

# PLANIFICACIÓN URBANA Y PAISAJE

## SELECCIÓN DE TEXTOS AMERICANOS ENTRE MEDIADOS DE LOS SIGLOS XIX Y XX

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### PRESENTACIÓN

De modo similar a como se hizo en el anterior número de la revista, a continuación reproducimos algunos textos de momentos históricos pasados. No es el mismo tipo de recopilación ya que no hay ahora un punto de partida al que referirnos y homenajear, en este número no hay una vuelta hacia atrás consciente y estructurada al origen de algo como centro de discusión, como hubo en el número pasado respecto a la *Ciudad Jardín*. Sin embargo esta breve secuencia de textos nos puede redescubrir que hay muchos más elementos estables en la reflexión que ahora nos ocupa de lo que puedan aparentar los condicionantes y tensiones de la urbanización actual. Los textos van de mediados del siglo XIX a mediados del XX, y curiosamente todos son norteamericanos, quizá se encontraran aquí a priori menos condicionantes a la hora de planificar el sitio, también podemos elaborar así a partir de estas cuatro pinceladas cierta concatenación de ideas, en tiempo y espacio. Son fragmentos de distintos tipos de documento, de los más teóricos a los más instrumentales, pasando por un término medio, de algún modo equiparables a los que se han leído en este número, por lo que sumándolos a aquellos creemos que pueden dar pie a una reflexión más amplia, con más datos.

Tienen en común entre ellos que todos *se atreven* a planificar, ya sea desde la observación aguda, describiendo e interpretando una realidad y su posible desarrollo y evolución en tiempo y espacio, o trasladando esa reflexión a un tipo u otro de encauzamiento, que en último término siempre será personal – del que escribe–.

En todos se expresa una visión de la relación campo – ciudad, de la tensión ininterrumpida entre ambas ‘abstracciones’, como formas de vida y como fuentes ¿contrapuestas? del bienestar humano físico y psíquico. A pesar de los cambios tan profundos que ha sufrido el modo de vivir **del** y **en** el campo o en la ciudad, creemos que ponen de manifiesto la atemporalidad del debate sobre esta relación, fundamentalmente en cuanto al modo de organizar físicamente el todo, por más ocupado que esté ‘el campo’ o por más asimilados y por tanto casi

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olvidados que se hayan vuelto los distintos mecanismos que establecen su forma de ocupación, ¿arbitraria, estructurada, sistematizada, sostenible?

También hay cierta continuidad en todos ellos en la proposición de ideas e instrumentos que dotan al espacio libre –natural- de capacidad estructurante en el territorio –construido y no construido-.

De uno u otro modo todos **creen en un plan.**

Proponemos un breve debate enlazando o contraponiendo cuestiones planteadas en los artículos de hoy y en éstos de ayer. Nos hemos permitido la dudosa libertad de sacar de contexto distintas reflexiones, sin embargo podemos justificarlo en la medida en que sirva para asociar ideas comunes y proponer a partir de éstas otros recorridos (quizá por caminos ya transitados o al menos trazados). En el fondo los unos y los otros reinciden sobre los temas enunciados, incluso a veces en las formas de que se hacen eco, la búsqueda de una estructura que organice el territorio ‘alcanzado’ y utilizado por el hombre, y por lo tanto que sirva para hacerlo comprensible, y que funcione, y la atención sobre los elementos y los valores identificadores de dicho territorio, naturales y contruados, que configuran paisajes.

Parafraseando a uno de ellos (J.L. de las Rivas) con la última frase del último artículo: *“Hay lecciones que pueden ser también aprendidas. Los planes son simples instrumentos”*

En el primer artículo I. San Martín descubre una secuencia de formación y aportación de ideologías sobre el espacio, en concreto en Norte América, de donde son estos textos que ahora presentamos, y en éstos expresamente se percibe esa preocupación por adherirse a una u otra forma de pensamiento sobre la realidad física.

¿Hay en estos momentos una reflexión consistente abierta de hacia dónde va la ciudad? ¿Ideologías del espacio o individualismos varios? ¿Establecimiento de vínculos?. ¿Búsqueda constante de elementos estructurantes de su imparable crecimiento y/o transformación?.

Puede que en la mayoría de los casos lo que tengamos entre manos hoy sea una ciudad a la que no atendemos en el sentido más específico y global del término, la ciudad-región como interacción social estructurada en un espacio. No tenemos ideologías para ello, tan solo resultados de un hacer azaroso, a lo más basado en la competitividad con otros para las cuestiones referentes a administrar lo público, y en el valor del suelo para lo privado. Un territorio que pretenda ser sostenible no encontrará nunca en estas pautas su referencia de actuación, pues no serán nunca elementos para un paisaje ‘real’, cambiante pero con forma física.

Se introduce, tanto en los textos de hoy como en los del pasado, el paisaje como una poderosa fuente tanto de significados como de control para estructurar nuestros territorios, teniendo como base, quizá mucho más explícita en nuestros antecesores, las aspiraciones del hombre, su calidad de vida y por lo tanto el disfrute de ese territorio.

Si el “futuro” de la Ciudad (– región) es paisajístico (como interpreta J.L. de las Rivas y también lo hacía hace tres cuartos de siglo Mumford), Paisaje es (como dice Ribas y Piera) Entorno con Forma (algo que también, a su manera, decía Olmsted), el tiempo natural y humano actuando sobre la geografía. Define

sintéticamente el profesor Ribas y Piera a la Ciudad de ahora como región en cuanto a extensión y difusa en cuanto a forma física, y añade J.L. de las Rivas:

“Si el modelo urbano difuso ha de tener una estructura ésta habrá de ser paisajística. (...) Que el paisaje –el reconocimiento de lo existente y de sus condiciones- sea el fundamento articulador de la vida urbana a través de las funciones básicas de servicio, ocio y esparcimiento ...”

funciones que con especial énfasis ya analizó y desgranó Olmsted.

¿Y si hay una ciudad que crece dispersa para una sociedad que demanda, hasta donde se lo puede permitir –y sus razones serían otro asunto-, una casa unifamiliar en un barrio residencial ‘extra-urbano’, deberíamos plantearnos al menos unos patrones para su cualidad?. ¿Cuáles son en cada contexto los ‘derechos’ de los distintos usuarios o consumidores de espacio? Podemos referirnos aquí por igual a los turistas de la villa histórica de Comillas, o a los pobladores de una *country village* en el paisaje norteamericano retratado por A.J.Downing.

Expresa F. Oliva en su artículo que las principales debilidades del Documento Marco para Milán (su modo de plan vigente) se refieren a la falta de dimensión metropolitana y a la de referencias territoriales, ‘cualidades’ fundamentales ya desde que con villas y ciudades ideales se enfrentó el hombre de renacimiento al paisaje (Ribas y Piera), pero que con verdadera vocación de ser herramientas de comprensión de nuestro espacio (urbano) han sido reiteradamente planteadas durante todo el siglo XX.

En general éstos (los que siguen) planteaban la ciudad-región de la cotidianidad, cuando hoy la atracción turística y la competitividad – intrínsecamente vinculada a ésta al menos en ‘imagen pública’ y capacidad para auto-venderse- son los referentes más llamativos, quizá también más cómodos, en los que basar cualquier actuación.

Es imposible planificar, aunque sólo sea estructuralmente, un ‘paisaje urbano’ que engloba al que está en ‘otro’ territorio (ese paisaje consumible del que habla Ribas y Piera). No está de más revisar muchos de estos textos germinales, en paralelo a lo que hoy parece que debemos resolver con novedad. El planeta no ha encogido, e incluso la demanda de ‘paisaje pseudo natural por conquistar’ tampoco ha variado mucho, pero lo que seguro no cambia es la necesidad de abordar esa cotidianidad, de hoy y de mañana (esto es, sostenible). En el paisaje frágil en que nos movemos ha habido siempre la misma naturaleza dispuesta a mudar constantemente (‘en peligro’). Para movernos entre sus tensiones, condicionantes y contradicciones (que los acercan o alejan de paisajes valiosos, a consumibles, ‘democráticos’, disfrutables ...) es necesario, quizá más que nunca, planificar.

Siempre ha habido la posibilidad de un debate abierto para opiniones diversas, antes y ahora. Es obligado que de posible se pase a real y de real a crítico, propositivo, con capacidad para reactivar conciencias, para hacer consciente al que demanda uno u otro tipo de espacio, las causas y las consecuencias de su demanda. Responsabilidad que igualmente es competencia de los que planifican y de los que gestionan el presente y los posibles futuros. Dice Olmsted (en Boston):

“Hasta qué punto se actuará para desarrollar salud y virtud será en muchos casos una cuestión de oportunidad e incentivo. Y de las determinaciones sobre dicha cuestión somos nosotros hoy día en gran parte responsables durante mil años.”

Y J.L. de las Rivas (en Segovia):

“(…) Pensamos que lo más trascendente está en el trabajo de los que administran la ciudad a lo largo del tiempo, de su cultura y de su constancia en la defensa del interés colectivo.”

A. Álvarez Mora dice en relación a la realidad actual de Comillas: “*La contradicción espacial que se vive actualmente (...) está provocando una irracional manera de entender la movilidad urbana*”. Dicha *Contradicción espacial* es algo de lo que nos debemos sentir directa o indirectamente responsables, pues al menos como técnicos debemos responder al control –físico– del espacio ‘humano’.

Un “sistema de espacios libres ” que articule, conjunta e inseparablemente del “viario”, la estructura de la ciudad, es fundamental para proceder a la incorporación a la ciudad de esos “conjuntos residenciales” (que ahora viven al margen de ella)”

Downing, Olmsted, Burnham, Mumford, Moses ..., todos hablan de articular espacios, para conformar un paisaje (cultural) ciudadano, bien sea en ciudades por hacer, ciudades hechas o ciudades por rehacer.

Quizá sea momento de plantear (nuevas) ideologías para Territorios heredados, con la fuerza que da el temor a ser capaces de llevar al límite su fragilidad. Esto no significa acelerar los procesos que ya de por sí tienden a ello, gracias a Dios (o al genio del lugar) el espacio tiene unas permanencias extraordinarias, pese a nuestros consecutivos e impulsivos afanes transformadores, según direcciones arbitrarias. A veces *la destrucción de la obra del hombre da paso a la construcción del paisaje inicial* (Dehesa del Saler, Valencia, A. Fernández de la Reguera); aunque en general no sea cuestión de llegar al extremo, escarbemos en esos territorios / paisajes naturales y culturales (según define I. San Martín) del pasado.

## OUR COUNTRY VILLAGES

Downing, A. J.\*

*A.J. Downing<sup>1</sup> ya expone aquí su preocupación por el destrozo del paisaje – natural- a través de la ‘urbanización’, hecho que constata, paralela a la búsqueda de referentes que permitan crear y consoliden nuevos paisajes ‘ciudadanos’.*

*Aunque el contexto espacial y temporal de que habla esté muy acotado, las preocupaciones, ‘propuestas’ y los términos en que éstas se concretan, son fáciles de extrapolar y podrían implicar en sus reflexiones a distintos apartados de cualquiera de los artículos que la revista recoge. Hay inherentes cuestiones como el grado en que uno u otro gobierno se puede apropiar, interpretar y gestionar un elemento de planificación urbana, Downing fue en los años cuarenta del XIX el primer defensor acérrimo del parque público como la principal institución civil de la democracia norteamericana. Hasta otras más básicas: ¿Qué buscan los que acaban en el medio de una hilera interminable de adosados? ¿Qué horizonte divisan desde la ventana? ¿Qué grado de comunidad les estructura?. Gracias a sus artículos Downing fue un verdadero ‘creador de gusto’ para sus compatriotas, confiando tanto en las enormes oportunidades del inmenso paisaje norteamericano como en la iniciativa ciudadana para crear su identidad, un ‘paisaje intermedio’ en el que su uso de la palabra ‘rural’ implica al concepto del ‘suburbio’ (residencial americano).*

Without any boasting, it may safely be said, that the natural features of our common country (as the speakers in Congress call her), are as agreeable and prepossessing as those of any other land—whether merry England, la belle France, or the German fatherland. We have greater lakes, larger rivers, broader and more fertile prairies than the old world can show; and if the Alleghanies are rather dwarfish when compared to the Alps, there are peaks and summits, "castle hills" and volcanoes, in our great back-bone range of the Pacific—the Rocky Mountains— which may safely hold up their heads along with Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau.

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\* DOWNING, A. J.- “Our country villages”, en *Rural Essays*, New York, Leavitt and Alien, ed. by George William Curtis, 1857.

<sup>1</sup> Downing, experto en horticultura, fue el primer escritor americano sobre temas de paisajismo; escribe el *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America*, 1841, profundamente influenciado por Loudon, y a su vez tendrá una notable influencia en el despertar del interés por la mejora de propiedades en el campo; y, ante todo, animará a la gente ‘to do something about their environment’ (ref. NEWTON, T.- *Design on the Land*, 1971; y ROGERS, E.B.- *Landscape design: a Cultural land Architectural History*, 2001.)

Providence, then, has blessed this country—our country—with "natural born" features, which we may look upon and be glad. But how have we sought to deform the fair landscape here and there by little, miserable shabby-looking towns and villages; not miserable and shabby-looking from the poverty and wretchedness of the inhabitants—for in no land is there more peace and plenty—but miserable and shabby-looking from the absence of taste, symmetry, order, space, proportion,—all that constitutes beauty. Ah, well and truly did Cowper say,

"God made the country, but man made the town."

For in the one, we every where see utility and beauty harmoniously combined, while the other presents us but too often the reverse; that is to say, the marriage of utility and deformity.

Some of our readers may remind us that we have already preached a sermon from this text. No matter; we should be glad to preach fifty; yes, or even establish a sect,—as that seems the only way of making proselytes now,—whose duty it should be to convert people living in the country towns to the true faith; we mean the true rural faith, viz., that it is immoral and uncivilised to live in mean and uncouth villages, where there is no poverty, or want of intelligence in the inhabitants; that there is nothing laudable in having a piano-forte and mahogany chairs in the parlour, where the streets outside are barren of shade trees, destitute of side-walks, and populous with pigs and geese.

We are bound to admit (with a little shame and humiliation,—being a native of New-York, the "Empire State"), that there is one part of the Union where the millennium of country towns, and good government, and rural taste has not only commenced, but is in full domination. We mean, of course, Massachusetts. The traveller may go from one end of that State to the other, and find flourishing villages, with broad streets lined with maples and elms, behind which are goodly rows of neat and substantial dwellings, full of evidences of order, comfort and taste. Throughout the whole State, no animals are allowed to run at large in the streets of towns and villages. Hence so much more cleanliness than elsewhere; so much more order and neatness; so many more pretty rural lanes; so many inviting flower-gardens and orchards—only separated from the passerby by a low railing or hedge, instead of a formidable board fence. Now, if you cross the State line into New-York—a State of far greater wealth than Massachusetts, as long settled and nearly as populous—you feel directly that you are in the land of "pigs and poultry," in the least agreeable sense of the word. In passing through villages and towns, the truth is still more striking, as you go to the south and west; and you feel little or nothing of that sense, of "how pleasant it must be to live here," which the traveller through Berkshire, or the Connecticut valley, or the pretty villages about Boston, feels moving his heart within him. You are rather inclined to wish there were two new commandments, viz.: thou shalt plant trees, to hide the nakedness of the streets; and thou shalt not keep pigs — except in the back yard! <sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> We believe we must lay this latter sin at the doors of our hard-working emigrants from the Emerald Isle. Wherever they settle, they cling to their ancient fraternity of porkers; and think it "no free

Our more reflective and inquiring readers will naturally ask, why is this better condition of things—a condition that denotes better citizens, better laws, and higher civilization—confined almost wholly to Massachusetts? To save them an infinite deal of painstaking research and investigation, we will tell them in a few words. That State is better educated than the rest. She sees the advantage, morally and socially, of orderly, neat, tasteful villages; in producing better citizens, in causing the laws to be respected, in making homes dearer and more sacred, in making domestic life and the enjoyment of property to be more truly and rightly estimated.

And these are the legitimate and natural results of this kind of improvement we so ardently desire in the outward life and appearance of rural towns. If our readers suppose us anxious for the building of good houses, and the planting of street avenues, solely that the country may look more beautiful to the eye, and that the taste shall be gratified, they do us an injustice. This is only the external sign by which we would have the country's health and beauty known, as we look for the health and beauty of its fair daughters in the presence of the rose on their cheeks. But as the latter only blooms lastingly there, when a good constitution is joined with healthful habits of mind and body, so the tasteful appearance which we long for in our country towns, we seek as the outward mark of education, moral sentiment, love of home, and refined cultivation, which makes the main difference between Massachusetts and Madagascar.

We have, in a former number, said something as to the practical manner in which "graceless villages" may be improved. We have urged the force of example in those who set about improving their own property, and shown the influence of even two or three persons in giving an air of civilization and refinement to the streets and suburbs of country towns. There is not a village in America, however badly planned at first, or ill-built afterwards, that may not be redeemed, in a great measure, by the aid of shade trees in the streets, and a little shrubbery in the front yards, and it is never too late or too early to project improvements of this kind. Every spring and every autumn should witness a revival of associated efforts on the part of select-men, trustees of corporations, and persons of means and influence, to adorn and embellish the external condition of their towns. Those least alive to the result as regards beauty, may be roused as to the effects of increased value given to the property thus improved, and villages thus rendered attractive and desirable as places of residence.

But let us now go a step further than this. In no country, perhaps, are there so many new villages and towns laid out every year as in the United States. Indeed,, so large is the number, that the builders and projectors are fairly at a loss for names,—ancient and modern history having been literally worn threadbare by the godfathers, until all association with great heroes and mighty deeds is fairly beggared by this re-christening going on in our new settlements and future towns,

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country where pigs can't have their liberty." Newburgh is by no means a well-planned village, though scarcely surpassed for scenery; but we believe it may claim the credit of being the only one among all the towns, cities and villages of New-York where pigs and geese have not the freedom of the streets.

as yet only populous to the extent of six houses. And notwithstanding the apparent vastness of our territory, the growth of new towns and new States is so wonderful-fifteen or twenty years giving a population of hundreds of thousands, where all was wilderness before-that the plan and arrangement of new towns ought to be a matter of national importance. And yet, to judge by the manner in which we see the thing done, there has not, in the whole duration of the republic, been a single word said, or a single plan formed, calculated to embody past experience, or to assist in any way the laying out of a village or town.

We have been the more struck by this fact in observing the efforts of some companies who have lately, upon the Hudson within some twenty or more miles of New-York, undertaken to lay out rural villages, with some pretension to taste and comfort; and aim, at least, at combining the advantages of the country with easy railroad access to them.

Our readers most interested in such matters as this (and, taking our principal cities together, it is a pretty large class), will be interested to know what is the beau-ideal of these companies who undertake to buy tracts of land, lay them out in the best manner, and form the most complete and attractive rural villages, in order to tempt those tired of the way worn life of sidewalks, into a neighborhood where without losing society, they can see the horizon, breathe the fresh air, and walk upon elastic greensward.

Well, the beau-ideal of these newly-planned villages is not down to the zero of dirty lanes and shadeless roadsides, but it rises, we are sorry to say, no higher than streets, lined on each side with shade-trees, and bordered with rows of houses. For the most part, those houses-cottages, we presume-are to be built on fifty-foot lots; or if any buyer is not satisfied with that amount of elbow room, he may buy two lots, though certain that his neighbour will still be within twenty feet of his fence. And this is the sum total of the rural beauty, convenience, and comfort, of the latest plan for a rural village in the Union.<sup>3</sup>

The buyer gets nothing more than he has in town, save his little patch of back and front yard, a little peep down the street, looking one way at the river, and the other way at the sky. So far from gaining any thing which all inhabitants of a village should gain by the combination, one of these new villagers actually loses; for if he were to go by himself, he would buy land cheaper, and have a fresh landscape of fields and hills around him, instead of houses on all sides, almost as closely placed as in the city, which he has endeavored to fly from.

Now a rural village-newly planned in the suburbs of a great city, and planned, too, specially for those whose circumstances will allow them to own a tasteful cottage in such a village-should present attractions much higher than this. It should aim at something higher than mere rows of houses upon streets crossing each other at right angles, and bordered with shade-trees. Any one may find as good shade-trees, and much better houses in certain streets of the city which he leaves behind him; and if he is to give up fifty conveniences and comforts, long

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<sup>3</sup> We say plan, but we do not mean to include in this such villages as Northampton, Brookline, &c., beautiful and tasteful as they are. But they are in Massachusetts!



enjoyed in town, for the mere fact of fresh air, he had better take board during the summer months in some snug farmhouse as before.

The indispensable desiderata in rural villages of this kind are the following: 1st, a large open space, common, or park, situated in the middle of the village—not less than twenty acres; and better, if fifty or more in extent. This should be well planted with groups of trees, and kept as a lawn. The expense of mowing it would be paid by the grass in some cases; and in others, a considerable part of the space might be inclosed with a wire fence, and fed by sheep or cows, like many of the public parks in England.

This park would be the nucleus or heart of the village, and would give it an essentially rural character. Around it should be grouped all the best cottages and residences of the place; and this would be secured by selling no lots fronting upon it of less than one-fourth of an acre in extent. Wide streets, with rows of elms or maples, should diverge from the park on each side, and upon these streets smaller lots, but not smaller than one hundred feet front, should be sold for smaller cottages.

In this way, we would secure to our village a permanent rural character, first, by the possession of a large central space, always devoted to park or pleasure-ground, and always held as joint property and for the common use of the whole village; second, by the imperative arrangement of cottages or dwellings around it, in such a way as to secure in all parts of the village sufficient space, view, circulation of air, and broad, well-planted avenues of shade-trees.

After such a village was built, and the central park planted a few years, the inhabitants would not be contented with the mere meadow and trees, usually called a park in this country. By submitting to a small annual tax per family, they could turn the whole park, its small, or considerable portions, here and there if large into pleasure-grounds. In the latter, there would be collected, by the combined means of the village, all the rare, hardy shrubs, trees, and plants, usually found in the private grounds of any amateur in America. Beds and masses of ever-blooming roses, sweet-scented climbers, and the richest shrubs, would thus be open to the enjoyment of all during the whole growing season. Those who had neither the means, time, nor inclination, to devote to the culture of private pleasure-grounds, could thus enjoy those which belonged to all. Others might prefer to devote their own garden to fruits and vegetables, since the pleasure-grounds, which belonged to all, and which all would enjoy, would, by their greater breadth and magnitude, offer beauties and enjoyments which few private gardens can give.

The next step, after the possession of such public pleasure-grounds, would be the social and common enjoyment of them. Upon the well-mown glades of lawn, and beneath the shade of the forest-trees, would be formed rustic seats. Little arbours would be placed near, where in midsummer evenings ices would be served to all who wished them. And, little by little, the musical taste of the village (with the help of those good musical folks—the German emigrants) would organise itself into a band, which would occasionally delight the ears of all frequenters of the park with popular airs.

Do we overrate the mental and moral influences of such a common ground of entertainment as this, when we say that the inhabitants of such a village—enjoying in this way a common interest in flowers, trees, the fresh air, and sweet music, daily—would have something more healthful than the ordinary life of cities, and more refining and elevating than the common gossip of country villages!

"Ah! I see, Mr. Editor, you are a bit of a communist." By no means. On the contrary, we believe, above all things under

heaven, in the power and virtue of the individual home. We devote our life and humble efforts to raising its condition. But people must live in towns and villages, and therefore let us raise the condition of towns and villages, and especially of rural towns and villages, by all possible means!

But we are republican; and, shall we confess it, we are a little vexed that as a people generally, we do not see how much in America we lose by not using the advantages of republicanism. We mean now, for refined culture, physical comfort, and the like. Republican education we are now beginning pretty well to understand the value of; and it will not be long before it will be hard to find a native citizen who cannot read and write. And this comes by making every man see what a great moral and intellectual good comes from cheerfully bearing a part in the burden of popular education. Let us next take up popular refinement in the arts, manners, social life, and innocent enjoyments, and we shall see what a virtuous and educated republic can really become.

Besides this, it is the proper duty of the state—that is, the people—to do in this way what the reigning power does in a monarchy. If the kings and princes in Germany, and the sovereign of England, have made magnificent parks and pleasure-gardens, and thrown them wide open for the enjoyment of all classes of the people (the latter, after all, having to pay for it), may it not be that our sovereign *people* will (far more cheaply, as they may) make and support these great and healthy sources of pleasure and refinement for themselves in America? We believe so; and we confidently wait for the time when public parks, public gardens, public galleries, and tasteful villages, shall be among the peculiar features of our happy republic.

## PUBLIC PARKS AND THE ENLARGEMENT OF TOWNS

F. L. OLMSTED\*

*Olmsted fue el primer 'arquitecto del paisaje' que se refirió a sí mismo como tal (fundador de la disciplina). La teoría y sobre todo el contexto de la práctica que desarrolla se ciñen fundamentalmente al parque, al sistema de parques que define, y a las áreas en que ambos se pueden incorporar. Pero las observaciones y reflexiones que lo fundamentan son mucho más abarcales.*

*Olmsted se plantea aquí la cuestión del recreo del hombre y sus actitudes 'esenciales', de ser gregario a individualista, que actúa de forma pasiva o activa en su disfrute –natural y social-. Como hemos visto, el tema del ocio y con él el del disfrute del paisaje es uno de los que más profundamente influyen en nuestra relación con el territorio y su demanda, y todo ello de nuevo proyectado sobre la dialéctica campo-ciudad, las tensiones sucesivas que se producen a lo largo de la historia en el acercamiento a la ciudad desde el campo y viceversa, encuentro o independencia ¿de quién y respecto a qué?.*

*Hay muchas cuestiones en esta reflexión atemporales, relacionadas con las necesidades físicas y psíquicas del hombre y su relación con el medio –natural y urbano-, y las expectativas que puede, quiere o debe poner en él.*

(...) It used to be a matter of pride with the better sort of our country people that they could raise on their own land or manufacture within their own households almost everything needed for domestic consumption. But if now you leave the rail, at whatever remote station, the very advertisements on its walls will manifest how greatly this is changed. Push out over the prairie and make your way to the house of any long-settled and prosperous farmer, and the intimacy of his family with the town will constantly appear, in dress, furniture, viands, in all the conversation. If there is a piano, they will be expecting a man from town to tune it. If the baby has outgrown its shoes, the measure is to be sent to town. If a tooth is troublesome, an appointment is to be arranged by telegraph with the

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\* OLMSTED, F. L.- Fragmentos de un estudio que prepara como aportación al debate popular surgido en relación a las necesidades de Boston de un parque público; leído a petición de la American Social Science Association en el Lowell Institute el 25 de febrero de 1870.

dentist. The railway time-table hangs with the almanac. The housewife complains of her servants. There is no difficulty in getting them from the intelligence offices in town, such as they are; but only the poorest, who cannot find employment in the city, will come to the country, and these as soon as they have got a few dollars ahead, are crazy to get back to town. It is much the same with the men, the farmer will add; he has to run up in the morning and get some one to take "Wolf's" place. You will find, too, that one of his sons is in a lawyer's office, another at a commercial college, and his oldest daughter at an "institute," all in town. I know several girls who travel eighty miles a day to attend school in Chicago. (...).

There can be no doubt then, that, in all our modern civilization, as in that of the ancients, there is a strong drift townward. But some seem to regard the class of symptoms I have referred to as those of a sort of moral epidemic, the crisis and reaction of which they constantly expect to see. They even detect already a growing disgust with the town and signs of a back-set towards rural simplicity. To avoid prolonged discussion of the question thus suggested I will refer but briefly to the intimate connection which is evident between the growth of towns and the dying out of slavery and feudal customs, of priestcraft and government by divine right, the multiplication of books, newspapers, schools, and other means of popular education and the adoption of improved methods of communication, transportation, and of various labor-saving inventions. No nation has yet begun to give up schools or newspapers, railroads or telegraphs, to restore feudal rights or advance rates of postage. King-craft and priestcraft are nowhere gaining any solid ground. On the contrary, considered as elements of human progress, the more apparent forces under which men haven thus far been led to gather together in towns are yet growing; never more rapidly than at this moment. It would seem then more rational to prepare for a continued rising of the townward flood than to count upon its subsidence. Examining our own country more particularly, it is to be considered that we have been giving away our public lands under a square form of division, as if for the purpose of preventing the closer agricultural settlement which long and narrow farms would have favored, and that we have used our mineral deposits as premiums for the encouragement of wandering and of forms of enterprise, individual, desultory and sequestered in character, in distinction from those which are organized, systematized and public. This policy has had its day; the choicest lands have been taken up; the most prominent and easiest worked metallic veins have been seized, the richest placers are abandoned to Chinamen, and the only reaction that we can reasonably anticipate is one from, not toward, dispersion.

The same policy, indeed, has had the effect of giving us, for a time, great command of ready money and easy credit, and we have thus been induced to spend an immense sum — say two thousand millions—in providing ourselves with the fixtures and machinery of our railroad system. This system, while encouraging the greater dispersion of our food-producers, has tended most of all to render them, as we have seen, independent of all the old neighborhood agencies of demand and supply, manufacture and exchange, and to educate them and their children in familiarity with and dependence on the conveniences and habits of towns-people. (...)

It should be observed that possession of all the various advantages of the town to which we have referred, while it very certainly cannot be acquired by people living in houses a quarter or a half mile apart, does not, on the other hand, by any means involve an unhealthy density of population. Probably the advantages of civilization can be found illustrated and demonstrated under no other circumstances so completely as in suburban neighborhoods where each family abode stands fifty or a hundred feet or more apart from all others, and at some distance from the public road. And it must be remembered, also, that man's enjoyment of rural beauty has clearly increased rather than diminished with his advance in civilization. There is no reason, except in the loss of time, the inconvenience, discomfort, and expense of our present arrangements for short travel, why suburban advantages should not be almost indefinitely extended. Let us have a cheap and enjoy-able method of conveyance, and a building law like that of old Rome, and they surely will be.

As railroads are improved, all the important stations will become centers or sub-centers of towns, and all the minor stations suburb?. For most ordinary every-day purposes, especially house-keepers purposes, these will need no very large population before they can obtain urban advantages. I have seen a settlement, the resident population of which was under three hundred, in which there was a public laundry, bath-house, barber's shop, billiard-room, beergarden, and bakery. Fresh rolls and fresh milk were supplied to families before breakfast time every morning; fair fruit and succulent vegetables were delivered at house doors not half an hour after picking; and newspapers and magazines were distributed by a carrier. I have seen a town of not more than twelve hundred inhabitants, the streets and the yards, alleys, and places of which were swept every day as regularly as the house floors, and all dust removed by a public dustman.

The construction of good roads and walks, the laying of sewer, water, and gas pipes, and the supplying of sufficiently cheap, rapid, and comfortable conveyances, to town centers, is all that is necessary to give any farming land in a healthy and attractive situation the value of town lots. (...)

We come then to the question: what accommodations for recreation can we provide which shall be so agreeable and so accessible as to be efficiently attractive to the great body of citizens, and which, while giving decided gratification, shall also cause those who resort to them for pleasure to subject themselves, for the time being, to conditions strongly counteractive to the special enervating conditions of the town?

In the study of this question all forms of recreation may, in the first place, be conveniently arranged under two general heads. One will include all of which the predominating influence is to stimulate exertion of any part or parts needing it; the other, all which cause us to receive pleasure without conscious exertion. Games chiefly of mental skill, as chess, or athletic sports, as baseball, are examples of means of recreation of the first class, which may be termed that of exertive recreation; music and the fine arts generally of the second or receptive division.

Considering the first by itself, much consideration will be needed in determining what classes of exercises may be advantageously provided for. In the

Bois de Boulogne there is a race course; in the Bois de Vincennes a ground for artillery target-practice. Military parades are held in Hyde Park. A few cricket clubs are accommodated in most of the London parks, and swimming is permitted in the lakes at certain hours. In the New York Park, on the other hand, none of these exercises are provided for or permitted, except that the boys of the public schools are given the use on holidays of certain large spaces for ball playing. It is considered that the advantage to individuals which would be gained in providing for them would not compensate for the general inconvenience and expense they would cause.

I do not propose to discuss this part of the subject at present, as it is only necessary to my immediate purpose to point out that if recreations requiring spaces to be given up to the use of a comparatively small number, are not considered essential, numerous small grounds so distributed through a large town that some one of them could be easily reached by a short walk from every house, would be more desirable than a single area of great extent, however rich in landscape attractions it might be. Especially would this be the case if the numerous local grounds were connected and supplemented by a series of trunk roads or boulevards such as has already been suggested.

Proceeding to the consideration of receptive recreations, it is necessary to ask you to adopt and bear in mind a further subdivision, under two heads, according to the degree in which the average enjoyment is greater when a large congregation assembles for a purpose of receptive recreation, or when the number coming together is small and the circumstances are favorable to the exercise of personal friendliness.

The first I shall term gregarious; the second, neighborly. Remembering that the immediate matter in hand is a study of fitting accommodations, you will, I trust, see the practical necessity of this classification.

Purely gregarious recreation seems to be generally looked upon in New England society as childish and savage, because, I suppose, there is so little of what we call intellectual gratification in it. We are inclined to engage in it indirectly, furtively, and with complication. Yet there are certain forms of recreation, a large share of the attraction of which must, I think, lie in the gratification of the gregarious inclination, and which, with those who can afford to indulge in them, are so popular as to establish the importance of the requirement.

If I ask myself where I have experienced the most complete gratification of this instinct in public and out of doors, among trees, I find that it has been in the promenade of the Champs Elysées. As closely following it I should name other promenades of Europe, and our own upon the New York parks. I have studiously watched the latter for several years. I have several times seen fifty thousand people participating in them; and the more I have seen of them, the more highly have I been led to estimate their value as means of counteracting the evils of town life.

Consider that the New York Park and the Brooklyn Park are the only Places in those associated cities where, in this eighteen hundred and seventieth year after Christ, you will find a body of Christians coming together, and with an evident glee in the prospect of coming together, all classes largely represented

with a common purpose, not at all intellectual, competitive with none, disposing to jealousy and spiritual or intellectual pride toward none, each individual adding by his mere presence to the please of all others, all helping to the greater happiness of each. You may thus often see vast numbers of persons brought closely together, poor and rich, young and old, Jew and Gentile. I have seen a hundred thousand thus congregated, and I assure you that though there have been not a few that seemed a little dazed, as if they did not quite understand it, and were, perhaps, a little ashamed of it, I have looked studiously but vainly among them for a single face completely unsympathetic with the prevailing expression of good nature and light-heartedness.

Is it doubtful that it does men good to come together in this way in pure air and under the light of heaven, or that it must have an influence directly counteractive to that of the ordinary hard, hustling working hours of town life?

You will agree with me, I am sure, that it is not, and that opportunity, convenient, attractive opportunity, for such congregation is a very good thing to provide for, in planning the extension of a town. (...)

I have next to see what opportunities are wanted to induce people to engage in what I have termed *neighborly* receptive recreations, under conditions which shall be highly counteractive to the prevailing bias to degeneration and demoralization in large towns. To make clearer what I mean, I need an illustration which I find in a familiar domestic gathering, where the prattle of the children mingles with the easy conversation of the more sedate, the bodily requirements satisfied with good cheer, fresh air, agreeable light, moderate temperature, snug shelter, and furniture and decorations adapted to please the eye, without calling for profound admiration on the one hand, or tending to fatigue or disgust on the other. The circumstances are all favorable to a pleasurable wakefulness of the mind without stimulating exertion; and the close relation of family life, the association of children, of mothers, of lovers, or those who may be lovers, stimulate and keep alive the more tender sympathies, and give play to faculties such as may be dormant in business or on the promenade; while at the same time the cares of providing in detail for all the wants of the family, guidance, instruction, reproof, and the dutiful reception of guidance, instruction, and reproof, are, as matters of conscious exertion, as far as possible laid aside.

There is an instinctive inclination to this social, neighborly, unexertive form of recreation among all of us. In one way or another it is sure to be constantly operating upon those millions on millions of men and women who are to pass their lives within a few miles of where we now stand. To what extent it shall operate so as to develop health and virtue, will, on many occasions, be simply a question of opportunity and inducement. And this question is one for the determination of which for a thousand years we here to-day are largely responsible. (...)

Consider how often you see young men in knots of perhaps half a dozen in lounging attitudes rudely obstructing the sidewalks, chiefly led in their little conversation by the suggestions given to their minds by what or whom they may see passing in the street, men, women, or children, whom they do not know, and for whom they have no respect or sympathy. There is nothing among them or about them which is adapted to bring into play a spark of admiration, of delicacy,

manliness, or tenderness. You see them presently descend in search of physical comfort to a brilliantly lighted basement, where they find others of their sort, see, hear, smell, drink, and eat all manner of vile things.

Whether on the curb-stones or in the dram-shops, these young men are all under the influence of the same impulse which some satisfy about the tea-table with neighbors and wives and mothers and children, and all things clean and wholesome, softening and refining.

If the great city to arise here is to be laid out little by little, and chiefly to suit the views of land-owners, acting only individually, and thinking only of how what they do is to affect the value in the next week or the next year of the few lots that each may hold at the time, the opportunities of so obeying this inclination as at the same time to give the lungs a bath of pure sunny air, to give the mind a suggestion of rest from the devouring eagerness and intellectual strife of town life, will always be few to any, to many will amount to nothing.

But is it possible to make public provision for recreation of this class, essentially domestic and secluded as it is?

It is a question which can, of course, be conclusively answered only from experience. And from experience in some slight degree I shall answer it. (...)

There will be room enough in the Brooklyn Park, when it is I finished, for several thousand little family and neighborly parties to bivouac at frequent intervals through the summer, without discommoding one another, or interfering with any other purpose, to say nothing of those who can be drawn out to make a day of it, as many thousand were last year. (...)

When the arrangements are complete, I see no reason why thousands should not come every day where hundreds come now to use them; and if so, who can measure the value, generation after generation, of such provisions for recreation to the overwrought, much confined people of the great town that is to be?

For this purpose neither of the forms of ground we have heretofore considered are at all suitable. We want a ground to which people may easily go after their day's work is done, and where they may stroll for an hour, seeing, hearing, and feeling nothing of the bustle and jar of the streets, where they shall, in effect, find the city put far away from them. We want, especially, the greatest possible contrast with the restraining and confining conditions of the town, those conditions which compel us to walk circumspectly, watchfully, jealously, which compel us to look closely upon others without sympathy. Practically, what we most want is a simple, broad, open space of clean greensward, with sufficient play of surface and a sufficient number of trees about it to supply a variety of light and shade. This we want as a central feature, We want depth of wood enough about it not only for comfort in hot weather, but to completely shut out the city from our landscapes.

The word *park*, in town nomenclature, should, I think, be reserved for grounds of the character and purpose thus described.

Not only as being the most valuable of all possible forms of public places, but regarded simply as a large space which will seriously interrupt cross-town communication wherever it occurs, the question of the site and bounds of



the park requires to be determined with much more deliberation and art than is often secured for any problem of distant and extended municipal interests.

A Promenade may, with great advantage, be carried along the outer part of the surrounding groves of a park; and it will do no harm if here and there a broad opening among the trees discloses its open landscapes to those upon the promenade. But recollect that the object of the latter for the time being should be to see congregated human life under glorious and necessarily artificial conditions, and the natural landscape is not essential to them; though there is no more beautiful picture, and none can be more pleasing incidentally to the gregarious purpose, than that of beautiful meadows, over which clusters of level-armed sheltering trees cast broad shadows, and upon which are scattered dainty cows and flocks of black-faced sheep, while men, women, and children are seen sitting here and there, forming groups in the shade, or moving in and out among the woody points and bays.

It may be inferred from what I have said, that very rugged ground, abrupt eminences, and what is technically called picturesque in distinction from merely beautiful or simply pleasing scenery, is not the most desirable for a town park. Decidedly not in my opinion. The park should, as far as possible, complement the town. Openness is the one thing you cannot get in buildings. Picturesqueness you can get. Let your buildings be as picturesque as your artists can make them. This is the beauty of a town. Consequently, the beauty of the park should be the other. It should be the beauty of the fields, the meadow, the prairie, of the green pastures, and the still waters. What we want to gain is tranquility and rest to the mind.

## PLAN OF CHICAGO

D. H. BURNHAM & E. H. BENNET \*

*Se reproducen diversos fragmentos de la memoria del plan, que van de apuntes de una exposición de motivos tanto ideológicos como funcionales, al enunciado de algunas herramientas con capacidad estructurante.*

*Evidentemente los condicionantes demográficos y económicos hoy son otros, pero no determinadas preguntas sobre las que reflexionar para el planeamiento en general (en cuanto a su esencia o finalidad), y para la 'ocupación del territorio' en particular (ellos se atreven a decir que se ha producido un salto de enfoque entre el siglo XIX y el XX, de la expansión a la conservación como clave, hoy creo que no lo tendríamos tan claro, ni para el hoy ni para el ayer).*

*Están impregnados del City Beautiful Movement encuadrado en la primera década del siglo XX americano, que el profesor Ribas y Piera en su artículo de "Paisaje y Ciudad" anticipa ya en el 'florecer' de la Ciudad Ideal renacentista, pero que también sería rastreable hoy en distintos Planes. Creen en la ciudad como centro de atracción y de influencia, y en la validez del plan tanto para entenderla como una unidad, gestionable, como para hacerla atractiva, que es ¿bella, de calidad, competitiva?.*

*¿Hay contradicciones entre el planteamiento de una estructura de espacios libres – parques inmersa en la ciudad y el dar posibilidad al intercambio entre el consumo de ésta y el del campo?*

### Origin of the plan of Chicago

The tendency of mankind to congregate in cities is a marked characteristic of modern times. This movement is confined to no one country, but is world-wide. Each year Rome, and the cities of the Orient, as well as Berlin, New York, and Chicago, are adding to their population at an unprecedented rate. Coincident with this urban development there has been a widespread increase in wealth and also art enlarged participation on the part of the people in the work of government's a natural result of these causes has come the desire to better the conditions of living. Men are becoming convinced that the formless growth of the city is neither economical nor satisfactory; and that overcrowding and congestion

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\* BURNHAM, D. H. & BENNET, E. H.- *Plan of Chicago*, 1909.

of traffic paralyze the vital functions of the city. The complicated problems which the great city develops are now seen not to be beyond the control of aroused public sentiment; and practical men of affairs are turning their attention to working out the means whereby the city may be made an efficient instrument for providing all its people with the best possible conditions of living.

Chicago, in common with other great cities, realizes that the time has come to bring order out of the chaos incident to rapid growth, and especially to the influx of people of many nationalities without common traditions or habits of life. Among the various instrumentalities designed to accomplish this result, a plan for a well-ordered and convenient city is seen to be indispensable; and to the task of producing such a plan the Commercial Club has devoted its energies for the past three years.

It is not to be expected that any plan devised while as yet few civic problems have received a final solution will be perfect in all its details. It is claimed for the plan herein presented, that it is the result of extended and careful study of the needs of Chicago, made by disinterested men of wide experience, amid the very conditions which it is sought to remedy; and that during the years devoted to its preparation the plan has had the benefit of varied and competent criticism. The real test of this plan will be found in its application; for, such is the determination of the people to secure more perfect conditions, it is certain that if the plan is really good it will commend itself to the progressive spirit of the times, and sooner or later it will be carried out. (...)

To many who have given little consideration to the subject, a plan seems to call for large expenditures and a consequent increase in taxation. The reverse is the case. It is certain that civic improvement will go on at an accelerated rate; and if those improvements shall be marshaled according to a well-ordered plan great saving must result. Good order and convenience are not expensive; but haphazard and ill-considered projects invariably result in extravagance and wastefulness. A plan insures that whenever any public or semi-public work shall be undertaken, it will fall into its proper and predetermined place in the general scheme, and thus contribute to the unity and dignity of the city.

The plan frankly takes into consideration the fact that the American city, and Chicago pre-eminently, is a center of industry and traffic. Therefore attention is given to the betterment of commercial facilities; to methods of transportation for persons and for goods; to removing the obstacles which prevent or obstruct circulation; and to the increase of convenience. It is realized, also, that good workmanship requires a large degree of comfort on the part of the workers in their homes and their surroundings, and ample opportunity for that rest and recreation without which all work becomes drudgery. Then, too, the city has a dignity to be maintained; and good order is essential to material advancement. Consequently, the plan provides for impressive groupings of public buildings, and reciprocal relations among such groups. Moreover, consideration is given to the fact that in all probability Chicago, within the lifetime of persons now living, will become a greater city than any existing at the present time; and that therefore the most comprehensive plans of to-day will need to be supplemented in a not remote future. Opportunity for such expansion is provided for.

The origin of the plan of Chicago can be traced directly to the World's Columbian Exposition. The World's Fair of 1893 was the beginning, in our day and in this country, of the orderly arrangement of extensive public grounds and buildings. (...)

In creating the ideal arrangement, every one who lives here is better accommodated in his business and his social activities. In bringing about better freight and passenger facilities, every merchant and manufacturer is helped. In establishing a complete park and parkway system, the life of the wage-earner and of his family is made healthier and pleasanter; while the greater attractiveness thus produced keeps at home the people of means and taste, and acts as a magnet to draw those who seek to live amid pleasing surroundings. The very beauty that attracts him who has money makes pleasant the life of those among whom he lives, while anchoring him and his wealth to the city.

The prosperity aimed at is for all Chicago. (...)

### **Chicago, the metropolis of the Middle West**

The growth of the city has been so rapid that it has been impossible to plan for the economical disposition of the great influx of people, surging like a human tide to spread itself wherever opportunity for profitable labor offered place. Thoughtful people are appalled at the results of progress; at the waste in time, strength, and money which congestion in city streets begets; at the toll of lives taken by disease when sanitary precautions are neglected; and at the frequent outbreaks against law and order which result from narrow and pleasureless lives. So that while the keynote of the nineteenth century was expansion, we of the twentieth century find that our dominant idea is conservation.

The people of Chicago have ceased to be impressed by rapid growth or the great size of the city. What they insist asking now is. How are we living? Are we in reality prosperous? Is the city a convenient place for business? Is it a good labor market in the sense that labor is sufficiently comfortable to be efficient and content? Will the coming generation be able to stand the nervous strain of city life? When a competence has been accumulated, must we go elsewhere to enjoy the fruits of independence? If the city does not become better as it becomes bigger, shall not the defect be remedied? These are questions that will not be brushed aside. They are the most pressing questions of our day, and everywhere men are anxiously seeking the answers. (...)

City life has attractions that make a strong appeal to human nature. Opportunities for large success, for wealth and power and social consideration, for amusement and instruction, for the increase of knowledge and the cultivation of taste, are greater for the average person in the city than in the country. The city, therefore, is constantly drawing from the country the young men and women of ambition and self-reliance, who are lured thither by the great prizes which in a democracy are open to the competition of all.

When Chicago is adverted to as the metropolis of the Middle West, the meaning is that throughout this area Chicago newspapers circulate, and Chicago banks hold the banking reserves; (331 that in Chicago are the chief offices of the

large industrial enterprises, and the market for their products. New ideas in government, in civic improvement, in the creation and maintenance of parks, and pleasure grounds are apt to appear first in the metropolis, spreading thence to the surrounding country. On high-days and holidays the great city allures the people from the neighboring parts, and sends its own people on the water or into the country for rest and refreshment, so that there is a constant interchange of comers and goers. In the art schools of Chicago more than four thousand students are gathered; the theaters draw audiences from long distances, and in music Chicago is attaining a worthy position. In Chicago great political conventions are held, party policies are determined, and from the party headquarters here national campaigns are conducted.

It is not in the spirit of boasting that these facts are stated, but rather to show the responsibility which the very pre-eminence of the city imposes, and the necessity for establishing and maintaining those standards of commercial integrity, of taste, and of knowledge which are the prerequisites of lasting success, and the only real satisfaction of the human mind. The constant struggle of civilization is to know and to attain the highest good; and the city which brings about the best conditions of life becomes the most prosperous.

While the influence of Chicago extends throughout a domain larger than any European country except Russia, there exist between this city and outlying towns within a certain radius vital and almost organic relations. The steam and the trolley railways and the automobile have opened to the city workers all varieties of life, and have made possible to a large proportion of the people a habitation amid what might be healthful and attractive surroundings. Unfortunately, however, conditions near any rapidly growing city are apt to be both squalid and ugly.

Occasionally a suburb grows up at some slightly point on the Lake shore, or gathers about some educational institution; or a group of people engaged in a common enterprise select a picturesque spot on river banks and there build homes which, by their very relations one to another, indicate neighborliness. In each of these instances a community of feeling pervades the place and finds expression in well-shaded streets, broad lawns, and homelike architecture. Too often, however, the suburb is laid out by the speculative real estate agent who exerts himself to make every dollar invested turn into as many dollars as possible. Human ingenuity contrives to crowd the maximum number of building lots into the minimum space; if native trees exist on the land they are ruthlessly sacrificed. Then the speculative builder takes matters in hand and in a few months the narrow, grassless streets are lined with rows of cheaply constructed dwellings, and with ugly apartment houses occupying the more desirable sites. In ten years or less the dwellings are dropping to pieces; and the apartment houses, having lost their newness, become rookeries.

This manner of things is as true of London or of Rome as of Chicago; it is the rule wherever population increases rapidly, because human nature is alike the world over. England, however, is remedying this evil by means of town-planning laws executed by a central board; and is endeavoring to regulate the width and direction of streets, and to provide for sufficient open spaces for the health and convenience of the people. After the English manner, a commission

should be appointed to lay out all that territory adjacent to the city of Chicago which is likely to become incorporated in the city at least during the next decade. (...)

While good highways are of great value to the terminal cities, they are of even greater value to the outlying towns, and of greatest value to the farming communities through which they pass. Good roads add an element of better living to an agricultural community; they afford ready communication with the city and reduce materially the cost of handling farm products of all kinds; and also they promote communication between farms. These state highways should invariably include a work-road for heavy loads, and also a pleasure drive. The two should be separated by a grassway and there should be grass plots at the sides, and not less than three rows of trees should be planted. The country schools should be on these highways. (...)

A satisfactory method of running highways is to parallel the railroads. The work-road should be next to the right-of-way; then should come the carriage driveway. Where electric railways exist, or are projected on thoroughfares, the most agreeable treatment is found in setting apart for the tracks a space which may be grassed over and well shaded. Besides adding to the comfort of the passengers, the uninterrupted use of the tracks permits high speed and thereby saves time. The improvement of the three roadways as a unit, with the appropriate planting, would give a charm to suburban travel where now there is none, while at the same time expenses of maintenance would be lessened. As a rule, the creation of highways along railroads involves only the bare cost of inexpensive land and the building of the road. The railroads are in themselves great diagonals; and by following them the shortest lines between important points are secured. Then too, the right-of-way traversed by the tracks should be improved. The drainage should be perfect, so that pools of stagnant water shall not be an offense to the eye and a menace to health. The unsightly billboard should be replaced by shrubbery or by a wall; and the entire space should be free from the litter of papers or the accumulations of dirt and ashes.

The suburban resident is vitally interested in the means of communication between his home and his place of business. If his morning and his evening ride are made on the steam railway, he is interested not only in passing through pleasant scenes on his way to and from Chicago, but he is concerned also in having the railway station in his suburban town conveniently located, constructed simply but artistically, and placed amid surroundings which in themselves are harmonious and appropriate. A well-kept lawn, with shrubbery shutting out the necessarily unpleasant feature of a steam railway station; a sheltered platform well lighted at night, and a commodious station, architecturally in good taste—these accessories go a long way towards mitigating the nerve strain which every business man feels and from which too many suffer.

The electric railroads, with their frequent cars passing one's very door, have done a vast deal to bind the outlying towns firmly to the central city. More than this, they have promoted neighborliness among people of adjoining towns, and have broken up the isolation of farm life. These roads now strive to obtain private rights-of-way, excepting where for the convenience of passengers they pass through city streets; and the same observations as to good order along the

routes and at the terminals that appertain to steam roads apply equally to trolley lines.

The rapidly increasing use of the automobile promises to carry on the good work begun by the bicycle in the days of its popularity in promoting good roads and reviving the roadside inn as a place of rest and refreshment. With the perfection of this machine, and the extension of its use, out-of-door life is promoted, and the pleasures of suburban life are brought within the reach of multitudes of people who formerly were condemned to pass their entire time in the city. (...)

### **The Chicago Park System**

Chicago, on becoming a city, chose for its motto *Urbs in horto*- a city set in a garden. Such indeed it then was, with the opalescent waters of the Lake at its front, and on its three sides the boundless prairie carpeted with waving grass bedecked with brilliant wild flowers. The quick advance of commerce and manufactures the rapid building of railroads and factories, and the hastily constructed homes of operatives crowded out nature's parterres of flowers. Still the motto lingered in the minds of men, and in 1839 the struggle began to secure for the fast-growing population park spaces which should at least recall the gardens that of necessity had been sacrificed. (...)

Next in the importance to the development of the Lake shore possibilities is the acquisition and improvement of forest spaces. Both the water front and the near-by woodlands should be brought within easy reach of all the people, and especially of the wage-earners. Natural scenery furnishes the contrasting element to the artificiality of the city. All of us should often run away from the works of men's hands and back into the wilds, where mind and body are restored to a normal condition, and we are enabled to take up the burden of life in our crowded streets and endless stretches of buildings with renewed vigor and hopefulness. Those who have the means and are so placed in their daily employment that they can do so constantly seek the refreshment of the country. Should not the public see to it that every one may enjoy this change of scene, this restorer of bodily and mental vigor, and will not citizenship be better thereby? He who habitually comes in close contact with nature develops saner methods of thought than can be the case when one is habitually shut up within the walls of a city. If a census of the purposes and acts of all of the people of Chicago as they affect the general good could be made for this year of grace 1909, and again in 1933 after the creation of extensive forests in the suburbs the percentage of improvement affecting the whole community would probably be quite surprising. The existing public parks go far in this direction, but not far enough. The spaces to be acquired should be wild forests, filled with such trees, vines, flowers and shrubs as will grow in this climate, and all should be developed in a natural condition. Country roads and a few paths should run through these forests, but they should not be cut into small divisions. There should be open glades here and there and other natural features, and the people should be allowed to use them freely. (...)

## REGIONS TO LIVE IN

L. MUMFORD\*

*Mumford (1895-1990), uno de los más influyentes críticos en urbanismo del siglo XX, cree ciegamente, o más bien confía, en la capacidad del Regional Planning, partiendo de que cualquier forma de entendimiento de éste tiene como objetivo el intentar promover un tipo de vida 'más pleno' para cada punto del territorio a planificar, que no equivale a urbanizar automáticamente todo el campo disponible,*

*“El desarrollo atropellado en el entorno de nuestras grandes ciudades sólo promete estropear el paisaje sin satisfacer de modo permanente a los urbanitas hambrientos”.*

*¿Después de casi un siglo podemos seguir creyendo en la capacidad del planeamiento regional? ¿Alguna vez lo pusimos en práctica?*

The hope of the city lies outside itself. Focus your attention on the cities-in which more than half of us live-and the future is dismal. But lay aside the magnifying glass which reveals, for example, the hopelessness of Broadway and Forty-second Street, take up a reducing glass and look at the entire region in which New York lies. The city falls into focus. Forests in the hill-counties water-power in the mid-state valleys, farmland in Connecticut, cranberry bogs in New Jersey enter the picture. To think of all these acres as merely tributary to New York, to trace and strengthen the lines of the web in which the spider-city sits unchallenged, is again to miss the clue. But to think of the region as a whole and the city merely as one of its parts-that may hold promise.

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\* Artículo en *Survey Graphic*, LIV, 1 de mayo de 1925, en que Mumford colaboró con los editores en la elaboración del número monográfico dedicado al planeamiento regional.



Not merely a wistful hope of a better environment, but sheer necessity, leads us thus to change our approach to the problem. For cities, as the foregoing articles show, are becoming too big; as they grow they fall behind in the barest decencies of housing; they become more expensive to operate, more difficult to police, more burdensome to work in, and more impossible to escape from even in the hours of leisure that we achieve. The forces that have created the great cities make permanent improvement within them hopeless; our efforts to plan them lag pitifully behind the need when indeed they do not foster the very growth that is becoming insupportable. We are providing, in Professor Geddes' sardonic phrase' more and more of worse and worse.

Not so with regional planning. Regional planning asks not how wide an area can be brought under the aegis of the metropolis, but how the population and civic facilities can be distributed so as to promote and stimulate a vivid, creative life throughout a whole region—a region being any geographic area that possesses a certain unity of climate, soil, vegetation, industry and culture. The regionalist attempts to plan such an area so that all its sites and resources, from forest to city, from highland to water level, may be soundly developed, and so that the population will be distributed so as to utilize, rather than to nullify or destroy, its natural advantages. It sees people, industry and the land as a single unit. Instead of trying, by one desperate dodge or another, to make life a little more tolerable in the congested centers, it attempts to determine what sort of equipment will be needed for the new centers. It does not aim at urbanizing automatically the whole available countryside; it aims equally at ruralizing the stony wastes of our cities. In a sense that will become clear to the reader as he follows the later articles in this number, the civic objective of the regional planning movement is summed up with peculiar accuracy in the concept of the garden-city.

There are a hundred approaches to regional planning; it brings to a head, in fact, a number of movements and methods which have been gathering momentum during the last twenty or thirty years. But each approach has this in common with the others; it attempts to promote a fuller kind of life, at every point in the region. No form of industry and no type of city are tolerable that take the joy out of life. Communities in which courtship is furtive, in which babies are an unwelcome handicap, in which education, lacking the touch of nature and of real occupations, hardens into a blank routine, in which people achieve adventure only on wheels and happiness only by having their minds "taken off" their daily lives—communities like these do not sufficiently justify our modern advances in science and invention.

Now the impulse that makes the prosperous minority build country estates, that causes the well-to-do professional man to move out into the suburbs, the impulse that is driving the family of small means out upon the open road, there to build primitive bungalows regardless of discomfort and dangers to health, seems to us to be a pretty common one. These people are in the vanguard of a general effort to get a little joy back into life. At present this exodus is undertaken blindly and, as Mr. Wright shows, all its promises are illusory, since a helter-skelter development such as is now going on in the countryside around our big cities promises only to spoil the landscape without permanently satisfying the hungry urbanites. The community planning movement in America, and the

garden-cities movement, in England are definite attempts to build up a more exhilarating kind of environment—not as a temporary haven of refuge but as a permanent seat of life and culture, urban in its advantages, permanently rural in its situation. This movement toward garden cities is a movement towards a higher type of civilization than that which has created our present congested centers. It involves a change in aim as well as a change of place. Our present congested districts are the results of the crude applications of the mechanical and mathematical sciences to social development; our garden cities represent fuller development of the more humane arts and sciences—biology and medicine and psychiatry and education and architecture. As modern engineering has made Chicago or New York physically superior to Athens, whilst the labyrinth of subways and high buildings is more deficient for complete living than a Stone Age cave, so we may expect that the cities of tomorrow will not merely embody all that is good in our modern mechanical developments, but also all that was left out in this one-sided existence, all the things that fifth century Athens or thirteenth century Florence, for all their physical crudity, possessed.

On its economic side, this movement towards a fuller human environment goes hand in hand with what has been aptly called the industrial counter revolution. For a hundred years in America business has been concentrating financial resources, concentrating factories and urban districts, attempting to create material prosperity by producing goods which could be quickly "turned over." The paper values have increased enormously even in the brief period from 1900 to 1920; but most statisticians seem agreed that the real wages of the majority of workers have remained nearly stationary. The new industrial revolution is an attempt to spread the real income of industry by decentralizing industry, by removing some of the burden of the business overhead and sales-promotion, ground rents in congested districts, and so forth. Far-sighted industrialists like Dennison and Ford are already planning this move, and business men like Edward Filene feel that business is at an impasse unless decentralization is followed as "The Way Out." Regional planning is an attempt to turn industrial decentralization—the effort to make the industrial mechanism work better—to permanent social uses. It is an attempt to realize the gains of modern industry in permanent houses, gardens, parks, playgrounds and community institutions.

Finally, regional planning is the New Conservation—the conservation of human values hand in hand with natural resources. Regional planning sees that the depopulated countryside and the congested city are intimately related; it sees that we waste vast quantities of time and energy by ignoring the potential resources of a region, that is, by forgetting all that lies between the terminal points and junctions of our great railroads. Permanent agriculture instead of land-skinning, permanent forestry instead of timber mining, permanent human communities, dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, instead of camps and squatter-settlements, and to stable building, instead of the scantling and falsework of our "go-ahead" communities—all this is embodied in regional planning.

It follows pretty plainly from this summary that, unlike city planning, regional planning is not merely the concern of a profession: it is a mode of thinking and a method of procedure, and the regional plan itself is only a minor technical instrument in carrying out its aims. The planners of the Ontario power

project are genuine regional planners; Mr. Ford in his schemes for industrial decentralization is a regional planner; the Pennsylvania State Power Commission, as Mr. Bruère makes clear, is handling an essential element in regional planning. The Chicago Regional Planning Commission with its emphasis on transportation, power and industrial development over wide areas, the Sage Foundation Study in New York with parts of three states included in its "environs" mark the break with our old method treating the city as a unit by itself. The New York State Housing and Regional Planning Commission has made a series of important preliminary studies which radically cut loose from the older tradition and employ the whole commonwealth rather than the large city as their base.

Moreover the aim of regional planning is not confined to those who are interested in the development of industries and resources. The cultural forces that have begun to challenge the dominance of the big city are plainly working in the same direction. So the little theater movement, by building local centers of culture instead of waiting patiently for the crumbs dropped from our metropolitan table, is essential to regionalism; and in the same way our new experimental schools, which have showed the rich educational opportunities that come from exploring and utilizing the whole living environment rather than sticking to the pallid routine of books, find themselves handicapped in the existing centers and demand a new environment patterned on the human scale, in which the school may work intimately in touch with the home and with industry and with the surrounding world of nature.

In sum, regional planning does not mean the planning of big cities beyond their present areas; it means the reinvigoration and rehabilitation of whole regions so that the products of culture and civilization, instead of being confined to a prosperous minority in the congested centers, shall be available to everyone at every point in a region where the physical basis for a cultivated life can be laid down. The technical means of achieving this new distribution of power and culture are at hand. The question before us is whether the automatic operation of physical and financial forces is to burke our rising demand for a more vital and happy kind of existence, or whether, by coordinating our efforts and imaginatively grasping our opportunity, we can remold our institutions so as to promote a regional development-development that will eliminate our enormous economic wastes, give a new life to stable agriculture, set down fresh communities planned on a human scale, and, above all, restore a little happiness and freedom in places where these things have been pretty well wrung out. This is a question that cuts diametrically across a large part of our current political and social problems; some of these it places in a new light, and some of them it makes meaningless. Regionalism or super-congestion? Will man in America learn the art of mastering and ordering his environment, to promote his own fuller purposes, or will he be mastered by his environment, and presently, as in Samuel Butler's picture in *Erewhon*, or in Zamiatin's *We*, find himself without any purposes other than those of the Machine?

## THE SPREADING CITY

R. MOSES\*

*Moses<sup>1</sup> describe una realidad válida desde entonces: La tendencia a lo urbano es un hecho, que implica también el consumo del paisaje lejano (de que habla Ribas y Piera), en ello los flujos ciudad-campo están servidos.*

*Cree en la ciudad, en la permanencia de ésta como único lugar de desarrollo de la civilización, a pesar de los avatares de la historia o la intolerancia hacia su congestión de los que planifiquen, viendo mucho más problemática la imprevisión del 'planeamiento' del suburbano del que algunas de las causas que expone son de total actualidad.*

*Equivocado o no en su valoración tan positiva de la 'unificación' campo – ciudad (y en la forma física a que tradujo sus ideas), es certero al enunciar no sólo hechos y problemas sino también expectativas de lo que entendemos por una mayor calidad urbana:*

*“La ambición de cualquier oficial responsable de la reconstrucción y mejora de las ciudades está en incrementar los espacios libres, reducir la ocupación del terreno, salvar, restaurar y preservar los recursos naturales”.*

The urban trend, whether we like it or not, is undeniable. The shift from country to town is steady. There is little wavering in the graph but, like all statistics, these require both definition and honest interpretation.

The country is, of course, the area marked in green on the maps, whether wide open or thinly populated. The town—that is another matter. The town is not only the city in the legal sense but the large village as well, whether incorporated or not, the township in some areas, the metropolis in others. In measuring the

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\* MOSES, R.- “The Spreading City” en *Working for the People: Promise and Performance in Public Service*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1956.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Moses desarrolla su carrera pública desde comienzos de la década de 1910 hasta finales de la de 1960, entre otros cargos como influyente Comisario de Parques de New York.

trend toward the more compact, populous places, we must remember that as people move into cities many in the same cities move into the outskirts, the suburbs and the satellite towns.

Besides those who move from place to place because of their work, an astonishing number of people have homes in town and in the country. They divide their time about equally between an apartment in town and a house, camp or shack of some kind elsewhere. We have millions of city people of all income brackets who spend every weekend in the country and others who have made a habit of regular visits to national and state parks.

The city man is a weekend salt-water fisherman by instinct. He requires something unpaved, unencumbered, and monotonous to keep him sane. Perhaps it is an admission against interest to say that there are many of us who simply cannot take the city the week around. Our parkways, turnpikes, expressways, thruways and other roads, which are being multiplied and improved to keep pace with the output of cars and the demands of the travelling public, will increase enormously the pressure on our highway system and promote mutual attraction and gradual unification of the country and the town.

Meanwhile, the healthy, natural movement of young couples with growing families to houses and apartments at moderate prices in outlying areas of the city and in the suburbs has been accelerated. No compulsion, no artificial stimulus is needed to drive people out of town.

### **Prejudice and population shifts**

Increasing leisure, longer paid vacations, larger pensions, earlier retirement, older people with the itch for travel and with unsatisfied curiosity about distant places break down more and more the artificial differences between the city man and the country man. The big question is whether the traveler seeks to broaden his horizons or to confirm his prejudices.

We should not pay too much attention to the dweller in the shadow of the "El" who would rather be a lamppost in Chicago than the whole Painted Desert. Or to the confirmed Gothamite who boasts that the city is the finest summer resort and that, as Mr. Dooley remarked: "Ivrything that's worth havin' goes to th' city; the counthry takes what's left." And by the same token, keep in mind that Thoreau spent only a relatively short time continuously in his crude shack at Walden Pond. There is no sense in assuming irreconcilable conflict between city and country people. We are not neatly divided between hayseeds and slickers. Acres have claims as well as concentrations of people, but there are no provable superior virtues attaching to the country or city when moral, spiritual, mental, or even health and hygienic factors are under consideration.

Cities were in many cases originally created for protection. This is about the only logic of urban growth which is no longer significant. All the other reasons for the establishment of growing cities are as influential today as they were when the pioneers founded them on the seaboard, the river, the valley, the hill, the rail center, the crossroads, the focal point of a farming, mining, fishing, manufacturing or other center, or the source of plentiful labor.

Academic planners and those who cannot stand urban competition or tolerate a certain amount of noise, tension, hurry, and the anonymity of urban life, advocate decentralization of cities and dispersion of population. But their prejudices will not materially influence the logic of the situation. There are good reasons why most cities persist. Those which decline do so because they no longer serve a function in the larger economy of the nation.

### **Some advantages of concentration**

It is not to be forgotten that civilization is an outgrowth and attribute of cities. Farms produce food; oceans support commerce; the suburbs are dormitories; the mines teem with energy and the forests with the solitude which promotes thought-but civilization flourishes only in concentrated urban communities. You need not to live in a city, but you must be nearby or visit now and then if you expect to be recognized as a civilized man. A city needs not to be large but a village is not a city. To quote the lines of Vachel Lindsay:

Let not your town be large, remembering  
That little Athens was the muses' home,  
That Oxford is the heart of London still,  
That Florence gave the Renaissance to Rome.

*On the building of Springfield*

The American is restless and imitative. He likes contrast, change and assembly-line stuff. I believe it was Henry Mencken who described him sourly as an Elk in a Ford. Well, ours may not be a great civilization as measured by philosophers. It is no Cinque-Cento Italian Renaissance when it comes to aristocracy of the arts, but it has its points. This is the one nation on earth in which the average man can also be the well-rounded man with two residences, one in town and the other in the country. You do not have to be a millionaire here to own a flivver and a country bungalow.

A proper reading of history shows that the permanence of cities is more significant than their decay. War and the acts of God have from time to time outraged them, but those which were established at navigable waters, at important crossroads and centers, strategic places of one kind or another, persist.

A one-industry town may dry up with its only attraction, but this is the exception not the rule. For every Auburn which fades as its bold peasantry declines, there is a Birmingham which still flourishes. O! Man River—Mississippi, Danube or Columbia- keeps on rolling along and most of the cities he has spawned on his banks still flourish. A city cannot live on Tyrian purple, or the sale of graven images of Diana, or on depleted mines, honkytonks or rundown aristocracy; but London, Stalingrad, Amsterdam rise from rubble because they were and continue to be the logical and traditional places for concentration and because they continue to have the men, the enterprise and the pride to keep up with or ahead of the times.

The trouble with the prophets of doom of cities is that they do not think like the people who live in them. Lewis Mumford, Frank Lloyd Wright and their

followers who damn urbanization because they cannot stand the gaff of city life no doubt honestly believe that all city people hate their existence. They do not realize that Brooklynites adore Brooklyn, idolize the Dodgers because they symbolize it, and cheer themselves hoarse at the mention of its name. Can Mumford and the aesthetes, and Frank Lloyd Wright and the back-to-the-land boys be right and three million Brooldynites be wrong? The community may survive a long time because there are, as Webster said of his old alma mater, those who love it, and because there are also those who cannot get away.

A town, like a British remittance man in Canada, can be supported by distant relatives. Some of our old villages are helped by natives who have gone to big cities and made good. We have towns that, like Colonial Williamsburg, have become museums and monuments which stir memories but have no grip on ambitious boys and girls. There are, to be sure, not many such communities in our new country. Those that exist should keep up standards but should not try to compete with rushing, raucous, new places. It is better to live on charm than to be an imitation Babylon.

Only the city can afford the arts in their broadest and most developed sense, because it takes population to keep art centers alive and flourishing. The same reasoning applies to great medical centers which require the most nearly complete clinical facilities, to management headquarters of banking and big business, and to many mercantile establishments which have to be close together.

The nearby country as well as the suburb is meaningless without the city. Los Angeles supports a veritable paradise of truck farmers and orchards almost at its borders, and New York is the big market for the potatoes, ducks and shellfish of Long Island. Proximity of city and country, warm shorefront and glacial heights, ranch and bungalow, is what makes California such a strong rival of the Atlantic and Gulf seaboard and the Middle West. Our entire economy is dependent on urban, suburban and rural integration.

Obviously, city life is not doomed, although some particular town may be static, advancing or going back. In studying any particular community, there is no quick, smooth categorical answer to the never-ending challenges of growth and change. Intelligent citizens should study the main forces at work, the pulls and pressures. Much depends on the traditions of the town, on its special interests, on types of leadership and the strength of advocates of conservative improvement as against radical and revolutionary uprooting.

### **Diversity in metropolitan areas**

It is a great mistake to assume that the overbuilt and deliberately overcrowded midtown section of every big city is the city, and that nothing else in it counts. Parts of big towns are like suburbs and even country. The significant and often prevailing and controlling outskirts, peripheries and relatively quiet residential places where respectable people keep the noiseless tenor of their way—places which make no pretense of being "stems," Broadway crossroads, "hot spots," "loops" and what not, and with no special bids to visitors—are more characteristic of the city, more redolent of its quality and flavor than the places ballyhooed by barkers and touted by advertisers. The barkers always show off the

city slums, the Harlems, Bowery, Basin streets, Chinatowns, Little Italy, the former ghettos, and so on, and picture them as a fixed, unchangeable, inevitable feature of city life. But it simply is not so.

In our cities the shallows murmur, but the deeps are dumb. There are more churchgoers than cabaret hounds, but they make less noise. The jazz joints, with their raucous snare drums and trumpets, are more obtrusive but much less important than the long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults where, as the poet said, the pealing anthem swells the note of praise.

The spreading suburbs also have their logic, not only as dormitories for commuters and garden spots for their wives and children, but also as places from which, by rail and road, the manifold attractions of the city can easily be reached without the distractions and handicaps of city life.

It is sad to see venal, weak or complacent local officials, indifferent to recent history, permitting the subdividers, real estate developers and their co-conspirators and victims to repeat the same tricks in the suburbs which made the slums of the cities a few generations ago—small lots, narrow streets, with parks, schools, and utilities of all kinds waiting for future assessments on unsuspecting purchasers. Higher standards must come from the average citizen. Water cannot rise above its own level.

The suburbs, too, often are leaderless. I worry more about the suburbs than about the cities. In the cities we are at least aware of and are trying to undo the errors of the past. In the suburbs these felonies are being compounded and perpetuated.

### **Some suburban problems**

I do not believe that the metropolis is obsolete. The city is still the center of gravity of modern civilization. Parts of it of course are antiquated, especially slums and rundown, depressed areas which are the results of the past selfishness of capital, the weakness of government and the indifference of the citizenry. We have at least been educated above this level to some understanding of the difficulties, costs and sacrifices which must be made to remedy conditions which under better leadership would never have occurred.

Our big cities must be rebuilt, not abandoned. While this is being done the suburbs will continue to grow amazingly, and open country previously considered beyond commuting distance will become suburban. But let us not fool ourselves about the spreading city. There are just as many problems involved in rapid, uncontrolled, suburban growth as in the rebuilding of substandard midtown urban sections.

As we reflect on suburban growth we begin to recognize that this is not an unmixed blessing. I am not at all sure that the problems of the suburbs are not more serious and less understood than those of the city. I have never yet seen one of these big plans for suburban "developments" start out with a proper diagnosis of future problems.

The Levittown community on Long Island is an example. Here the builders took a number of farms, open land, and built some 17,000 houses to accommodate 75,000 people. When you live in the heart of the city you have



facilities which, while they may not be just to your liking, do provide schools, streets, sewers, water, electric and gas utilities and some established forms of transportation. When you go out in the open country, however, all these problems gradually rear their ugly heads to plague you. I have seen them develop. You decide that putting in cesspools is safe to start with, but soon you are taking water out of the same ground to drink, no doubt at a different level, and then a water supply problem arises. Nobody pays much attention to drainage, and all of a sudden you have to do something about storm sewers.

Somebody is going to get the bills for that. Some one will be assessed. Bills also have got to be paid for sewage plants. Cesspools and well water for 75,000 people do not mix for any length of time. Transportation and schools must be provided. There is no use going through the roster of necessities. They descend upon the community as a whole after the developer, the fellow who has moved these people or industries to virgin territory has departed and closed his account books.

### **"Rus in urbe"**

Only a pretentious scribbler would glory in the boast that Augustus Caesar found Rome built of brick and left it built of marble. Our watchword should be that we found our city a wilderness of stone and steel, crowded and inaccessible, and that we opened it to light and air, planted it with the green of parks and the laughter of playgrounds, and carved out wide Spokes and rims for parkways and expressways to make the city and country one.

I dismiss as unworthy of serious consideration the gloomy prophets who label cities as obsolete because of the possibility of atomic bombing. If the hydrogen bombs actually fall, we shall all be finished. Meanwhile, apprehension and premature terror can paralyze us before anything really happens. These are just the objectives the Communists aim at in their cold, psychological warfare.

It is the ambition of every official responsible for the rebuilding and improvement of cities to increase the open spaces, reduce the coverage of land, salvage, restore and preserve natural resources; in fact, to approximate the old Roman idea of *rus in urbe*, the country in the city.

The city, rebuilt, modernized and humanized, will always be the great magnet which draws from the hinterland the eager, the young, the curious, the ambitious, the talented. These, from the dawn of history, have gravitated to big places where the incentives are most dramatic, where competition is strongest and rewards great. Ours is an emerging new people of many stocks and talents in a land of extraordinary variety. Country and city, we are knitted together.

Our suburbs will in time somehow attain bouquet, flavor, character and personality. The residents, mostly young couples with small children, will form friendships. Acquaintances will cross the parkways and highways which separate one development from another. Marriages will cement the Montagus and Capulets of these scattered communities. Thus eventually they will produce leaders with vision and pride and by some mysterious alchemy develop a sense of unity.