pittsburgh Press*, announced the correct name of the memorial but could not name the undisclosed sculptor; the others, presumably following a faulty press release, announced it as "Nature's Music" by Brenner. See "'A Song to Nature' is Design for Memorial," *The Pittsburgh Press*, December 3, 1913, p. 5; "Design

Approved for Park Memorial: Victor D. Brenner, New York Sculptor, to Create Schenley Monument,” *The Gazette-Times* [Pittsburgh], December 5, 1913, p. 9; “Design of Schenley Memorial Fountain for Park,” *The Gazette-Times* [Pittsburgh], December 6, 1913, p. 11; “Schenley Memorial Fountain to Adorn Entrance to Park,” *Pittsburgh Sun*, December 6, 1913, p. 4.

²⁹⁸ This bronze plaque, partially submerged when water was flowing, was removed when the fountain underwent renovation in 2006. Flattened, it can now be seen on a wayside nearby.

²⁹⁹ On Carnegie’s artistic judgment and deference to experts, see Kenneth Neal, *A Wise Extravagance: The Founding of the Carnegie International Exhibitions, 1895-1901* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), pp. 5-6.

³⁰⁰ “Schenley Memorial is Here to Be Assembled,” *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 25, 1917, p. 7. Lawrence McDonald claimed that “\$50,000 had been raised four years ago by public contributions” and matched by the city. See Lawrence McDonald, “Mary E. Schenley Memorial to be Dedicated Soon,” *The Gazette-Times* [Pittsburgh], [month unknown] 9, 1917. Clipping, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Room, vertical file: Schenley Memorial. Grace Humphrey credited “public-spirited citizens” and the city. See Grace Humphrey, “A Song to Nature,” *The International Studio*, vol. 61, no. 242 (April 1917), p. LVII.

³⁰¹ “Council Takes Up Proposed Plaza and Schenley Memorial Fountain,” *The Gazette-Times* [Pittsburgh], July 11, 1916, p. 9 and “Bigelow Protests Park Plan,” *The Pittsburgh Post*, July 11, 1916, p. 2.

³⁰² “Bigelow Raps New Plan for Park Entrance,” *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 6, 1916, p. 24.

³⁰³ Rose’s numbers appear to comport with records of sales from other sources. See John C. Rose, “Contends Schenley Park Was Not a Gift,” letter to the editor, *The Pittsburgh Press*, November 20, 1935, p.12; see also Howard Stewart, *Historical Data: Pittsburgh Public Parks* (Pittsburgh, 1943), supplement, p. 37.

³⁰⁴ See Russell Sage Foundation, *The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage* [*The Pittsburgh Survey: Findings in Six Volumes*], ed. Paul Underwood Kellogg (New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1914), p. vi.

³⁰⁵ Bion J. Arnold, John R. Freeman, and Frederick Law Olmsted [Jr.], *City Planning for Pittsburgh: Outline and Procedure; A Report* [December 1909] (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Civic Commission, June 1910), p. 5.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 19. Although signed by all three consultants, Olmsted is the first signatory and presumably the principle author of the text. Local civic centers may include “branch libraries, schools, playgrounds, gymnasiums and baths, public or quasi-public halls and social centers, local park and recreation grounds, police and fire engine houses, district offices and yards of various city departments.”

³⁰⁷ The Civic League of St. Louis, *A City Plan for St. Louis: Reports of the Several Committees Appointed by the Executive Board of the Civic League to Draft a City Plan* (St. Louis, 1907), pp. 30-37. This is discussed in chapter 2.

³⁰⁸ 1909 is considered a turning point from the City Beautiful movement to the city practical, but this misses the more important underlying evolution of planning and the persistence and growing importance of civic centers within comprehensive planning. See William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 285.

³⁰⁹ Olmsted, Frederick Law [Jr.]. *Pittsburgh Main Thoroughfares and the Down Town District: Improvements Necessary to Meet the City’s Present and Future Needs; a Report by Frederick Law Olmsted; Prepared Under the Direction of the Committee on City Planning; Adopted by the Commission December 1910* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Civic Commission, 1911).

³¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. xii.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

³¹² *Ibid*, foldout map between pp. 4 and 5.

³¹³ *Ibid*, p. 11.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 13.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 7. It is significant that Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit all had subway plans under consideration at various time in the early twentieth century that never materialized. One can only speculate how city planning in cities such as these might have been shaped with such mass transportation systems instead of acquiescence to the motor vehicle.

³¹⁶ Frederick Law Olmsted [Jr.], "Real City Planning: Address Before the City Club of Los Angeles," *The California Outlook*, vol. 12, no. 3 (January 13, 1912), p. 13.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 13.

³¹⁸ Arnold W. Brunner, "The Business Side of City Planning," address before the America Civic Association, Washington, D.C., December 1911, *National Municipal Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (April 1912), p. 240. These closing remarks are also excerpted in a side bar in Olmsted's *California Outlook* article cited in note 316, above.

³¹⁹ Olmsted, *Pittsburgh Main Thoroughfares*, p. 1.

³²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 1.

³²¹ *Ibid*, p. 101.

³²² *Ibid*, pp. 101, 103.

³²³ *Ibid*, p. 103.

³²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 103.

³²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 101-103.

³²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 101.

³²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 103.

³²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 103.

³²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 103.

³³⁰ In his subsequent *California Outlook* article, Olmsted declares, "I have examined with a great deal of interest the report prepared for the City of Los Angeles by my friend, Charles Mulford Robinson," but either he had not done so at the time he was considering Pittsburgh, or Robinson's use of civic center and cultural center in that report or earlier in "Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh" in the Pittsburgh Survey failed to impress him. See Olmsted, "Real City Planning," p. 14.

³³¹ *Annual Reports of the Departments and Offices of the City of Pittsburgh 1913* (Pittsburgh: Office of the Mayor, 1913), p. 840. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.

³³² "Annual Report of the Bureau of Parks, 1914," *Annual Reports of the Departments and Offices of the City of Pittsburgh 1914* (Pittsburgh: Office of the Mayor, 1914), p. 659. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library; Frederick Thomas Bigger, letter to Hermon A. MacNeil, November 13, 1914 and Frederick Thomas Bigger, letter to J.P. Kerr, 24 January 1917, p. 2. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives, Art Commission, City of Pittsburgh Collection, folder: Schenley Park Entrance Competition. See also the blueprint for a fountain platform, also at CMU.

³³³ See Frederick Thomas Bigger, "Schenley Plaza," typescript timeline for 1914, hand-dated January 19, 1915; John W. Beatty, draft letter to Albert J. Logan, February 5, 1915; Albert J. Logan, letter to John W. Beatty, February 6, 1915; Richard Hooker, letter to Art Commission, April 2, 1914; Bigger, letter to John W. Beatty, April 13, 1914; Guy F. Jackson, letter to Bigger, June 1, 1914; and Bigger, letter to Richard Hooker, June 8, 1914. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives, Art Commission, City of Pittsburgh Collection, folder: Schenley Park Entrance Competition.

³³⁴ See Henry McGoodwin, letter to Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., June 29, 1914; McGoodwin, letter to Frederick Thomas Bigger, 29 June 1914; Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., letter to McGoodwin, July 8, 1914; Harold Van Buren Magonigle, letter to McGoodwin, July 13 and 15, 1914; and Richard Hooker, letter to A.B. Harlow, July 16, 1914.

Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives, Art Commission, City of Pittsburgh Collection, folder: Schenley Park Entrance Competition.

³³⁵ For Brenner's role in the foundations, see *Annual Reports of the Departments and Offices of the City of Pittsburgh 1914* (Pittsburgh: Office of the Mayor, 1914), p. 659. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library. See also George W. Burke to Arthur A. Hamerschlag, February 22, 1915. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives, Art Commission, City of Pittsburgh Collection, folder: Schenley Park Entrance Competition.

³³⁶ See Frederick Thomas Bigger, letter to Hermon A. MacNeil, November 13, 1914. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives, Art Commission, City of Pittsburgh Collection, folder: Schenley Park Entrance Competition; *Annual Reports of the Departments and Offices of the City of Pittsburgh 1914* (Pittsburgh: Office of the Mayor, 1914), p. 659. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.

³³⁷ See E.H. Bennett, letter to Frederick Thomas Bigger, 6 January 1915; reply, 7 January, 1915; John W. Beatty, telegram to E.H. Beatty, CMU. See also Daniel H. Burnham and E.H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago: Prepared under the Direction of the Commercial Club During the Years MCMVI, MCMVII, and MCMVIII* (Chicago, 1909).

³³⁸ See Frederick Thomas Bigger, Report, Committee Conference in re Schenley Plaza, typescript, 19 January 1915, and Joint Committee Meeting (minutes), typescript, February 9, 1915. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives, Art Commission, City of Pittsburgh Collection, folder: Schenley Park Entrance Competition; see also "Annual Report of the Bureau of Parks, 1914," *Annual Reports of the Departments and Offices of the City of Pittsburgh, 1914* (Pittsburgh: Office of the Mayor, 1914), pp. 9, 659-660. University of Pittsburgh, Hillman Library.

³³⁹ Photographic prints of the 40 submissions are preserved at Carnegie Mellon University, Architectural Archives, Art Commission Papers. Glass negatives of some if not all of these are housed at the University of Pittsburgh, Archives Services Center, Collection of the City Photographer.

³⁴⁰ For an account of the 1915 Schenley Plaza Competition, see Donald E. Simpson, "American Halicarnassus: The Mary E. Schenley Memorial, Andrew Carnegie, and the Origin of Pittsburgh's Oakland Cultural Center," Master's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2009, pp. 26-29.

³⁴¹ See "Council Takes Up Proposed Plaza and Schenley Memorial Fountain," *The Gazette-Times* [Pittsburgh], July 11, 1916, page 9; "Bigelow Protests Park Plan," *The Pittsburgh Post*, July 11, 1916, page 2; "Council Calls for Economies to Lower Tax Rate," *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 11, 1916, page 7; "Council Balks at Memorial Plan Revision," *The Pittsburgh Post*, September 22, 1916, page 2; and "Against Plan for Schenley Memorial," *The Pittsburgh Press*, September 22, 1916, page 21.

³⁴² "Informally Disapproved," editorial, *The Pittsburgh Sun*, September 23, 1916, p. 6.

³⁴³ Cortlandt Whitehead, "The Park Approach," letter to the editor, *The Pittsburgh Sun*, September 28, 1916, p. 5. On the filling of the ravine, see Donald E. Simpson, "The Filling of St. Pierre's Ravine and the Legend of the Hump," *From Pavement to Paradise: The Evolution of Schenley Plaza*, exhibition catalog (Pittsburgh: University Gallery, September 2006), pp. 14-19.

³⁴⁴ See Pittsburgh Parks Conservancy, "News Release," June 1, 2006.

³⁴⁵ H. Bartol Register, letter to Frederick Thomas Bigger, January 21, 1916. Carnegie Mellon University Architecture Archives, Art Commission, City of Pittsburgh Collection, folder: Schenley Park Entrance Competition.

³⁴⁶ "From Blunders to Beauty," *The Charette*, vol. 5, no. 4 (April 1925), p. 7.

³⁴⁷ "To modern civic art America has made important contributions with her world's fairs, the evolution of the university campus, the civic center movement, and some features of her large restricted subdivisions for high grade and recently for inexpensive houses." Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1922), p. 99.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³⁴⁹ On the design and construction of the Cathedral of Learning, see Toker, *Pittsburgh: An Urban Portrait*, pp. 83-86; Robert C. Alberts, *Pitt: The Story of the University of Pittsburgh 1787-1987* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986), pp. 77-108; Mark M. Brown, *The Cathedral of Learning: Concept, Design, Construction*,

exhibition catalog (Pittsburgh: University Art Gallery, March 1987); Matthew Roper, ed., *Planning the Pitt Campus: Dreams and Schemes Never Realized*, exhibition catalog (Pittsburgh: University Art Gallery, November 1993), pp. 13-17.

³⁵⁰ Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association. *A Plan for Pittsburgh's Cultural District, Oakland* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association, 1961), p. 36.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁵² Throughout the publication, the descriptor civic center appears twice, cultural center five times, and medical center 43 times.

³⁵³ "Today's Radio Program," *The New York Times*, May 17, 1922, p. 14.

³⁵⁴ William J. Holland, "Pittsburgh—A Cultural Center," *Pittsburgh First: Organ of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce*, vol. 4, no. 3 (1922), p. 14.

³⁵⁵ Henry Hornbostel, "History of Architecture in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County," *The Charette*, vol. 18, no. 9 (September 1938), p. 4.

³⁵⁶ "City Planning Program—1939," *The Charette*, vol. 19, no. 1 (January 1939), p. 5.

³⁵⁷ Mitchell & Ritchey, architect, *Pittsburgh in Progress, presented by Kaufmann's* (Pittsburgh: Kaufmann's Department Store, 1947), n.p. [pp. 9, 11, 12, 16, 17]. Carnegie Mellon University, Architecture Archives.

³⁵⁸ See "Pittsburgh Plans Municipal Center and Sports Arena; Urban Group proposes to Redevelop 70 Acres of Lower Hill District; Chamber of Commerce Studies Plan (Mammoth Center is Planned in Hill District by City)," *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 30, 1947, pp. 1, 4; "Miracle on the Hill," editorial, *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 30, 1947, p. 8; "Pittsburgh Center Proposed for Lower Hill District; A City of the Future—All Within a City of Today," *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Daily Magazine, October 30, 1947, p. 1; "Pittsburgh Center: Planning Association Announces Elaborate Plan for Redevelopment of Hill District," *The Charette*, vol. 28, no. 1 (January 1948), p. 7.

³⁵⁹ On urban renewal in the Lower Hill project, see Tom Snyder, "Urban Authority to Clear City of Slums," *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, November 3, 1946, pp. 1, 3; "Make it Come True!" editorial, *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, October 31, 1947, p. 24; Charles W. Prine, Jr., "Plans to Clear Hill district of Slums Speeded; City Must Decide by End of Year to Get Aid From U.S.," *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, February 4, 1952, part 2, p. 1; Ralph Brem, "New York Firm Gets Hill Development Job; Zeckenforf's \$1,700,000 Bid, Top Plan Wins Authority Award for 2 Apartments," *Pittsburgh Press*, August 13, 1959, pp. 1, 2; Mel Seidenberg, "Lower Hill Arts Center Slated," *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 9, 1960, pp. 1, 5; Kenneth Eskey, "Arts Center Planned at Lower Hill Site; Zeckendorf, Foundations Hatch Idea for Symphony Hall, Apartments," *The Pittsburgh Press*, June 9, 1960, pp. 1, 2; "Art on the Hill," editorial, *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 10, 1960, p. 10; "Center for the Arts," editorial, *The Pittsburgh Press*, June 10, 1960, p. 18; William Allen, "For Cultural Center; Renew Upper Hill, City Planners Told," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 14, 1961, pp. 1, 4; and Roger W. Stuart, "Co-operation Urged; Hill Redevelopment Called 5 Years Off; Residents to be in on Program, Planner Tells Renewal Committee," *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 5, 1963, p. 9. See also Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business and Environmental Change* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), p. 13, and William J. Mallett, "Redevelopment & Response: The Lower Hill Renewal and Pittsburgh's Original Cultural District," *Pittsburgh History*, vol. 75, no. 4 (Winter 1992), pp. 176-190.

³⁶⁰ William Allen, "For Cultural Center; Renew Upper Hill, City Planners Told," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 14, 1961, pp. 1, 4.

³⁶¹ See James D. Van Trump, "Pittsburgh's Pleasure Dome: The New Civic Auditorium," *The Charette*, October 1961, pp. 8-14, and *Greater Pittsburgh: The Magazine of Business and Industry*, September 1961. Clippings, Heinz History Center Library and Archives, Allegheny Conference on Community Development (Pittsburgh, Pa.), Records, 1920-1993, box 7, folder 14.

³⁶² Ladislav Segoe, *Interim Report, Oakland Civic Center Study, June 1950* (Cincinnati: Ladislav Segoe & Associates, June 1950), p. 2; the phrase is repeated in the final report, Ladislav Segoe, *The Oakland Study*

(Cincinnati: Ladislav Segoe & Associates, 1950), p. 3. Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, William R. Oliver Special Collections Room, Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association Materials, Box I, folder 93 and Box J, folder 95. See also “Oakland Rejuvenation Planned by Cincinnati Consultants,” *The Charette*, vol. 31, no. 1 (January 1951), p. 10, and “Proposal for Oakland: Oakland Civic Center Studies,” *Carnegie Magazine*, vol. 25, no. 1 (January 1951), pp. 6-8. Clipping. Carnegie Public Library, Pennsylvania Room, vertical file: Oakland 1900-1959.

³⁶³ Warner declares that “as one after another modern city becomes self-conscious, it tends toward that more perfect adjustment of its public functions and facilities that results in one or more civic centres.” See John De Witt Warner, “Civic Centers,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1902), pp. 4. Burnham suggests a hierarchy for grouping: in the first place administrative and in the second arts and educational. See Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, “General Theory of the City,” *Report on a Plan for San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1905), pp. 40-41.

³⁶⁴ Charles Mulford Robinson, “The City Beautiful: Suggestions” [November 1907], *Los Angeles, California: The City Beautiful* (Los Angeles: Times Mirror Press, 1909), n.p. [pp. 29, 32].

³⁶⁵ Charles Mulford Robinson, “Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh,” *Charities and the Commons*, vol. 21, no. 19 (February 6, 1909) [*The Pittsburgh Survey II: The Place and Its Social Forces*], pp. 801-826, esp. pp. 803, 810, 811, 812, 817, 819, 821.

³⁶⁶ “Women Clean Up Much Business,” *The Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1912, p. II7.

³⁶⁷ See chapter 2.1, above.

³⁶⁸ Both Robinson and Rumbold attended the meetings in New York City in 1908 and in Rochester in 1910, serving on different committees. See *Proceedings of the Second Annual Playground Congress, New York City, September 8-12, 1908, and Year Book, 1908* (New York: Playground Association of America), pp. 34, 323, and “Program, Play Congress—Rochester, N.Y., June 7-11, 1910,” *The Playground*, vol. 6, no. 3 (June 1910), p. 95.

³⁶⁹ The Civic League of St. Louis, *A City Plan for St. Louis: Reports of the Several Committees Appointed by the Executive Board of the Civic League to Draft a City Plan* (St. Louis, 1907), p. 110.

³⁷⁰ “Charlotte Rumbold was a social reformer who worked in St. Louis for the Open Air Playground Committee in 1902, spent nine years as playgrounds supervisor for the city starting in 1906, and compiled a descriptive report on terrible housing conditions for the city’s Civic League in 1908. She also organized a large, successful Pageant and Masque in Forest Park in 1913 to celebrate the city’s 150th anniversary. A suffragist and popular speaker, her motto was, “If we play together, we will work together.” In 1914, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat named her the “best-known young woman in St. Louis.” The following year, when she asked for a raise from St. Louis as New York was recruiting her for a \$4,000-per-year position, despite public outrage, the city’s Board of Aldermen voted against her raise given that “she is not a voter.” She resigned and moved to Cleveland, Ohio, to work for the Chamber of Commerce as secretary of the city planning committee, where she studied Cleveland’s housing situation and made recommendations. She was responsible for Cleveland’s first group housing in 1917, and she continued her work to eliminate slums and improve housing conditions and public spaces. She died at age 90 in Cleveland.” Jamie Schmidt, *Charlotte Rumbold Papers Finding Aid* (March 2008), Missouri History Museum Library and Research Center, http://www.mohistory.org/files/collections/file_upload/Rumbold_Charlotte_Papers.pdf.

³⁷¹ John De Witt Warner, “Civic Centers,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1902), pp. 18-19.

³⁷² Charlotte Rumbold, minutes of a meeting of the University Circle Subcommittee, City Plan Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, December 23, 1918, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1918-1919. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 23, minutes, 1918-1919.

³⁷³ Charlotte Rumbold, “Cleveland’s Progress in City Planning,” *Proceedings of the Twelfth National Conference on City Planning, Cincinnati, April 19-22, 1920* (Cincinnati: National Conference on City Planning, 1920), pp. 22-26; quote p. 24.

³⁷⁴ Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, *Annual Report and Reports of Committees* (Cleveland: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1928), p. 8.

³⁷⁵ “City’s Dream of Culture Riveted,” *The Plain Dealer*, December 26, 1929, p. 1.

³⁷⁶ Charlotte Rumbold, "What a Civic Center Means to the Citizens Who Create It," *Planning Problems of Town, City and Region: Papers and Discussions at the Twenty-Second National Conference on City Planning Held at Denver, Colorado, June 23 to 26, 1930* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell Co., 1930), pp. 191-196; quote p. 192.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 196. Key among these alterations was the removal of the railroad terminal from the axis of the Mall on Lake Erie to the other side of Public Square a short distance away.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³⁸² While Rumbold is merely reporting on these developments, the extent of her role in the planning of University Circle, particularly through the Chamber of Commerce, remains unknown and can only be a matter of conjecture. It is but one of many questions that might be cleared up as the University Circle Company's records and Benjamin S. Hubbell papers are further processed in the archives of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

³⁸³ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "On the Constitution of the Church and State, According to the Idea of Each (1829)," *Coleridge's Writings, vol. 1: On Politics and Society*, ed. John Morrow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 152-220. See especially chapter V, p. 173.

³⁸⁴ Montgomery Schuyler, "Last Words About the World's Fair," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 3, no. 3 (January-March 1894), pp. 291-301.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

³⁹¹ Holly M. Rarick, *Progressive Vision: The Planning of Downtown Cleveland, 1903-1930*, exhibition catalog (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art with Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 14.

³⁹² Herbert B. Briggs, "Cleveland Architectural Club," *American Architect and Building News*, vol. 50, no. 162 [no. 1041] (December 7, 1895), p. 115.

³⁹³ Walter C. Leedy, Jr., "Cleveland's Struggle for Self-Identity: Aesthetics, Economics, and Politics," in *Modern Architecture in America: Visions and Revisions*, ed. Richard Guy Wilson and Sidney K. Robinson (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), pp. 75-105, esp. pp. 78-81.

³⁹⁴ See Holly M. Rarick, *Progressive Vision: The Planning of Downtown Cleveland, 1903-1930*, exhibition catalog (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art with Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 11, 14; see also William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City*, 2nd ed. (Kent OH: The Kent State University Press, 1990 [1950]), p. 559.

³⁹⁵ Herbert B. Briggs, "The Municipal Building Problem in the City of Cleveland," *The Architectural Annual*, ed. Albert Kelsey, (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 44.

³⁹⁶ Herbert B. Briggs, "Municipal Improvement, Cleveland," *The Inland Architect and News Record* vol. 34, no. 1 (August 1899), pp. 4-5.

³⁹⁷ Briggs, "The Municipal Building Problem," p. 45.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 46.

⁴⁰⁰ “Did you notice in one of the daily papers a short while ago that the city of Cleveland, which is about to erect several large and costly public buildings, is seriously considering the grouping of these buildings around a ‘Court of Honor’? And such a state of public interest in municipal architecture has come about since 1893! Is not that the greatest step—the greatest leap—that American public spirit has taken in that direction since the days of Washington and Jefferson?” W.M. Aiken, “Competitions Under the Tarsney Act and Others,” letter to the editors, *The American Architect and Building News*, vol. 74, no. 1353 (November 30, 1901), p. 72.

⁴⁰¹ Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 160-161.

⁴⁰² John De Witt Warner, “Civic Centers,” *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1902), pp. 18-19.

⁴⁰³ Daniel H. Burnham, John M. Carrère, and Arnold W. Brunner, *The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland: Report Made to the Honorable Tom L. Johnson, Mayor, and to the Honorable Board of Public Service* (Cleveland: August 1903).

⁴⁰⁴ J.J. Piatt, “Centennial Ode,” in Edward A. Roberts, comp., *Official Report of the Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the City of Cleveland and the Settlement of the Western Reserve* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Printing & Publishing Co., 1896), pp. 65-69; quote from p. 69. For a more detailed discussion of this passage, see chapter 1.4.1, above.

⁴⁰⁵ For example, the renderings of Jules Guerin for Burnham and Bennett’s 1909 plan for Chicago, or Hugh Ferriss’ view of Eliel Saarinen’s Detroit Veterans’ Memorial Hall.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3-4.

⁴⁰⁷ Arnold Brunner, “Cleveland’s Group Plan,” *Proceedings of the Eighth National Conference on City Planning, Cleveland, June 5-7, 1916* (New York: 1916), pp. 14-24; quote p. 21.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 21. For a fuller discussion of this passage, see chapter 1.1, above.

⁴⁰⁹ Rarick, p. 36.

⁴¹⁰ Rarick, pp. 35-42 and 67-87.

⁴¹¹ Burnham, *The Group Plan*, p. 2.

⁴¹² Rarick, p. 43-45 and 55-60.

⁴¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 78-80.

⁴¹⁴ Maude L. Campbell, “Med Mart Version 2.0: The Original Plan Isn’t Going to Work; What About the Latest One?” cover story, *Scene Magazine*, September 28, 2011 [<http://www.clevescene.com/cleveland/med-mart-version-20/Content?oid=2737315&showFullText=true>].

⁴¹⁵ Hegemann and Peets exude, “To modern civic art America has made important contributions with her world’s fairs, the evolution of the university campus, the civic center movement, and some features of her large restricted subdivisions for high grade and recently for inexpensive houses.” Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect’s Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1922), p. 99. Edward J. Ward, advocate of the public school building as social or civic center, had previously referred to a civic center movement in city planning in 1910. See Edward J. Ward, “Summary of the Report of the School Extension Committee,” *Proceedings of the Buffalo Conference for Good City Government and the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League, Held November 14, 15, 16, 17, 1910*, Clinton Rodgers Woodruff, ed. (National Municipal League, 1910), pp. 353-374; quote p. 354.

⁴¹⁶ Hegemann and Peets, p. 133.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 142.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 1.

⁴²⁰ John De Witt Warner, "Civic Centers," *Municipal Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 1 (March 1902), p. 18.

⁴²¹ For an overview of the formation of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the selection of a site, see Walter C. Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum: Patronage, Politics, and Architecture, 1884-1916* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 1-11.

⁴²² Editorial, *The Cleveland Leader*, December 25, 1892; cited in Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum*, p. 11.

⁴²³ Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum*, p. 12.

⁴²⁴ Annual Meeting of the Western Reserve Historical Society, May 7, 1895, Minutes of Meetings, 1892-1908, 1/M/1, Box 3, Archives, Western Reserve Historical Society; cited in Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum*, p. 14.

⁴²⁵ "Build the Museum Downtown," *The Ohio Architect and Builder*, vol. 1, no. 6 (June 1903), p. 4; referenced by Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum*, pp. 11 and 18n70.

⁴²⁶ Liberty Holden, "The Public Buildings of European Cities," typescript, Meeting of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, May 20, 1901, MS 3471, Western Reserve Historical Society; cited in Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum*, p. 14.

⁴²⁷ Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum*, pp. 11-14.

⁴²⁸ Leedy, *Cleveland Builds an Art Museum*, pp. 20-26.

⁴²⁹ I.T. Frary, "The Cleveland Museum of Art, Hubbell & Benes, Architects," *The Architectural Record*, vol. 40, no. 3 (September 1916), p. 211.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 211.

⁴³¹ Bruce Robertson, "Frederic A. Whiting: Founding the Museum with Art and Craft," in Evan H. Turner, ed., *Object Lessons: Cleveland Creates an Art Museum* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 32-59; esp. pp. 33-34 and 37.

⁴³² Robertson, pp. 44 and 54.

⁴³³ Hubbell had been a member of the Municipal Art and Architecture Committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce at least since 1911. See *The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Annual 1911* (Cleveland: Chamber of Commerce, 1911), p. 15. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 71, Annual Reports, 1910-1913. On Whiting's membership since 1914, see *The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Annual 1914* (Cleveland: Chamber of Commerce, 1914), p. 16. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 72, Annual Reports, 1914-1916.

⁴³⁴ See Cleveland Chamber of Commerce annual reports to 1929.

⁴³⁵ In his dedication address for Western's Adelbert College, Cornell President Andrew Dickson White remarked, "Any educational establishment of any sort which is established here should be made a part of such a [combined] university. In this way you will see spring up here, instead of a number of a little warring institutions, each jealous of each other, a true university renowned not merely in this land, but in other lands." Quoted in Gary Griffith, "Second Draft of the Dream at University Circle," *Cleveland Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May 1972), pp. 26-34; quote pp. 26-27.

⁴³⁶ John G. White, letter to Charles F. Thwing, February 2, 1914. Case Western Reserve University Archives, 1DB6, Records of Charles F. Thwing, President, Western Reserve University (1890-1921), papers, box 20, folder 11, "University of Cleveland."

⁴³⁷ Edward Baxter, minutes, Municipal Art and Architecture committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, February 5, 1914, *Chamber of Commerce Minutes 1913-1914*, vol. 2 (n.p). Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 17, Minutes, 1913-1914.

⁴³⁸ The 1914 Hubbell plans for the University of Cleveland may be among the unprocessed materials in the Hubbell Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society.

⁴³⁹ Minutes, Municipal Art and Architecture committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, December 20, 1915, *Chamber of Commerce Minutes 1915-1916*, vol. 3, n.p. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 20, Minutes, 1915-1916.

⁴⁴⁰ Sub-committee on Arrangements for National Conference on City Planning, Municipal Art and Architecture Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, n.d., *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1915-1916, n.p. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 20, Minutes, 1915-1916.

⁴⁴¹ Minutes, Subcommittee on Arrangements for [the] National Conference on City Planning, Municipal Art and Architecture [Committee], Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, February 2, 1916, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1915-1916, n.p. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 20, Minutes, 1915-1916.

⁴⁴² Benjamin S. Hubbell, "To the Stockholders of the University Improvement Company," typescript report given to the annual stockholders meeting, June 15, 1920, p. 1. The University Improvement Company, Record Book No. 1, loose-leaf binder, pp. 1-8 [binder pp. 77-84]. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 475 Box 3 45.

⁴⁴³ Minutes, Municipal Art and Arch Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, May 31, 1916, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1916-1917, n.p. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 21, Minutes, 1916-1917.

⁴⁴⁴ Motion, City Plan Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, October 10, 1918. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 704, box 6 of 7.

⁴⁴⁵ Presently among the unprocessed Benjamin S. Hubbell papers at Western Reserve Historical Society, the plan measures 102" x 65 1/2" and is surrounded by a flat, gold-painted four-inch border that may have once boasted a massive, ornate frame. The drawing is unambiguously hand-dated "May 1916" in the lower right corner; presumably in ink on tissue mounted on gessoed wooden boards, it has darkened considerably over the years, suggesting that it may have hung proudly in the architects' offices for many years. The plan has suffered significant trauma, including a long crack that almost completely winds across the paper from the upper left to the lower right. A brittle 5" x 2" sliver has fallen off, and two scratches in the upper right have pushed some of the tissue drawing away from the white gesso. The drawing is otherwise substantially intact and still completely legible to the naked eye, including discernible traces of color on certain elements. Photographs among the unprocessed Hubbell papers show this drawing on a museum cart in an unknown facility, documenting the damage at least as not new. Indeed, prior to an apparent restoration, portions of the drawing appear to have been buckling away from its support. Also, these photographs show the four-inch border as plain white gesso, some of which appears to have been pulled off of the wood, with nail holes suggesting that the drawing once sported a molded frame which was removed, perhaps to facilitate flat storage. The sheer size of the drawing, its absent frame, and its apparent restoration attests to its importance. The 1916 plan by Hubbell and Benes was donated to the Western Historical Society by Hubbell's sister Virginia Hubbell in 1988, and remains a part of the unprocessed Hubbell papers. Accession no. 1988-089, Western Reserve Historical Society. An undated black and white photograph shows the plan on a museum cart in an unknown laboratory or workshop prior to restoration, with unpainted gesso and nail holes where there is now a border of gold paint. See photograph, Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 704 box 1 of 7.

⁴⁴⁶ This identification is supported by the minutes of a meeting of the Subcommittee on University Circle, City Plan Committee, Chamber of Commerce: "[Mr. Hubbell] presented a photograph of the plan of the University Circle regarded as a setting for the University of Cleveland, with the Administration Building, or some similar building, set on the axis of the circle, directly at the head of Euclid Avenue." Minutes, Meeting of the Subcommittee on the University Circle, City Plan Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, January 7, 1918, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1917-1918. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth

Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 22, Minutes, 1917-1918. See also Eric Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture, 1876-1976* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979), pp. 125-126.

⁴⁴⁷ Except for the slight confusion of Abbingdon Road with the street one block away forming the actual border of the proposed development, Hubbell's description matches the drawing at the Western Reserve Historical Society in every respect. A number of buildings in the upper portion of the drawing presumably already existed on the Western Reserve and Case campuses. See Benjamin S. Hubbell, "To the Stockholders of the University Improvement Company," typescript report given to the annual stockholders meeting, June 15, 1920, p. 1. The University Improvement Company, Record Book No. 1, loose-leaf binder, pp. 1-8 [binder pp. 77-84]. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 475 Box 3 45.

⁴⁴⁸ "1. New and larger buildings for the Cleveland School of Art; 2. School of architecture; 3. New and larger buildings for Western Reserve Historical society; 4. Natural History Museum; 5. War Memorial Museum; 6. School of Music with auditorium and Recital Hall; 7. University Library with School for Library Instruction; 8. Dormitory for the College for Women; 9. First Church of Christ Scientist; 10. Catholic Cathedral; 11. Methodist Church; 12. Masonic Temple; 13. Large addition to the Normal School; 14. The John Hay High School Group." Presumably some of these descriptions are represented in the buildings numbered 2 through 17 on the 1916 drawing, although not necessarily corresponding to the same numbering or in the same order. See Hubbell, "To the Stockholders of the University Improvement Company," p. 2 [binder p. 78].

⁴⁴⁹ Whiting to Jephtha Homer Wade II (hereafter referred to as Wade), February 11, 1924, p. 2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series I, box 13, folder 134: Jephtha Wade II, transfer file, 1921-27.

⁴⁵⁰ The Cleveland Foundation, "Educational Group Plan," *The Cleveland Year Book 1926** (Cleveland, 1927), p. 100.

⁴⁵¹ Members of the Municipal Art and Architecture Committee including Hubbell and Whiting and representatives of the Cleveland chapter of the American Institute of Architects voted "that the collection be placed in a suitable room at the new Art Museum" after a short exhibition at city hall. Charlotte Rumbold, minutes, Municipal Art and Architecture Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, June 14, 1916, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, 1916-1917, vol. 2. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 21, Minutes, 1916-1917.

⁴⁵² See *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Annual 1917*, p. 14. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 73, Annuals 1917-1920.

⁴⁵³ Charlotte Rumbold, minutes, University Circle Subcommittee, City Plan Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, January 7, 1918, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1918-1919. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 23, minutes, 1918-1919. Also cited in Lawrence, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁵⁴ Charlotte Rumbold, minutes, meeting of the Sub-Committee on University Circle, City Plan Committee, Chamber of Commerce, August 1, 1918, pp. 1-2, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1918-1919. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 23, minutes, 1918-1919.

⁴⁵⁵ Motion, City Plan Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, October 10, 1918. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 704, box 6 of 7.

⁴⁵⁶ Charlotte Rumbold, minutes of a meeting of the University Circle Subcommittee, City Plan Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, November 20, 1918, p. 2, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1918-1919. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 23, minutes, 1918-1919.

⁴⁵⁷ "The University of Cleveland," memoranda, November 30, 1918. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 704, box 6 of 7.

⁴⁵⁸ Charlotte Rumbold, minutes of a meeting of the University Circle Subcommittee, City Plan Committee, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, December 16 and 23, 1918, *Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Minutes*, vol. 2, 1918-1919. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 3471, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Records, 1881-1971, container 23, minutes, 1918-1919.

⁴⁵⁹ Wade was one of four subscribers at \$20,000, with a total capitalization of \$275,000 pledged. Benjamin S. Hubbell, "To the Stockholders of the University Improvement Company," typescript report given to the annual stockholders meeting, June 15, 1920, pp. 3 and 6. The University Improvement Company, Record Book No. 1, loose-leaf binder, pp. 78 and 82. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 475 Box 3 45.

⁴⁶⁰ Charlotte Rumbold, "Cleveland's Progress in City Planning," *Proceedings of the Twelfth National Conference on City Planning, Cincinnati, April 19-22, 1920* (Cincinnati: National Conference on City Planning, 1920), pp. 22-26; quote p. 24.

⁴⁶¹ Frederic Allen Whiting, Minutes, Meeting of the Museum and Educational Council, November 21, 1921. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference on Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁶² Whiting to Wade, December 2, 1921. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference on Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁶³ Whiting to William P. Palmer, December 2, 1921. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference on Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁶⁴ Rossiter Howard, "Changing Ideals of the Art Museum," *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. 71, no. 1 (January 1922), pp. 125-128; quote p. 127. The goals of the program are summarized in "Cooperation with Public Schools" and "Class for Talented Children," *Aims and Principles of the Department of Educational Work: Supplement to the Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art June-July 1921* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1921), pp. 9-11.

⁴⁶⁵ Howard, p. 128.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 128.

⁴⁶⁷ Wm. E. Tousley, minutes, Executive Committee, University Improvement Company, Wednesday, December 13, 1922, p. 2. The University Improvement Company, Record Book No. 1, loose-leaf binder, p. 161. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 475 Box 3 45.

⁴⁶⁸ William E. Tousley, Minutes, University Improvement Company Directors, August 26, 1924, p. 2, The University Improvement Company, Record Book No. 1, loose-leaf binder, p. 177. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 475 Box 3 45.

⁴⁶⁹ Determining the significance of these drawings is hampered since the exact whereabouts of the originals is unknown. The drawings, from the collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society, were reproduced in two Western Reserve Historical Society publications in 1979 and 1980, and were included in an exhibition at that time, but can no longer be located. Johannesen dates them to the late 1910s while Lawrence more confidently declares that they "were probably executed in 1922." See Eric Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture, 1876-1976* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979), pp. 125-126, and Michael G. Lawrence, *Make No Little Plans: Architectural Drawings from the Cuyahoga County Archives and the Western Reserve Historical Society*, exhibition catalog (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1980), pp. 34-36.

⁴⁷⁰ William E. Tousley, Memorandum, Conference at Mr. Black's House, April 17, 1921, p. 2 [April 19, 1921], The University Improvement Company, Record Book No. 1, loose-leaf binder, p. 142. Western Reserve Historical Society Archives, Benjamin S. Hubbell Papers [unprocessed], University Improvement Company Records, Acc 475 Box 3 45.

⁴⁷¹ James G. Monnett, Jr., "Urges Wade Park to Run to Carnegie: Architect Tells of Work Done by Improvement Company Just Dissolved," *The Plain Dealer*, May 22, 1930, p. 12. Cleveland Public Library, History & Geography Department, University Circle clipping file (microfiche).

⁴⁷² Whiting index, Robert S. Vinson, card #1. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series VI: Index [Cards] to Whiting's Numbered Administrative Correspondence: Box 75: Sabel-Voynich.

⁴⁷³ Robertson, p. 54.

⁴⁷⁴ Chas. S. Howe, Robert S. Vinson, letter to Malcolm McBride, Cleveland Foundation, February 21, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁷⁵ Whiting to Wade, February 11, 1924, p. 2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series I, box 13, folder 134: Jephtha Wade II, transfer file, 1921-27.

⁴⁷⁶ Whiting, letter to Frederick M. Keppel, February 16, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting; box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁷⁷ Whiting, "Cleveland Educational Council," minutes of a meeting in the faculty room, Adelbert College, March 25, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁷⁸ Whiting to Keppel, March 1, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932. Corporation, New York, March 1, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁷⁹ Whiting to F.P. Keppel, President, Carnegie Corporation, New York, March 7, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸⁰ "Cleveland Educational Council," minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Educational Council, March 25, 1924, p. 1. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸¹ Whiting, "Notes on Proposed Educational Cooperation," revised draft distributed with the minutes of the meeting of the Cleveland Educational Council, March 25, 1924, pp. 1-4. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932. A first draft of this document can be found in Case Western University Archives, 1DB7, Records of Robert Ernest Vinson, President, Western Reserve University (1923-1933), box 4, folder 1, Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1927.

⁴⁸² Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Educational Council, March 25, 1924, pp. 1-2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸³ Whiting to Keppel, April 5, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸⁴ Keppel to Whiting, April 12, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸⁵ Whiting to Ruml, April 16 and May 10, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸⁶ Whiting to Keppel, April 29, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸⁷ Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Council of Education, May 7, 1924, pp. 1-2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁸⁸ See Preliminary Reports of the Cleveland Museum of Art, John Huntington Polytechnic Institute, Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland School of Architecture, Cleveland School of Art, Cleveland School of Education, Cleveland Orchestra, Welfare Federation, YWCA, YMCA, YMCA School of Technology, Superintendent of Schools, Cleveland Public Schools, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland Institute of Music, Cleveland Kindergarten-Primary Training Schools, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, and Cleveland Playhouse. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 4: Cleveland Conference on Educational Cooperation: Committee Reports, 1924.

⁴⁸⁹ Whiting, "Preliminary Report to the Cleveland Council of Educational Cooperation: The Cleveland Museum of Art," September 1924, pp. 1-9. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 4: Cleveland Conference on Educational Cooperation: Committee Reports, 1924.

⁴⁹⁰ Whiting, "Preliminary Report to the Cleveland Council of Educational Cooperation: The Cleveland Museum of Art," draft typescript with hand corrections, October 23, 1924, pp. 17. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 4: Cleveland Conference on Educational Cooperation: Committee Reports, 1924.

⁴⁹¹ Memorandum of interview with Rowland Haynes and Whiting, Carnegie Corporation of New York, December 26, 1924. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932. See also Whiting to Keppel, January 3, 1925. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁹² Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, January 26, 1925, pp. 1-2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting,

1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁹³ Carnegie Corporation of New York, letters to Whiting, January 30, February 4, and February 26, 1925; Whiting to Cartwright, March 30, 1925; Cartwright to Whiting, March 22 and 23, 1925. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁹⁴ Cartwright to Whiting, April 2, 1925. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁹⁵ Whiting to Cartwright, April 8, 1925. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁴⁹⁶ "A First Statement from The Study Committee to The Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation," April 20, 1925. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 4-6.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁴⁹⁹ Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, April 20, 1925, p. 1. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁰⁰ "Second Statement from the Study Committee to the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation," May 4, 1925, p. 2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁵⁰² Minutes, meetings of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, May 4 and 6, 1925, and "Functional Committees Appointed by the Executive Committee," May 6, 1925. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁰³ The Cleveland Foundation, "Higher and Adult Education: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation," *The Cleveland Year Book 1926** (Cleveland, 1927), p. 86; Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, January 6, 1926. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁰⁴ Minutes, meetings of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, September 17 and December 11, 1925. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁰⁵ Lawrence, Michael G. *Make No Little Plans: Architectural Drawings from the Cuyahoga County Archives and the Western Reserve Historical Society*, exhibition catalog (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1980), p. 33. Lawrence cites a CCEC report dated December 31, 1925 in the CWRU archives.

⁵⁰⁶ Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, January 29, 1926, pp. 1 and 2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁰⁷ The Cleveland Foundation, "Educational Group Plan," *The Cleveland Year Book 1926** (Cleveland, 1927), p. 112.

⁵⁰⁸ Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 31, 1926. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁰⁹ Whiting, "A New Cultural Center: The Branch Library—Plus Branch Museums," pp. 1-2, in "Third Report of the Committee on Sites and Finances of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 31, 1926." Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 362, Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation records, 1924-1930, folder 3: 1926. A draft copy resides in Whiting's files, Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director's Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 1: Branch Museums, 1926.

⁵¹⁰ Frederick McConnell of the Cleveland Play House authored "The Function of Art in the Community," a highly philosophical plea for arts education. In it, he asserts that local community involvement and the professional excellence of arts institutions is neither mutually exclusive nor a formula for provincialism, and maintains that high professional standards can be maintained when applied in local contexts. See Frederick McConnell, "The Function of Art in the Community," in "Third Report of the Committee on Art, Music, and Drama to the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 31, 1926," pp. I-1 to I-3. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 362, Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation records, 1924-1930, folder 3: 1926.

⁵¹¹ Harry N. Irwin, "Present Art Activities in the Conference," in "Third Report of the Committee on Art, Music, and Drama to the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 31, 1926," pp. II-1 to II-9; quote p. II-3. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 362, Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation records, 1924-1930, folder 3: 1926.

⁵¹² *Ibid*, pp. II-5 to II-7.

⁵¹³ *Ibid*, p. II-2.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. II-1.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. II-7.

⁵¹⁶ Henry Turner Bailey and Rossiter Howard, "An Adequate Program in Art, Music and Drama," in "Third Report of the Committee on Art, Music, and Drama to the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 31, 1926," pp. III-1 to III-7; quote p. III-1. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 362, Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation records, 1924-1930, folder 3: 1926.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. III-1.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. III-2.

⁵¹⁹ "No center of such activity, however, perfect, could serve the needs of the children scattered over the great area of the city. There should be widely scattered centers of culture. The Branch Libraries furnish the basis of the plan; housed co-operatively, and affording auditorium, exhibition rooms, and class rooms, would furnish a further development. These in addition to the new and finely equipped school buildings offer centres for the activities of the Junior Arts Guild as well as for adult education." *Ibid*, p. III-3.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. III-3-III-7.

⁵²¹ Whiting, "Conclusions and Recommendations," in "Third Report of the Committee on Art, Music, and Drama to the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 31, 1926," pp. IV-1 to IV-3; quote p. IV-3. Western Reserve Historical Society, Mss. 362, Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation records, 1924-1930, folder 3: 1926, p. IV-3

⁵²² “Report of the Annual Meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation Held at the Cleveland Museum of Art on April 23, 1926,” p. 2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵²³ Minutes, meeting of the Executive Committee, Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, June 4, 1926. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵²⁴ The Cleveland Foundation, “Higher and Adult Education: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation,” and “Educational Group Plan,” *The Cleveland Year Book 1926** (Cleveland, 1927), pp. 85-87, 95-96, 100-103, 105, 111.

⁵²⁵ The Cleveland Foundation, *The Cleveland Year Book 1926** (Cleveland, 1927), p. 95.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 104.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 111.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 96.

⁵²⁹ “Plan Cultural Hub of World for East Side; Development of 30 Million Dollar Project Starts at University Circle,” *Cleveland Press*, December 16, 1926, p. 1.

⁵³⁰ Lawrence, p. 33-34.

⁵³¹ The legal size Photostat with color pencil currently resides in the unprocessed Hubbell papers at Western Reserve Historical Society, Benjamin S. Hubbell papers, Acc 704, box 1 of 7. Further processing of the unprocessed Hubbell papers at Western Reserve Historical Society may yield answers to this and other questions about the planning of University Circle in the 1920s.

⁵³² Leonard and Cartwright, “Report Concerning Educational Cooperation in the City of Cleveland, Ohio,” February 10, 1927, p. 6. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁵³³ See “Report Concerning Educational Cooperation in the City of Cleveland, Ohio,” February 10, 1927, pp. 2-3; . Robert M. Lester, Carnegie Corporation of New York, letter to F.A. Whiting, March 26, 1927; Minutes, meeting of the Executive Committee of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 29, 1929. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵³⁴ Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, December 7, 1927. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵³⁵ Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, February 24, 1928, p. 2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁵³⁷ Minutes, meeting of the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, March 1, 1928, p. 1. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵³⁸ Grace M. Beaven, letter to W.G. Leutner, March 29, 1928. Case Western Reserve University Archives, 1DB7, Records of Robert Ernest Vinson, President, Western Reserve University (1923 - 1933), box 4, folder 2 “Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1928-1930.”

⁵³⁹ Beaven writes, “Because I believe the Planning Committee may find in these notes and quotations [...] a useful summary that may serve to give us the historical viewpoint impossible in self analysis, and to aid us in guiding our thinking, I am sending a copy to each member.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ “Report of the University Circle Planning Committee,” May 3, 1929. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁴¹ Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, *Annual Report and Reports of Committees* (Cleveland: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1928), p. 8.

⁵⁴² Mildred Chadsey, “Cultural Centers and Hinterlands,” *The Survey*, vol. 40, no. 12 (September 15, 1928), pp. 606-607; quote p. 606.

⁵⁴³ Mildred Chadsey, “Cultural Centers and Hinterlands,” *The Survey*, vol. 40, no. 12 (September 15, 1928), pp. 606-607.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁵ Robert M. Lester, memorandum of interview, Keppel and Leutner, April 10, 1929. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁵⁴⁶ Whiting to Keppel, April 22, 1929, pp. 1-2. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, Unnumbered Administrative Correspondence of Frederic Allen Whiting, box 62, folder 2: Carnegie Corporation: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1924-1932.

⁵⁴⁷ The Cleveland Foundation, “The Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation,” *The Cleveland Year Book 1929* (Cleveland, 1930), p. 189.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 190.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.

⁵⁵² Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, *Cleveland Student Life in the Allied Educational Institutions* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation, 1930).

⁵⁵³ “An Appreciation,” editorial, *The Cleveland Press*, March 3, 1930. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director’s Office, Frederic Allen Whiting, III. Biographical Materials relating to Frederic Allen Whiting, box 64, folder: Newspaper Clippings.

⁵⁵⁴ Robertson, pp. 54-55. See also Katherine Gibson, “The Cleveland Museum of Art During its First Fourteen Years,” 1930, in *Biographical Material about Frederic Allen Whiting*, n.p. (pp. 20-22). Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archive, Records of the Director’s Office, Frederic Allen Whiting, III. Biographical Materials relating to Frederic Allen Whiting, box 64, folder: Genealogy of the Whiting Family.

⁵⁵⁵ Paul H. Bixler, “The Cleveland Experiment,” *School and Society*, vol. 32, no. 823 (October 4, 1930), pp. 439-443.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

⁵⁶⁰ “Resolution Unanimously Adopted by the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation at its Meeting held Tuesday, February 2, 1932. Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Archives, Records of the Director’s Office: Frederic Allen Whiting, 1913-1930, Series II, box 62, folder 5: Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation: Meeting Minutes, 1924-1932.

⁵⁶¹ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “On the Constitution of the Church and State, According to the Idea of Each (1829),” *Coleridge’s Writings, vol. 1: On Politics and Society*, ed. John Morrow (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 152-220. See especially chapter V.

⁵⁶² *Ibid*, p. 173.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 173.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 173.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 190.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 173.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 176.

⁵⁶⁸ Weiner, Ronald R. *Lake Effects: A History of Urban Policy Making in Cleveland, 1825-1929* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), pp. 127, 129.

⁵⁶⁹ Jean-André de Luc, quoted in “Earth,” John Wilkes, *Encyclopaedia Londinensis, or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, vol. 6 (London: J. Adlard, 1810), pp. 177-201; quote p. 200.

⁵⁷⁰ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Annual Report of City Plan Commission* (Detroit, 1927), p. 3.

⁵⁷¹ Eliel Saarinen, *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1943), pp. 173-174.

⁵⁷² See William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, pp. 287-288 and Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, pp. 240-255.

⁵⁷³ See Arnold Brunner, “Cleveland’s Group Plan,” *Proceedings of the Eighth National Conference on City Planning, Cleveland, June 5-7, 1916* (New York: 1916), pp. 14-24; esp. p. 21.

⁵⁷⁴ This dilemma in modernity is explored in Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*, trans. Michael Bullock (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Publisher, 1997), and José Ortega y Gasset, “The Dehumanization of Art,” *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Writings on Art and Culture* (Garden City NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1956).

⁵⁷⁵ Buford L. Pickens, “Early City Plans for Detroit, A Projected American Metropolis,” *Art Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Winter 1943), p. 36.

⁵⁷⁶ On Native American habitation of Detroit and the origin of main thoroughfares as Indian trails, see William Stocking, “Early Transportation,” in Clarence M. Burton, ed., *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922*, vol. 1 (Detroit: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), pp. 671-673 and Silas Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan, or, The Metropolis Illustrated*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Silas Farmer & Co., 1889), p. 3. See also Arthur M. Woodford, *This is Detroit: 1701-2001* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), ch. 2, “The First People,” pp. 5-13.

⁵⁷⁷ On the early settlement of Detroit, see W. Hawkins Ferry, *The Buildings of Detroit: A History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968), pp. 6-7 and Buford L. Pickens, “Early City Plans for Detroit, A Projected American Metropolis,” *Art Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Winter 1943), pp., 34-51; on French street names, see Pickens, pp. 37, 49n8.

⁵⁷⁸ Today, contemporary examples approximating Detroit’s French colonial architecture survive only across the river in Windsor, Ontario. See Pickens, p. 38.

⁵⁷⁹ Robert Ellis Roberts, *Sketches of the City of Detroit, State of Michigan, Past and Present* (Detroit: R.F. Johnstone & Co., 1855), p. 4.

⁵⁸⁰ Ferry, pp. 14-15; Pickens, pp. 39-45. See also M. Agnes Burton, ed., *Governor and Judges Journal: Proceedings of the Land Board of Detroit* (Detroit, 1915), pp. 3ff.

⁵⁸¹ The streets radiating down from Grand Circus have supposedly been dubbed by present-day developers and preservationists “the necklace,” although this hardly seems to have taken widespread hold. See Eric J. Hill and John Gallagher, *AIA Detroit: The American Institute of Architects Guide to Detroit Architecture* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), p. 44.

⁵⁸² Pickens, p. 40.

⁵⁸³ See Daniel M. Bluestone, “Detroit’s City Beautiful and the Problem of Commerce,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 47, no. 3 (September 1988), pp. 247-248.

⁵⁸⁴ On Moore’s influence on Detroit planning, see Kathryn Kozora, “Charles Moore: His Life and Contributions to the Planning of Detroit,” master’s thesis (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1983).

⁵⁸⁵ See Ferry, p. 138.

⁵⁸⁶ See Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, p. 190.

⁵⁸⁷ Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and Charles Mulford Robinson, *Improvement of the City of Detroit; Reports made by Professor Frederick Law Olmsted, Junior, and Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson to the Detroit Board of Commerce* (Detroit: 1905), p. 3.

⁵⁸⁸ Detroit Board of Commerce, *Improvement of the City of Detroit: Reports made by Professor Frederick Law Olmsted, Junior, and Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson to the Detroit Board of Commerce* (Detroit: 1905). This includes Charles Moore, “Introduction,” pp. 3-5; Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., “Report of Frederick Law Olmsted,” pp. 7-43; and Charles Mulford Robinson, “Report of Charles Mulford Robinson,” pp. 45-67, hereafter cited as one work.

⁵⁸⁹ As Jon A. Peterson relates, this report was Robinson’s first attempt at a real-world, big-city scheme following the publication of landmark book on city planning, *Modern Civic Art*. Apparently dissatisfied with the brevity and clumsiness of much of his text, Moore sought the expertise of his McMillan colleague Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to bolster Robinson’s findings. See Peterson, *Birth of City Planning*, pp. 190 and 383n47.

⁵⁹⁰ *Improvement of the City of Detroit*, p. 47.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39. Italics in the original.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵⁹⁷ On Detroit River traffic, the Census Bureau reports in 1916, “Although of small importance in comparison with the freight business, the passenger traffic on the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River has reached significant proportions.” From 1889 to 1906, the number of passengers increased from 2,235,993 to 14,079,121. Although this includes ports like Milwaukee and Chicago, it is safe to assume that millions of passengers saw Detroit from its river annually. See Francis N. Stacy, “Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River,” United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Transportation by Water* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 137-157; quote and statistics p. 143.

⁵⁹⁸ Olmsted, “Report of Frederick Law Olmsted,” p. 42-43.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁰⁰ *Improvement of the City of Detroit*, p. 3; see also Peterson, *Birth of City Planning*, pp. 190 and 383n47.

- ⁶⁰¹ See Kirk Savage, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), p. 159.
- ⁶⁰² Bluestone, p. 245ff.
- ⁶⁰³ U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, *The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia*, ed. Charles Moore, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, S. Rep. 166, p. 13.
- ⁶⁰⁴ Horace J. McFarland, "In Detroit, Life is Worth Living," *The Outlook*, vol. 91, no. 4 (January 23, 1909), p. 206.
- ⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 211, 213.
- ⁶⁰⁶ For a general history of the library and museum prior to their moves to the Center of Arts and Letters, See Bluestone, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-256. On the Centre Park library, see Frank B. Woodford, *Parnassus on Main Street: A History of the Detroit Public Library* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965), pp. 98-106. On the Detroit Museum of Art, see Jeffrey Abt, *A Museum on the Verge: A Socioeconomic History of the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1882-2000* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), pp. 51-79.
- ⁶⁰⁷ Bluestone, p. 248.
- ⁶⁰⁸ Woodford, pp. 107-113; the characterization of the building as "no thing of beauty" is by Woodford, p. 107.
- ⁶⁰⁹ Abt, p. 59.
- ⁶¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 59-60; 64.
- ⁶¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 76-77.
- ⁶¹² [James E. Scripps], "Why \$50,000 for the Art Museum?" Editorial, *Detroit Journal*, December 2, 1903. Quoted in Abt, p. 72.
- ⁶¹³ *Ibid*, p. 81.
- ⁶¹⁴ Bluestone, p. 251.
- ⁶¹⁵ Woodford, pp. 174-190. The characterization of "commodious" is from Carnegie's personal secretary, James Bertram, who informed the Commission that Mr. Carnegie "is in favor of one central commodious building and branches," quoted p. 181; the characterization of "blood money" is that of Councilman Louis E. Tossy, quoted 184.
- ⁶¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 214.
- ⁶¹⁷ William C. Weber, *A New Art Museum Site [A New Site for the Detroit Museum of Art on Woodward Avenue to contain also an Art and Crafts School for Fine and Applied Arts]* (Detroit: William C. Weber, 1908). University of Michigan, Bentley Historical Library, William C. Weber Papers, Box9, Folder "Cultural Center—Pamphlet 1908." See also Abt, pp. 82-83.
- ⁶¹⁸ "Trustees' Report," *The Detroit Museum of Art Annual Reports of the President, Trustees, Director and Treasurer for the Year Ending June 30, 1910, together with a Review of the Year's Work* (Detroit: Detroit Museum of Art, 1910), p. 12.
- ⁶¹⁹ Abt, p. 83.
- ⁶²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 84-88. On the library competition, see "The Librarian's Report," *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Public Library of Detroit for the Year 1912* (Detroit: 1913), pp. 16-17.
- ⁶²¹ Abt, p. 91.
- ⁶²² Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, *Report on A Center of Arts and Letters* (October 1913), p. 5.
- ⁶²³ *Ibid*, pp. 4-5.
- ⁶²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.
- ⁶²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 9.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 9.

⁶²⁸ Edward H. Bennett, *Preliminary Plan for Detroit* (Detroit: Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, April 1915).

⁶²⁹ “Plan Streets Through Center of City to Care for Traffic; Charles Moore of the City Plan and Improvement Commission Explains Proposed System of Diagonals for Detroit,” *The Detройer*, vol. 6, no. 6 (November 9, 1914), p. 4.

⁶³⁰ “Wider Woodward Avenue Project,” *Michigan Roads and Forests*, vol. 18, no. 6 (January 1922), p. 7; see also City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Woodward Avenue: A Plan for the Proposed Widening of Woodward Avenue to a Width of 120 Feet between Grand Circus Park and the Michigan Central Viaduct* (Detroit, 1924).

⁶³¹ “Plan Streets Through Center of City to Care for Traffic,” p. 4.

⁶³² *Ibid*, pp. 4-5.

⁶³³ Edward H. Bennett, *Preliminary Plan for Detroit* (Detroit: Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission, April 1915), n.p. [p. 3].

⁶³⁴ *Ibid*, n.p. [p. 4].

⁶³⁵ Charles Moore, “Detroit, The City of Romance and Achievement,” *Art and Archaeology*, vol. 17, no. 3 (March 1924), p. 84.

⁶³⁶ T. Glenn Phillips, “The Detroit Plan,” *Ibid*, p. 121.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 85-104, 123-135. For plans of the Detroit Institute of Arts by Paul Cret and the Detroit Public Library by Cass Gilbert, see Edward Warren Hoak and Willis Humphrey Church, *Masterpieces of Architecture in the United States: Memorials, Museums, Libraries, Churches, Public Buildings, Hotels and Office Buildings* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1930), reprinted as *Masterpieces of American Architecture: Museums, Libraries, Churches, and Other Public Buildings* (Mineola NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2002), pp. 29-41 and 81-91.

⁶³⁸ “\$5,000,000 for War Memorial Is Asked; Council Urged to put Issue on November Ballot,” *The Detroit Free Press*, September 22, 1921. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶³⁹ “Asks Vote on War Memorial Plan,” *The Detroit Free Press*, September 24, 1921, p. 4. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁴⁰ “Citizens, Vets Unite on Hall: Detroit Asked to Put Stamp of Approval on Memorial Bond Issue. Auditorium to Aid Work of Americanization, House Conventions, Claim,” *The Detroit Free Press*, no date. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁴¹ “Engineers O.K. War Memorial; Declare Project Wise; Metzger Tells What Made Detroit Famous,” *The Detroit News*, November 6, 1921. Metzger’s concerns are echoed in “Memorial Hall,” editorial, *The Detroit News*, December 14, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁴² “To Ask \$7,000,000 for Hall of Peace; Council Agrees Tentatively to Put Plan to Vote,” *The Detroit Free Press*, October 1, 1921, p. 13, part two. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23. See also “Voters to Decide on War Memorial; Council Puts \$7,000,000 Plan Up to Ballot,” *The Detroit Free Press*, October 4, 1921, p. 3. Freep Archive Online, www.freep.com.

⁶⁴³ “Women Protest War Memorial,” *The Detroit Journal*, date obscured [c. October 7, 1921], n.p. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

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- ⁶⁴⁵ “Ask \$4,000,000 Memorial Hall; Veterans, Citizens to Request City Council to Put Bond Issue on Ballot,” *The Detroit Free Press*, October 15, 1921, p. 3. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
- ⁶⁴⁶ “Goesbeck for Big Civic Hall; Urges All to Vote Yes on Memorial as Temple of Democracy,” *The Detroit News*, October 31, 1921, n.p. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
- ⁶⁴⁷ “Gigantic Civic Center Proposed on Riverfront; Committee Plans to Make Memorial Hall the Nucleus of 12-Block Project; Comes to Vote in Spring,” *The Detroit News*, June 26, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.
- ⁶⁴⁸ “The Memorial Hall Site,” editorial, *The Detroit Free Press*, November 14, 1921, n.p. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
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- ⁶⁵⁰ “Memorial Hall Site,” editorial, *The Detroit News*, February 9, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
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- ⁶⁵² “Names 50 Sites for Memorial: Architects and Citizens Differ on Best Place for Great Building; 27 Are in Mile Circle,” *The Detroit News*, March 14, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
- ⁶⁵³ “Vets Pick Site of Memorial Hall; City Committee Decides to Leave Selection to ex-Soldiers,” *The Detroit Free Press*, March 9, 1922; see also “Site of Memorial Hall to Be Voted,” *The Detroit Journal*, March 9, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
- ⁶⁵⁴ “Soldiers Take Sides on Site: Architects Favors East Side Park for Memorial Hall; Poll to be Held,” *The Detroit News*, March 25, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
- ⁶⁵⁵ “‘Put Memorial at Bridge Site’: William J. Nagel Urges Great Building Stand Where Amusements Operate; Cites Natural Beauty,” *The Detroit News*, April 13, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
- ⁶⁵⁶ “Veterans Urge Memorial Now: Petition Council to Hold Up Art Institute Building on Woodward Site,” *The Detroit Free Press*, May 3, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.
- ⁶⁵⁷ “Ask Memorial Hall Adjacent to Hotel Zone; Tourist’s Bureau and Hostelry Men’s Association Seek Change of Plans; Would Use Building for Big Conventions,” *The Detroit Free Press*, May 14, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission, folder: News Clippings 1921-23.
- ⁶⁵⁸ Abt, p. 119; “Museum Notes,” *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit*, vol. 4, no. 1 (October 1922), p. 8. For Cret’s plans, see Edward Warren Hoak and Willis Humphrey Church, *Masterpieces of Architecture in the United States: Memorials, Museums, Libraries, Churches, Public Buildings, Hotels and Office Buildings* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1930), reprinted as *Masterpieces of American Architecture: Museums*,

Libraries, Churches, and Other Public Buildings (Mineola NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2002), pp. 29-41 and 81-91.

⁶⁵⁹ See “Memorial Site Still in Doubt: Council Refuses Any Definite Action; Seems to Favor Park on River,” *The Detroit Free Press*, June 8, 1922; “Park Memorial Site Attacked; Veterans’ Delegate Accuses Council of Ignoring Art Center Approval,” *The Detroit News*, August 4, 1922; “Asks Memorial Site Hearing: Vets Charge City Council is Taking ‘Public Be Damned’ Attitude,” *The Detroit Free Press*, August 5, 1922; “Park Site for Memorial is Protested,” *The Detroit Times*, August 6, 1922; “The Place for Memorial Hall,” *The Detroit Times*, August 7, 1922; “War Memorial Site Chosen Near Library,” *The Detroit Times*, August 8, 1922; “Citizens Back Central Site: Memorial Hall Organization Joins Veterans Against Council Resolution,” *The Detroit News*, August 8, 1922; and “Will Discuss Memorial Site: Couzens Calls Conference to Consider Appeal for Public Hearings,” *The Detroit News*, August 11, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁶⁰ See “Memorial Site Board O.K.’d: Council Approves Plan to Let Committee Pick Place for \$5,500,000 Hall,” *The Detroit News*, August 14, 1922; “Committee to Pick Site for Memorial: Cost of Land Will Be Restricted to \$1,500,000 is Belief,” *The Detroit Times*, August 14, 1922; and “Expect Council O.K. on Memorial Body: Mayor and Committee Look for Adoption Tonight,” *The Detroit News*, August 15, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁶¹ The Sub-Committee on Site’s report appears complete in “Gigantic Civic Center Proposed on Riverfront; Committee Plans to Make Memorial Hall the Nucleus of 12-Block Project; Comes to Vote in Spring,” *The Detroit News*, June 26, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁶² “Site Expert Hired for Memorial Hall; Bennett to Assist Committee Pick Location,” *The Detroit News*, December 14, 1922, pp. 1 [?] and 20. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶⁶⁴ “Urges Change in Art Center; Government Expert Would Include Memorial Hall in Plan,” *The Detroit Free Press*, December 17, 1922. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁶⁵ Abt, p. 107.

⁶⁶⁶ Emil Lorch, letter to George G. Booth, November 11, 1922. Cranbrook Archives, 1981-01 George Gough Booth Papers, box 13, folder 13-11.

⁶⁶⁷ George G. Booth to Emil Lorch, December 10, 1922. Cranbrook Archives, 1981-01 George Gough Booth Papers, box 13, folder 13-11.

⁶⁶⁸ Lorch to Booth, April 28, 1923. Cranbrook Archives, 1981-01 George Gough Booth Papers, box 13, folder 13-11.

⁶⁶⁹ David G. De Long, “Eliel Saarinen and the Cranbrook Tradition in Architecture and Urban Design,” *Design in America: The Cranbrook Vision, 1925-1950* (New York: Abrams, 1983), p. 47. On Saarinen’s influence, see also Vincent Scully, *American Architecture and Urbanism* (New York, Praeger, 1969), pp. 151-154.

⁶⁷⁰ See Louis H. Sullivan, “The Chicago Tribune Competition,” *Architectural Record*, vol. 53, no. (February 1923), pp. 151-157; see also David G. De Long, “Eliel Saarinen and the Cranbrook Tradition in Architecture and Urban Design,” *Design in America: The Cranbrook Vision, 1925-1950* (New York: Abrams, 1983), p. 47.

⁶⁷¹ De Long, pp. 52 and 294n26; De Long cites Albert Kahn to George Booth, August 27, 1942, Cranbrook Archives, George Gough Booth Papers.

⁶⁷² “Vet Memorial Delay is Hit: Heckel and Roehl Disgusted at Failure to Select Site; Urge East Side Location,” *The Detroit Free Press*, July 26, 1923. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁷³ See “Memorial Hall Site to be Asked of Ford: Land Lying North of Library Recommended to Commission,” *The Detroit Free Press*, October 20, 1923 (first quote), and “Seek Ford Aid for Memorial: Committee Asks Him to assist in Obtaining Woodward Avenue Site,” *The Detroit News*, October 20, 1923 (second quote). Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁷⁴ A letter to the editor references an article by “Mr. Cowles” endorsing “a Memorial Hall to be erected at the foot of Woodward avenue [...] for the various activities center at that point, replacing unsightly buildings and wonderfully improving that locality.” See Charles McQuown, “Memorial Hall,” letter to the editor, *The Detroit News*, November 4, 1923; “The Proposed Memorial Hall,” editorial, *The Detroit News*, November 30, 1923. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1921-23.

⁶⁷⁵ See Mark Coir, “Shaping the Heart of Detroit: The Saarinen Family’s Plans for the Waterfront,” brochure for exhibition, June 2-September 30, 2001, Cranbrook Art Museum, Bloomfield Hills MI. Cranbrook Archives, vertical file: Detroit Civic Center & Waterfront.

⁶⁷⁶ The sub-committee’s account later recalls, “While Mr. Saarinen was given latitude to consider any other sites, he was especially directed to give an opinion on the foot of Woodward avenue because a civic development of the downtown water front has been for many years the cherished dream of all Detroiters; and because many member of your committee, impressed with the rapid growth of Detroit and the expansion of her wealth, had become convinced Detroit was ready for such improvement.

“Mr. Saarinen studied this and other sites in an independent way. Finally he came back to the foot of Woodward avenue of his own choice. He has developed tentative plans for a majestic setting for Memorial Hall at the river’s edge. These plans together with a clay model of the proposed development were delivered by him to the Michigan Chapter of the American Institute of Architects for inspection and they have been presented to the Sub-Committee with the full approval of the Chapter. In turn they are submitted by the committee to you with the hope that your honorable body [will] give them earnest consideration.” See “Gigantic Civic Center Proposed on Riverfront; Committee Plans to Make Memorial Hall the Nucleus of 12-Block Project; Comes to Vote in Spring,” *The Detroit News*, June 26, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30. See also Mark Coir, “Shaping the Heart of Detroit: The Saarinen Family’s Plans for the Waterfront,” brochure for exhibition, June 2-September 30, 2001, Cranbrook Art Museum, Bloomfield Hills MI. Cranbrook Archives, vertical file: Detroit Civic Center & Waterfront.

⁶⁷⁷ De Long, pp. 49, 50. For Sitte’s influence on Saarinen, George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning* New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 91-92; Eliel Saarinen, *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1943), pp. 115-128.

⁶⁷⁸ Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, trans. George R. Collins and Christiane R. Collins (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 58.

⁶⁷⁹ Eliel Saarinen, *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future* (Cambridge MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1943), p. 69.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶⁸¹ The apt observation that Saarinen’s Detroit waterfront development resembled his Tribune tower and Helsinki railroad station is that of Leslie S. Edwards, head archivist at Cranbrook, made to the author during a research trip there in the summer of 2012.

⁶⁸² “Gigantic Civic Center Proposed on Riverfront; Committee Plans to Make Memorial Hall the Nucleus of 12-Block Project; Comes to Vote in Spring,” *The Detroit News*, June 26, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁴ See “Our Gateway to the Nation,” editorial, *The Detroit News*, June 28, 1924; “Designer of Detroit’s Memorial Hall Plan,” *The Detroit News*, June 29, 1924; “This Model Shows What a Part of Detroit May Look Like,” captioned photograph, *The Detroit News*, June 29, 1924; “Civic Center Plan Praised: Lodge, Martin and Bradley Indorse Memorial Hall Riverfront Project,” *The Detroit News*, June 29, 1924; “Vote in Spring on Civic Center:

Council Decides to Submit Condemnation Question on Waterfront Project,” *The Detroit News*, July 7, 1924; “The Cost of the Civic Center,” editorial, *The Detroit News*, July 12, 1924; “Bradway to Talk at Lunch Tuesday on Location of Memorial Building,” *The Detroit News Retailer*, July 17, 1924; “Civic Center Meeting,” notice, *The Detroit News*, July 21, 1924; “The Proposed Civic Center,” editorial, *The Detroit News*, July 26, 1924; “Mayoralty Candidate Backs Memorial Hall,” *The Detroit Free Press*, August 23, 1924; and “Civic Center Plan Praised; 20th Century Club Voices Approval of river Site for Memorial Hall,” *The Detroit News*, September 30, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁸⁵ “Our Gateway to the Nation,” editorial, *The Detroit News*, June 28, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁸⁶ “Why We Must Have a Community Center,” *The Detroit News*, June 30, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁸⁷ Robert Szudarek, *The First Century of the Detroit Auto Show* (Warrendale PA: Society of Automotive Engineers, 2000), pp. 101, 147.

⁶⁸⁸ “It would be most regrettable if in our aim to have him active in and helping Detroit solve its problems the school were to lose him entirely. Detroit would of course never have secured him had we not brought him here, and hence I hope that you might be willing to urge on him the desirability of doing some teaching here.” Emil Lorch to George G. Booth, August 19, 1924. Cranbrook Archives, 1981-01 George Gough Booth Papers, box 13, folder 13-1.

⁶⁸⁹ “Financing of Memorial Hall Puzzles Council,” *The Detroit Times*, June 27, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁹⁰ “Vote in Spring on Civic Center: Council Decides to Submit Condemnation Question on Waterfront Project,” *The Detroit News*, July 7, 1924. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁹¹ “Mayor’s Note Balks Action on Civic Center: \$15,000,000 to \$50,000,000 Project, Including Memorial Hall, is Delayed,” *The Detroit Free Press*, August 19, 1925; “Mayor Opposes Memorial Hall: Too Costly, Says Message to Council; Disapproves Vote at Oct. 6 Election,” *The Detroit News*, August 19, 1925. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁹² “Business Men Oppose Civic Center Plans; Industrial Leaders Join Mayor Smith in Condemning Tax Increase. Detroit is Not Ready for Burden, Is View; Citizens Declare Essential Improvements Should Be Completed First,” *The Detroit Free Press*, August 20, 1925. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁹³ “Memorial Blocked,” *The Detroit Times*, August 25, 1925. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit City Plan Commission Records, Box 16, folder: News Clippings, 1924-30.

⁶⁹⁴ De Long, p. 50.

⁶⁹⁵ See Hill and Gallagher, *AIA Detroit*, pp. 156-157; Ferry, *The Buildings of Detroit*, p. 333.

⁶⁹⁶ See Leslie Hanawalt, *A Place of Light: The History of Wayne State University* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968), p. 237.

⁶⁹⁷ Clyde H. Burroughs, telegram and letter to Paul P. Cret, October 31, 1924. Detroit Institute of Arts Archives, The Building/Paul P. Cret Papers, folder BCR 2-8.

⁶⁹⁸ Paul P. Cret, letter to Clyde H. Burroughs, November 1, 1924. Detroit Institute of Arts Archives, The Building/Paul P. Cret Papers, folder BCR 2-8.

⁶⁹⁹ See “Wider Woodward Avenue Project,” *Michigan Roads and Forests*, vol. 18, no. 6 (January 1922), p. 7; City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Woodward Avenue: A Plan for the Proposed Widening of Woodward Avenue to a Width of 120 Feet between Grand Circus Park and the Michigan Central Viaduct* (Detroit, 1924).

⁷⁰⁰ Clyde H. Burroughs, letter to Paul P. Cret, March 6, 1925; Clyde H. Burroughs, letter to Paul P. Cret, March 10, 1925; Paul P. Cret, letter to Clyde H. Burroughs, October 29, 1925. Detroit Institute of Arts Archives, The Building/Paul P. Cret Papers, folders BCR 2-11 and BCR 2-19.

⁷⁰¹ For the early history of Wayne University (known since 1959 as Wayne State University), and its somewhat convoluted origins as separate colleges and schools dating back to 1868, see Charles K. Hyde, "Introduction: A Brief History of Wayne State University," in Evelyn Aschenbrenner, *A History of Wayne State University in Photographs* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009), pp. 1-8; Leslie Hanawalt, *A Place of Light: The History of Wayne State University* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968); Charles K. Hyde, *The Physical Development History of the Campus of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan*, vol. 1, mimeographed internal report (Detroit: September 1993), Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs; Arthur Neef, "The New Plant Plan for Wayne University," reprint from the 1948-49 edition of *The American School & University* [vol. 20 (1948-1949), pp. 216-222], n.p. [216-217], and Neef, "Comments on the Present Location of Wayne University's Main Campus and Its Possible Expansion," mimeographed typescript, 1955, pp. 1-2. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Undated to 1969.

⁷⁰² The characterization of infiltration comes from Neef, "The New Plant Plan," n.p. [p. 216].

⁷⁰³ Hyde, "Introduction," pp. 3-5.

⁷⁰⁴ Detroit Board of Education, "Citizens' Committee Report on the Needs of Wayne University," brochure (Detroit: 1937), pp. 3-4, 6. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Undated to 1969.

⁷⁰⁵ Detroit Board of Education, "Citizens' Committee Report on the Needs of Wayne University," brochure (Detroit: 1937), n.p. [p. 2]. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Undated to 1969.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid*, n.p. [pp. 3, 7].

⁷⁰⁷ "New Culture Hub Visioned," *The Detroit News*, December 15, 1937. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: campus, folder: Clippings—Undated to 1939.

⁷⁰⁸ Hanawalt dates the unofficial switch from art center to cultural center somewhat later, to 1942. See Hanawalt, p. 235

⁷⁰⁹ W. Hawkins Ferry, *The Buildings of Detroit: A History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968), p. 375.

⁷¹⁰ Detroit Board of Education, *Program of Competition for a Group Plan and Architectural Scheme, and for the Selection of an Architect for a Students' Center Building, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan* (Detroit: 1942), p. 9. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Undated to 1969.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 18-19.

⁷¹² See Neef, "The New Plant Plan," n.p. [p. 217];

⁷¹³ "Competition for a Group Plan and Architectural Scheme and for the Selection of An Architect for A Students' Center Building, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan," *Weekly Bulletin, Michigan Society of Architects*, vol. 16, no. 30 (July 28, 1942), p. 3. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Undated to 1969.

⁷¹⁴ Neef, "The New Plant Plan," n.p. [p. 218].

⁷¹⁵ E.A. Baumgarth, "Forty Architects to Prepare Plans for Greater Detroit," *The Detroit News*, September 19, 1943, part two, p. 14. Cranbrook Academy of Art Archives, Cranbrook Foundations Public Relations Department Scrapbooks, 1946, p. 11.

⁷¹⁶ Walter Hickey, "Studies for Detroit City Plan and Water Front Development," *Weekly Bulletin, Michigan Society of Architects*, vol. 12, no 1 (January 4, 1938), p. 9. Cranbrook Archives, vertical file: Detroit Civic Center & Waterfront.

⁷¹⁷ Mark Coir, "Shaping the Heart of Detroit: The Saarinen Family's Plans for the Waterfront," brochure for exhibition, June 2-September 30, 2001, Cranbrook Art Museum, Bloomfield Hills MI. Cranbrook Archives, vertical file: Detroit Civic Center & Waterfront.

⁷¹⁸ A good example of this practice can be seen in the planning of the civic-cultural center of Flint, involving Cranbrook student Edmund Bacon and later the Saarinens. There is also the implication that Eliel Saarinen exploited the connection with Bacon to find an outlet for his manuscript for *The City*, as Bacon's father represented a publisher. See Edmund Bacon, interviewed by Mary Riordan, March 9, 1979, typescript, and Edmund Bacon, letter to his parents, August 5, 1937. Cranbrook Archives, vertical file: Bacon, Edmund (photocopy of original document at the University of Pennsylvania), Cranbrook Archives, vertical file: Bacon, Edmund. See also Elwald Pfeiffer, "Hundreds see Model Exhibit; Model City of Future Put on Display for Public; Project is Praised," *The Flint Journal*, March 26, 1937, and "Planning Group Visits Cranbrook; City Officials Make Trip and Hear Saarinen," *The Flint Journal*, December 8, 1940. Cranbrook Archives, vertical file: Flint Architecture/City Planning (Saarinens).

⁷¹⁹ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Annual Report of City Plan Commission 1936* (Detroit: 1936), p. 3.

⁷²⁰ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Annual Report of City Plan Commission 1939* (Detroit: 1939), p. 6.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁷²² City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Annual Report of City Plan Commission 1940* (Detroit: 1940), p. 32.

⁷²³ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *A Master Plan for Detroit: Preliminary Report to the Honorable Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., Mayor* (Detroit: June 1941), p. 1.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷²⁵ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Annual Report of City Plan Commission 1941*, (Detroit: 1941), pp. 32-33.

⁷²⁶ "How to Cure the City," *Time*, July 20, 1942, p. 48.

⁷²⁷ J. Davidson Stephen, "Detroit: A Preliminary Study of the City" ("Detroit and the Detroit Area, Part 1"), *New Pencil Points*, vol. 24, no. 12 (December 1943), p. 53. The 7-part study was synopsised in 3 consecutive issues of *Pencil Points*. However, the magazine does not give the series a consistent title in all three issues, and also changes its own name from *New Pencil Points* to simply *Pencil Points* between the first and second installment. Thus, to avoid confusion, each issue will be cited here as a separate article.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 55; quote p. 55. Stephen's description of the plan as the "L'Enfant Plan" prompted an explanatory retraction by the editors at the end of the series. See J. Davidson Stephen, "Detroit and the Detroit Area: Parts 5, 6, 7," *Pencil Points*, vol. 25, no. 2 (February 1943), p. 68.

⁷²⁹ Stephen, "Detroit: A Preliminary Study of the City" ("Detroit and the Detroit Area, Part 1"), p. 56.

⁷³⁰ On economic disinvestment and flight of wealth from Detroit to its suburbs and the ensuing social consequences, see Amy Maria Kenyon, *Dreaming Suburbia: Detroit and the Production of Postwar Space and Culture* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), esp. pp. 154-162. A more concise picture is drawn in Jennifer S. Vey, "Revitalizing America's Older Cities: A State Agenda for Change," in Richard M. McGahey and Jennifer S. Vey, eds., *Retooling for Growth: Building a 21st Century Economy in America's Older Industrial Areas* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), pp. 105-107. See also John Gallagher, *Reimagining Detroit: Opportunities for Redefining an American City* (Detroit: A Painted Turtle Book / Wayne State University Press, 2010).

⁷³¹ The abundant picturesque abandoned structures of Detroit have spawned a new publishing genre, "ruin porn," including several art photography books on the wastelands of the Motor City in recent years. On abandoned factories, George Steinmetz observes, "Today the whole sprawling city is crisscrossed with roads serving the shells of decommissioned factories and leading to empty lots where buildings once stood." See George Steinmetz, "Colonial Melancholy and Fordist Nostalgia: The Ruinscapes of Namibia and Detroit," in Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle, eds., *Ruins of Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 294- 319, esp. p. 314.

- ⁷³² Stephen, "Detroit: A Preliminary Study of the City" ("Detroit and the Detroit Area, Part 1"), p. 63.
- ⁷³³ J. Davidson Stephen, "Detroit and the Detroit Area: Parts 2, 3, 4," *Pencil Points*, vol. 25, no. 1 (January 1943), pp. 59-64.
- ⁷³⁴ J. Davidson Stephen, "Detroit and the Detroit Area: Parts 5, 6, 7," *Pencil Points*, vol. 25, no. 2 (February 1943), p. 67.
- ⁷³⁵ Saarinen, *The City*, pp. 66-67.
- ⁷³⁶ The idea of a civic center oriented by a vertical tower also recalls the description of Hegemann and Peets, who, like Saarinen, were disciples of Camillo Sitte. See Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1922), p. 147, discussed in chapter 2.5, above.
- ⁷³⁷ E.A. Baumgarth, "Forty Architects Prepare Plans for Greater Detroit; Undertake Program as Public Service; Branson V. Gamber Heads Group; Eliel Saarinen Accepts Post as Consultant," *The Detroit News*, September 19, 1943, p. 14—Part Two. Cranbrook Archives, Cranbrook Foundations Public Relations Department Scrapbooks, 1943-1945, p. 11.
- ⁷³⁸ "Architects Study Plans for Building; Civic Design Group to Map City's Redevelopment After the War," unidentified clipping, n.d., n.p. Cranbrook Archives, Cranbrook Foundations Public Relations Department Scrapbooks, 1943-1945, p. 11.
- ⁷³⁹ "Architects Get Projects: Civic Design Group Begins Plan Studies," *Michigan Society of Architects Journal*, November 24, 1943, n.p. Cranbrook Archives, Cranbrook Foundations Public Relations Department Scrapbooks, 1943-1945, p. 11.
- ⁷⁴⁰ Suren Pilafian, "The Architects' Civic Design Group of Metropolitan Detroit," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, vol. 10, no. 4 (October 1948), pp. 160-167; quotes p. 166.
- ⁷⁴¹ Saarinen, *The City*, pp. 23-26. Saarinen's notion of organic decentralization has among other elements strong echoes of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept of towns separated by greenbelts. See Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, ed. F.J. Osborn, intro Lewis Mumford (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1965).
- ⁷⁴² Pilafian, "The Architect' Civic Design Group," pp. 162, 165.
- ⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165; quotes p. 165.
- ⁷⁴⁴ James Hosking, "Can We Build a City That Will Give Us Health, Happiness?" *The Detroit News*, October 3, 1943. Cranbrook Archives, Cranbrook Foundation Public Relations Department Scrapbooks, 1943-1945, p. 11.
- ⁷⁴⁵ "Architects Plan Metropolitan Area of 5,000,000; Saarinen Explains Decentralizing Idea; Time for Creative Minds to Solve Urban Chaos, He Declares," *The Detroit News*, October 10, 1943, part one, p. 10. Cranbrook Archives, Cranbrook Foundation Public Relations Department Scrapbooks, 1943-1945, p. 11.
- ⁷⁴⁶ E. A. Baumgarth, "The City of 1990--," *The Detroit News Pictorial*, December 5, 1943, p. 4. Cranbrook Archives, Cranbrook Foundation Public Relations Department Scrapbooks, 1943-1945, p. 13.
- ⁷⁴⁷ Capital Improvement Program Committee [Detroit], *An Advance-Plan Program for Detroit* (December 1942).
- ⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.
- ⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.
- ⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 56.
- ⁷⁵² Post-War Improvement Committee [Detroit], *Post-War Improvements to Make Your Detroit a Finer City in which to Live and Work* (Detroit: 1944), pp. 4-5, 18.
- ⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁷⁵⁴ The seven parts of the Detroit Master Plan are: no. 1. Proposed Plan for Redevelopment of the Riverfront, 1946; no. 2. Proposed System of Recreational Facilities, 1946; no. 3. The Civic Center Plan, 1946; 4. Proposed System of Trafficways, 1946; no. 5. Proposed Generalized Land Use Plan, 1947; no. 6. Proposed Transportation Plan, 1948; no. 7. Proposed Cultural Center Plan, 1948. Supplemental brochures and the 1951 summary report will be cited separately below.

⁷⁵⁵ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *The Civic Center Plan [City of Detroit – A Master Plan Report, No. 3 of a Series]*, (Detroit: October 1946), p. 3.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 16. It is interesting to note that after several decades of vacancy, the Guardian Building today is rented by Wayne County as office space.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 22.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁷⁵⁹ “Every element in the memorial group is designed for use. The Memorial Plaza itself will be a fitting setting for great outdoor meetings. The World Wars Memorial Hall will provide offices and assembly rooms for all veterans’ groups. The great Convention Hall, with a capacity of 20,000, will furnish space not only for veterans’ mass meetings but also for the numerous national organizations which will use Detroit as the scene of their annual conventions and exhibitions—organizations which now pass the city by because of the inadequacy of its present facilities. The smaller Civic Auditorium, with a seating capacity of 3,500, will be in constant demand by musical, theatrical, and other cultural organizations.” *Ibid*, p. 15.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

⁷⁶² *Ibid*, p. 22.

⁷⁶³ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Looking into Detroit’s Civic Center* (Detroit: n.d. [1949]), n.p. [p. 2]; City Plan Commission, *Detroit Master Plan: Plans for a Finer City* (Detroit: 1951), p. 92.

⁷⁶⁴ See chapter 4.3.3 above.

⁷⁶⁵ James Inglis, “Experts Divided On Civic Center,” *The Detroit Times*, August 8, 1947. Yale University, Sterling Memorial Library, Eero Saarinen Papers, Series IV, Project Records, Box 88, folder 172, Job 4627: Detroit Civic Center, Detroit, MI, clippings.

⁷⁶⁶ “Architect Gives Critics Answer,” *The Detroit Times*, August 10, 1947. Yale University, Sterling Memorial Library, Eero Saarinen Papers, Series IV, Project Records, Box 88, folder 172, Job 4627: Detroit Civic Center, Detroit, MI, clippings.

⁷⁶⁷ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *The County-City Building: A Report Answering the Questions Most Frequently Raised Concerning the Office Building Projected by the County of Wayne and the City of Detroit* (Detroit: July 14, 1947), p. 3.

⁷⁶⁸ “Exploratory conversations indicate that when the State and Federal governments erect new office buildings in Detroit, they will locate them in the Civic Center. In this even, the consultants recommend that they be designed to harmonize with the County-City Building. If this is done, although each will actually be a separate structure, the overall appearance will be that of a single building of monumental proportions. It will be the dominant feature of a Civic Center so noble, generous and harmonious, so expressive of the spirit of this community that it will excite the admiration of all the world.” *Ibid*, p. 14.

⁷⁶⁹ City Plan Commission [Detroit], “County-City Building,” 4-page mimeographed, stapled insert to *The County-City Building*, n.d. [1947].

⁷⁷⁰ See Hill and Gallagher, *AIA Detroit*, pp. 12-13.

⁷⁷¹ Ferry, *The Buildings of Detroit*, p. 363.

⁷⁷² The City-County Building today is known as the Coleman A. Young Municipal Center, named for the city's first and long-serving African-American mayor; the Veteran's Memorial Hall is now a Ford/UAW training facility. See Hill and Gallagher, *AIA Detroit*, pp. 14, 18.

⁷⁷³ Board of Education [Detroit], Detroit, *Wayne Looks to the Future: A Brief Description of Wayne University's Campus Development Program* (Detroit, 1943), pp. 10-11.

⁷⁷⁴ "Big Wayne U. Area Sought; City Planners Favor Adding 27 Blocks," *The Detroit News*, May [July?] 22, 1943. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Clippings—Undated to 1939.

⁷⁷⁵ "Revise Building Plan, Wayne Group Urges," *The Detroit News*, May 14, 1943.

⁷⁷⁶ Joseph Hudnut, *Blueprint for a University* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1944), p. 2.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 9, 10.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 10, 11.

⁷⁸¹ "School Board Seeks 27-Block Wayne Campus; Submits Blueprints to City Plan Commission," *The Detroit Teacher*, vol. 4, no. 1 [whole no. 29] (September 12, 1944), p. 1. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Clippings—Undated to 1939.

⁷⁸² Arthur N. Neef, "Forum Presents Concept of Expanded Wayne; Dean Neef Compares Development of University to Marital Planning," *The Detroit Collegian*, November 10, 1944. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Clippings—Undated to 1939.

⁷⁸³ Arthur N. Neef, "The New Plant Plan for Wayne University," n.p. [p. 216].

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid*, n.p. [p. 219].

⁷⁸⁵ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Proposed Cultural Center Plan [City of Detroit – A Master Plan Report, No. 7 of a Series]* (Detroit: April 1948). Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 8-10.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 16, 17.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 20, 23.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 18, 19, 21, 22, 24.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

⁷⁹² *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁷⁹⁴ City Plan Commission [Detroit], *Detroit Master Plan [Plan for a Finer City]*, (Detroit: 1951).

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 30, 92; quote p. 92.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 94.

⁷⁹⁷ Discussed in chapter 1.4.2, above.

⁷⁹⁸ Henry B. Selleck, ed. *Detroit's 250th Birthday Festival: Official Souvenir Program* (Detroit: 1951), pp. 40-43.

⁷⁹⁹ Capital Gifts Committee [Detroit], *An Invitation to Detroit's 250th Birthday Party: Suggestions by the Capital Gifts Committee for Detroit's 250th Birthday Party* (Detroit: Capital Gifts Committee, 1951), n.p. [pp. 1, 6, 8, 9].

Yale University, Sterling Memorial Library, Eero Saarinen Papers, Series III, Office Records, box 32, folder 14, Detroit Civic Center, Master Plan: miscellaneous publications, 1946, 1947, 1951, no date.

⁸⁰⁰ Ivanov Studios, *Then and Now: Detroit's 250th Birthday, 1701-1951*, 20 half-tone plates, pencil renderings by F.E. Bange (Detroit: Ivanov Studios, 1951).

⁸⁰¹ The Detroit Convention and Tourist Bureau, *Detroit: The City Beautiful* (Detroit: n.d. [1953 and 1954]). This appears to have been an intermittent publication dating back to 1929.

The Detroit Convention and Tourist Bureau. *Detroit: The City Beautiful* (Detroit: n.d. [c. 1950-1957]). 80-pp. magazine [Albert E. Cobo, mayor, served 1950-1957].

⁸⁰² *Proposed Cultural Center Plan*, p. 10.

⁸⁰³ Arthur N. Neef, "Comments on the Present Location of Wayne University's 'Main Campus' and its Possible Expansion," mimeographed typescript, April 13, 1955. Wayne State University, Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, vertical file: Campus; folder: Undated to 1969.

⁸⁰⁴ Hyde, "Introduction: A Brief History of Wayne State University," pp. 6-14.

⁸⁰⁵ Hill and Gallagher, p. 140; Hyde, "Introduction: A Brief History of Wayne State University," p. 8.

⁸⁰⁶ Detroit Medical Center Citizens Committee, *The Detroit Medical Center: A Proposal for the Re-Use of Land Cleared Under the Federal and City Urban Renewal Program* (Detroit: 1958).

⁸⁰⁷ "The State University in a Changing City," *Wayne State University Alumni News*, vol. 15, no. 1 (October 1958), pp. 4-6. University of Michigan, Emil Lorch Papers, box 17, folder 40: Wayne County, Detroit; Wayne State University.

⁸⁰⁸ Robert Conot, *American Odyssey* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1974), pp. 489-503. See also W. Dennis Keating and Norman Krumholz, eds., *Rebuilding Urban Neighborhoods: Achievements, Opportunities, and Limits* (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 1999), p. 110.

⁸⁰⁹ Detroit City Plan Commission, *Detroit Cultural Center*, (Detroit, n.d., [c. 1965]), p. 4.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁸¹² *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁸¹³ *Ibid*, p. 44.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 6.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 14

⁸¹⁸ Conot, pp. 523-543; quote p. 542.

⁸¹⁹ For the social and structural urban consequences in the metropolitan area in the aftermath of the 1968 Detroit riots, an excellent study is Amy Maria Kenyon, *Dreaming Suburbia: Detroit and the Production of Postwar Space and Culture* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

⁸²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 544.

⁸²¹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, pp. 23-24.

⁸²² Hyde, "Introduction: A Brief History of Wayne State University," pp. 10-11; quote p. 11.

⁸²³ See for example William Deane Smith, *Community Development in the Wayne Area: A Preliminary Discussion Draft*, clip-bound mimeographed typescript (Detroit: Center for Urban Studies, Wayne State University, n.d. [1970]).

⁸²⁴ See Hill and Gallagher, *AIA Detroit*, p. 142.

⁸²⁵ Hyde, "Introduction: A Brief History of Wayne State University," p. 14.

⁸²⁶ University-Cultural Center Association, Inc., *The University-Cultural Center General Development Plan* (Detroit: n.d. [c. 1977]), n.p. [p. 2]. Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection, vertical file: neighborhoods—Cultural Center.

⁸²⁷ As George Steinmetz succinctly explains, "Unlike many cities in the eastern United States, Detroit was a low-rise metropolis of working-class houses. Auto workers' comparatively high wages allowed many of them to buy their own homes. [...] The urban electric railway system was phased out as workers began to purchase their own cars, and the Detroit Master Plan of 1951 projected a network of new urban expressways that would bring suburban workers to and from work in the city. [...] The movement of jobs and white workers away from the city left behind an ocean of abandoned houses, many of which reveal the charring of recent fires. These ruins have not yet become weathered and do not exhibit the Simmelian equipoise of upward thrusting culture and leveling nature." See Steinmetz, p. 314.

⁸²⁸ See for example Henry C. Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on the Boston Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

⁸²⁹ For Simmel in 1903, the intensification of stimuli encountered in city life results in increasingly rational and intellectual beings, although this is not without its psychic consequences. See Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," *On Individuality and Social Forms*, trans. Donald N. Levine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 324-349. See also note 16, above.

⁸³⁰ On the sacred significance of centers, see David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2003), § 2.5, pp. 130-136, and Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 2nd ed. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968 [1949]), pp. 40-46.

⁸³¹ Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959), esp. pp. 34-57.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁸³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁸³⁶ Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world ...

And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

William Butler Yeats, "The Second Coming," *The Dial*, vol. 69, no. 5 (November 1920), p. 466.

⁸³⁷ Hans Sedlmayr, *Art in Crisis: The Lost Center [Verlust der Mitte: die bildende Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts als Symptom und Symbol der Zeit]*, trans. Brian Battershaw (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1958 [1948]), esp. 9-59.

⁸³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸³⁹ Sedlmayr's reaction to modernity may be extreme, but is by no means isolated. We have already seen a similar nostalgia for medieval Christendom in William T. Stead, proponent of a particular notion of the civic center. See chapter 1.4.2, above.

⁸⁴⁰ Jacques Derrida, "Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 278-293; quote p. 278.

⁸⁴¹ "Where and how does this decentering, this thinking the structurality of structure, occur?" Derrida's timeline is unclear, but he seems to have in mind specifically a period from the late 18th century to the emergence of Nietzsche, Freud, and Heidegger in the early 20th century. *Ibid*, p. 280, 287.

⁸⁴² *Ibid*, p. 279.

⁸⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 279.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 292.

⁸⁴⁵ Derrida, Jacques. "Semiology and Grammatology: Interview with Julia Kristeva" [originally published as « Sémiologie et grammatologie » in *Information sur les sciences sociales* 7, (June 3, 1968), pp. 133-148], *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 15-36; quote p. 24.

⁸⁴⁶ The original translation of Derrida's "Structure, Sign, and Play" included the transcript of a follow-up discussion involving the author and symposium participants. See Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato, eds. *The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man: The Structuralist Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), p. 271.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 293.

⁸⁴⁸ Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (New York: Bantam Books, 1967), n.p. [pp. 74-75].

⁸⁴⁹ Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *War and Peace in the Global Village* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 97.

⁸⁵⁰ Terry Eagleton, "Culture & Barbarism: Metaphysics in a Time of Terrorism," *Commonweal*, vol. 136, no. 6 (March 27, 2009), pp. 9-13; quote p. 12.

⁸⁵¹ See the discussion at the end of chapter 1.4.3, above.

⁸⁵² Derrida, "Structure, Sign and Play," p. 279.

⁸⁵³ Derrida was certainly acquainted with Bachelard; see Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1982), pp. 159-60. Derrida was assistant to Suzanne Bachelard, daughter of Gaston, from 1960-1964. See Alan D. Schrift, *Twentieth-Century French Philosophy: Key Themes and Thinkers* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 120.

⁸⁵⁴ "The center is at once the most concrete and most valorized [point]; situated in a known milieu, it is determined not only by its absolute nature but by its relative position, at a perceptibly equal distance from points on the periphery of a simple geometric figure. However, the center is not only the index of a position; it is also a polarizing element, a concentration of depth, a principle of existence. Bachelard attributes to it the proper title of a superior potentiality. 'The truth reserved to reality,' he says, 'is at the center. It is the center which safeguards unity; it is the center which is the component of the arithmetic of the real.' We are always at the center of the world. As for the idea, at once geometricizing and affective, the manifestations of which we are studying: If the center is 'in the middle' of an object, is it not because it is the origin, the heart, the matrix? [...] For Robert Musil, 'to be egocentric is to live as if one possessed the center of the world at the center of oneself; to be allocentric is to no longer possess the center of all, but to participate in the world without reserve, without regard for self.' According to Teilhard de Chardin there exists a human *center*, the egoism and of which we must tear ourselves away by an *excentration* which would permit us to attain 'the ultimate center of our existence,' that is to say, of our unification with Christ. [...] Accordingly, only one such *point* is able to enjoy the gift of ubiquity: 'Justifiably because He is infinitely profound and punctiform, God is infinitely near and spread throughout. Justifiably because He is the center, He

occupies the entire sphere.” My translation. Georges Matoré, *L'espace humain: l'expression de l'espace dans la vie, la pensée et l'art contemporains*, deuxième édition refondue (Paris: Librairie A.G. Nizet, 1976), pp. 98-100.

⁸⁵⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* [*La production de l'espace*, 1974], trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford UK/Cambridge MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53. On abstract space, see also Lefebvre, “Space: Social Product and Use Value,” *State, Space, World: Selected Essays* ed. Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), pp. 187-188.

⁸⁵⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 60.

⁸⁵⁹ “Nineteenth-century Utopians, with their rejection of urbanized society, and with their inheritance of eighteenth-century romanticism about the nobility and simplicity of ‘natural’ or primitive man, were much attracted to the idea of simple environments that were the works of art by harmonious consensus. [...] This futile (and deeply reactionary) hope tintured the Utopianism of the Garden City planning movement [...]. Indirectly through the Utopian tradition [...] modern city planning has been burdened from its beginnings with the unsuitable aim of converting cities into disciplined works of art.” Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, pp. 374-375.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17ff, 41, 193, 289, 324.

⁸⁶¹ Charity Scribner, *Requiem for Communism* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2003), p. 3.

⁸⁶² See for example the magisterial compendium by Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1979).

⁸⁶³ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* [*Ideologie und Utopie*], new ed., pref. Louis Wirth; preface new ed. Bryan S. Turner (London: Routledge, 1991 [1936]). See in particular chapter 4, “The Utopian Mentality,” pp. 176-236. One architectural proponent of positive utopia is Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* [*Progetto e utopia*], trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1976).

⁸⁶⁴ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies: Volume I, The Spell of Plato*, 5th ed., revised (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966 [1944]). See in particular chapter 9, “Aestheticism, Perfectionism, Utopianism,” pp. 157-168.

⁸⁶⁵ For Rowe and Koetter, “the predicament of architecture” owes to the fact that “it is always, in some way or other, concerned with amelioration, by some standard, however dimly perceived, of making things better ...” Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter. *Collage City* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1978), p. 105.

⁸⁶⁶ Rowe and Koetter, p. 105.

⁸⁶⁷ Krishan Kumar has remarked of Karl Popper that “*The Open Society and Its Enemies* has remained the most thoroughgoing and influential critique of utopianism from the pen of a modern social theorist – it is, we might say, the non-fictional equivalent of [George Orwell’s] *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.” Krishan Kumar, “The End of Socialism? The End of Utopia? The End of History?” *Utopias and the Millennium*, ed. Krishan Kumar and Stephen Bann (London: Reaktion Books, 1993), pp. 63-80; quote p. 66. Kumar cites George Kateb, *Utopia and Its Enemies* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1972 [1963]), p. 19.

⁸⁶⁸ Jacobs, p. 375.

⁸⁶⁹ Popper, 166.

⁸⁷⁰ Jacobs, p. 374-75.

⁸⁷¹ Popper, 166.

⁸⁷² Popper, p. 160.

⁸⁷³ Jacobs, p. 14.

⁸⁷⁴ Popper, p. 285-86.

⁸⁷⁵ Jacobs, p. 6. She elaborates, “Planners, architects of city design, and those they have led along with them in their beliefs are not consciously disdainful of the importance of knowing how things work. On the contrary, they have gone to great pains to learn what the saints and sages of modern orthodox planning have said about how cities *ought* to work and what *ought* to be good for people and businesses in them. They take this with such devotion that when contradictory reality intrudes, threatening to shatter their dearly won learning, they must shrug reality aside.” Jacobs, p. 8. Italics in the original.

⁸⁷⁶ Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics: An Introduction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) and *Science, Politics, and Gnosticism: Two Essays by Eric Voegelin* [*Wissenschaft, Politik, und Gnosis*, 1959] intro Ellis Sandoz (Wilmington DE: ISI [Intercollegiate Studies Institute] Books, 2004 [repr. Washington, D.C.: Henry A. Regnery Company, 1968]).

⁸⁷⁷ Voegelin, *Science, Politics, and Gnosticism*, pp. 6-10, 61.

⁸⁷⁸ Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics*, p. 121.

⁸⁷⁹ See chapter 1.4.1, above.

⁸⁸⁰ Voegelin, *Science, Politics, and Gnosticism*, pp. 26-27.

⁸⁸¹ See Anthony Flint, *Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took on New York’s Master Builder and Transformed the American City* (New York: Random House, 2009).

⁸⁸² Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces” [“Des espaces autres,” 1984], trans. Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 22-27, quote p. 26.

⁸⁸³ Foucault, p. 24.

⁸⁸⁴ There are those who are still debating utopias and heterotopias and continuing the argument with Voegelin, such as Kenneth Surin, who sees no intrinsic incompatibility between compassionate Marxism and Christianity, while championing concepts of liberation that, like utopian aspirations, “are premised on notions that are rigorously immanentist.” See Kenneth Surin, *Freedom Not Yet: Liberation and the Next World Order* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2009), p. 226. See also chapter 11, “The Possibility of a New State II: Heterotopia,” pp. 265-84.

⁸⁸⁵ Jonathan Ritter makes much of the fact that no civic center was ever built in the geographic center of a city, or even in the commercial district; planners had to settle for “provisional centrality.” This is an overly literal conception of centrality. See Ritter, *American Civic Center*, p. 19.