



2009

STRIKING THE BALANCE: FINDING A PLACE FOR NEW URBANISM ON MAIN STREET

Meredith Marsh

University of Pennsylvania, mamarsh@design.upenn.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses

Marsh, Meredith, "STRIKING THE BALANCE: FINDING A PLACE FOR NEW URBANISM ON MAIN STREET" (2009).
Theses (Historic Preservation). 122.

http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/122

A THESIS in Historic Preservation Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION 2009

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/122

For more information, please contact libraryrepository@pobox.upenn.edu.

STRIKING THE BALANCE: FINDING A PLACE FOR NEW URBANISM ON MAIN STREET

Abstract

Preservation is a constantly evolving dialogue between past and future, new and old. Yet as the formal and aesthetic precedents of traditional urbanism are adopted by New Urbanist practitioners to cloak new construction with the guise of historic continuity, the draw of Main Street communities is quickly fading. Where once downtown had the advantage of distinctive architecture and walkability as a competitive edge over sprawling suburban retail centers, large cities and small towns alike now face the challenge of competing with savvy Main Street imitators sprouting up on the urban fringe. This trend towards New Urbanist style retail is hurting businesses on Main Street, but the increasing marketability of these formats provides an opportunity for historic commercial corridors to take advantage of evolving consumer preferences. Several communities are already adapting to this new set of challenges by utilizing New Urbanist planning and design approaches to reposition their historic commercial corridors through infill development and urban restructuring. These interventions do not always make the headlines, yet they continue to gain strength. Some preservationists argue that there is little need for “new” urbanism when a wealth of old urbanism already exists. Yet what is desperately needed is a new way of thinking about urban places. Reasserting the historic role of Main Street communities as bastions of progress and innovation will enable a future in which strong communities, sustainable growth patterns and quality of life are rooted in the legacy of previous generations while providing for the demands of the next.

Comments

A THESIS in Historic Preservation Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION
2009

STRIKING THE BALANCE:
FINDING A PLACE FOR NEW URBANISM ON MAIN STREET

Meredith Marsh

A THESIS

in

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2009

Advisor
Randall Mason
Associate Professor of City and Regional Planning

Program Chair
Frank G. Matero
Professor of Architecture

dedication

To my grandfather James Gaylord Glenn, a husband, father, architect. Though we never met, and I did not initially set out to study historic buildings, I like to think that my passion for urbanism is two generations in the making.

I am incredibly proud to be a part of your legacy, this is for you.

acknowledgments

I would like to thank the faculty and staff of PennDesign who have encouraged and inspired me over the past two years. Thank you Randy Mason for your assistance and guidance in the crafting of this thesis and of my graduate experience. Thank you Donovan Rypkema for facilitating the discussion of preservation beyond mere bricks and mortar. By introducing me to the world of Main Streets you allowed me to discover my true purpose and direction in this field, for which I cannot thank you enough.

Thank you Mom, Dad and Brian for all of your love and support along the way. I am so grateful to have you on my side.

To all my friends at Penn, the past two years would not have been the same without you. This has truly been the best time of my life. I am so glad to have had the opportunity to study, travel and work with you. I hope we will stay in touch in the years to come.

table of contents

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW	5
Literature Review	6
Towns by Chance or Choice: The American Context	19
The Main Street Typology: Evolution of an Icon	29
The New Urbanist Approach to Planning and Design	37
CHAPTER 2: NEW URBANISM AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION	47
Critiques of New Urbanism	47
Urbanism New and Old: The Inherent Conflict	56
Assessment Framework for Evaluating New Urbanist Projects	68
CHAPTER 3: FIRST & MAIN, HUDSON, OHIO	73
Project Background	73
Integration of New Urbanism and Historic Preservation	83
Critical Assessment	90
CHAPTER 4: FLAG HOUSE COURTS REDEVELOPMENT, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	100
Project Background	100
Integration of New Urbanism and Historic Preservation	111
Critical Assessment	119
CHAPTER 5: DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION, REDWOOD CITY, CALIFORNIA	124
Project Background	124
Integration of New Urbanism and Historic Preservation	136
Critical Assessment	142
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS	148
BIBLIOGRAPHY	155
APPENDIX	163
<i>Ahwahnee Principles for Resource-Efficient Communities</i>	163
<i>Charter of the New Urbanism</i>	166
<i>Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism</i>	171
INDEX	177

list of figures

FIGURE 1. Ebenezer Howard Diagram for a City of 32,000 People	21
FIGURE 2. Clarence Perry Neighborhood Unit Diagram	21
FIGURE 3. Reflecting Pool, 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Illinois	22
FIGURE 4. Circulation Network for Radburn, New Jersey	26
FIGURE 5. Country Club Plaza, Kansas City, Missouri	30
FIGURE 6. Downtown Lafayette, Indiana	30
FIGURE 7. Diagram of Regional Influences on American Main Streets	33
FIGURE 8. Seaside, Florida	57
FIGURE 9. Santana Row, San Jose, California	57
FIGURE 10. Orenco Station, Hillsboro, Oregon	63
FIGURE 11. Assessment Framework for Evaluating New Urbanist Projects	70
FIGURE 12. First & Main Site Plan	75
FIGURE 13. North Main Street, Hudson, Ohio	84
FIGURE 14. First & Main, Hudson, Ohio	84
FIGURE 15. 1 st Street Looking North, First & Main, Hudson, Ohio	88
FIGURE 16. Village Way Looking West, First & Main, Hudson, Ohio	88
FIGURE 17. 238 North Main Street, Hudson, Ohio	92
FIGURE 18. 44 Park Lane, First & Main, Hudson, Ohio	93
FIGURE 19. 48 Park Lane, First & Main, Hudson, Ohio	93
FIGURE 20. 122-126 North Main Street, Hudson, Ohio	94
FIGURE 21. 82 1 st Street, First & Main, Hudson, Ohio	94
FIGURE 22. The Residences at First & Main Site Plan	96
FIGURE 23. Lloyd Street Synagogue, Baltimore, Maryland	103
FIGURE 24. Flag House and Star-Spangled Banner Museum, Baltimore, Maryland	103
FIGURE 25. Fire on East Lombard Street, April 8, 1968	106
FIGURE 26. Flag House Courts Towers, Baltimore, Maryland	106
FIGURE 27. Flag House Courts Redevelopment Site Plan	108
FIGURE 28. Albemarle Square, Baltimore, Maryland	108
FIGURE 29. East Lombard and Albemarle Streets, Baltimore, Maryland	110
FIGURE 30. Corned Beef Row, East Lombard Street, Baltimore, Maryland	112

FIGURE 31. East Lombard Street Redevelopment Proposal	112
FIGURE 32. Pigtown Neighborhood Rowhouses, Baltimore, Maryland	114
FIGURE 33. Albemarle Square, Baltimore, Maryland	114
FIGURE 34. Albemarle Square Elliptical Park	116
FIGURE 35. 1856 Town of Mezesville Plan	126
FIGURE 36. 1906 San Mateo County Courthouse, Redwood City, California	128
FIGURE 37. San Mateo County Courthouse, Redwood City, California	128
FIGURE 38. San Mateo County Courthouse Annex, Redwood City, California	131
FIGURE 39. Redwood City Downtown Revitalization Site Plan	132
FIGURE 40. Courthouse Square, Redwood City, California	133
FIGURE 41. Fox Theatre viewed from Courthouse Square, Redwood City, California	133
FIGURE 42. On Broadway Cinema Complex, Redwood City, California	135
FIGURE 43. Downtown Redwood City Streetscaping Campaign	135
FIGURE 44. Depot Circle and Redwood City Train Station Proposal	143
FIGURE 45. Redwood City Downtown Parking Map	143

INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades New Urbanism has evolved from a grassroots movement led by a small group of planners and architects, to an organization with thousands of members and a worldwide following. Now with the critical distance of time, the academic and professional communities have had ample opportunity to assess the merits and shortcomings of New Urbanist practice. While projects undertaken by the movement's practitioners clearly borrow from traditional Main Street precedents, and sometimes have a negative economic impact on nearby historic commercial corridors, very little professional or academic research has been conducted on the interaction between New Urbanism and preservation. Nor have any concrete suggestions been provided to help historic communities cope with the new set of challenges presented by these Main Street imitations. As such, this research examines the interrelationship between historic preservation and New Urbanism in academic discourse and professional practice in order to develop a set of recommendations for strengthening Main Street. The following questions inform and guide the research on this subject:

1. What is the relationship between historic preservation and New Urbanism?
2. To what extent has historic preservation been incorporated into New Urbanist practice?

3. In instances where historic preservation is incorporated, how does it function within the New Urbanist framework of the project? Has this relationship been ultimately beneficial or detrimental for the historic built environment?

4. In what ways does New Urbanism support historic preservation, or does practice of the former simply ignore the latter?

Preservation and New Urbanism share core values and have the potential to be mutually reinforcing. Even the guiding document of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU), the *Charter of the New Urbanism*, describes the importance of retaining historic buildings and native landscape features to reinforce place-based factors that enhance quality of life. Examining the extent to which preservation goals outlined on paper are ultimately achieved on the ground is a key component to understanding the relationship between preservation and New Urbanism in current practice. The prevailing thinking is that the New Urbanists often fall short of striking the balance between new and old in the execution of their designs. However, many of the smaller and less well-known firms operating in the movement today are having great success with incorporating existing buildings, street networks and infrastructure into their development schemes.

Exploring the relationship between historic preservation and New Urbanism in current urban design practice is relevant on both practical and conceptual grounds. With the increasing popularity and marketability of urban retail formats, the preservation community is recognizing the potential to capitalize on emerging consumer preferences for a Main Street shopping experience. Global concerns such as climate change and peak oil are also reinforcing the need for greater energy efficiency of the built environment, thus strengthening the argument for the reuse of existing buildings and infrastructure within New Urbanist developments. Sprawling development patterns consume valuable open space, increase private automobile dependency and are socially, economically and environmentally unsustainable. From a conceptual standpoint New Urbanist projects

such as imitation Main Street developments provide inauthentic representations of community and historic progression. By imitating the styles and forms of historic architecture, the New Urbanists add a new twist to the threat of urban sprawl. As consumers are rediscovering the appeal of walkable urban formats, greenfield New Urbanism offers this lifestyle yet without the benefits of optimizing the infrastructure and building stock that already exists. As the language of New Urbanism takes hold of the market and professional practice, incorporating preservation as an integral component of this equation is essential.

In order to gain a clear understanding of the extent to which current New Urbanist practice actively engages historic urbanism, a series of three case studies are investigated in depth. After establishing the historical development of the Main Street format in the United States and the emergence of the CNU as a response to modernist planning practices of the second half of the 20th century, three projects undertaken within the past decade are examined to illustrate the range of scales at which New Urbanism engages preservation. The First & Main development in downtown Hudson, Ohio is an interesting case in that it incorporates a standard New Urbanist format, the lifestyle center, into the context of the historic North Main Street commercial district. While this project succeeded in enhancing Hudson's draw as a major retail destination in the region, the center siphoned customers away from nearby historic Main Street communities. By contrast, in the distressed urban neighborhood of Jonestown in East Baltimore, developers took a housing development approach to economic revitalization. Redevelopment of the Flag House Courts public housing project brought the critical mass of residents needed to spur commercial reinvestment on the East Lombard corridor, yet the private development community has been slow to respond. The final case examines the interaction between New Urbanist and preservation practice within the context of existing urbanism in the revitalization strategy for Redwood City, California. This case

offers the most promising indication of the powerful and transformative impact that New Urbanism can have in a historic urban context. The project takes advantage of New Urbanist design interventions in the redevelopment of the Courthouse Square public plaza, the introduction of new mixed-use development and adoption of a unified streetscaping campaign. The result is a seamless integration of new and old that enhances the vitality of downtown without compromising the city's rich architectural legacy. With the lessons learned from these cases, a series of recommendations have been developed to allow Main Street to adapt and compete with the New Urbanist phenomenon.

The lack of clear strategies for enhancing Main Street in the wake of the growing prevalence and popularity of New Urbanist developments is the guiding force behind this research. Noted preservationists such as Richard Moe, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Doug Loescher, director of the National Trust Main Street Center, recognize that Main Street communities must take a proactive approach to the growing strength of New Urbanism. Yet the preservation community has yet to describe what these strategies should be. Ensuring the survival of America's traditional commercial corridors is essential to combating the forces of urban sprawl, fostering healthy communities and strengthening place-based quality of life. Ensuring that the implementation of new urbanism is not at the expense of the old is paramount to creating places that respect the building stock inherited from previous generations while allowing for new architecture and infrastructure that accommodates modern lifestyles. Achieving a balanced relationship between preservation and New Urbanism will benefit the nation's cities and towns, and the people who call them home.

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

When noted *New York Times* architecture critic Herbert Muschamp asked “Can New Urbanism find room for the old?” a month after the penning of the *Charter of the New Urbanism* in 1996, he was possibly the first to pose the question. Lacking the luxury of hindsight however, Muschamp could only offer a word of caution. He warned that if the New Urbanists failed to adequately address the role of existing downtowns in the scope of their work, then the movement would prove fatal for existing urban places. To develop a clear perspective on the interrelationship between historic preservation and New Urbanism, a contextual basis of town planning in the United States must first be established. From early colonial roots to the beginnings of the New Town Movement in America, the relationship between neo-traditional town planning and traditional American settlements is best exemplified as the juxtaposition between organic and planned growth. Although both approaches to American development evolved out of a similar historical framework, they have had dissimilar consequences for the nation’s built environment. Understanding the theoretical and historical underpinnings of these urban typologies serves as the foundation for an approach that marries the assets of existing urbanism with the benefits of sensitive new construction that meets the needs of modern lifestyles.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The increasing prevalence of neo-traditional town planning within the past several decades as codified by the CNU has generated an extensive body of literature on New Urbanism. Historical and scholarly research on the evolution of the Main Street typology and the progression of planning approaches such as the Garden City, City Beautiful and New Town movements provides a useful framework for the analysis of historic preservation's role within New Urbanist practice.¹ Due to the fact that a large portion of the literature available on New Urbanist projects is self-published work from some of the most prolific firms practicing neo-traditional design today, incorporating research from the planning, preservation and development communities is essential to the formation of a balanced analysis. By the same token, considering the critical responses of academics well-versed on the subject of preservation's role within the New Urbanist framework is equally important. The following literature sources address the research topic from the perspectives of history, theory, praxis and reception. Considered collectively, they enable a holistic understanding of the subject matter and provide the contextual background necessary to adequately explore the research questions.

MAIN STREET DEVELOPMENT: HISTORY AND MYTH-MAKING

Developing a historical framework from which to contextualize the relationship between Main Street development and New Urbanism in the history of American planning is critical and benefits from the wealth of literature on the subject. Historic settlement patterns in the United States had an incredible impact on the formation of each of these movements, and Ervin Y. Galantay's *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present* (1975) provides a clear yet thorough investigation of the cultural, ethnic and geographical influences on these development trends. His work is useful for its

¹ The term Main Street refers to the traditional urban commercial centers of the United States. Unless noted otherwise, this term does not refer to the National Trust Main Street Center.

discussion of the formal and stylistic implications of cultural traditions such as the Spanish Laws of the Indies approach to open space and street networks, for instance.² Additional historical background provided by John Andrew Gallery in *The Planning of Center City Philadelphia: From William Penn to the Present* (2007) and Gwendolyn Wright's *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (1983) help to round out the discussion of Anglo influences in town design on the eastern seaboard. Wright's synopsis of the document referred to as "The Ordering of Towns" further develops the contextual basis surrounding the complex relationship that developed between organically developed Main Street communities and the master planned developments of New Urbanism.³

This analysis of Main Street development in the United States benefits from well-established scholarly output on the subject. Richard V. Francaviglia's *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space and Image Building in Small-Town America* (1996), offers a clearly organized and comprehensive history of the development of American Main Streets as a planning typology. He traces design and planning trends in the downtown development of American villages and towns from early colonial roots through their heyday in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Francaviglia continues his discussion with an overview of Main Street adaptations after the Second World War in response to the challenges of decentralization and suburban retail competition. The narrative then explores the reinterpretation, revitalization and rebirth of Main Street in the second half of the 20th century, opening the discussion of Main Street as cultural image and replicable type. For New Urbanists of the late 20th century, the stylistic and formal representation of Main Street as a collection of historic commercial buildings joined end to end was applied to new retail developments. By appropriating the image of Main Street as a signifier for

² Ervin Y. Galantay, *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1975), 31.

³ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983), 8-9.

American small town values and rugged individualism, the New Urbanists attempted to transfer these associations of historic continuity and cultural relevance to their new construction projects. While Francaviglia limits his discussion of Main Street iconography in new retail formats to Walt Disney's Main Street, USA, the complexity and depth of his historical research remains a valuable resource.⁴

NEW URBANISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

A significant portion of published literature on New Urbanist theory and practice originates from within the movement itself. This reporting includes monographs, books, articles, published interviews and other resources produced by New Urbanist firms and their practitioners. Some of the most prolific firms practicing New Urbanism today are equally productive in the publication of their work. Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company (DPZ) principals Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk certainly fall within this category, as do Peter Calthorpe of Calthorpe Associates in Berkeley, California, and Ray Gindroz, principal at Urban Design Associates (UDA) in Pittsburgh. The Chicago-based CNU also publishes a variety of materials relevant to the professional culture of the movement, including conference proceedings and monographs, the *New Urban News* newsletter and an annual comprehensive report and best practices guide containing case study examples of New Urbanist principles applied in practice. These resources define and develop the state of knowledge in the field and facilitate the discussion of prevailing trends within the movement.

Since the beginning of Traditional Neighborhood Development (TND) in the early 1980s, DPZ has been one of the most vocal and prolific firms practicing New Urbanism. In addition to the firm's published work, which includes numerous articles, books, monographs and critiques, Duany and Plater-Zyberk have also developed tools

⁴ Richard V. Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 146.

such as the SmartCode, now in its ninth version, which provides form-based zoning standards readily adaptable to the formation of Smart Growth plans. Duany and Plater-Zyberk's article in a 1992 issue of the *Wilson Quarterly* entitled "The Second Coming of the American Small Town" acts as a preamble to the manifesto that came years later with the 1996 publication of the *Charter of the New Urbanism*. This article explores the decline of American small towns as a function of U.S. transportation policy's facilitation of sprawling suburban development patterns. The authors argue that the small town is vanishing from the national landscape and quickly becoming a sought-after commodity, laced with nostalgia and achievable only for those wealthy enough to buy in to one of these desirable enclaves.⁵ These sentiments foreshadow the emergence of neo-traditional main street retail formats a decade later. By mimicking traditional Main Streets, the New Urbanists appropriate these forms as symbolic of traditional American values. Yet these imitation main street style developments often pull consumers away from authentic downtowns by offering the convenience and tenant mix of suburban shopping malls in an open air urban format. While Duany and Plater-Zyberk's discussion falls short of promoting historic preservation in resuscitating small towns and introducing post-suburbanites to the merits of real urbanity, the authors clearly express their vision for New Urbanism as reform of suburban life by resurrecting traditional iconography.

Other early works such as Peter Katz's *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (1993) helped to formulate the New Urbanists' hierarchy of scale and formal approaches to city design. In this work Katz details the echelons of intervention from the street, block and building, to the neighborhood, district and corridor, eventually touching on the regional implications of interventions at each of these levels. The relevance of these classification levels within the movement is revealed

⁵ Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, "The Second Coming of the American Small Town," *Wilson Quarterly* Vol. 16 Issue 1 (Winter 1992): 27.

as they form the basic organizational structure of the 1996 *Charter*. Even at this early stage in the development of the CNU, Katz recognizes the emergence of two different philosophical approaches to the practice of New Urbanism.⁶ The first is represented by those who believe that no additional growth should occur in outlying areas of the city until existing infrastructure, building stock and assets have been adequately taken advantage of through infill development and urban restructuring. This differs from the second approach, which recognizes that the existing political, regulatory and economic framework in the U.S. favors suburban development, thus any new building that occurs on the fringe should be as environmentally, socially and economically sustainable as possible. Katz gives equal treatment to each of these approaches through a series of case studies, including examples of greenfield development at Seaside and the Kentlands, as well as urban restructuring and infill projects undertaken in Los Angeles and downtown Providence, Rhode Island. As a guide to the early motivations behind the mission of the CNU, Katz's work provides valuable insight into the philosophical divisions that eventually took shape within the movement.

Materials self-produced by firms most active in New Urbanist practice represent a substantial segment of the literature available on the subject. Peter Calthorpe's *The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community and the American Dream* (1995) offers a rather standard proclamation of the motivations behind the New Urbanist movement. In this work Calthorpe discusses the need for long-range planning, taking into account both proactive and reactive responses necessary from the design community. Other resources in this vein are more prescriptive, such as *The Urban Design Handbook: Techniques and Working Methods* (2003) and *The Architectural Pattern Book: A Tool for Building Great Neighborhoods* (2004) published by Ray Gindroz and his firm UDA. In a similar vein, Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets' classic 1922 survey of urban planning

⁶ Peter Katz and Vincent Scully, *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (New York: McGraw Hill Professional, 1993), x.

history from the ancients to the early moderns entitled *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art* offers additional insight into the formal approach to city design adopted by the New Urbanists. Republished in 1996 at the insistence of the CNU, *Vitruvius* advocates bold strokes unencumbered by compromise, a telling indicator of the New Urbanists' preference for master planning formerly undeveloped sites.⁷ Hegemann and Peets argue that if buildings are designed without consideration for their urban context then it is impossible to achieve the ideal of formal unity required by civic art. With an exhaustive set of examples of planning development through the ages, this work serves as a springboard from which the CNU honed its particular approach to urban design.

Critical literature on New Urbanist practice has even come from within the movement itself, most notably *The Seaside Debates: A Critique of the New Urbanism* published in 2002 by the Seaside Institute. This work is an outgrowth of a symposium held by the Institute in September of 1998, which fostered professional and academic discourse on the effectiveness of the movement in realizing its core principles within the realm of professional practice. These debates centered on evidence from eight real world case studies, six of which were examples of New Urbanism applied to urban retrofit and infill situations. The selection of these particular cases was aimed at rebuking claims that the movement is solely concerned with greenfield development, even though a greater proportion of New Urbanist development does occur on the suburban fringe. Lacking an equal distribution of case study sites to respond to, symposium participants were limited in the amount of feedback they could give on the prevailing trends of New Urbanist practice. These debates do however provide intriguing examples of neo-traditional planning approaches applied in existing urban settings, such

⁷ Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art*, 8th edition (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 1.

as UDA's projects in Pittsburgh and the work of Moule and Polyzoides in Pasadena.⁸ The essays and discussions contained within this work offer a much more balanced and critical interpretation of the field than might be expected coming from a list of authors that includes some of the most recognizable names in the movement today. Their decision to focus on existing cities seems to indicate that the CNU, at least some faction of it, is truly serious about taking advantage of the urban places already in existence.

REACTIONS FROM THE PRESERVATION COMMUNITY

Reflecting with great specificity on the challenges faced by Main Street communities in the past half-century, Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie's *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl* (1997) explores the economic challenges that contributed to Main Street's decline in the latter half of the 20th century. Roughly contemporary with the publication of the *Charter of the New Urbanism*, *Changing Places* lacks the advantage of critical distance in properly assessing the successes and failures of Main Street as reinterpreted by the CNU. The authors remain skeptical about the neo-traditional town planning approach, questioning whether it ultimately offers hope or hype for revamping the development patterns of the second half of the 20th century and saving America's historic urban places.⁹ At least, the authors hope, New Urbanism will foster a renewed love and appreciation for the urbanism already in existence. With the CNU still in its infancy at the time of this book's publication, the arguments put forth do not have the benefit of hindsight from which to reflect.

Properly assessing the relationship between historic Main Street communities and imitation town centers requires the input of figures such as Doug Loescher, the director of the National Trust Main Street Center. In his article from the January/

⁸ Todd W. Bressi, ed., *The Seaside Debates: A Critique of the New Urbanism* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2002).

⁹ Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie, *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1997), 35.

February 2000 issue of *Main Street News*, Loescher expresses similar sentiments as Moe and Wilkie, yet his assessment of the New Urbanist problem leaves much to be desired. Loescher recognizes that the growing influence of the Smart Growth movement and the CNU has caused policy makers, government officials and the development community to take Main Street revitalization efforts more seriously.¹⁰ Yet he fails to offer concrete solutions for mitigating the negative impacts of these savvy imitators, such as luring customers away from Main Street and adding to the spread of sprawl at the expense of commercial districts in existing cities and towns. Within the preservation community the benefits of reusing historic buildings are well understood, yet the movement has been less articulate in terms of providing real strategies for competing with inauthentic Main Street developments. Recognizing that historic downtowns must take a proactive approach to staying afloat, actually solving this challenge is another matter entirely.

RESPONSES FROM THE DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY

With a greater critical distance from the inner circle of the CNU, published works from professional organizations within the fields of planning, architecture and real estate development are a valuable resource. The quarterly *Journal of the American Planning Association (JAPA)* provides case study examples of New Urbanism in practice, including projects that incorporate historic preservation within the context of existing urban areas. This research is quantitative and fact-based, allowing for objective reporting on the successes and failures of these projects from urban design and economic revitalization perspectives. For instance, urban revitalization projects undertaken in Pittsburgh by Ray Gindroz, principal at UDA, are well-documented in Sabine Deitrick and Cliff Ellis' 2004 article "New Urbanism in the Inner City: A Case Study of Pittsburgh." By delving into four case study examples of UDA's work in Pittsburgh, Deitrick and Ellis expose the segment

¹⁰ Doug Loescher, "Smart Growth: New Opportunities for Main Street," *Main Street News* (January 2000).

of New Urbanist practice that often goes unnoticed. Inner city revitalization efforts do not always enjoy the notoriety bestowed on more glamorous greenfield projects, yet the authors demonstrate that the high quality design standards advocated by the CNU can have a powerful and transformative impact in distressed urban areas.¹¹ New Urbanist firms such as UDA have been at work in cities like Pittsburgh for over twenty years, and have been incredibly successful in community relations and design application. The quantity and quality of empirical research related to New Urbanism and preservation in practice as documented in *JAPA* is an incredibly beneficial resource for formulating an objective response to these projects.

The American Planning Association (APA) also publishes monthly installments of *Planning* magazine, which offer an additional layer of information related to the focus of this research. The benefit of the timely nature of these publications is the relevancy of the articles, such as Mark Hinshaw's 2005 "The Case for True Urbanism," which argues in favor of existing urban areas and historic city centers as a preferable alternative to New Urbanist developments on virgin greenfields. His research, quite interestingly, is one of the few examples of a current design practitioner engaging the concept of New Urbanism's role in relation to the urbanism already in existence. As an alternative to "new" urbanism, Hinshaw argues in favor of "true" urbanism, which he views as preferable to the former in that it offers real diversity, authenticity and place-based qualities inherent in the historical progression of these places through time.¹² He praises true urbanism for actively engaging modern architectural forms and cutting edge innovation—a defining hallmark of Main Streets from the beginning. By contrast, he is critical of the New Urbanists for clinging to a 19th century design aesthetic and thus rejecting the fundamental nature of real urban places, which faithfully reflect their growth, development and transformation through time. True urbanism, while not

¹¹ Sabina Deitrick and Cliff Ellis, "New Urbanism in the Inner City: A Case Study of Pittsburgh," *Journal of the American Planning Association* Vol. 70 Issue 4 (Autumn 2004): 429.

¹² Mark Hinshaw, "The Case for True Urbanism," *Planning* Vol. 71 Issue 6 (June 2005): 27.

necessarily as photogenic as New Urbanist projects, offers the vitality and grit of real urban places rather than the generic master planned developments of the CNU.

In addition to the literature produced by the APA, organizations such as the Urban Land Institute (ULI) and other institutions with a greater emphasis on real estate development also publish materials relevant to the discussion of historic preservation as incorporated in New Urbanist practice. ULI's monthly magazine *Urban Land* publishes quantitative data and research generated by organizations and firms active in the current real estate market. For instance, Yann Taylor and Rob Andersons' 2007 article entitled "A Moving Target" provides a detailed discussion of the trend toward Main Street formats in new shopping center design. Through this research it becomes clear that now even mainstream retailers and national developers are latching on to the trend towards urban formats in new commercial centers.¹³ As standard suburban shopping malls give way to lifestyle centers (mixed-use retail developments that have an open air format and imitate the form of historic Main Streets), understanding this transition from an underwriting standpoint is crucial. Research related to the emergence of mixed-use retail formats also appears in *Urban Land*, including standard definitions and characteristics of lifestyle centers as discussed in the 2006 article "The Life in Lifestyle Centers" by Jeff Gunning.¹⁴ Assessing the economic incentives and motivations behind New Urbanist retail formats is crucial to developing a balanced interpretation of these projects as built.

THIRD PARTY RECEPTION: CRITICAL REACTIONS FROM ACADEMICS AND SCHOLARS

A crucial component of this research is the consideration of critique, research and empirical data provided by the academic community. Academics and scholars have the advantage of critical distance from the realms of professional practice in the fields

¹³ Yann Taylor and Rob Anderson, "A Moving Target," *Urban Land*, January 2007, 92.

¹⁴ Jeff Gunning, "The Life in Lifestyle Centers," *Urban Land*, August 2006, 58.

of planning, preservation, design and development. Thus literature in this vein provides reflection and critique less likely to be tinged with the bias of those currently at work in the profession. Much of this data, like that published by the APA, ULI and similar entities, has a basis in empirical research, further adding to the merits of this type of literature. Like the articles published in *JAPA*, the research wings of academic institutions such as the Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies have conducted a significant amount of research on the topic of New Urbanist impacts on existing neighborhoods and historic commercial corridors. Detailed reports such as “Neighborhood Effects of HOPE VI: Evidence From Baltimore” published in 2003 provide measurable indicators from real world case studies to assess the success of New Urbanist interventions in existing urban areas.¹⁵ This report found that HOPE VI projects improve the quality of surrounding neighborhoods by fostering increased economic activity and enhancing the image and public perception of troubled urban areas. Additional literature from the research community examines the success of the CNU in achieving goals initially set out in the *Charter*, such as affordability. For *Real Estate Economics*, Charles C. Tu and Mark J. Eppli conducted an extensive analysis developed over a period of many years to determine the impact of New Urbanist design elements on property values. Their 1999 article “Valuing New Urbanism: The Case of Kentlands” indicates that properties located within these developments do in fact garner higher property values over time as a result of their formal, aesthetic and contextual attributes.¹⁶

The most noteworthy analysis from the academic sphere is Emily Talen’s *New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures* (2005). Supportive of New Urbanism as a planning approach, Talen views the movement as a collaborative reconciliation of the four dominant trends in American planning: incrementalism,

¹⁵ Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, “Neighborhood Effects of HOPE VI: Evidence From Baltimore,” Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, <http://ips.jhu.edu/pub/Neighborhood-Effects-of-Hope-VI-Evidence-From-Baltimore> (accessed February 20, 2009).

¹⁶ Charles C. Tu and Mark J. Eppli, “Valuing New Urbanism: The Case of Kentlands,” *Real Estate Economics* Vol. 27 Issue 3 (Fall 1999): 449.

regionalism, urban plan-making and planned communities.¹⁷ For Talen, the thread connecting the early 20th century urbanists to the New Urbanists in the early 21st is the emphasis on physical interventions as a framework within which social, economic and cultural forces interact. Her discussion of the disconnect between what the CNU puts on paper and what they are ultimately able to achieve on the ground is insightful, for she argues that this is not due to some internal flaw of these principles, but could be a symptom of their under-development instead. While the CNU honed the scope of the *Charter* in 2008 by publishing the *Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism*, this reevaluation does not seem to be as substantial as what Talen envisioned. For Talen the true merit of the CNU is its holistic approach to the successes and failures of past planning movements. By taking cues from lessons learned, New Urbanism provides a comprehensive vision for the future of American planning. A prolific contributor to the body of academic literature concerning New Urbanism, Talen offers the critical perspective necessary to adequately assess the movement's successes and shortcomings.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As this summary of available research reveals, there is a substantial amount of literature pertaining to the application of New Urbanist principles in current professional practice, yet there is surprisingly little serious research related to the impact of neo-traditional developments on historic Main Streets, and even less in the way of recommendations for authentic places to combat the negative effects of these cunning look-alikes. This is partially due to the fact that the integration of historic preservation and New Urbanism is still much in its infancy, despite the determination to reclaim existing cities expressed in the *Charter* over a decade ago. As such, projects that make

¹⁷ Emily Talen, *New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

the front page have not typically been those that focus on restructuring existing urban areas.

The tantalizing question posed by Herbert Muschamp in 1996 about whether New Urbanism would be able to find room for the old remained unanswered until nearly a decade later when urban designer Mark Hinshaw offered new insight on the subject. Hinshaw's 2005 article in *Planning* magazine entitled "The Case for True Urbanism," a precursor to his 2007 book on the same subject, argues the merits of real places over manufactured new developments by citing the inherent richness, diversity and vitality of living breathing cities. While his arguments have merit, they fail to define what the tipping point is that will sell existing urbanism over New Urbanism. Hinshaw's analysis lacks a clear set of approaches or methods by which true urban places can compete with their newer counterparts. Scholars, practitioners and critics alike seem to agree that historic downtowns must be proactive to avoid being swept away by this growing trend, yet no concrete specifics are offered for how this is to be achieved. Noted preservationists such as internationally renowned Main Street consultant Donovan Rypkema, and Doug Loescher, director of the National Trust Main Street Center, acknowledge the benefits of historic urbanism over new, including reuse of existing infrastructure and building stock, greater affordability, increased diversity, real community and place-based authenticity. Yet how existing downtowns can enhance their competitive advantage over imitation Main Streets is never explained. Through a review of the current state of knowledge and literature available from academic, professional and critical outlets, as well as a thorough examination of three case study projects all undertaken within the past decade, this thesis seeks to develop a set of strategic recommendations to help Main Street survive and flourish in spite of (or perhaps because of) the New Urbanist phenomenon.

TOWNS BY CHANCE OR CHOICE: THE AMERICAN CONTEXT

The United States is a nation of new towns. As major European powers began to claim ownership of North American territories by the early 16th century, two dominant patterns of non-native settlement took hold. Towns in the New World grew either organically or according to a pre-conceived design. Organic settlements develop in response to what Ervin Y. Galantay describes as the “pull of exploitable resources.”¹⁸ For instance, the lure of fortune during the mid-19th century gold rush in California spawned a great number of organically developed new towns. Prospectors arrived without much planning or pretense in previously undeveloped areas and quickly gave rise to towns built to serve their basic needs. Developing in a more or less haphazard fashion, these settlements began to grow and expand as an agglomeration of “uncoordinated actions.”¹⁹ This type of settlement, built of necessity, typifies many of the traditional Main Street communities that now dot the national landscape.

In contrast to the pull factor that results in organic settlement patterns, Galantay also describes the push factor that leads to planned new towns. Overpopulation and substandard living conditions in late 19th century industrial cities led to the formal development of the New Town Movement. The 1902 publication of *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* by Englishman Ebenezer Howard gave rise to the Garden City concept as an antidote to the slum conditions and escalating land values in contemporary London (Figure 1). By proposing to dissolve the city from the inside out Howard pitched his garden towns as the “magnet” that would pull urban residents away from “our crowded cities to the bosom of our kindly mother earth.”²⁰ The New Town Movement as represented by Howard’s Garden City soon crossed the Atlantic and became a model for Clarence Stein and Henry Wright of the Regional Planning Association of America. Their

¹⁸ Galantay, 53.

¹⁹ Galantay, 1.

²⁰ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1902), 15.

master plan for the new town of Radburn, New Jersey in 1921 had a profound impact on U.S. development patterns by spurring the development of similar models across the country. Although stalled momentarily by the economic tumult of the Depression, this pattern of planned suburban development took off again following the Second World War.²¹

While neo-traditional town planning and the Garden City movement both look to the preindustrial village model for stylistic cues, these two approaches respond to inherently different motivations.²² Even within his own time Howard observed that “elsewhere the town is invading the country,” such as New Urbanism seeks to do, whereas the Garden City stresses the need for the country to “invade the town.”²³ Despite their inherent differences, neo-traditional town planning often borrows design techniques from New Town predecessors. For instance, the neighborhood units of new towns such as Columbia, Maryland and Reston, Virginia consist of commercial and civic cores surrounded by residential areas, an organizational typology which the New Urbanists take advantage of as well (Figure 2). Designs from each of these approaches often incorporate a greenbelt area surrounding the new town as well, a practice reminiscent of colonial community planning in both the Anglo and Hispanic traditions.

While Howard sought to disperse urban inhabitants across the countryside, architects such as Daniel H. Burnham attempted to rescue the city center through dramatic design interventions. The picturesque boulevards and canals, public parks and scenic vistas of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago gave birth to the City Beautiful movement (Figure 3). Burnham’s fair re-imagined the city’s potential in much the same way that Baron von Haussmann had in mid-19th century Paris. The fair showed “millions of visitors, accustomed to urban ugliness...a splendid example

²¹ Jean Ellen Janson, “An Analysis of Public and Private Design Review: Neo-Traditional Development Standards and Historic Preservation Ordinances” (Master’s thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 22.

²² *Ibid.*, 24.

²³ Howard, 147.

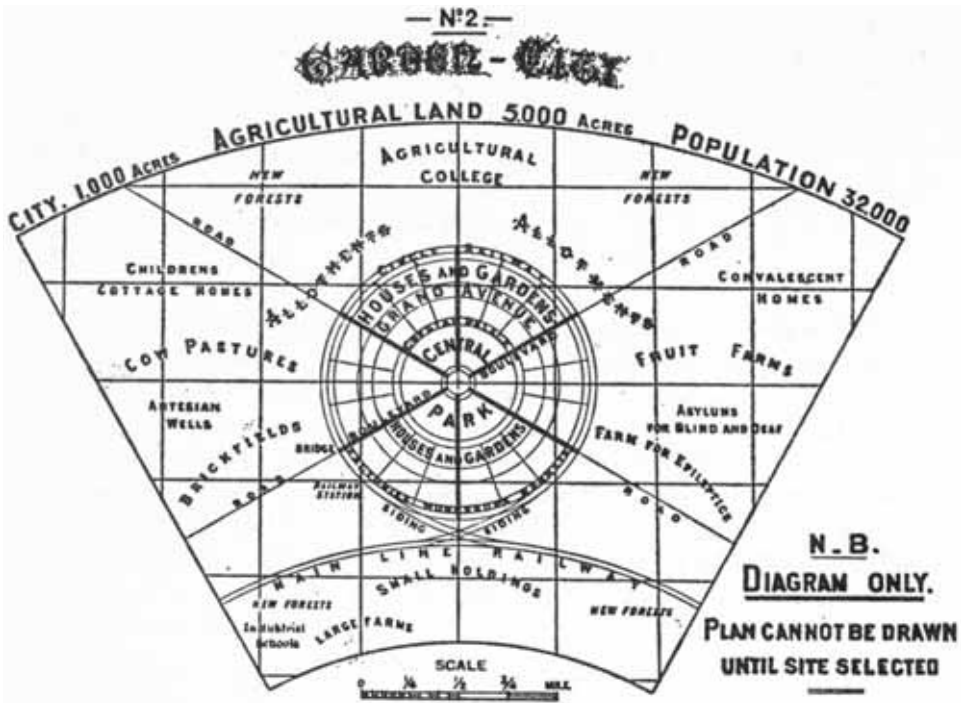


FIGURE 1. Ebenezer Howard articulated the Garden City concept in abstract terms, as demonstrated by this land use diagram for a hypothetical city of 32,000 people. Image posted to Wikipedia Commons, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Garden_City_diagram.jpg

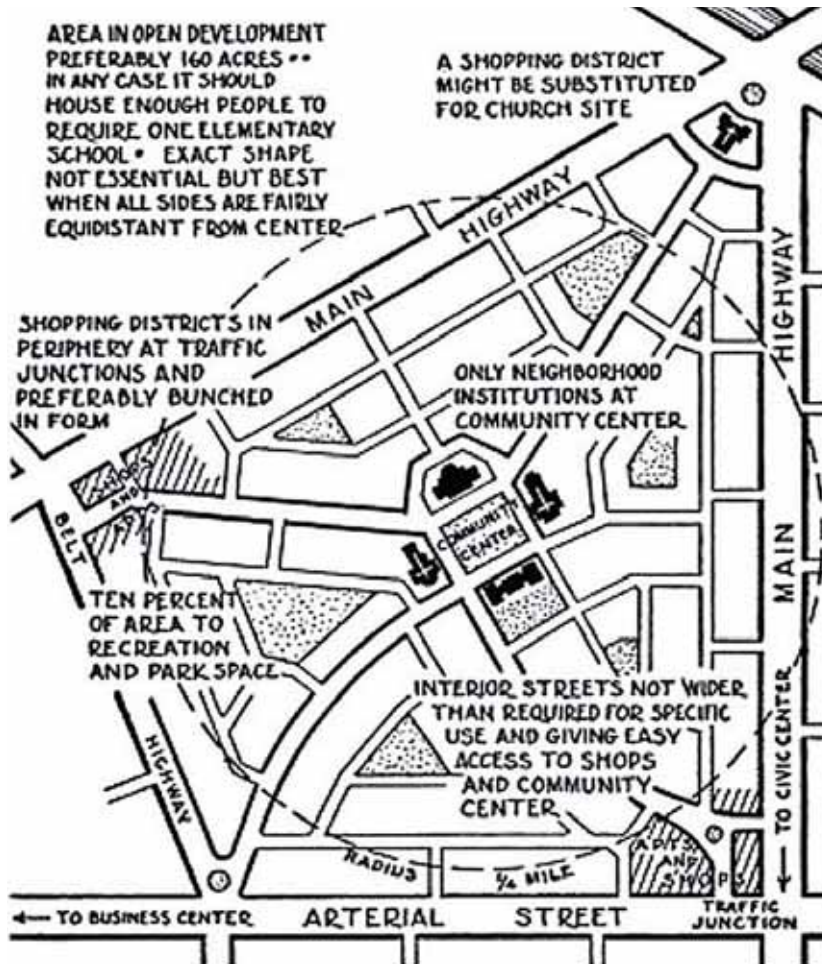


FIGURE 2. Published in 1929, Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" concept places residences within walking distance from a neighborhood-supporting civic or commercial core. This model influenced New Urbanist planners of the late 20th century. Image posted by Dan Bertolet, <http://noisetank.com/2008/12/18/the-neighborhood-school>



FIGURE 3. Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 inspired a generation of planners with new visions for reshaping America's cities. *Image by Smithsonian Institution, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/smithsonian/2574814327>*

of civic design and beauty in the classic pattern and on a grand scale.”²⁴ Whereas the Garden City introduced “all the advantages of the most energetic and active town life” into “the beauty and delight of the country,” the fair brought the amenities of the country to the heart of the city.²⁵ Seeking to heal the ills of the city through good design, the overwhelming success of the fair had a lasting impact on American planning and helped to build momentum for reinvestment in the inner city. While the neo-traditional town planning movement in the United States takes advantage of some of the same traditional site planning techniques used by the City Beautiful movement, including radiating boulevards, public parks, iconic monuments at the termination of vistas and formal unity of architectural style, it often applies these schemes to suburban contexts. In so doing, the New Urbanists apply the language of urbanity to a non-urban setting, thus perverting the mission of the City Beautiful movement to revive the inner city.

While the Garden City and City Beautiful movements called for large-scale design interventions within the country and city respectively, English new town planner Sir Raymond Unwin was able to successfully adapt these grand models to the suburban scale. In the United States the planned community of Forest Hills Gardens in the borough of Queens took cues from Unwin’s successful adaptation of the preindustrial village typology. Begun in 1908, this community adopted many of the dictums now aspired to by the New Urbanists, including formal and stylistic unity, proximity to transit, walkability, and a clustered mix of civic, commercial and residential functions.²⁶ Unwin also advocated the use of local materials and native building technologies in new town projects, which was intended to streamline the efficiency of local laborers. The use of local materials has been taken up by the New Urbanists for aesthetic purposes to enhance unique place qualities and avoid the stylistic ambiguity of traditional suburbs.

²⁴ Moe and Wilkie, 37.

²⁵ Howard, 15.

²⁶ Moe and Wilkie, 39.

The *Charter of the New Urbanism* reflects this inclination toward local materials by stating that “architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practice.”²⁷ Traditional urbanist Prince Charles used local materials and construction techniques at his new town of Poundbury on the outskirts of Dorchester in order to “remind people about the pointlessness of throwing away all the knowledge and experience and wisdom...of what had gone before.”²⁸ While New Urbanists stress the aesthetic and placemaking benefits of using local materials, in so doing they continue the new town planning tradition.

In addition to advancing the use of local materials and technologies in new town construction, Unwin also insists on obtaining overarching site control, an element that has become a defining element of New Urbanist developments. Yet he warns that new towns must be adapted for modern use and should not (and cannot) replicate the community structure of the preindustrial villages which they resemble.²⁹ In many cases the New Urbanists do not seem to heed this warning and seek to create totalistic visions of the American small town through top-down master plans. Highly specific design controls included in formulaic tools such as DPZ’s SmartCode are only enforceable with this level of control. Greenfield sites unencumbered by a complex land assembly process or the constraints of existing infrastructure further streamline the feasibility of executing plans of this scope and magnitude. Yet with dwindling open space resources this type of approach is a luxury that can no longer be afforded.

As the New Town Movement began to spread across the national landscape, so too did the use of the automobile. Hailed as a “town for the motor age,” the planned community of Radburn in Fairlawn, New Jersey was one of the first to experiment with

²⁷ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, “The block, the street, and the building,” No. 6, <http://www.cnu.org/charter> (accessed March 3, 2009).

²⁸ Sandy Mitchell, “Prince Charles—Not Your Typical Radical,” *National Geographic* Vol. 209 Issue 5 (May 2006): 96-115.

²⁹ Janson, 27.

the separation of pedestrians from the path of the automobile (Figure 4).³⁰ By taking advantage of cul-de-sacs, limited through streets and a pathway for children that was completely removed from vehicular roadways, Radburn encouraged the spatial separation of people from cars—and one another. Once these seeds were sewn, they soon spread like weeds throughout the 20th century development patterns of the United States. Land use patterns that developed out of this planning legacy separated commercial, office, residential and civic uses from one another with impassible highways and auto-oriented thoroughfares. This pattern was standardized by local zoning codes and led to a growing physical and social barrier between people of various income levels and ethnicities.³¹

Subjugation of the needs of people to the demands of the automobile signaled a devastating cultural shift for American towns and cities. Legislation such as the 1944 GI Bill and the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 enabled millions of Americans to access previously remote areas and provided them the means to build new houses once they got there.³² While not immediately apparent from the perspective of local zoning boards, city planners and traffic engineers, the consequences of these measures were staggering. Not only did this allow people to disperse across previously untouched open space and agricultural lands, but the suburbs built as havens from the ills of the city soon became traffic-clogged and disorienting themselves. The massive exodus of white upper class residents from center cities following the Second World War resulted in declining tax bases in the areas with the greatest amount of building stock and infrastructure to maintain. Economically, socially and racially unbalanced compared to national averages, cities became desolate pools of disinvestment. The growth of new suburban communities on the periphery of metropolitan regions required significant financial

³⁰ Moe and Wilkie, 42.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 48.

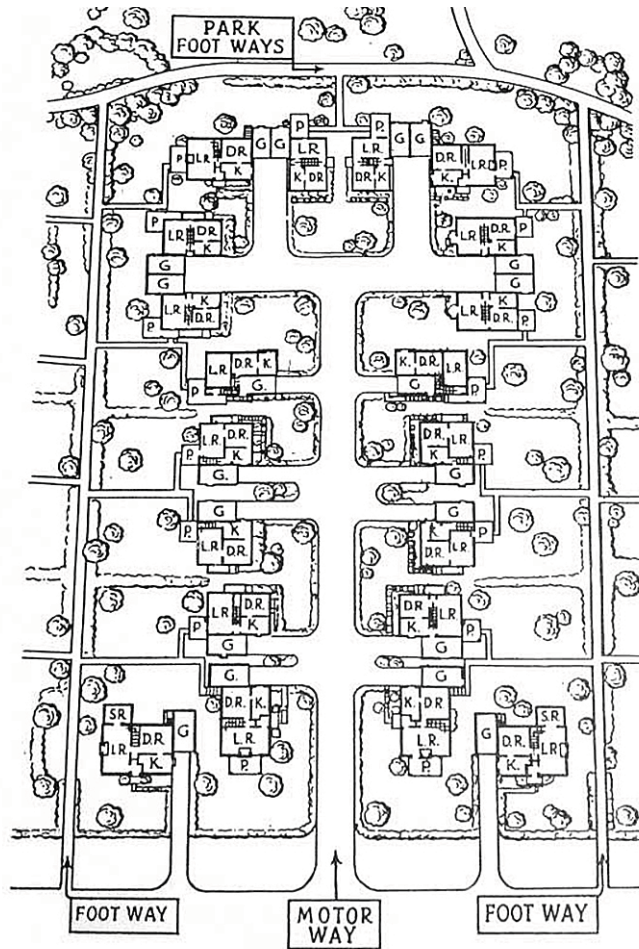


FIGURE 4. Clarence Stein and Henry Wright were the first to articulate Garden City concepts in the U.S. As the first town for the motor age the 1928 plan for Radburn, New Jersey, separated pedestrian and vehicular pathways. Image posted by Laurence Aurbach, <http://pedshed.net/blog/wp-content/uploads/2006/12/radburnculdesac.jpg>

assistance for new infrastructure such as roads and utilities, thus limiting even further funding for services in the center city.

Not only did highway expansion support decentralized sprawl, but the insertion of these new thoroughfares through downtowns led to rampant physical destruction of urban fabric. Robert Moses' retrofit of downtown New York City to accommodate escalating traffic brought expressways through the heart of established communities, severing generation's worth of social, cultural and spatial connections. Like the new town planners before him and many of the New Urbanists that came after, Moses believed that working with a previously undeveloped site was the only way to achieve a holistic vision. As he described, "You can draw any kind of picture you want on a clean slate, but when you're operating in an overbuilt metropolis, you have to hack your way with a meat axe."³³ Denying the very nature of cities, that they grow and accumulate over time and thus carry with them centuries worth of investment in building stock, infrastructure, social relationships and unique sense of place, Moses and those like him wrought extreme devastation on the nation's urban cores.

As the shift from cities to suburbs intensified, this critical mass of people necessitated the construction of new commercial offerings on the fringe. In 1923 visionary Kansas City developer J.C. Nichols, founding member of the Urban Land Institute (ULI), opened the first shopping center in the United States.³⁴ Dubbed Country Club Plaza, this commercial center, like later New Urbanist developments, mimicked the form, style and layout of traditional downtowns (Figure 5). Complete with fountains, gardens and public art, the Plaza prioritized the pedestrian experience by serving as a walkable shopping district that functioned as public promenade.³⁵ Nichols' innovation was not limited to his commercial shopping center, but extended to the residential

³³ Ibid., 63.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Steven C.F. Anderson and Brian Peter Falk, producers, *Community Builder: The Life and Legacy of J.C. Nichols*, documentary film first aired on PBS November 2006.

area of his Country Club District as well. He implemented a series of deed restrictions on the residential properties, dictating such items as appropriate setbacks, open space specifications and window projections, a practice that became standard for the New Urbanists. By “planning for permanence” Nichols sought to develop a lasting and sustainable community that would combine the strengths of traditional urbanism with the pleasures of suburban life.³⁶ By abandoning the city grid for winding streets reminiscent of residential enclaves such as Riverside, Illinois designed by Frederick Law Olmsted nearly forty years before, Nichols attempted to maintain defining features of the natural landscape. Old growth trees, unique terrain and rocky ledges fostered a place-based aesthetic that helped to reinforce the permanence of the community. The regional specificity of Nichols’ building and landscape design become a rallying cry for the New Urbanists. Yet the legacy of this “godfather” of the New Urbanist movement would relapse in the interceding decades.³⁷

Less than a decade after the Plaza’s debut, Highland Park Village opened outside of Dallas as the first shopping center to turn its back on the adjacent community.³⁸ Now easily accessible by private automobile, commercial buildings no longer had to accommodate pedestrian access. In 1956 Southdale opened outside of Minneapolis as the first fully enclosed and climate controlled suburban mall, a machine for shopping.³⁹ Indoor shopping malls, like the New Urbanist communities that would follow, borrow liberally from the organizational patterns of typical Main Street communities. Although surrounded by a sea of parking outside, the interior layout of these buildings references the circulation patterns of traditional downtowns through a network of pedestrian “streets” anchored by department stores.⁴⁰ The street network and open space patterns

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Moe and Wilkie, 64.

³⁹ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁰ Francaviglia, 166.

of traditional downtowns is also referenced by placing fountains, planters and other focal points at the termination of vistas down these pedestrian thoroughfares. As suburban shopping malls spread across the national landscape they provided stiff competition for historic downtowns, a foreshadowing of the struggle between New Urbanism and Main Street years later.

THE MAIN STREET TYPOLOGY: EVOLUTION OF AN ICON

While the New Town and City Beautiful movements clearly influenced the New Urbanists, the American Main Street typology has also had a profound impact on the formal and stylistic underpinnings of the CNU. Understanding the evolution of Main Street within the context of American town planning requires a careful examination of the ethnic and geographic influences on settlement and development patterns in colonial North America. While these two settlement patterns have grown and developed alongside one another, incorporating the best attributes of each into the nation's cities and urban centers will provide the best solution for protecting the historic built environment while simultaneously allowing for sensitive new construction built to the demands of a 21st century lifestyle.

The commercial areas of New Urbanist developments reference the form, massing, style and land use patterns of historic Main Streets. A traditional Main Street is usually characterized as an assemblage of buildings that are predominantly commercial in use located along an important transportation thoroughfare (Figure 6). Buildings on Main Street are situated in close proximity to one another, often connecting at the end walls, and are usually no more than a modest three to four stories in height.⁴¹ This innate pedestrian scale humanizes the urban experience and is an element which has been readily adopted by the New Urbanists. In a downtown composition the "individual

⁴¹ Ibid., 4.



FIGURE 5. The Country Club Plaza in Kansas City, Missouri is considered the first lifestyle center in the United States. Built in 1923, the Plaza has since attracted new commercial and residential development to the area. *Image by Sonia Kiss, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/soniakiss/2997341423>*



FIGURE 6. Downtown Lafayette, Indiana is an iconic example of the traditional American Main Street. *Photograph by the author*

buildings...have faces or ‘personalities’ determined by their massing, window and door openings, rooflines, and other elements” that combine to create an architectural unity and legible streetscape.⁴² This image of Main Street symbolizes small town values and community, and has thus been adopted as a branding aesthetic by the New Urbanists.

The majority of buildings on America’s Main Streets stem from residential building types, yet they take their cues from civic and commercial forms as well. Residential to commercial conversions appeared on American Main Streets as early as 1815 and soon developed into the characteristic “two-part commercial block” consisting of ground floor commercial space with residential uses above, a building type that is a standard feature of new mixed-use developments.⁴³ The increasingly commercial function of downtown drove up land prices and resulted in buildings on narrower lots placed close together. As such, Main Street’s commercial buildings had to take maximum advantage of their façades in order to attract customers.⁴⁴ By visually strengthening the presence of the building, businesses were able to project the stability and dependability of their goods and services. As buildings joined end to end and prioritized the image of the façade, by the mid-19th century it was possible to recognize a commercial corridor by building massing and form alone.⁴⁵

The ability of Main Street to reflect the developmental history of a community through time is a quality which many New Urbanist communities inherently lack. Like a family portrait depicting multiple generations in a single setting, Main Street reflects each layer of its history through the style and forms of its façades. To the trained eye the agglomeration of architectural styles in downtown is as legible as chapters in a novel,

⁴² Ibid., 2-3.

⁴³ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁴ Technological developments in the production of plate glass during the early 19th century allowed for the introduction of large “bulk windows” ideally suited for displaying commercial goods. When lit at night in conjunction with nearby storefronts, these businesses welcomed the first window shoppers to America’s Main Streets. Ibid., 24.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

each page narrating the triumphs and frustrations of consecutive generations. Clearly one of the greatest differences between settlements that evolve gradually through time and planned new towns built in large segments at once is the latter's inability to reflect the palimpsest of history. New towns that act as if they have happened upon a "habitable planet unmarred by previous habitation" deny the importance of time in cultivating a rich and varied urban place that reflects the history of its citizen's achievements.⁴⁶ The benefit of real towns and real places is their intangible assets. Family bonds and local traditions cannot be master planned. While public squares provide excellent space for civic functions and celebrations, this means nothing in the absence of a true community. Thus integrating the best practices of New Urbanism into the framework of an existing urban area offers the best of both worlds by strengthening existing bonds of community and historic continuity while at the same time offering the chance for sensitive new construction adapted to the needs of modern life.

In the interest of creating places that reflect their geographic location and cultural context, the New Urbanists emulate the visual motifs of traditional Main Streets. Regional trends of ethnic background, political and religious order, geography, technological advances and economic drivers inform the visual appearance and spatial organization of these historic commercial corridors. The following chart describes these external influences as they relate to the downtown development of early communities in the southwest, southeast and on the eastern seaboard (Figure 7). Anglo-Europeans had the greatest impact on the appearance and spatial organization of colonial towns in New England and the mid-Atlantic region, and subsequently influenced towns on the American frontier. The Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony applied order to the chaotic wilderness of the New World according to principles outlined in an anonymous document known as "The Ordering of Towns."⁴⁷ The dictums of this plan called for

⁴⁶ William H. Whyte, *The Last Landscape* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 230.

⁴⁷ Wright, 8-9.

		Eastern Seaboard	Southwest	Southeast
EXTERNAL INFLUENCES	<i>ethnic</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> European (predominantly Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany) Anglo-European culture most influential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spanish and Hispanic (with North African and Middle Eastern influences) Mexican and Native American influences (especially American Pueblo Indians) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spanish colonial (with North African and Middle Eastern influences) French colonial
	<i>political/religious</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> democratic ideals, residences equidistant from town center Protestant religious functions place importance in public meeting and assemblage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spanish Laws of the Indies dictated town planning in American colonies Catholic Church and missionary functions, church prominently positioned on town square 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spanish Laws of the Indies dictated town planning in American colonies Church prominently positioned on formal plazas
	<i>geographic</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> extensive forests abundant clay soils glacial boulders and rocks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> arid and sunny climate desert soils, limited timber availability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> hot, humid and sunny climate swampy land prone to flooding, storm surge and high winds from hurricanes cypress, cedar, pine, spruce timber available
	<i>technological</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> lumber available for heavy timber and balloon frame construction fired clay brick production random rubble stone construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> desert soils and dry climate allow for adobe and mud brick construction shake, thatch and tile roofing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> eave overhang for sun protection buildings elevated for flood protection French doors promote air circulation and cooling
	<i>economic</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> proximity to major thoroughfares, waterways, and rail networks influences shape and orientation of downtown 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> proximity to major thoroughfares, waterways, and rail networks influences shape and orientation of downtown 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> proximity to major thoroughfares, waterways, and rail networks influences shape and orientation of downtown
SPATIAL ORGANIZATION	<i>building type</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> two part commercial buildings (commercial uses on ground floor, residences above) increasing emphasis on façade rooflines parallel to the street easily adaptable forms for multiple uses parapet walls between buildings for fire protection and control usually two to four stories in height 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> cubic buildings with flat roofs false fronts over end-gable buildings parapets over roofline of flat-roofed buildings porches and awnings for sun protection exposed ends of <i>viga</i> beams and <i>canales</i> limited one to two stories in height adobe colored, brightly painted or whitewashed small window openings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> two part commercial buildings (commercial uses on ground floor, residences above) increasing emphasis on façade rooflines parallel to the street easily adaptable forms for multiple uses parapet walls between buildings for fire protection and control usually two to three stories in height intricate wrought iron balconies
	<i>building organization</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> connected row buildings buildings face major roads built to lot line, sidewalk or street rural New England small village clusters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> individual buildings joined at end walls linear streetscape 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> connected row buildings buildings face major roads built to lot line, sidewalk or street
	<i>street network</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> religious influences for Mormon and Puritanical Main Streets street grid influenced by local topography streets with focal axis on landmark building 1785 Land Ordinance Surveys create Township and Range System, resulting in rectangular grid from Ohio to far west 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> street grid influenced by local topography streets with focal axis on landmark building 1785 Land Ordinance Surveys create Township and Range System, resulting in rectangular grid from Ohio to far west 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> street grid influenced by local topography streets with focal axis on landmark building 1785 Land Ordinance Surveys create Township and Range System, resulting in rectangular grid from Ohio to far west
	<i>open space</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> central village green for communal livestock grazing, public open space rectilinear public squares with civic, religious, commercial buildings facing onto square courthouses squares show importance of democratic ideals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> courthouses squares show importance of democratic ideals central public square as religious and civic focal point 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> courthouses squares show importance of democratic ideals central public square as religious and civic focal point
IMPACT	<i>representative cities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Philadelphia, PA (English) Baltimore, MD (English) New Amsterdam, NY (Dutch) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> San Antonio, TX (Native American and Spanish) San Juan Bautista, CA (Spanish) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New Orleans, LA (French and Spanish) St. Augustine, FL (Spanish)
	<i>areas influenced</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> western Pennsylvania, Midwest, upper south spreads west to American frontier 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> American southwest, including California and Texas territories spreads north to American frontier 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> coastal south along Gulf of Mexico spreads north along Mississippi River

FIGURE 7. Diagram of regional influences on American Main Streets developed by the author. Adapted from Richard V. Francaviglia's research in *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America*, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996.

townships of six miles square with homes located in the center and surrounded by an agricultural greenbelt, a type that foreshadows the importance of greenbelts surrounding many New Urbanist developments. The town meeting house, encircled by a residential area of no more than three miles diameter (to keep each resident within walking distance of the center), represented the core of civic, social and religious life in the community. This precedent of walkable communities with centrally located civic functions has since become a hallmark of the New Urbanist vision.

The confluence of Hispanic and Native American building technologies in the American southwest spawned a unique set of urban design solutions that have influenced new town development in the area since the 16th century. The appropriate layout of Spanish colonial settlements was dictated by royal decree in the Laws of the Indies, a collection of codified planning principles formalized in 1573 by King Philip II of Spain. The Laws base the town layout around a central square surrounded by a gridded street network that easily expands as the population increases.⁴⁸ Colonial town planners also ensured long term growth potential by setting aside a greenbelt area around the town to allow for future expansion. As with the New England town plans, the Spanish dictated that the church, town hall and other civic functions be located in the central plaza enabled by this grid system. The grid and greenbelt system became a hallmark of American colonization and continues in New Urbanist practice to this day.⁴⁹

The need for light and air in the dense urban fabric of early colonial cities spurred the creation of plazas and open spaces, a design element that continues to be a central feature of many New Urbanist master plans. Public squares fulfilled the need for open space in dense colonial cities, and William Penn's 1683 plan for Philadelphia as laid out by his surveyor Thomas Holme executes this typology with elegant simplicity. Holme's plan divides the city into four separate quadrants demarcated by the north-south axis

⁴⁸ Galantay, 31.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 32.

of Broad Street and the east-west axis of Market Street, and locates a public square within each.⁵⁰ These four squares offer a necessary amenity for the residents of Penn's "green Country towne," bringing the benefits of nature into the city and providing public gathering space as well.⁵¹ New England's variation on the public square consisted of a more informal central village green surrounded by buildings that served commercial, religious and civic functions. The green itself served as both social gathering space and communal livestock grazing area.⁵² This image of the central village green as the heart of community life is an iconic open space typology which New Urbanist practitioners have adopted to reinforce a sense of community through spatial design.

Throughout history, Main Street has served as a barometer of innovation and technological advancement. The standardization of building materials and processes that began during the Industrial Revolution increased the availability and affordability of materials such as terra cotta and cast iron, which allowed small towns to replicate the architectural forms and styles found in the larger cities. Advances such as this, coupled with the increasing availability of journals and magazines showing the latest styles, had a homogenizing effect on the appearance of American downtowns.⁵³ These vehicles of standardization helped to spread revival styles such as Victorian Italianate commercial architecture to the far reaches of the frontier. Thus by the late 19th century the nation's Main Streets had begun to take on a distinctive visual quality that was uniquely American.⁵⁴ The high Victorian Italianate architecture of Main Street became emblematic of the prosperity and confidence of the late 19th century and thus serves to brand the commercial areas of many New Urbanist developments as centers of collective community aspiration.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ John Andrew Gallery, *The Planning of Center City Philadelphia: From William Penn to the Present* (Philadelphia: The Center for Architecture, Inc., 2007), 10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵² Francaviglia, 84-85 .

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 25, 30-32.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 29, 32.

Sweeping innovations in transportation and infrastructure during the 19th century also had a significant impact on the functionality and appearance of downtown. New methods of public transit in the late 19th century began to change the way people moved to, from and within their neighborhoods and spawned the development of early trolley car suburbs along transit routes.⁵⁶ Yet it was the emergence of the automobile in the early 20th century that had the most profound impact on America's Main Streets. Moving with ease at greater speeds than ever before, consumers now traveled farther distances for basic goods and services. The passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act in 1956 sealed the deal by approving funding for an auto-dominated transportation network that ensured "72 percent of the mileage would occur in entirely undeveloped regions."⁵⁷ The growing importance of the Federal highway system and the increasing affordability of the automobile facilitated the widespread abandonment of American cities and the subsequent suburbanization of the United States. The challenges that followed proved difficult for many Main Street communities to overcome.

The newfound mobility of an increasingly suburban population supported the development of shopping malls and strip centers beginning in the 1960s, forcing Main Street to invent new strategies to compete. Communities responded with measures such as downtown pedestrian districts, streetscape improvements and streamlined façades that mimicked the sleek modern look of new shopping centers. Pursuing modernization and innovation as it had in generations past, Main Street began to incorporate new materials such as porcelain-enameled steel, colorful glazed tiles, linoleum panels, aluminum siding, glass block and chrome.⁵⁸ As people travelled faster through downtown, the intricate detail and verticality of Victorian-era building façades gave way to a streetscape with greater horizontality and thus greater legibility from the seat of a

⁵⁶ Ibid., 39.

⁵⁷ Moe and Wilkie, 62.

⁵⁸ Francaviglia, 47, 50.

passing car. Unfortunately many of the attempts at modernization on Main Street had a detrimental impact by obscuring window and door openings and detracting from the appearance of the streetscape. The negative impacts associated with unsympathetic façade modifications ushered in a period of decline for many Main Street commercial centers.

Discouraged with the results of downtown pedestrianization and façade redesigns that failed to lure consumers back from modern shopping malls, some Main Street communities instead began to focus on the intrinsic assets of their downtowns. In 1977 the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) initiated a pilot project in three communities to study the root causes of Main Street decline. The recommendations developed by this study gave birth to the National Main Street Center (NMSC) in 1980, which takes a four-point approach of Organization, Promotion, Design and Economic Restructuring to revitalize historic commercial corridors.⁵⁹ The impulses of the 1970s that led to the formation of the NMSC also had an impact on contemporary planning culture and eventually led to the establishment of the CNU in 1993. As with the historic preservation movement's approach to Main Street revitalization, the CNU also takes cues from historic precedents such as preindustrial villages and traditional building typologies. The New Urbanist movement has tended to favor greenfield development and new construction, yet has the potential to positively impact existing urban areas through downtown revitalization initiatives.

THE NEW URBANIST APPROACH TO PLANNING AND DESIGN

As Emily Talen describes in *New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures*, the New Urbanist approach to town planning and design takes its cues from lessons learned throughout the course of urban planning history. The New Town

⁵⁹ Jennifer Gates, "A Study of Inactive Main Street Communities" (Master's thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 2.

Movement in the United States serves as a jumping off point for the CNU, yet the primary focus of the two approaches is inherently dissimilar. Ebenezer Howard sought to dissolve the city through de-densification, whereas the CNU seeks to intensify the density of typical suburban development. The historical patterns of Main Street development have also influenced New Urbanist practice. Reacting to the impact of the automobile on American growth patterns, New Urbanists such as outspoken Andrés Duany criticize the bland architectural forms of the suburban sprawl that are prohibitive to the pedestrian. The legacy of 20th century zoning policies that separate uses with auto-dominated highways is a malady to which New Urbanism seeks to be the cure.

Yet even within the CNU there are philosophical divisions amongst the movement's practitioners that have never been fully resolved. As Peter Katz describes, there are two primary schools of thought with regards to where New Urbanist development ought to take place. The first approach revolves around the belief that development should not occur on undeveloped land on the fringe until all vacant sites within the city have been repurposed through infill development and urban restructuring. Yet the other school of thought, recognizing that political, social and economic realities favoring suburban development, posit that if this type of growth is inevitable it might as well adhere to New Urbanist principles. Thus it can be assured that new construction on the metropolitan edge is as dense, walkable and well-designed as possible.⁶⁰ As an outgrowth of centuries worth of planning practice, the New Urbanist approach to urban design clearly responds to a composite framework of influences.

By the early 1980s the need for a serious alternative to modern development patterns was reaching the breaking point. Two architects, husband and wife team Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, dissatisfied with the prevailing trends of auto-dominated suburbia sought a return to more traditional development patterns

⁶⁰ Katz and Scully, x.

such as those espoused by the new town planners in the early 20th century. In 1982, real estate developer Robert Davis hired DPZ to design a resort community on 80 acres of virgin land on the Florida panhandle. Located in Walton County, Florida, the future site of Seaside had no zoning in place at the time, which gave the designers the opportunity to develop their own design guidelines and master plan.⁶¹ Seaside's layout features a central plaza with commercial and civic functions, out from which a series of streets emanate into the surrounding residential areas (Figure 8). An ordering system more European than American, the plan is intended to foster a sense of community. The master plan prioritizes the pedestrian experience and encourages walkability with narrow streets, small lots and houses placed close to the thoroughfares. A number of noted architects including Leon Krier, Machado & Silvetti and Dan Solomon designed Seaside's civic, commercial and residential buildings, yet they are overtly historicist. Thus the front porches, white picket fences and colorful cottages conjure a wholly inauthentic scene, creating what architecture critic Witold Rybczynski describes as not the place you went every summer as a kid but rather the one you pictured in your imagination.⁶² Duany and Plater-Zyberk's first attempt at neo-traditional town planning has met with a fair number of detractors and critics. The town failed to become a permanent community in the true sense of the word and functions mostly as a vacation destination for families wealthy enough to own a second home here.⁶³ Serving as the set of the 1998 film *The Truman Show*, the story of a man who lives his life in a staged reality, Seaside has proven an easy target for those who would attack the New Urbanists.

The overwhelming success and popularity of neo-traditional planning principles implemented at Seaside launched DPZ to instant notoriety. Their approach to planning,

⁶¹ Eric O. Jacobsen, "The New Urbanism," *Christian Reflection: A Series in Faith and Ethics*, Cities and Towns Issue (2006): 29.

⁶² Witold Rybczynski, "Seaside Revisited: A Model Town, 25 Years Later," *Slate*, February 28, 2007, <http://www.slate.com/id/2160718?nav=ais%CE%88> (accessed February 22, 2009).

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Traditional Neighborhood Design, spread nationally and began to infiltrate the academic and professional spheres of the architecture and planning fields. Yet the unique regulatory conditions (or lack thereof) at Seaside were a rare luxury. Relatively new and untested at a wide scale, the mixed-use designs of TND were not easily accepted by the contemporary lending and regulatory framework accustomed to working with Cartesian zoning principles.⁶⁴ After nearly a decade of designing and implementing TND projects, and in response to the opposition still faced from government officials, the business community and municipal planning agencies, practitioners set about developing a series of guiding axioms that would educate policy makers about the makings of good urbanism. In coordination with the non-profit Local Government Commission (LGC), TND pioneers produced the first written set of guiding principles for the movement. The *Ahwahnee Principles*, named for the hotel in Yosemite where the conference was held in 1991, incorporated lessons learned from TND projects of the 1980s. Authored by Peter Calthorpe, Michael Corbett, Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Moule, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Stefanos Polyzoides, the document incorporated ideas from the realms of neo-traditional town planning and sustainable design to create a set of standards for the creation of new communities that was user friendly enough for those with the political and regulatory backing to implement these strategies.⁶⁵

The increasing prevalence and success of TND projects across the country enhanced the acceptance of traditional town planning concepts by both governmental planning entities and private developers. At the group's 1993 conference in Alexandria, Virginia, this association of planners, urban designers, architects and other professionals formally united themselves beneath the banner of the Congress for the New Urbanism. Many of those involved in drafting the *Ahwahnee Principles* two years earlier were

⁶⁴ Jacobsen, 30.

⁶⁵ Judith Corbett and Joe Velasquez, "The Ahwahnee Principles: Toward More Livable Communities," *Western City Magazine*, September 1994.

also instrumental in the founding of the CNU. Building on the suggestion of Leon Krier, Andrés Duany set about adopting the organizational framework of the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), the International Congress of Modern Architecture organized in 1928 by Le Corbusier. As the most recent organization to have “effectively and comprehensively changed the way we design the world,” the CIAM was a great model for the structure of the recently-established CNU.⁶⁶ The adoption of the initials “CNU” and the decision to call the organization’s meetings “congresses” stems from the earlier success of these nomenclatures. Whereas the CIAM had a devastating impact on central cities by advocating their destruction in order to allow for the construction of high rises to serve as “machines for living,” the New Urbanists adopted a similar congressional framework yet sought to convince builders, planners and governmental representatives to increase the density of suburban development.⁶⁷

The suburban precedent of early TND projects such as Seaside earned the CNU a fair amount of criticism for its narrow focus and failure to address existing urban areas. At the fourth annual Congress of the New Urbanism in 1996, held in Charleston, South Carolina, the torch passed from the founding members of the movement to a new generation.⁶⁸ With the transfer to new leadership the New Urbanists stated their intent to address “disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society’s built heritage.”⁶⁹ These words served as the preamble to the *Charter of the New Urbanism*, which in the spirit of the *Athens Charter* adopted by the CIAM set forth a series of guiding principles (27 in this case) broken down into divisions of the region; the neighborhood, district and corridor; and the block,

⁶⁶ Bressi, 34.

⁶⁷ Herbert Muschamp, “Can New Urbanism Find Room for the Old?” *New York Times*, June 2, 1996, Architecture View Section.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, Preamble.

street and building levels.⁷⁰ The *Charter* focused on guiding public policy, development standards and the practice of urban planning in order to achieve higher quality urbanism. These principles are grouped at three hierarchical scales, from the metropolis, city and town, to the neighborhood, district and corridor, and ending at the block, street and building level. In this way, outside critique led to a redefinition of the New Urbanist movement from within.

The *Charter* also sought to lend greater legitimacy to the professional reception of New Urbanist practitioners within the architectural profession. While the formation of the CNU was motivated partly in reaction to Cartesian zoning practices and suburban development patterns it was also a reaction against the architectural establishment. Both in the schools and in the field, architecture has, Andrés Duany argues, taken up a “mystic” approach whereby designers utilize “illegible techniques of representation, and by shrouding their work in inscrutable jargon...creat[e] increasingly smaller realms of communication, in order that they might inhabit a domain in which they possess some degree of control.”⁷¹ As the most significant organization of baby-boom generation architects and planners to address the future of growth in the United States, the CNU faces some of the most substantial critique from an architectural establishment that evolved from the legacy of modernism.⁷² In the most prestigious architecture programs and at headline firms the trend has tended towards buildings that make an iconic statement while neglecting their context. The CNU does not view buildings in isolation but rather as an element which, when combined with open space systems, street networks and the other city-building elements, achieves good urbanism.

The tremendous popularity of New Urbanist projects over the past three decades has launched several of the movement’s most prominent practitioners to the level of

⁷⁰ Bressi, 35.

⁷¹ Jacobsen, 32.

⁷² Muschamp.

celebrity. Thus the tenets of New Urbanism are finding their way to the architecture schools, shapers of public policy, elected officials and others with influence in the realms of real estate design and development.⁷³ To date over 210 New Urbanist developments have been completed or are currently under construction in the United States, and this figure is as high as 650 worldwide.⁷⁴ Noteworthy New Urbanist projects in the United States include Seaside, Florida (1981); the Kentlands, Gaithersburg, Maryland (1989); Celebration, Florida (1995); Orenco Station, Hillsboro, Oregon (1997); and Del Mar Station, Pasadena, California (2003).⁷⁵ While headline architects and urbanists tend to get the most media coverage, the projects of lesser known firms are often the most innovative, particularly when it comes to the incorporation of infill development and historic preservation.

NEW URBANISM GOES GREEN

In the critical and academic literature surrounding neo-traditional town planning the concept of Smart Growth, an urban planning approach that seeks to discourage urban sprawl by concentrating development in existing urban areas, is often used synonymously with New Urbanism. While the two movements share many of the same goals, New Urbanism is exercised within the private realm and is subject to market demands, whereas Smart Growth operates within a public policy framework.⁷⁶ Believing in the “polemical power” of the term Smart Growth, Andrés Duany has incorporated it into the name of DPZ’s SmartCode zoning tool.⁷⁷ Yet the mechanisms for achieving smarter growth, such as higher density, mixed-use development, are often not permitted by existing building codes, zoning and other land use regulations. Smart Growth must

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Jacobsen, 28.

⁷⁵ Livable Streets Initiative, “New Urbanism,” *StreetsWiki*, <http://www.livablestreets.com/streetswiki/new-urbanism> (accessed March 3, 2009).

⁷⁶ Jacobsen, 33-34.

⁷⁷ Martin Zimmerman, “Is New Urbanism Growing Old?” *Planning* Vol. 67 Issue 6 (June 2001): 10.

be presented as an option, argues Duany, clarifying that it “shouldn’t be imposed, but it should be legal everywhere.”⁷⁸ Although both approaches advocate the use of denser development patterns, no growth is smart if it abandons the existing assets of urban centers.⁷⁹ Thus instilling a culture of smarter development practices will require careful planning to ensure the longevity of New Urbanism specifically and the Smart Growth movement more generally.

The need for a set of codified sustainability standards has been applied at the building level through the U.S. Green Building Council (USGBC) LEED rating system, which stands for Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design, and is now the most widely accepted green building standard in the industry. While purely elective, LEED establishes an acceptable benchmark for judging the “greenness” of a building by clarifying and consolidating best practices of the industry into a unified rating system.⁸⁰ Although earlier versions of LEED were criticized for not weighing more heavily the inherent sustainability of reusing existing buildings, the new 2009 version incorporates “life-cycle assessment criteria,” addresses the increased durability of historic materials, and incentivizes projects located near public transportation and in dense urban areas.⁸¹ Such changes will encourage developers to invest in the nation’s existing urban areas instead of pouring resources into undeveloped greenfields.

In the past several years the USGBC has expanded the concept of sustainability beyond the individual building and developed the LEED for Neighborhood Development (LEED-ND) rating system. A collaborative effort between the USGBC, CNU and Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), LEED-ND integrates elements of the Smart Growth Network’s ten principles of smart growth, the CNU’s *Charter of the New Urbanism*,

⁷⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁹ Sarah Bzdega, “Painting a Pretty Picture,” *Des Moines Business Record* Vol. 24 Issue 36 (September 4, 2006): 13.

⁸⁰ Richard Shields, “Blinded by the (Green) Light: The Rise of Environmentalism and a New Vocabulary—Four Perspectives,” *Real Estate Issues* Vol. 33 Issue 3 (November 3, 2008): 74.

⁸¹ Jennifer Farwell, “The Latest on LEED,” *Preservation*, March/April 2009, 12.

green building practices and elements of sustainable urbanism. The goal of LEED-ND is to reduce urban sprawl by incentivizing site selection closer to existing development, encouraging walkability to reinforce healthier lifestyles and protecting natural habitat and undeveloped open space.⁸² The pilot program of LEED-ND in 2007 included 240 projects, and the first phase of public feedback on the new rating system wrapped up in early January of 2009. After undergoing feedback, the final rating system is set to debut this summer.⁸³ The USGBC hopes that the market will become more familiar with the principles of sustainable urbanism through the LEED-ND rating system, which should result in more flexible underwriting standards and shorter approvals processes for developers working in this vein.⁸⁴

In addition to working alongside the USGBC and NRDC in crafting the LEED-ND rating system, the CNU developed the *Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism* in 2008 to promote sustainable development practices at the neighborhood level. Intended as a supplementary document to the 1996 *Charter of the New Urbanism*, the *Canons* respond to critics that question the true environmental benefit of greenfield New Urbanist developments. The *Canons* address the need for triple-bottom-line sustainability by incorporating social, economic and environmental goals with green building principles borrowed from LEED. While the *Canons* place greater emphasis on preservation and adaptive reuse than the *Charter* by recognizing the embodied energy of existing buildings, the discussion of encouraging development in existing urban areas is disappointingly vague. By stating that, “sites shall be either urban infill or urban-adjacent unless the building is rural in its program, size, scale and character,” the authors allow for a subjective interpretation of what exactly denotes rural program, size, scale

⁸² Colby D. Cox, “LEED-ND: Paving the Way for America’s Residential Future,” *Environmental Design & Construction* Vol. 8 Issue 6 (July 2005): 62.

⁸³ U.S. Green Building Council, “LEED for Neighborhood Development,” U.S. Green Building Council, <http://www.usgbc.org/leed/nd> (accessed March 3, 2009).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

and character.⁸⁵ From this it could be argued that a two-story, detached single family home on formerly agricultural land has a rural setting and program, is of a small size and scale, and could be executed in a style that fits with the character its rural location. In a similar vein, the authors argue in favor of building on previously developed land yet if a greenfield site is selected, “then the burden for exceptional design, demonstrable longevity and environmental sensitivity shall be more stringent and connections to the region shall be essential.”⁸⁶ Thus greenfield development is allowed so long as it does not have a transient quality and is of superior design. Like the *Charter*, the *Canons* provide guiding principles for achieving sustainable urbanism, but never explain how they are to be realized. A document intended to stand the test of time, the *Canons* comes up short in recommendations for infill and provides a vague estimation of how good greenfield development should proceed. Thus these guidelines ultimately fall short in terms of adequately addressing the benefits of infill development, historic preservation and adaptive reuse in conserving energy and reducing urban sprawl.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism*, “The Neighborhood, Town and City,” No. 2, <http://www.cnu.org/canons> (accessed March 3, 2009).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, “The Region,” No. 5.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 2

New Urbanism and Historic Preservation

As the neo-traditional town planning movement nears the end of its third decade, critics, scholars and practitioners alike have evaluated the work done thus far. Projects such as Seaside have matured, the Kentlands has been extensively studied, it is now time for a reassessment of core principles to judge the movement's success and gauge what it may be able to achieve in the future. Of special importance is the impact of the CNU's progeny on historic Main Streets and the communities they support. While New Urbanism may be the best thing that ever happened to sprawl, this amounts to little if American small towns and cities are abandoned in the process. Ensuring that New Urbanism has a place—and knows its proper place—within the context of American planning will be crucial to ensuring that urbanism new and old can coexist and thrive in the years to come.

CRITIQUES OF NEW URBANISM

Since its inception, the CNU has received a substantial amount of criticism, particularly from urbanists, scholars and professionals. The first outlet of dissatisfaction with the New Urbanists is based on the theoretical underpinnings of the movement and its place within the tradition of new town planning. Challenging the CNU on conceptual

grounds takes into account topics as broad as whether new towns are a proper vehicle for creating real communities and healing suburbia of its spatial and social disconnection. The second variety of critical reception stems from the implementation of New Urbanist ideals on the ground. With a movement as codified as the CNU, including tools such as DPZ's SmartCode and guidelines set forth in the *Charter of the New Urbanism*, critics often find fault with the highly prescriptive nature of these projects. As New Urbanism takes a variety of forms, this facet of critical response will be discussed so far as it pertains to the majority of critique levied against the CNU. The implications of new town planning principles as applied through the intensely programmatic approach of the New Urbanists presents a new set of challenges with regards to the relationship between historic Main Street communities and the new towns being built according to the principles of the CNU. Adequately addressing these critiques will determine whether New Urbanism is capable of positively shaping the next generation of development while simultaneously respecting the communities already in existence.

IN PURSUIT OF PERFECTION: THE CONCEPTUAL IMPLICATIONS OF PLANNING THE NEW TOWN

One of the greatest appeals of new town planning from the perspective of planners and designers is the ability to start with a preassembled site, often on formerly undeveloped land. A blank slate free from the limitations of previous interventions allows the designer full control in the execution of his or her vision.⁸⁸ William H. Whyte notes that unencumbered sites such as this only enable cumbersome design formulas instead. He argues, "As in theory, so in practice. The broader and cleaner the canvas, the more rigid and doctrinaire the design is apt to be."⁸⁹ Yet it is not difficult to understand the allure of urban design done from scratch, for as Hegemann and Peets described in 1922, "It is invigorating, even for the strongest from time to time to see together a

⁸⁸ Whyte, 226.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 247.

large number of compositions, daring solutions, straightforward proposals untainted by compromise.”⁹⁰ Not having to settle or take short cuts is the ideal situation. Yet as world population grows and the availability of undeveloped land declines, the need for compromise is a fact of life, for better or for worse. No longer can the designer rely on unencumbered sites as the blank canvas for his or her vision, but must instead approach the problem much as a chef would who enters the kitchen halfway through the meal. The true test of innovation now lies in the ability to rethink and repurpose the overarching design intention within the context of existing buildings, older infrastructure and the remnants of previous interventions on a particular site.

Although Whyte writes from the perspective of the late 1960s, the same sentiments resonate today. DPZ’s SmartCode, a form-based code first released in 2003, is a concrete example of the rigid formality with which the New Urbanist vision is applied. Now in its ninth version, the SmartCode is the culmination of the firm’s decades worth of new town planning experience.⁹¹ Dictating design guidelines ranging from street width to building setbacks, the code has served as a blueprint for smart growth zoning and planning in municipalities across the country. Critics from within the field of architecture argue that these formulaic guidelines stifle the creative vision of designers. Eric Owen Moss, director of the Southern California Institute of Architecture argues that the New Urbanists simply offer a “canned response” to the challenges of suburbia and engrained development patterns.⁹² The prescriptive nature of these projects in the design phase has lasting implications on the ground.

Inherent in the doctrinal prescription with which New Urbanist developments are conceived, the new town’s master planner assumes the role of social scientist by attempting to create a community through the accumulation of physical parts. Although

⁹⁰ Hegemann and Peets, 1.

⁹¹ Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company, “Welcome to SmartCode Central,” SmartCode Central, <http://www.smartcodecentral.org/index.html> (accessed March 4, 2009).

⁹² Jacobsen, 32.

the *Charter of the New Urbanism* recognizes “that physical solutions by themselves will not solve social and economic problems” and stresses that design interventions merely serve as a “supportive physical framework” for fostering community, the failure of the New Urbanists to look beyond the spatial dimension of their work is a true shortcoming.⁹³ Many critics fault the CNU with adhering too closely to ideas of physical determinism, which is the belief that external influences supersede social factors in the establishment of cultural relationships. While this is not to discredit the ability of beautiful places and good urban design to illicit positive emotional responses and foster the creation of a healthy public realm, the role of the built environment can only go so far. Community in the truest sense of the word requires meaningful interpersonal relationships between people united by a shared sense of purpose. Without the backing of collective goals and aspirations such as those present in the colonial New England village, colonial revival styled new towns only share aesthetic similarities with the objects of their emulation.

Through New Urbanism’s over-reliance on deterministic principles, critics find that these practitioners have a rather limited understanding of the true root causes of typical suburban development. Urban sprawl, demonized by the CNU for its waste of open space and its supposed facilitation of the breakdown of human interaction, should be given more credit insofar as it has proven a popular and profitable development typology. In order to become more than simply a “niche phenomenon,” New Urbanism must look beyond the regulatory framework of the 20th century that incentivized suburban living and seriously address the ingrained “DNA of American individualism” that aspires to a detached single family house with a backyard and driveway as the fulfillment of the American dream.⁹⁴ Ignoring the perception of safety and security

⁹³ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, Preamble.

⁹⁴ Catesby Leigh, “The Sins of Shady Lane,” *American Enterprise* Vol. 17 Issue 5 (June 2006): 24.

offered by the suburbs is to deny the lifestyle preferences of the majority of Americans.⁹⁵ Suburbs are certainly not without their faults, however, and successfully combating wasteful development patterns must be approached incrementally and at a manageable scale. Michael Martin, associate professor of landscape architecture at Iowa State University, argues against large-scale plans in favor of “local-scale neighborhoods because they’re easier to understand and more predictive of how people will live day to day.”⁹⁶ That is to say, the New Urbanist response can be part of the solution but it must be undertaken in small steps and in combination with the repurposing of existing neighborhoods.

By seeking aesthetic solutions to suburbia’s lack of community connectivity, the New Urbanists ignore the underlying sociological, racial, economic and cultural factors that shape the urban fringe. Formal responses only bring people into closer physical proximity with one another.⁹⁷ At least in the pre-development stages New Urbanists are rejecting Le Corbusier’s notion that “city planning [is] ‘too important to be left to the citizens’” by successfully incorporating community charrettes as part of the planning process.⁹⁸ While this approach has initiated community input on design plans, the same principles have yet to be applied to the final product once built. As architects, planners and designers, the New Urbanists’ formal approach to community building is understandable. In a similar vein, the modern movement as organized through the CIAM also advocated formalist responses to the reshaping of development patterns, yet they focused on the center city rather than the suburb. While it is well agreed upon that the modernist tower in the park typology is ultimately ineffective at fostering healthy communities because the building forms isolate people from one another, the New

⁹⁵ Lynn Lofton, “Ocean Springs’ Cottage Square Leading the Way with Mixed-use Development,” *Mississippi Business Journal* Vol. 30 Issue 50 (Fall/Winter 2008): 7.

⁹⁶ Bzdega, 13.

⁹⁷ Jacobsen, 34-35.

⁹⁸ Moe and Wilkie, 43.

Urbanists must learn from this example and take care lest they place the burden of community-building on design alone.

ADHERING TO STANDARDS: NEW URBANISM IN PRACTICE

Adhering to a formulaic design strategy, the CNU established in the *Charter of the New Urbanism* a series of guiding principles that address issues such as affordable housing, accessibility to transit, environmental protection and conservation of open space. These objectives offer a compelling framework for designing good urbanism, yet the attainment of these goals has often proven easier said than done. However as Emily Talen points out, the failure of these intentions to become fully realized in built form is not necessarily a fault in the ideas themselves, but rather is often due to constraints such as financial feasibility and project schedules. The length of time that intervenes in the steps from initial sketch to ribbon cutting can mean that some concepts are simply lost in translation.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the bulk of critique directed at the CNU responds to the perceived inability of the movement to achieve the objectives it has outlined on paper.

Designed and planned at a level that is aesthetically superior to traditional suburban developments, the New Urbanist product has proven easy to market. Yet in many instances this success has also undermined the affordability goals outlined in the *Charter*. The *Charter* states: “Within neighborhoods, a broad range of housing types and price levels can bring people of diverse ages, races, and incomes into daily interaction, strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community.”¹⁰⁰ Despite this goal, critics often argue that these developments are elitist and fail to achieve social, economic, and racial integration. Andrés Duany recognizes

⁹⁹ Talen, 278.

¹⁰⁰ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, “The neighborhood, the district, and the corridor,” No. 4.

that “the provision of affordable housing is an entirely different problem from the retention of affordable housing,” and openly admits that the New Urbanists have yet to learn “how to maintain...affordab[ility] over time.”¹⁰¹ Duany explains that the superior design of New Urbanist communities is a scarce commodity, thus leading to higher prices over time as a result of the forces of supply and demand.¹⁰² Statistical research corroborates Duany’s observation by demonstrating that housing prices in New Urbanist developments are consistently higher than those in comparable suburban subdivisions. Research shows that this price premium is due to the unique design and planning features of New Urbanist communities rather than factors such as building age, size or quality of construction.¹⁰³ It is nearly impossible to build new and sell cheap, thus without significant government subsidy or the repurposing of existing buildings, affordability is difficult to achieve with New Urbanism.¹⁰⁴ However there have been major advances in affordable housing provision through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s (HUD) HOPE VI program, which has adopted the language of New Urbanism as a guide for the redevelopment of high rise public housing projects into lower density townhouses and apartment buildings. The program also provides financial support for workforce development, education and social services for residents. Taking full advantage of New Urbanism’s strong points, HOPE VI has developed safe and integrated places that connect to the existing neighborhoods surrounding them.¹⁰⁵

Just as affordable housing provision is increasingly difficult in unsubsidized New Urbanist developments, the regional accessibility of these projects is often equally limited. Many New Urbanist projects simply do not have the density or proximity to

¹⁰¹ Zimmerman, 11.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Charles C. Tu and Mark J. Eppli, “An Empirical Examination of Traditional Neighborhood Development,” *Real Estate Economics* Vol. 29 Issue 3 (Fall 2001): 485-486.

¹⁰⁴ Steve Bodzin, “New Life for Old Malls,” *Journal of Housing & Community Development* Vol. 60 Issue 3 (May/June 2003): 54.

¹⁰⁵ William Fulton, *The New Urbanism: Hope or Hype for American Communities?* (Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1996), 20.

existing urban areas necessary to support transit. New Urbanist communities such as Montgomery Village in Orangeville, Ontario, fail to reduce auto-dependency because of limited transit connections to employment centers in the greater metropolitan region. The lack of coordination between land use decisions and community design within a comprehensive transportation framework hinders the regional connectivity of New Urbanist sites.¹⁰⁶ As such, one of the greatest arguments in favor of retrofitting developed areas using TND principles is the ability to connect with existing transit networks. Investing in areas proximate to transit and existing commercial corridors strengthens the walkability and regional connectivity of New Urbanist developments.

The walkable street grids of New Urbanist developments do not necessarily reduce auto dependency, however. In Markham, Ontario, a region that has North America's largest concentration of TND developments and is home to over 150,000 residents, gross residential densities in the New Urbanist areas are 76% higher than those of adjacent suburban subdivisions, while the population density is about 66% higher comparatively.¹⁰⁷ While a dense, gridded street network enhances local connectivity, it also results in increased traffic in residential areas by multiplying the number of through streets. Amidst a sea of low-density sprawl, a pocket of dense, walkable development will have little impact on changing broader lifestyle patterns.¹⁰⁸ Keeping in mind that vehicle trips are necessary for destinations that are not within walking or biking distance, neo-traditional designers must look beyond the neighborhood level and address mobility from a regional standpoint.¹⁰⁹ Walkable New Urbanist developments encourage more active lifestyles, yet multi-modal regional

¹⁰⁶ Nicola Ross, "New Urbanism Stalls Without Public Transit," *Alternatives Journal* Vol. 29 Issue 3 (Summer 2003): 14.

¹⁰⁷ David Gordon and Shayne Vipond, "Gross Density and New Urbanism," *Journal of the American Planning Association* Vol. 71 Issue 1 (Winter 2005): 41.

¹⁰⁸ Paul Cozens and David Hillier, "The Shape of Things to Come: New Urbanism, the Grid and the Cul-De-Sac," *International Planning Studies* Vol. 13 Issue 1 (February 2008): 61.

¹⁰⁹ Susan Handy, "Questioning Assumptions 1: Do New Urbanists Walk More?" *Planning* Vol. 72 Issue 1 (January 2006): 36.

connections are ultimately necessary to ensure the long-term functionality of these sites.

Although high density development does not necessarily reduce auto dependency, it does maximize land coverage and hence preserves a larger proportion of open space relative to that of typical suburban developments. Research shows that even greenfield New Urbanist projects outperform typical suburban sites in terms of environmental protection measures such as development buffers, reduction of impervious surface ratios, stormwater runoff management and sensitive landscaping techniques. Whereas conventional sprawl fragments habitat, denser TND developments preserve larger areas of contiguous natural open space.¹¹⁰ Yet there is the risk that by inserting dense pockets of development onto greenfield sites New Urbanists are literally paving the way for more development to follow.¹¹¹ Tools such as the SmartCode address urban design standards related to building design, street layout and public open space configuration, but often come up short in terms of habitat restoration and environmental protection. As William H. Whyte eloquently states, “Urbanity is not something that can be lacquered on; it is the quality produced by the great concentration of diverse functions and a huge market to support the diversity. The center needs a large hinterland to draw upon, but it cannot be in the hinterland; it must be in the center.”¹¹² The environmental benefits of New Urbanist developments are dampened by the fact that these projects often rely on the consumption of undeveloped farmland and natural habitats. By isolating the desirable features of city life from the grit of urban living, the New Urbanists attempt to create what Whyte calls “urbanity without cities.”¹¹³ Thus in order to avoid becoming the “new suburbanism,” neo-traditional town

¹¹⁰ Philip Berke, “Questioning Assumptions 2: Does It Make a Difference?” *Planning* Vol. 72 Issue 1 (January 2006): 38.

¹¹¹ Muschamp.

¹¹² Whyte, 234.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 231.

planning principles must be applied to infill sites in order to take advantage of existing infrastructure and reduce the consumption of undeveloped land.¹¹⁴

URBANISM NEW AND OLD: THE INHERENT CONFLICT

Taking advantage of existing infrastructure, transit connectivity, residential populations and commercial opportunities on previously developed land has a positive impact on the historic built environment and fulfills the goals of Smart Growth. Yet the increasing popularity and prevalence of New Urbanist developments known as lifestyle centers is having a noticeably negative impact on authentic Main Street communities. The International Council of Shopping Centers defines a lifestyle center as a mixed-use development with an upscale tenant mix that has between 150,000 and 500,000 square feet of gross leasable area of which at least 50,000 square feet is devoted to national chains, and which is located in close proximity to an affluent residential area.¹¹⁵ While J.C. Nichols' 1923 Country Club Plaza in Kansas City is widely regarded as the first lifestyle center in the United States, the first such project in the modern era is the 1987 Shops of Saddle Creek in Memphis, Tennessee.¹¹⁶ Other noteworthy examples of this typology include Santana Row in San Jose, California; Easton Town Center in Columbus, Ohio; and Kierland Commons in Scottsdale, Arizona (Figure 9). Of the 147 new retail developments that broke ground in the U.S. in 2005, only two were conventional regional malls.¹¹⁷ Thus the lifestyle center format is quickly becoming the dominant trend in retail development.

The lifestyle center typology has undergone a tremendous amount of transformation over the course of the past two decades. What began as "anchorless centers" that retailers were hesitant to locate in and banks were reluctant to underwrite

¹¹⁴ Berke, 39.

¹¹⁵ Gunning, 58.

¹¹⁶ John Booth, "Lifestyle Change," *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 26 Issue 43 (October 24, 2005).

¹¹⁷ Pallavi Gogoi, "Bringing Community to the City," *Business Week Online*, February 2, 2006, http://www.businessweek.com/innovate/content/feb2006/id20060202_200657.htm (accessed March 8, 2009).



FIGURE 8. Seaside, Florida is considered the first New Urbanist development. The town's narrow residential streets and traditional architectural forms evoke a sense of nostalgia that has been a key element to its success. *Image by the Seaside Institute, <http://www.theseasideinstitute.org/content/seaside/Seaside%203.jpg>*



FIGURE 9. Santana Row is one of the nation's premiere lifestyle centers. Located in San Jose, California, this mixed-use development puts an exuberant Euro-Mediterranean twist on the American Main Street type. *Image by Architecture & Food, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/7542656@N02/534648286>*

has developed into large projects that are well accepted by the market.¹¹⁸ The number of lifestyle centers in the U.S. has exploded in the past decade, increasing four-fold from 30 in 2002 to 120 total centers in 2004, and the impact is certainly being felt at the local level.¹¹⁹ Although statistical research has not yet been conducted regarding the economic impact of lifestyle centers on historic Main Streets, retailers and business owners in existing commercial corridors are feeling the pinch. Whereas tenants of typical commercial districts are mostly local businesses, lifestyle centers feature predominantly national retailers and chains. The large amount of capital necessary to build these projects, and their inherent upscale appeal, means developers must find high-credit anchor tenants in order to secure financing and begin construction. The resulting lifestyle centers are large economic engines that pull consumers away from traditional downtown commercial centers. While these projects sometimes incorporate a few local businesses or regional chains as a means of enhancing their “authenticity” factor, this only exacerbates the consumer drain on Main Street.¹²⁰ Presented with much the same challenge as that posed by modern shopping malls, many traditional downtowns are left struggling to compete.

The lack of affordability in New Urbanist developments is not limited to residential properties, but includes office and commercial space as well. One of the primary reasons for the dominance of national retailers and chains in lifestyle centers, in addition to their credit worthiness, is the high cost of leasing space in new buildings. Yet small businesses, the fastest growing job sector and largest employer in the United States, require lower rents and smaller spaces than is often found in new buildings.¹²¹ Thus it is unlikely that the lifestyle center format will ever be able to foster significant

¹¹⁸ Booth, “Lifestyle Change.”

¹¹⁹ Gunning, 58-59.

¹²⁰ Taylor and Anderson, 97.

¹²¹ Donovan Rypkema, *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader’s Guide* (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994), 99.

small business development so long as it operates as new construction on the urban fringe. Yet by uniting the principles applied in New Urbanist commercial districts with adaptive reuse of buildings in existing urban areas there is the potential to introduce new office and commercial space while simultaneously providing an option for the growth of small businesses.

As consumers are showing an increased preference for urban retail formats, historic preservationists are left to wonder whether neo-traditional town planning ultimately offers “hope or hype” for the urbanism that already exists.¹²² The approach adopted by the NMSC, while not initially tasked with combating Main Street lookalikes, can help to stem the negative effects of lifestyle centers by focusing on historic preservation as a means of enhancing the competitive advantage of authentic downtowns. Main Street cannot change its proximity to freeways or increase parking to the levels of regional shopping malls, yet it can take advantage of inherent assets that privately-developed retail centers simply do not have. Historic architecture, a unique sense of place based on organic growth and development, one-of-a-kind stores, exceptional public gathering spaces and an intimate urban experience are all offered by traditional Main Streets. Yet the growing popularity of lifestyle centers must not be ignored. As New Urbanist planner and retail consultant Bob Gibbs describes, “The entire retail industry is now totally into urban retail, of one form or another,” citing that consumers increasingly prefer open air urban environments over enclosed climate-controlled shopping malls.¹²³ This trend has the potential to introduce lifelong suburbanites to the merits of an urban lifestyle, yet the denser and more attractive “Main Street phenomenon” of new shopping centers is an insufficient substitute for the real thing.¹²⁴

¹²² Seth A. Shapiro, “Hybrid Redevelopment,” *Urban Land*, January 2007, 76.

¹²³ Robert Steuteville and Philip Langdon, eds., *New Urbanism: Comprehensive Report & Best Practices Guide* (Ithaca: New Urban Publications, Inc., 2003), 5-2.

¹²⁴ Moe and Wilkie, 35.

Main Street must act quickly and proactively to have a chance at competing with main street imitations. Gibbs warns that New Urbanist type retail developments, “will pose a much larger threat to existing Main Street town centers, if they do not react quickly to allow for large urban retailers.”¹²⁵ The *Charter* highlights the need for infill development insofar as it “conserves environmental resources, economic investment, and social fabric, while reclaiming marginal and abandoned areas,” but it tasks this goal to regional municipalities.¹²⁶ The challenges of developing in the city, as previously discussed, necessitate a less formalistic approach to the application of New Urbanist principles. Greenfield development brings fewer voices to the table and thus allows for a simpler framework within which to operate. Yet infill redevelopment is inherently incremental in nature and practice, thus the sweeping visions of one designer into an overarching master plan will not often work in these instances.¹²⁷ Although leading New Urbanist Andrés Duany considers it “ridiculous” to only focus on infill projects, noting that 90% of new development in the U.S. occurs on greenfields, trends should not be taken as destiny.¹²⁸ New Urbanism is a denser, more attractive alternative to typical urban sprawl, but it still takes place in the suburbs. Architect and infill developer Bill Weyland credits New Urbanism with helping to get “people to think about proportion and historic context” yet notes that many of these ideas are playing out on the urban fringe.¹²⁹ Greenfield development simply cannot match historic city centers in terms of density, affordability, transit accessibility and community connectivity.

The environmental benefits of infill development in general and historic preservation in particular stem from the fact that reusing an existing building does not require the consumption of virgin land. As noted by Donovan Rypkema, an

¹²⁵ Steuteville and Langdon, 5-2.

¹²⁶ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, “The region: Metropolis, city, and town,” No. 4.

¹²⁷ Harvey Gantt, “New Urbanism Meets the Existing City,” *Places* Vol. 12 Issue 1 (October 1998): 86.

¹²⁸ Zimmerman, 12.

¹²⁹ Eric Leake, “The Architect of Infill,” *Louisville Magazine* Vol. 60 Issue 2 (February 2009): 32.

internationally known consultant on the economic benefits of historic preservation, the adaptive reuse of a historic warehouse building into 40 residential units is equivalent to developing on ten acres of land. If the market is craving an urban lifestyle, their hunger can easily be fed with the Main Streets and historic downtowns that already exist. The consumer base is there and the potential residents are there—downtown must prepare to receive them. As Rypkema states, “New Urbanism reflects good urban design principles. But those principles have already been at work for a century or more in our historic neighborhoods.”¹³⁰ New Urbanist firms such as Calthorpe Associates and UDA are currently working on infill development projects, and are showing that these principles can have a tremendous impact on core cities. Of this the rest of the field must take heed, otherwise they risk putting a new face on the old failure of suburban sprawl.¹³¹

By contrast, that which urban designer Mark Hinshaw terms “true urbanism” has a much more dynamic and cosmopolitan quality than the homogeneity of New Urbanist development. Genuine urban places, Hinshaw argues, unabashedly take advantage of 21st century innovation and contemporary stylistic expression over the contrived 19th century aesthetic often adopted by neo-traditional planners and designers.¹³² The vast majority of TND projects are the work of a single designer and executed by a single developer, thus while pleasant and clean, they lack the grit and vitality of true urban places.¹³³ It is the collective, collaborative and conglomerated vision of many people at work over multiple decades that produces true communities and authentic urbanity.¹³⁴ There are several noteworthy cases in which New Urbanist principles have

¹³⁰ Donovan Rypkema, “Why Historic Preservation is Smart Growth,” speech given at the Conference on Smart Growth, National Audubon Society of New York, March 3, 1999, <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/hp/smartgrowth/rykema.asp> (accessed March 3, 2009).

¹³¹ Muschamp.

¹³² Hinshaw, 25-26.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

been successfully applied to infill sites, including Atlantic Station in downtown Atlanta, with connectivity to the MARTA transit system, and UDA's work in Pittsburgh, which consists of Crawford Roberts in the Hill District, South Oakland, South Side Flats and Manchester.¹³⁵ While the work of New Urbanists in existing urban areas is rarely "front page architecture," projects such as these offer a creative blend of modern innovation while simultaneously respecting the historic character of existing neighborhoods.¹³⁶

LOOKS CAN BE DECEIVING: THE NEW URBANIST AESTHETIC

The myth of Main Street, emblazoned in the American psyche, draws people to small towns from coast to coast. There are those that will drive in from miles around simply to walk the several pedestrianized blocks of Third Street Promenade in the heart of downtown Santa Monica. It is this "magic of urbanism," unavailable in the wasteland of typical sprawling suburbia, that has proven so successful in new retail formats such as lifestyle centers.¹³⁷ Yet it is not simply the accumulation of closely grouped buildings joined end to end that illicit this fascination but the added articulation of a stylistic language and visual cohesion of form that completes the Main Street equation. Yet in the use of historicist architectural styles New Urbanists have been widely criticized as anti-modern and overly nostalgic (Figure 10). The form-based codes and design guidelines utilized in the development of TND projects often reinforce a contrived 19th century aesthetic that urban designer Mark Hinshaw terms the "architectural equivalent of comfort food."¹³⁸ By imitating the style and form of historic commercial corridors, these Main Street copycats present both practical and conceptual challenges that hinder the economic vitality of authentic communities.

¹³⁵ Deitrick and Ellis, 429.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 437, 440.

¹³⁷ Duany and Plater-Zyberk, "The Second Coming of the American Small Town," 28.

¹³⁸ Hinshaw, 25-26.



FIGURE 10. The New Urbanists often utilize a historicist stylistic vocabulary. As a result, some developments such as Orenco Station in Hillsboro, Oregon take on a repetitive and generic quality. *Image by Payton Chung, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/paytonc/414192002>*

In their rejection of modernist planning principles the New Urbanists have largely rejected the architectural forms of the modern movement as well. This is not to say that contemporary forms have never been incorporated into New Urbanist schemes, they have, but the New Urbanist aesthetic is one that predominantly utilizes historic forms, motifs and styles in the visual articulation of its designs. Robert Davis maintains that the New Urbanists build upon the innovative reputation of Main Street when taking advantage of its range of formal expression. He argues that building off of this tradition is in itself “quite modern, and could easily accommodate the building forms of Modernism. But it could not accommodate the strange ideas about urbanism that led a generation of Le Corbusier’s acolytes to take pleasure in promoting...a plan to destroy the traditional city to make way for a brave new world of towers in parks.”¹³⁹ Andrés Duany attempts to clarify by saying that TND is not an architectural reform movement but a planning and development reform movement, and argues that the use of historicist styles in New Urbanist projects is simply a marketing tool to attract middle class Americans that would otherwise settle in sprawling suburban neighborhoods.¹⁴⁰ Yet by creating architecture that mimics historic forms, many critics argue, New Urbanism presents an inauthentic impression of development through time. The *Charter of the New Urbanism* states that projects should incorporate designs that spring from “local climate, topography, history, and building practice,” and that this issue “transcends style.”¹⁴¹ The use of historically referential motifs is extended to the street patterns, public squares and open spaces included in master plans prepared by DPZ and others. This even includes elements such as undedicated monuments added for the sake of terminating vistas, which trivialize the authenticity of communal memory and provide a false sense of history.¹⁴² Thus while the

¹³⁹ Bressi, 6.

¹⁴⁰ Zimmerman, 11.

¹⁴¹ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, “The block, the street, and the building,” No. 2, 6.

¹⁴² Janson, 105.

historical stylistic expressions adopted by New Urbanists have a basis in local building traditions, they tend to take on a generic quality not unlike the monotony of suburban sprawl detested by the CNU.¹⁴³

In an effort to recreate the appearance of organic growth in new developments some developers have begun employing multiple architects to design the building façades of a project, encouraging them to borrow from a mosaic of architectural forms to give the impression of historical progression.¹⁴⁴ Renowned preservationist James Marston Fitch argued that, “An organic process of growth and repair must create a gradual sequence of changes, and these changes must be distributed evenly across every level of scale. There must be as much attention to the repair of details...as to the creation of brand-new buildings. Only then can an environment stay balanced both as a whole and in its parts, at every moment of its history.”¹⁴⁵ While preservation is a simple solution to providing authentic places that truthfully represent their progress and development through time, New Urbanists often deny this balance by prescribing the form a development will take and planning for its growth in phases. Yet in many infill situations historically referential designs are often the best alternative by harmonizing with the context of existing buildings.

The New Urbanists continually walk a fine line between advocating a radical “new” approach to urban design and offending the modernist architects that continue to dominate the profession.¹⁴⁶ The role of historicist styles in New Urbanist practice became a point of contention during the drafting of the *Charter* when a motion was made to include phrasing that seemed to slight those that appropriated historical architectural styles in their designs. Internationally renowned neo-traditional architect and planner Leon Krier was so upset by this that he refused to sign the final document. Inclusion of

¹⁴³ Gogoi.

¹⁴⁴ Taylor and Anderson, 94.

¹⁴⁵ Moe and Wilkie, 67.

¹⁴⁶ Leigh, 26.

language to this effect was intended as a response to those critical of the postmodernist aesthetic, such as members of the architectural community who claim New Urbanist developments to be little more than pastiche imitations of historic architecture.¹⁴⁷ Yet for all the banter surrounding the role of historic styles and architectural forms within New Urbanist practice, from a broader urban design standpoint these elements reinforce strong placemaking, human scale and walkability, some of the most important contributions of neo-traditional town planning within a profession dominated by the cult of modernism.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND THE *CHARTER OF THE NEW URBANISM*

At the fourth annual Congress for the New Urbanism held in historic Charleston, South Carolina in 1996, the CNU membership adopted a set of 27 guiding principles to steer the future of the movement. Encapsulated in the *Charter of the New Urbanism*, the membership addressed “disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society’s built heritage.”¹⁴⁸ These guidelines were intended as a framework for the reshaping of public policy, development standards and urban planning practices in the pursuit of achieving more equitable and sustainable communities. Yet as Richard Moe and Carter Wilkie argued the year after the *Charter* was penned, “...until New Urbanism demonstrates that it is serious about repairing the old urbanism rather than simply finding more ways to develop open land, the movement will only operate—quite literally—on the periphery of the problems of bad urbanization.”¹⁴⁹ Preservationists argue that historic cores, aging city centers and inner ring suburbs deserve the sort of design intervention lavished on the urban fringe

¹⁴⁷ Muschamp.

¹⁴⁸ Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, Preamble.

¹⁴⁹ Moe and Wilkie, 249.

by the CNU. Thus while the *Charter* marked a significant turning point in the trajectory of American planning, it has yet to fully achieve its goals for the historic built environment.

The New Urbanists' shift in focus to the health of center cities and the revitalization of existing urban areas was due in large part to a shift in leadership at the time of the Charleston Congress. It was the last to be organized by founding members of the CNU, and the first to open up membership to all, whereas before it was by invitation only.¹⁵⁰ The CNU began adding new members the year before who had proven experience in downtown revitalization. Up to this point New Urbanists had received a fair amount of criticism for working predominantly on the greenfield sites, so with the intentions of living up to the "urbanism" portion of its moniker, the CNU redefined itself from the inside out.¹⁵¹ In the preamble to the list of principles included in the *Charter* the authors reiterate their commitment to the "restoration of existing urban centers and towns within coherent metropolitan regions," which must also include "the preservation of our built legacy."¹⁵² Although many preservationists were excited by the CNU's shift of focus to more seriously address the center city, it has now been over a decade since the *Charter* debuted and results have been mixed.¹⁵³ Whereas headliner firms such as DPZ have continued to work on greenfield development projects and sites located on the urban fringe, the real forerunners working to incorporate existing urbanism into New Urbanist projects are Peter Calthorpe, principal of the firm Calthorpe Associates in Berkeley, California and Ray Gindroz of Urban Design Associates in Pittsburgh. Calthorpe Associates has developed a number of regional plans for metropolitan regions such as Portland, Oregon, which offer some of the finest examples of New Urbanist principles being applied to existing urban contexts. While adoption of the *Charter* represents a major shift for the CNU, there is still room for continued improvement in the years to come.

¹⁵⁰ Bressi, 37.

¹⁵¹ Muschamp.

¹⁵² Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, Preamble.

¹⁵³ Loescher.

ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING NEW URBANIST PROJECTS

The discussion thus far addresses the first two research questions posed in the introductory chapter: What is the relationship between historic preservation and New Urbanism, and to what extent has historic preservation been incorporated into New Urbanist practice? The relationship between historic preservation and the New Urbanist movement is part of a complex dialogue within both the professional and academic communities that examines the merits of existing urbanism and the benefits of neo-traditional design interventions as strategies for enhancing the nation's urban areas. While headliner neo-traditional developments such as lifestyle centers readily borrow stylistic and design inspiration from early 20th century Main Street precedents, these new construction projects have been slower to incorporate historic building stock and adapt to existing urban areas. Yet a closer examination reveals that firms such as Urban Design Associates in Pittsburgh and Calthorpe Associates in Berkeley, while not always making the front page, are in fact pioneering innovative approaches to incorporate historic buildings and existing urban areas within a New Urbanist framework.

The remainder of this research addresses the relationship between preservation and New Urbanism in greater specificity by examining three case studies. Deeper exploration of these examples answers the remaining research questions: In instances where historic preservation is incorporated into New Urbanist projects, how does it function within the New Urbanist framework of the project, has this relationship been ultimately beneficial or detrimental for the affected historic resources, and in what ways does New Urbanism support historic preservation, or does practice of the former simply ignore the latter? An assessment framework has been developed which provides a set of selection criteria for choosing case study sites that will sufficiently address these research questions. In *Urban Villages and the Making of Communities*, a comprehensive best practices guide for neo-traditional planning, editor Peter Neal provides a useful

system by which to classify projects developed within existing urban contexts. These categories are broken down by site type into greenfield, urban extension, brownfield, urban renewal, urban retrofit and infill.¹⁵⁴ An assessment framework has been adapted from these headings to assess New Urbanist projects based on the merits of development location and the level to which they incorporate the preservation and reuse of historic buildings. Not included within this framework, but serving as a precursor to selection, each of the chosen cases has been undertaken within the past decade in the United States. This acknowledges the impact on and influence of American Main Streets in these projects, and ensures that the selected study areas are operating in the post-*Charter* era. Thus the selected projects will have relevancy and immediacy and be best positioned to answer the guiding questions of this research.

The assessment framework diagram is based on a sliding scale, with the least desirable development locations on the higher end of the spectrum and the most desirable development sites located at the base. The denser and more urban the development type, the narrower and darker the bars become (Figure 11). Based on the themes discussed thus far, greenfield development is viewed as least desirable because it contributes to urban sprawl, enhances social segregation and increases automobile dependency. The next classification on the scale is urban extension, which refers to greenfield development adjacent to existing urban areas. While this is preferable to development of undeveloped land disconnected from an urban context, these types of projects still contribute to the erosion of open space and habitat on the periphery of urban areas. Brownfield redevelopment is the first threshold on the assessment framework that is considered a desirable option for new development. Repurposing sites with contamination from previous uses, such as former industrial land, brownfield development takes advantage of underutilized space that is often in close proximity to

¹⁵⁴ Peter Neal, ed., *Urban Villages and the Making of Communities* (London: Spon Press, 2003), iii.

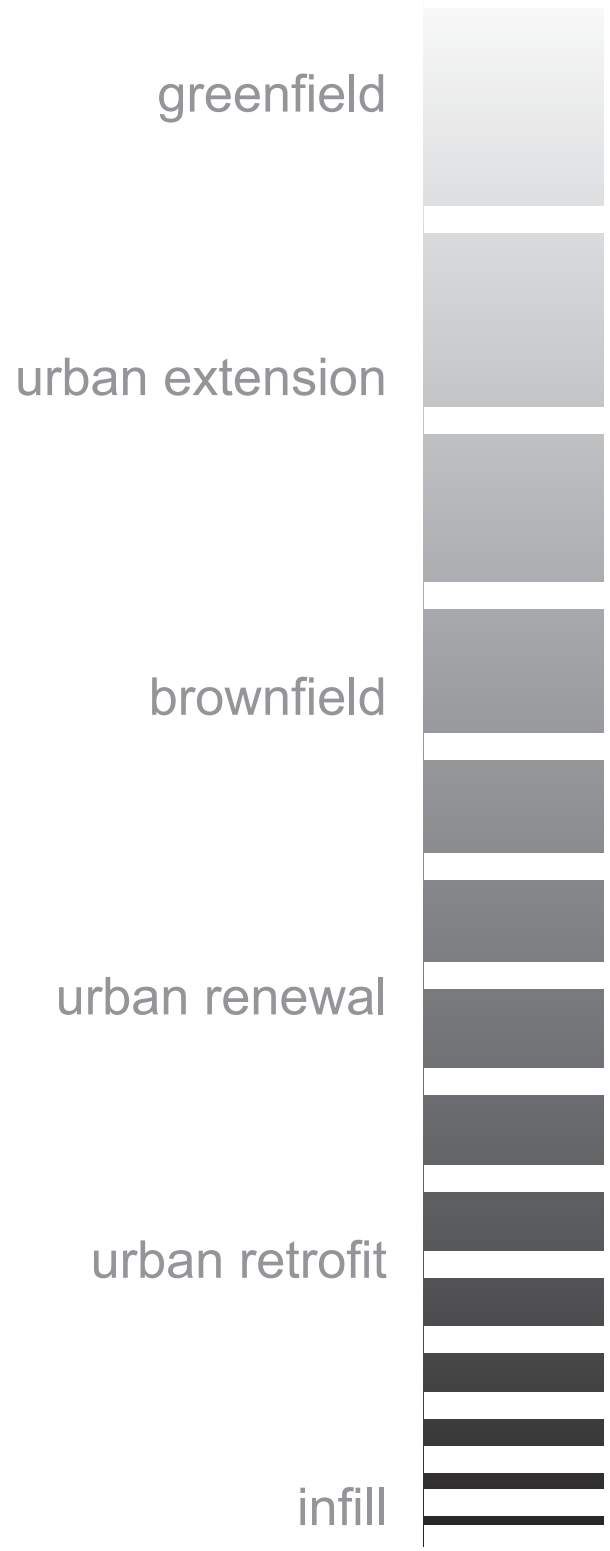


FIGURE 11. Assessment framework for evaluating New Urbanist projects developed by the author. Adapted from editor Peter Neal's *Urban Villages and the Making of Communities*, London: Spon Press, 2003.

existing built resources. Remediating these problematic areas has a catalytic impact on the revitalization of neglected and blighted neighborhoods by encouraging additional reinvestment from the private sector. The base of the assessment framework scale features the most preferable development sites for taking advantage of existing building stock and enhancing connectivity to established communities. The first classification within this assessment area is urban renewal, which emphasizes the reclamation of underutilized areas located within an existing urban context. Intervention at this level includes the clearing of degraded properties to provide sites primed for redevelopment. Urban retrofit, the next order of classification, is preferable to urban renewal in that it better accommodates existing building stock and develops new buildings within the existing urban context. Infill development, the highest in terms of desirability on the assessment framework scale, fills in the gaps of urban areas to create a cohesive whole and promote neighborhood revitalization. This can take the form of small scale, building by building interventions, or a larger amount of new construction and redevelopment that acknowledges and respects existing built resources and the urban situation of the site.

Three case study sites were selected according to the thresholds established on the assessment framework. The first case study is a brownfield redevelopment project on former industrial land in the small town of Hudson, Ohio. Located within the Cleveland/Akron metropolitan region, Hudson's First & Main lifestyle center project takes advantage of underutilized land near the historic downtown. The second case study is the Flag House Courts Redevelopment project located northeast of the Inner Harbor in downtown Baltimore. This development is a prime example of HUD's innovative role in promoting New Urbanist design interventions in the redevelopment of inner city public housing sites. The final case study incorporates urban retrofit and infill as the key component of a revitalization strategy for downtown Redwood City, California.

Located amidst the sprawling reaches of Silicon Valley, the city undertook a multi-part scheme that included a new public plaza, streetscaping program and cinema complex in conjunction with the rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of key historic landmarks in the downtown. Through these initiatives Redwood City showed that New Urbanist design elements can be effectively incorporated into the restructuring of a community's urban core. These three examples demonstrate how approaches ranging from brownfield redevelopment, urban renewal, urban retrofit and infill can successfully incorporate New Urbanist interventions within a historic context to have a catalytic impact on the revitalization of existing urban areas.

CHAPTER 3

First & Main, Hudson, Ohio

Category	Brownfield Redevelopment
Land Area	19 acres
Built Area	200,000 square feet mixed-use
Designer	Dorsky Hodgson + Partners
Developers	Fairmount Properties, Hudson Village Development Corporation
Historic Area	North Main Street (Hudson National Register Historic District)
Key Dates	1799 – Village settled by David Hudson 1826 – Western Reserve College founded 1850 – Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad comes to Hudson 1892 – Main Street fire destroys most of downtown 1907 – James W. Ellsworth begins downtown revitalization 1941 – General Motors facility is first industrial complex in Hudson 1973 – Downtown Hudson listed as National Register Historic District 1995 – Adoption of City of Hudson’s Comprehensive Plan 2004 – First & Main lifestyle center opens

PROJECT BACKGROUND

Geographically closer to Akron than Cleveland, the City of Hudson, Ohio has long been considered a suburb of the latter. Settled during the late 18th century in what was then the territory of the Connecticut Western Reserve, Hudson maintains the look and feel of a New England village to this day. Although the driving commercial and industrial forces of the area have shifted over the years, the downtown maintains its presence as a retail and restaurant hot spot. In the mid-1990s, plans first began to build a new

shopping center directly behind the National Register listed Hudson Historic District, which includes the oldest portions of downtown. Dubbed First & Main, this lifestyle center was developed on a brownfield site utilizing a New Urbanist approach to planning and design that incorporates office space, townhomes, a large retail area and park space (Figure 12). Hudson's adoption of a New Urbanist retail format is a bold experiment in economic development that has generated some unanticipated results for surrounding Main Street communities.

A NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE IN NORTHEAST OHIO: HUDSON'S CONNECTICUT HERITAGE

In 1798 David Hudson of Goshen, Connecticut purchased 7,000 acres of land in Connecticut's Western Reserve located in present day northeast Ohio.¹⁵⁵ Emboldened by his conversion to Christianity the following year, Hudson set out to establish a "utopian colony" based on the principles of "religion, morality, law observance, and education."¹⁵⁶ Unlike many of the Connecticut speculators who purchased land in the Reserve but sent others to plan and develop it, Hudson personally set out with his own team of surveyors to explore his property. He soon relocated his family to what was to become the village of Hudson, named in his honor. This remote settlement was located twenty-three miles southeast of Cleveland amidst a vast unspoiled wilderness, thus it required substantial initiative on David Hudson's behalf to create a town from scratch. Serving many civic roles, including Justice of the Peace and Postmaster, he founded a public primary school and the First Congregational Church in 1802.¹⁵⁷ Thus in the matter of a few short years the village of Hudson was on its way to becoming an established community.

Hudson continued his philanthropic role within the community when in 1826

¹⁵⁵ Harry F. Lupold and Gladys Haddad, eds., *Ohio's Western Reserve: A Regional Reader* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1988), 112.

¹⁵⁶ Robert A. Wheeler, ed., *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and Private Documents of Northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 57.; Harlan Hatcher, *The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1949), 251.

¹⁵⁷ Hatcher, 197.

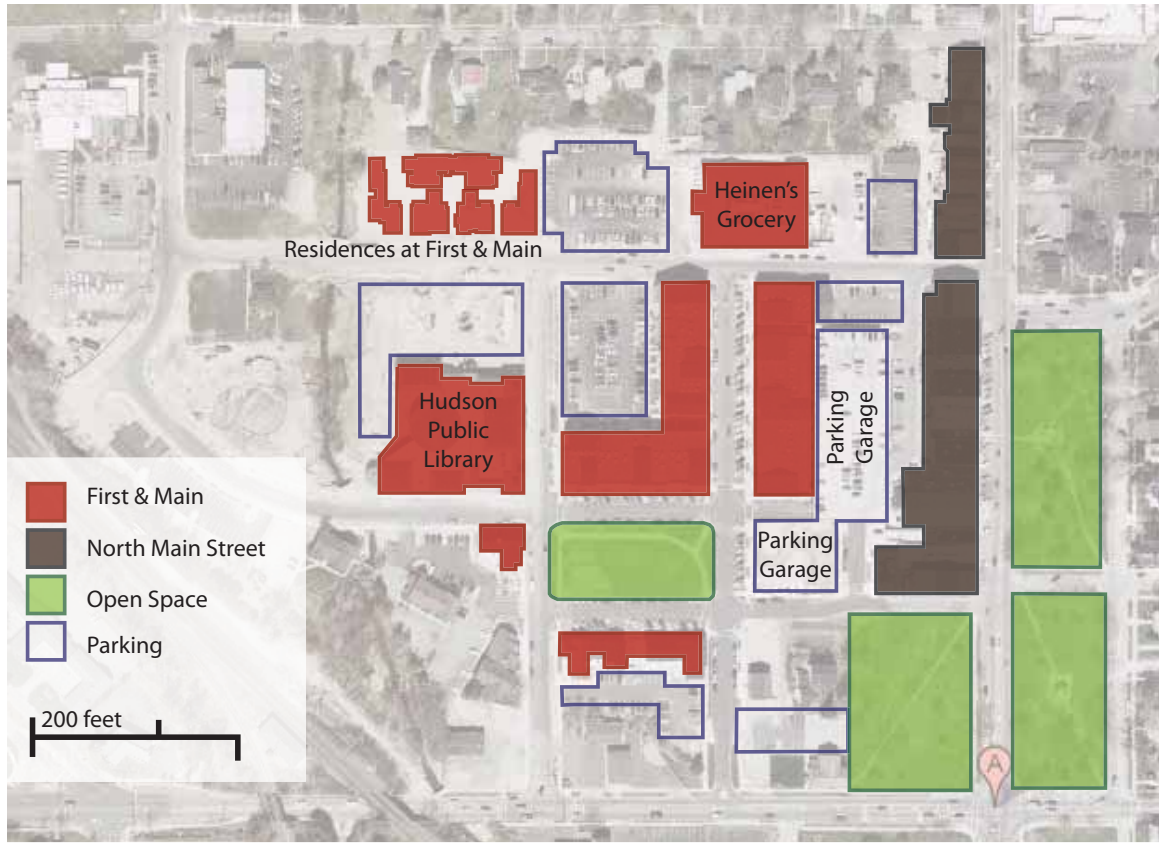


FIGURE 12. Development of the First & Main lifestyle center in Hudson, Ohio takes advantage of a key site in the town center, yet lacks meaningful connectivity to the historic commercial corridor along North Main Street. *Site plan developed by the author, base map by Google (copyright 2009)*

he donated 160 acres of land and provided financial backing for the foundation of the Western Reserve College and Preparatory School, a higher learning institution dedicated to the education of Presbyterian ministers. For his new college Hudson brought in former faculty members from Yale College, earning the school the nickname “Yale of the West.”¹⁵⁸ The school’s campus reflected that of its Ivy League counterpart in architectural respects as well. Famed Main Street historian Henry Howe described Western Reserve College in his 1847 description of Summit County thus: “The college buildings are of brick, and situated upon a beautiful and spacious green, in an order similar to the edifices of Yale, on which institution this is also modeled.”¹⁵⁹ Although the college eventually moved to Cleveland in 1882, later becoming Case Western Reserve University, the preparatory school continued to operate on the original Hudson campus as the Western Reserve Academy private boarding school, the oldest outside of New England.

Just as the layout of the Academy closely resembles that of a typical New England college campus oriented around a central green, so too does the downtown of Hudson proper. Whereas the academic buildings are constructed of brick, the commercial strip along North Main Street features predominantly wood frame buildings (Figure 13). Articulated in what is termed the Western Reserve style, these commercial buildings include detached, two-story, front-end gabled frame buildings that are residential in flavor and modest two-story brick Victorian Italianate attached commercial buildings. The village also features Federal, Greek Revival and Colonial Revival style buildings. Noteworthy local master builders Lemuel Porter and son Simeon Porter were active in Hudson during the early decades of the 19th century. Their distinctive architectural hallmark—a neoclassical fanlight surround resembling a truss of wheat—can still be seen on buildings such as the 1831 Bliss House located on the village green.¹⁶⁰ Thus from early

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁵⁹ Wheeler, 314.

¹⁶⁰ National Park Service, “Hudson Historic District,” *Ohio and Erie Canal National Heritage Corridor*, <http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/travel/ohioeriecanal/hud.htm> (accessed March 12, 2009).

on Hudson developed in a style consistent with the common vernacular typologies of New England.

Although quite rural, Hudson was regarded as a bastion of civilization amidst the surrounding wilderness. A mere decade after the founding of Hudson a visitor from Connecticut noted in 1811: “Hudson is quite settled. The houses are many of them framed, and the tavern where we lodge is *painted* white, a novelty in this Western country.”¹⁶¹ Instead of the log house structures found elsewhere in the territory, Hudson developed more refined building types early on. Thus the town quickly established a reputation for maintaining lifestyle standards akin to those of established settlements on the eastern seaboard. Also in 1811 a Scottish traveler described Hudson as, “an old and thriving settlement,” just twelve years since the first expedition to the area.¹⁶² Established early on, the refinement of Hudson’s New England architectural typologies and village green has remained the town’s defining hallmark.

Initially noteworthy as an educational center rather than a commercial hub, Hudson managed to maintain its village atmosphere due to the absence of industrialization. Thus by the turn of the 20th century Hudson could be described as a, “transplanted academic village amid the rolling richness of Middle-Western woodland and farming country [which] was what New England had been half a century before.”¹⁶³ Construction of the Ohio and Erie Canal through the nearby town of Peninsula during the early 19th century and the introduction of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad in 1850 bolstered the commercial vitality of downtown Hudson. The town’s 19th century economy primarily consisted of agricultural goods from local farms, with a particular emphasis on dairy products sold to a national market.¹⁶⁴ With this agrarian business base, Hudson became a successful commercial hub in the period following the Civil War.

¹⁶¹ Wheeler, 103.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁶³ Lupold and Haddad, 256.

¹⁶⁴ Wheeler, 117.

Yet despite this early prosperity, the removal of Western Reserve College to Cleveland in 1882, a devastating downtown fire ten years later and overly-optimistic railroad speculation ushered in a period of economic decline for Hudson at the end of the 19th century.¹⁶⁵ Before these events made a lasting impact however, Hudson native and coal industry millionaire James W. Ellsworth returned home in 1907 and assumed the philanthropic role that David Hudson had adopted a century before. Ellsworth aimed to turn Hudson into a “model town” by financing its modernization for the 20th century. He reopened Western Reserve Academy as a college preparatory school, oversaw the construction of modern public utilities, planted trees, paved roads and revitalized the downtown commercial corridor.¹⁶⁶ The addition of a clock tower to the northern end of the village green in 1912 remains a defining landmark in Hudson and acts as a testament to Ellsworth’s legacy.¹⁶⁷ Ellsworth stressed the importance of preserving Hudson’s historic architecture as a means of protecting the town’s unique sense of place and thus instilled a legacy of appreciation and protection for historic properties that remains to this day.

The legacy of a preservation consciousness bolstered Hudson’s commercial center so that by the mid-20th century the village could still be described thus: “When you stand on the quiet green of Hudson, Ohio, looking through the trees toward the church and the library, you feel that you are in eighteenth-century New England, not in twentieth-century Ohio.”¹⁶⁸ Through strict architectural review standards enforced by the Architectural and Historic Board of Review, downtown Hudson still retains the defining features of its Connecticut lineage. Yet by the late 1950s developers had begun constructing suburban housing tracts, modern commercial strip centers and auto-

¹⁶⁵ National Park Service.

¹⁶⁶ Hudson Heritage Association, “Hudson History,” Hudson Heritage Association, <http://www.hudsonheritage.org/HudsonHistory/tabid/192/Default.aspx> (accessed March 12, 2009).

¹⁶⁷ National Park Service.

¹⁶⁸ Hatcher, 13.

centric office parks on former woodlands and farm country. Heavy industry also arrived in Hudson by mid-century, including Morse Instrument in 1941 and a General Motors facility in 1957.¹⁶⁹ Rapid population growth began in the 1960s, resulting in the 1994 merger of village and township into the City of Hudson.¹⁷⁰ The Hudson Historic District was first established as a National Register Historic District on November 28, 1973. Encompassing an area of 700 acres and including 51 buildings, the district covered the majority of the downtown core roughly bounded by College, Streetsboro, South Main and Baldwin Streets. The district was expanded on October 10, 1989 to include an additional 88 acres and 99 more buildings roughly bounded by Hudson Street, Old Orchard Drive, Aurora Street, Oviatt Street, Streetsboro Street and College Street to Aurora.¹⁷¹ Hudson also has several nationally and locally designated properties located outside of the historic district. Through an active local review board and a preservation-minded citizenry, the City of Hudson, Ohio has managed to maintain the picturesque quality of its historic downtown and New England style village green.

IF YOU CAN'T BEAT THEM, JOIN THEM: A LIFESTYLE CENTER COMES TO DOWNTOWN HUDSON

By the mid-1990s, the inundation of shopping centers, regional malls and big box stores into the northeast Ohio marketplace put a strain on the vitality of historic downtowns in the area. In the first decade of the 21st century, lifestyle centers began to enter into this equation as well. On the east side of Cleveland these include Legacy Village in Lyndhurst (2003) and the revamped Eton Collection in Woodmere (2003), and the west side of the city boasts Crocker Park in Westlake (2004).¹⁷² Nationally-

¹⁶⁹ The General Motors Euclid Division Terex plant was located south of downtown and now houses the headquarters of Jo-Ann Stores, Inc.

¹⁷⁰ Hudson Heritage Association.

¹⁷¹ National Register of Historic Places, "Ohio, Summit County, Historic Districts," National Register of Historic Places Historic Districts, <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/oh/Summit/districts.html> (accessed March 12, 2009).

¹⁷² The amount of lifestyle center format retail space in northeast Ohio is relatively high for a declining rustbelt region witnessing population decline. The retail square footages of the three centers mentioned

renowned lifestyle center Easton Town Center in Columbus, Ohio, built from 1998-2007 and comprising 1.5 million square feet of retail space, is only a few hours away from the Cleveland area and contributes to the overly abundant wealth of retail space in the region. Stiff competition from Main Street lookalikes such as this has severely disrupted the stability of the existing retail ecology and has had a detrimental impact on the economic vitality of small towns in northeast Ohio. Despite the relative strength of its commercial corridor and the well-preserved state of downtown, the Hudson community worried about the economic future of its historic core. In the words of Hudson city manager Michael Morton, "There was an understanding that, left unattended, the current downtown would not survive. We needed to make sure this could remain a viable retail center."¹⁷³ The City of Hudson responded with a daring vision.

Although Hudson is a relatively conservative community, it took a big chance in the interest of preserving the vitality of its commercial corridor by developing a lifestyle center directly behind historic North Main Street. Talk of a downtown mixed-use development project began soon after the adoption of the City of Hudson Comprehensive Plan in 1995. That same year the city acquired the former Morse Controls property located directly west of downtown and demolished the abandoned factory to prepare the site for redevelopment.¹⁷⁴ In 2001 the city began a formal bidding process to solicit development proposals for a new retail center on the 19-acre brownfield site. Out of 21 entries the Hudson Village Development Corporation (HVDC), founded by local business owner Thomas Murdough, was eventually selected in partnership with Cleveland-based Fairmount Properties to build and manage the First & Main lifestyle center. The public-private partnership between these developers and

above are: Legacy Village 550,000 SF retail out of 613,000 total SF; Eton Collection 300,000 SF retail out of 300,000 total SF; Crocker Park 550,000 SF retail out of 1.7 million total SF.

¹⁷³ Henry Gomez, "Hudson's Big Gamble," *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 25 Issue 27 (July 5, 2004).

¹⁷⁴ Debra Hazel, "Their Town: Residents in Hudson, Ohio, Had Final Say in Downtown Project," *Shopping Centers Today*, October 2004, http://www.icsc.org/srch/sct/sct1004/public_private_1.php (accessed March 24, 2009).

the City of Hudson went forward with the goal of establishing downtown Hudson as a regional destination for shopping, cultural tourism and entertainment.¹⁷⁵ Murdough described the project as similar to Legacy Village, the first open air lifestyle center in northeast Ohio, yet explained that Hudson's take on the concept would be, "...a lot more quirky. A lot more boutique."¹⁷⁶ By expanding downtown's commercial area, this project aims to strengthen the economic vitality of the community and thus support the preservation of Hudson's historic architecture and village green, defining elements that contribute to the community's unique sense of place.¹⁷⁷

The complex broke ground in June of 2003 and debuted in October of 2004. A \$50 million investment, the project was partly funded by the city, which assumed about half of the development cost by building new infrastructure on the site. First & Main encompasses close to 200,000 square feet of built space contained in nine new buildings, including 110,000 square feet of retail, 30,000 square feet of office space and 45,000 square feet dedicated to townhouses.¹⁷⁸ Targeted at attracting a larger regional share of retail activity, the development is also intended to serve the Hudson community. City manager Morton expressed that servicing local needs must, "...be the goal and the mission, but we all realize that if we have a project that serves Hudsonites well, it'll draw people from the outside."¹⁷⁹ Intended as a complement to the existing downtown, this project features three new streets, a one-acre central green, additional public open spaces, high-end national retailers, a local grocery store, a new public library and the headquarters of the Hudson Historical Society.¹⁸⁰

The First & Main project was developed in accordance with the goals established

¹⁷⁵ City of Hudson, "City of Hudson Downtown Development," City of Hudson, <http://www.hudson.oh.us/news/downtown.asp> (accessed March 22, 2009).

¹⁷⁶ Gomez, "Hudson's Big Gamble."

¹⁷⁷ City of Hudson.

¹⁷⁸ Jennifer Reece, "First & Main Site Still Undeveloped," *Hudson Hub-Times*, January 22, 2007, <http://www.hudsonhubtimes.com/news/article/1508641> (accessed March 24, 2009).

¹⁷⁹ Gomez, "Hudson's Big Gamble."

¹⁸⁰ City of Hudson.

in the City of Hudson's 1995 Comprehensive Plan, expanded and updated in 2004. Hudson has experienced extreme population growth in the past forty years, increasing 50% from 1970 to 1980, 35% from 1980 to 1990, and 22% from 1990 to 1995. Left unchecked, this rapid expansion, as stated in the 1995 plan, "threatens to disrupt and even destroy the small town atmosphere that is important to Hudson."¹⁸¹ The city adopted a series of measures aimed at managing growth by revitalizing the historic core to enhance quality of life for residents, retain the architectural integrity and authenticity of the historic Main Street and support the economic sustainability of the community. These interventions helped to keep residential development at a sustainable level yet the commercial growth of the city had not kept pace. As such, the 2004 revision of the plan stressed the need to retain and expand existing businesses within the historic core as a means of promoting economic development.

In order to achieve the goals outlined in the 2004 update of Hudson's Comprehensive Plan, the city undertook a series of implementation measures including infill and adaptive reuse as tools to reinforce existing compact development patterns in the downtown. Located in close proximity to major highways, including the Ohio Turnpike, traffic congestion in downtown Hudson poses a serious threat to quality of life. Thus the First & Main project features amenities for pedestrians and cyclists in an attempt to reduce vehicle trips for local residents and enhance the walkability of downtown. Reinstated rail connectivity is also being examined as a long-term goal that will further alleviate roadway congestion, support existing businesses and attract new merchants to the historic core.

To further support these efforts, the widening of North Main Street has been prohibited in order to preserve the historic buildings, village green and pedestrian

¹⁸¹ ACP Visioning and Planning, Ltd., preparers, *Hudson, Ohio: 2004 Comprehensive Plan*, City of Hudson Document Library, http://www.hudson.oh.us/document_library.asp?Category=&Type=11&Year= (accessed March 22, 2009): 2.1.

friendliness of the downtown.¹⁸² Policy makers have also been proactive in recognizing that a successful mixed-use district requires the support of adjacent residential development. This is being implemented as second story dwelling units above ground floor retail and a townhouse development called the Residences at First & Main located on the northern edge of the First & Main site. By increasing the critical mass of residents in the downtown, optimizing open space amenities and providing new retail offerings, Hudson's mixed-use development takes advantage of the downtown's existing assets as a strategy for ensuring the vitality of the community for years to come.

INTEGRATION OF NEW URBANISM AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Even though First & Main does not incorporate the adaptive reuse of historic buildings, the primary focus of the project was to ensure the preservation of historic North Main Street by increasing foot traffic with new retail offerings. Referencing the scale, style and massing of other historic buildings in the district, this new construction project bows to historic precedents in the downtown (Figure 14). This response is an innovative approach to the incorporation of New Urbanist design principles in downtown revitalization areas. The Hudson case is a unique example of this sort of interaction between a lifestyle center and historic urbanism. Extending the scope of the project to incorporate strategies aimed at retaining existing merchants while also attracting new businesses, First & Main offers a forward-thinking example of how to maintain the charm and character of an existing community while simultaneously providing for its future development.

¹⁸² Ibid., 2.2., 2.3, 3.9., 7.2.



FIGURE 13. Hudson, Ohio's North Main Street features predominantly wood frame buildings in the Connecticut Western Reserve style. *Image by Merchants of Hudson (all rights reserved), <http://www.flickr.com/photos/merchantsofhudson/2802428079>*



FIGURE 14. Hudson's First & Main lifestyle center adheres to a strict set of design guidelines to harmonize with historic North Main Street's Western Reserve style architecture. *Image by the Merchants of Hudson (all rights reserved), <http://www.flickr.com/photos/merchantsofhudson/2803272796>*

SOMETHING OLD, SOMETHING NEW: ENHANCING HUDSON'S UNIQUE SENSE OF PLACE

A series of strict design guidelines were developed for First & Main to ensure that the project would not overwhelm the authentic Main Street behind it. These design parameters include specifications limiting building heights to no higher than three stories and a stipulation that the new development not be visible from the existing downtown. To accommodate these guidelines, the project is located at the bottom of a slight hill directly west of Main Street. Scaling back the larger than life proportions of typical lifestyle centers, project architects from the Cleveland office of Dorsky Hodgson + Partners designed the new buildings at First & Main in a Western Reserve architectural style typical of historic Hudson properties. Vintage materials were also used when possible, including salvaged bricks from nearby Fairport Harbor used to construct some of the building façades. These implementation mechanisms respond to concerns expressed during community meetings that the new development be consistent with the historic village quality of the downtown.¹⁸³

Hudson's comprehensive Land Development Code (LDC) added an additional layer of control on land use and design issues as a continuation of the city's commitment to maintaining the character and integrity of the historic core. By prioritizing downtown reinvestment instead of peripheral expansion, the LDC reinforces the value of historic building stock and focuses development activity in existing urban areas of the city. Hudson's regulatory framework stresses the importance of downtown as the locus of reinvestment, commercial activity and cultural tourism.¹⁸⁴ For the First & Main project, issues of style, massing and size were important factors in achieving pedestrian scale and honoring the precedent of adjacent historic properties. As such, the urban design framework for this development paid close attention to retail space allotments. In order to ensure that none of the establishments became too overwhelming or took

¹⁸³ Hazel.

¹⁸⁴ ACP Visioning and Planning, Ltd., 3.2.

on the look and feel of a big box store, the façades were designed with varying styles, textures and roof lines to break up the mass of the buildings.¹⁸⁵ Retail square footages were limited to 5,000 square feet per store, with one exception for Heinen’s grocery store, the anchor tenant, which was limited to 20,000 square feet rather than the 50-60,000 square foot plans typical for this local chain.¹⁸⁶ Bolstered by the support of a preservation-friendly regulatory framework, the city ensures that any new development supports the health of Main Street merchants and promotes the continued use of historic structures.

Since one of the primary reasons for developing First & Main was to reposition downtown Hudson as a regional retail destination, parking and traffic were issues that required mitigation in the design and development phases of the project. Expansion of two-lane North Main Street is prohibited as a measure to preserve the village green and historic buildings located on either side. As such, First & Main includes three new internal streets, each with angled parking, and a large parking structure to accommodate the expected increase in vehicles downtown. The developers adhered to the standard metric for shopping center parking of five spaces per 1,000 square-feet of retail space, which is provided on site through on-street parking and a 710 space garage.¹⁸⁷ Yet the spatial dimension of parking as included in the design, coupled with the sheer volume of spaces available, has a detrimental impact on the pedestrian experience (Figure 15). The huge parking garage is sandwiched between First & Main and the back of North Main Street’s historic buildings, thus separating the two retail areas from one another with a large expanse of surface parking on the roof of the garage. This is unfortunate, and a better connection between the new and old retail areas could have been realized by positioning buildings closer to the existing portion of downtown. The new development

¹⁸⁵ Neil Cotiaux, “Neighborhoods: Hudson – The Community’s Step into the Future with First and Main,” *Akron Life & Leisure*, November 2004, 54.

¹⁸⁶ Hazel.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

could have still been hidden from view while providing better pedestrian connections between the existing commercial corridor and newly-created Front Street, the heart of First & Main. While attempting to enhance the viability of a historic small town, the designers failed to provide a framework for buildings both new and old to have a direct dialogue.

In addition to the separation factor of the structured parking, key differences in the massing, scale and size of buildings at First & Main relative to its historic predecessor differentiates the two areas and further detracts from the visitor's experience of the new space. First & Main's on-street parking serves as a traffic calming device and enhances walkability by forcing motorists to slow down, yet these parking provisions result in thoroughways that are too wide relative to the height of the buildings. Whereas North Main Street has a protected and cozy ambiance, the wide thoroughfares of First & Main feel exposed and unprotected (Figure 16). This is further enhanced by the fact that the new development's street trees are quite young and so do not provide the thick tree cover found on North Main. This will improve with time, yet the street width to building height ratio will continue to provide less of a village feel in the newest portion of the downtown. The buildings of First & Main seem daunting to the pedestrian because they are not in harmony with the proportions of the street. While none of the buildings exceed three stories, the floor heights are much taller than the predominantly smaller scale two-story buildings on Main Street. Many of Hudson's historic commercial buildings are clapboard-clad wood frame structures, whereas First & Main's structures are of predominantly masonry construction. Thus the new development has a husky, massive quality relative to the quaint Western Reserve buildings on North Main.



FIGURE 15. First & Main's streets are too wide relative to the height of the new buildings, which in addition to a large amount of surface parking creates an exposed feeling that dampens the pedestrian experience. *Image by Dan Burden, http://www.co.weld.co.us/compplan/presentations/Dan%20Burden%20Walkability%20June%202007_files/slide2484_image392.jpg*



FIGURE 16. With large paved areas and sparse vegetation, First & Main lacks the enclosed and protected feel of historic North Main Street. *Image by Zach Vesoulis, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:New_shopping_area_hudson_oh.jpg*

COMMERCIAL PRESERVATION AS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN DOWNTOWN HUDSON

Although the First & Main project comes up short in terms of successfully respecting the scale, texture and size of the nationally-registered commercial core, it has been much more successful at preserving local small businesses on Main Street. Unlike a greenfield New Urbanist development, First & Main directly impacts existing downtown merchants. Local retailer Liz Murphy, owner of independent Hudson bookstore the Learned Owl located on historic North Main Street, expressed concern over whether the introduction of this new shopping center would hurt or harm local business owners. She explained that, “Anyone can build a shopping center, but to build around something that’s been here for 200 years—that’s hard.”¹⁸⁸ Main Street merchants were the most skeptical of the proposed development, expressing fears ranging from what impact the completed development would have on the downtown to the potential for construction to keep would-be patrons away from store entrances. While the resulting relationship between established merchants and new retailers has been rocky at times, the two are proving to have a mutually beneficial impact on one another.

Through a series of community meetings and public discussions during the planning stages of the project, local residents and business owners alike stressed the importance of having a mix of national, regional and local tenants in the new development. In response, the city stipulated that national retailers could not occupy more than fifty percent of the retail space. Thus while the project includes national upscale chains such as Ann Taylor Loft, Chico’s and Caribou Coffee, local establishments such as Aladdin’s Eatery, Fundamentals Creative Toy Store and Uniquely Ohio gift shop are also represented. The large number of retailers at First & Main brings needed foot traffic to the historic downtown, which features local service providers and restaurants. To mitigate competition between the lifestyle center and downtown, chain businesses

¹⁸⁸ Gomez, “Hudson’s Big Gamble.”

that would directly compete with Main Street merchants have been prohibited from entering First & Main. For instance, Walgreen's was turned away in deference to family-run Saywell's Drug Store, which has been a Main Street staple for the past hundred years, and national bookstore chains were rejected in favor of the Learned Owl.

While downtown Hudson is not part of an official National Main Street program, the Merchants of Hudson organization fills a similar role by facilitating a joint promotion effort between the merchants of First & Main and the historic downtown. John MacWherter, owner of Uniquely Ohio and president of the merchants' association, stated that the organization, "...recognize[es] the fact that there are big-box stores out there, and places like Legacy Village. If we're going to compete with that group, we need to compete as a larger entity."¹⁸⁹ The Hudson Chamber of Commerce has also undertaken a number of innovative approaches to enhance the vitality of the commercial district and help independent merchants on Main Street. Its efforts include the launching of a citywide electronic gift card in November of 2002 to attract consumers to downtown. In spatial terms the historic downtown does not communicate very well with First & Main, yet the dialogue between retailers on either side of downtown has been quite effective at enhancing Hudson's economic vitality.

CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

The First & Main lifestyle center in downtown Hudson, Ohio is a case of particular interest in that it serves as a way to ensure the economic health of the city by becoming the very thing that threatens to destroy it. As retail centers in the Cleveland metropolitan area continue to develop and expand, particularly those with New Urbanist formats, it presents an incredibly challenging climate for small business owners on Main

¹⁸⁹ John Booth, "Hudson Merchants Unite in Marketing Effort," *Crain's Cleveland Business*, July 14, 2008, <http://www.crainscleveland.com/article/20080714/FREE/538606688/1022/breaking> (accessed March 18, 2009).

Street. Hudson achieves two goals at once by redeveloping a problematic brownfield site directly adjacent to the National Register listed historic Main Street while at the same time enhancing the regional draw of the town by creating a concentration of high-end retail and restaurants. From an urban design standpoint the development has failed to knit together old and new—First & Main literally turns its back to North Main Street—but measures undertaken to ensure the continuation of local businesses by turning away would-be competitors has proven successful thus far. On the whole this project has proven beneficial for the city’s historic structures on Main Street by ensuring a steady stream of foot traffic and tax revenue, yet the project has had a negative impact on the historic commercial centers of other towns in the area. Ironically, Hudson’s bold move to save itself has been at the expense of other Main Street communities.

NEW URBANIST FEATURES AT FIRST & MAIN

A rather unique example of a full-scale lifestyle center development built directly adjacent to a nationally-registered downtown, First & Main unfortunately leaves much to be desired in terms of connectivity to Main Street. Even though the project was executed under a strict set of architectural standards intended to ensure a seamless transition between the historic district and the new development, the buildings of First & Main have a rather bland and generic quality and little visual cohesion with Main Street. Many of Hudson’s historic commercial buildings are modest two-story, wooden clapboard-clad, front end gabled structures, whereas those found at First & Main are often massive and predominantly feature masonry façades (Figures 17-21). Even though these new buildings adhere to the three-story maximum, in terms of actual size they vary quite considerably with the historic area of the city and disrupt the human scale of the project. In addition to the over-scale of the buildings, the development’s overly wide street network and large parking structure privilege the automobile over the pedestrian.



FIGURE 17. Hudson's historic North Main Street is predominated by modest two-story wood frame structures featuring front-end gables. Image by Merchants of Hudson (all rights reserved), <http://www.flickr.com/photos/merchantsofhudson/2797423204>



FIGURE 18. This front-end gabled building at First & Main is an excellent example of appropriate scale, materials and massing relative to historic precedents on North Main Street. *Image by Merchants of Hudson (all rights reserved), <http://www.flickr.com/photos/merchantsofhudson/2796986717>*



FIGURE 19. Although stylistically similar to historic commercial architecture on North Main Street, this building at First & Main is incompatible with the scale and massing of these earlier examples. *Image by DangApricot, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ColdstoneCreameryHudsonOhio.JPG>*



FIGURE 20. Brick commercial architecture on North Main Street consists of modest two-story Victorian Italianate buildings that maintain the pedestrian scale of the streetscape. *Image by DangApricot, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HowardHannaUSBankHudsonOH.JPG>*



FIGURE 21. Brick commercial buildings at First & Main include this over-scaled Western Reserve style building, which is incompatible with North Main Street precedents. *Image by DangApricot, <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TalbotsHudsonOhio.JPG>*

The result is an area predominated by impervious surfaces punctuated with several bulky building clusters. In the quest to accommodate the anticipated increase in traffic, First & Main sacrifices the human element.

Yet in its adoption of New Urbanist principles such as incorporating the development into the community and reinvesting in existing urban areas, the First & Main project is preferable to the big box stores or chain-dominated retail strip center that could have been built on the site instead. Taking care to incorporate community-serving functions such as the new 50,000 square foot Hudson Public Library, a local grocery store and residential units, this development takes full advantage of the New Urbanist approach to create a district that has around the clock functionality (Figure 22). Instead of becoming a single-use destination shopping center, First & Main attracts a critical mass of patrons from within the community and without by providing viable options for work, play and living every day of the week. Pauline Eaton, the director of downtown revitalization at Heritage Ohio/Downtown Ohio, Inc., believes that developments such as this, “may be the move of the future” in terms of their ability to strengthen existing urban areas through New Urbanist design and planning principles.¹⁹⁰ Yet by the same token, the very mechanisms that have proven successful in Hudson have further aggravated the decline of other historic commercial areas elsewhere in the region. So for all the local benefit provided through First & Main’s innovation, as far as independent Main Street retailers elsewhere in northeast Ohio are concerned it is just as bad as any other lifestyle center.

FIRST & MAIN’S REGIONAL IMPACT ON HISTORIC MAIN STREET COMMUNITIES

Northeast Ohio lifestyle centers such as Legacy Village in Lyndhurst, First & Main in Hudson, the Eton Collection in Woodmere and Crocker Park in Westlake have had

¹⁹⁰ Cotiaux, 56.



FIGURE 22. The Residences at First & Main is a dense townhouse development aimed at enhancing the vitality of downtown Hudson. Image by First and Main Hudson (all rights reserved), <http://www.firstandmainhudson.com/Live/siteplan.htm>

a detrimental impact on sales and foot traffic in small towns throughout the region. For historic Main Street communities such as the village of Chagrin Falls on the east side of Cleveland, the rapid proliferation of lifestyle centers within the past decade has worsened the already strained situation for local downtown retailers. Located just 15 miles north of Hudson, Chagrin Falls was also settled during the 19th century as part of the Connecticut Western Reserve, and is comparable to Hudson in terms of plan and design. Chagrin Falls is situated around a central village green (in the shape of triangle) that features a 19th century bandstand, and downtown's architecture consists of predominantly Victorian and Federal style historic building stock. Around the same time that Hudson was drafting its first comprehensive plan and contemplating its economic future, Chagrin Falls faced a similar dilemma. A 1997 retail study showed that in the first half of that decade 40 retailers in downtown had either closed or relocated away from Main Street. Wendy Hoge Naylor, president of Chagrin Falls Preservation, cited competition from area shopping centers as the major culprit in downtown's retail instability. She explained that, "The days of the little Woolworth's counter are over. We need to find a balance of the nostalgia versus what will do well against competition from big-box retailers today."¹⁹¹ Yet without the land or funding available to redevelop in the way that Hudson had, Chagrin Falls responded with a \$3.9 million streetscape improvement project instead. Like Hudson, other towns within the region that are operating within the same retail environment have had to develop creative new approaches to enhance the viability and visibility of their downtowns.

Small businesses located in historic commercial corridors are feeling the pinch of "retail Darwinism" stemming from the rapid proliferation of imitation Main Streets.¹⁹² Watching their customers being lured away to the idealized Main Street formats of

¹⁹¹ Christopher Johnston, "Chagrin Falls Looks to Protect Its Main Draw," *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 19 Issue 11 (March 16, 1998).

¹⁹² Arlyn Tobias Gajilan, "Wolves in Shops' Clothing," *Fortune Small Business* Vol. 15 Issue 1 (February 2005).

places like First & Main, local retailers are left with few tools to compete. What makes these new retail centers so potent is that they combine the format of small town urbanism with the collective organizational model enabled by their single-ownership status. Thus these places adopt a tactic similar to the NMSC's four-point approach of Organization, Promotion, Design and Economic Restructuring. In essence the only advantage held by historic Main Streets is their authenticity and existing community base. By capitalizing on these assets in conjunction with targeted historic preservation measures, these towns can enhance their competitive advantage in the marketplace. Yet the regional pull of lifestyle centers cannot be ignored. For local retailers such as P. J. Campbell, President of Piccadilly's Fine Art Galleries in Chagrin Falls, the overabundance of lifestyle centers in northeast Ohio represented the final straw for many of the merchants on Main Street. As he explains, "Why would we renew our lease? Eton, Legacy Village, First & Main—together, these are the nails in our coffin."¹⁹³ Main Street replicas such as First & Main, while helpful for Hudson's economy, have had the opposite effect elsewhere in the region. Thus the imitation towns that recall traditional downtown precedents have ushered in the demise of historic small towns instead.

For the First & Main development in Hudson, Ohio, historic preservation plays an ancillary role to the New Urbanist framework of the project. In undertaking a mixed-use center that supports retail activity with civic functions and residential units, this lifestyle center employs key New Urbanist principles for the benefit of a historically sensitive downtown district. The new buildings take cues from their predecessors in terms of architectural style, yet do not directly connect with Hudson's existing urbanism. Despite this spatial disconnect, the project has been successful in enhancing the marketability and viability of the businesses housed within these historic buildings. The First & Main project raises several interesting points in the ongoing discussion of whether New

¹⁹³ Henry Gomez, "Dread Ahead on Main Street," *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 25 Issue 44 (November 1, 2004).

Urbanism supports preservation, or whether practice of the former simply ignores the latter. In this case, economic and social interventions support the viability of historic resources by enhancing the competitive advantage of downtown Hudson. Yet this project did not incorporate a single historic structure into its plan nor did it provide direct financial support for historic preservation activities. By choosing a design format that acknowledges the important values associated with its urban context, the Hudson case is an innovative example of redevelopment in a historically sensitive area. Fully taking advantage of all that the New Urbanist approach has to offer can result in a much more integrative method to knit together new and old into a mutually sustainable framework.

CHAPTER 4

Flag House Courts Redevelopment, Baltimore, Maryland

Category	Urban Renewal
Land Area	14.5 acres
Built Area	336 housing units
Designers	Torti Gallas and Partners, CHK, Inc.
Developers	H.J. Russell New Urban Development LLC, Integral Properties LLC, Mid City Urban LLC
Historic Area	East Lombard Street (Corned Beef Row)
Key Dates	1700s – Jonestown neighborhood settled 1845 – Lloyd Street Synagogue built 1890s – East Lombard Street emerges as commercial hub 1955 – Flag House Courts public housing project opens 1968 – Riots break out after assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. 1974 – Jonestown Planning Council founded 1976 – East Lombard Street dubbed “Corned Beef Row” 2001 – Flag House Courts demolished 2002 – Historic Jonestown, Inc. founded 2005 – Albemarle Square and Heritage Walk debut

PROJECT BACKGROUND

The Jonestown area of East Baltimore was once home to the city’s most upwardly mobile citizens. Noteworthy for important sites of colonial history, the neighborhood witnessed incredible growth over the course of the 19th century as a massive influx of immigrants arrived and spawned the development of a bustling commercial corridor along East Lombard Street. Yet by the mid-20th century, as with other American cities,

most of the wealthy residents had moved on, leaving the economically disadvantaged and disenfranchised in their wake. By mid-century, slum conditions in Jonestown were spiraling out of control and warranted political intervention. In 1955 the Flag House Courts public housing project rose from the ashes of this once vibrant section of the city, but served only to hasten the area's decline. Yet new hope came on the cusp of the 21st century as the city was awarded HOPE VI funding to redevelop the site as a reintegrated mixed-income, mixed-use development capable of resuscitating the historic commercial corridors of East Lombard to the north and Little Italy to the south. Approaching economic redevelopment from the viewpoint that a critical mass of residents must first be established as leverage for future commercial development, the Flag House Courts revitalization project is an inspiring example of New Urbanist principles applied to the revival of a struggling urban core.

A NEIGHBORHOOD IN TRANSITION: JONESTOWN'S DYNAMIC HISTORY

The Jonestown neighborhood—bounded on the north by Orleans Street, Pratt to the south, Central Avenue on the east and the Jones Falls to the west—has proven to be one of the most turbulent and dynamic areas of Baltimore. Owing its name to early 18th century settler David Jones, the neighborhood was referred to as the city “on the other side of the Falls” prior to the incorporation of Baltimore.¹⁹⁴ Once home to the city's wealthiest and most prestigious citizens, this area derives much of its historic significance from its colonial past. Jonestown was home to such figures as Charles Carroll, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Mary Young Pickersgill, the woman who made the flag that flew above Fort McHenry during the War of 1812 and inspired Francis Scott Key to pen what would become the National Anthem. Today the area is part of the city's newly established Heritage Walk Guided Tour and boasts a

¹⁹⁴ Robbie Whelan, “City of Baltimore Expected to Approve Sale of Hendler Creamery for \$750K,” *The Daily Record* (Baltimore, MD), February 6, 2008.

wealth of cultural and historic sites including the Jewish Museum of Maryland, Lloyd Street Synagogue, the Carroll Mansion, the Flag House and Star-Spangled Banner Museum, the Shot Tower, the Friends Meeting House and the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture (Figures 23-24).¹⁹⁵

As the city began to grow and expand during the 19th century, the wealthy residents of Jonestown gave way to a growing population of Irishmen, Italians and Eastern European Jewish immigrants. From the 1820s onward this neighborhood was a hub of immigrant activity, giving rise to Little Italy in the southern portion of Jonestown and a sizable Jewish community to the north. At the heart of this neighborhood the 1000 block of East Lombard Street emerged in the 1890s as a vital commercial corridor known for its bustling array of Jewish meat markets, delis and bakeries.¹⁹⁶ The area's commercial net was cast beyond the boundaries of the neighborhood as it became a hub of kosher exports to the southeastern United States.¹⁹⁷ The area was represented by a wide range of racial and ethnic groups, including blacks, whites, and recent immigrants alike. Yet Jonestown was considered a "starter neighborhood." Once new immigrants had become successful enough to move away, they did so.¹⁹⁸ Although the commercial corridor remained active until the mid-20th century, the population and building stock of the surrounding area went into sharp decline during that period. Mass rioting broke out in the area following the 1968 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., stigmatizing inner city Baltimore as unsafe (Figure 25). The commercial section of East Lombard Street was dubbed "Corned Beef Row" in 1976 as part of \$3 million revitalization program spearheaded by Mayor William Donald Schaefer, but this program failed to

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ The Jewish Museum of Maryland, "Voices of Lombard Street: A Century of Change in East Baltimore," Exhibition Pamphlet, 2007, <http://www.jhsm.org/html/documents/JMM-134-brochure.pdf> (accessed March 4, 2009).

¹⁹⁷ David Jackowe, "Old World: Remembering the Glory Days of Deli on Corned Beef Row," *Baltimore City Paper*, February 28, 2001, <http://www.citypaper.com/special/story.asp?id=6044> (accessed February 20, 2009).

¹⁹⁸ The Jewish Museum of Maryland.



FIGURE 23. The 1845 Lloyd Street Synagogue in East Baltimore was Maryland's first synagogue, and is the third oldest remaining in the United States. *Image by Alan Cordova, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/acordova/2946090640>*



FIGURE 24. The Flag House and Star-Spangled Banner Museum was once the home of Mary Young Pickersgill. Here she made the flag that flew above Fort McHenry and inspired Francis Scott Key to pen the National Anthem. *Image by teejayhanton, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/mpmb/59168437>*

have a lasting impact.¹⁹⁹ By the 1970s what had once been a vibrant retail strip had only a few businesses remaining.

By midway through the 20th century, slum conditions in the Jonestown neighborhood had become a political concern and spurred the development of a plan to redevelop the area through urban renewal. Plans were drawn up in 1952 for a public housing project known as Flag House Courts, which incorporated three 12-story towers and thirteen 3-story low-rises with the aim of achieving the “greatest possibilities for attractive architectural design.”²⁰⁰ Yet the format was still largely untested at this time, and even though high-rise towers were successful habitats for the wealthy there was no guarantee that this design would work as a housing vehicle for the inner-city poor. The city razed 11 acres of vacant and dilapidated buildings to make way for the new development, which opened in November of 1955. However, like other projects of this type built during the 1950s and 1960s, the Flag House Courts project soon fell victim to shoddy maintenance, violence and drugs, and failed to remediate the social forces underlying slum conditions in inner city Baltimore.²⁰¹ Residents of “Flag” (as the project was colloquially referred to) were stigmatized as tower dwellers in a neighborhood of row houses and never became fully integrated with the surrounding neighborhood.²⁰² The complex soon became an insular unit of poverty amidst a series of declining commercial corridors.

By the early 1990s the failure of Flag House Courts could no longer escape public attention as crime from within the site was spilling over into Little Italy and Corned Beef

¹⁹⁹ Alan Feiler, “A New Beginning for Corned Beef Row,” Baltimore Housing, http://www.baltimorehousing.org/pressroom_detail.asp?id=102 (accessed March 30, 2009).

²⁰⁰ Michael Anft, “Half Staff: Facing the End at Flag House Courts, the City’s Last High-Rise Project,” *Baltimore City Paper*, December 22, 1999, <http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=3641> (accessed February 20, 2009).

²⁰¹ Andy Goldfrank, “Recent Tales from Baltimore, Maryland: Digging in the Wake of Bulldozers,” *The Pontil*, May 2004.

²⁰² J. Van der Weele, “Flaghouse Courts Revitalization,” Congress for the New Urbanism, <http://www.cnu.org/node/2198> (accessed February 20, 2009).

Row. A “clean sweep” program undertaken in the summer of 1993 made minor headway at remediating the social and physical degradation of the complex, yet it was becoming readily apparent that a much more serious intervention was needed.²⁰³ The City of Baltimore secured state and federal funding to rid itself of inner city high-rise slums once and for all, and by the end of the decade had leveled Lafayette Courts (1996), Lexington Terrace (1998) and Murphy Homes (1999).²⁰⁴ The Housing Authority of Baltimore imploded the Flag House Courts complex on February 10, 2001 (Figure 26).²⁰⁵ With this demolition, Baltimore became the first major U.S. city to completely rid itself of downtown high-rise public housing.²⁰⁶ With the assistance of public and private funding, including a \$21.5 million HOPE VI grant awarded in 1998, a redevelopment plan was put into place that reflected the views of a broad selection of stakeholders. A number of design charrettes leading up to the project included Flag House Courts residents, local community leaders, city officials, local retailers and private developers, an inclusionary precedent that was continued throughout the construction and implementation phases.²⁰⁷ With secured funding and public support, the city sought to achieve at Flag House Courts what had been successfully accomplished in other redevelopment projects in the city, including Federal Hill, Canton and Fells Point.

BEGINNING AGAIN: RECLAIMING THE FLAG HOUSE COURTS SITE

Located adjacent to a number of key areas in the city, including historic commercial corridors such as the Little Italy district to the south and Corned Beef Row to the north, the Flag House Courts site bore immense potential to promote positive change in the neighborhood. Awarded funding through HUD’s HOPE VI public housing

²⁰³ Anft.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Goldfrank.

²⁰⁶ Anft.

²⁰⁷ Van der Weele.



FIGURE 25. Riots broke out across Baltimore following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On April 8, 1968, destruction reached the Corned Beef Row section of East Lombard Street. *Image by W.M. Hackley, <http://mysite.verizon.net/vzesdp09/baltimorepolicehistorybywmhackley2/id76.html>*



FIGURE 26. The Flag House Courts towers await demolition on the morning of February 10, 2001. *Image by pagodabob (all rights reserved), <http://www.flickr.com/photos/pagodabob/90457860>*

redevelopment program, the project's master plan incorporated New Urbanist principles to create a mixed-use, mixed-income neighborhood. The HOPE VI program emerged in 1993, the same year the CNU was founded, with the aim of redeveloping failed public housing projects across the U.S.²⁰⁸ HOPE VI has proven incredibly progressive in its re-imagination of public housing design and has adopted core New Urbanist principles such as pedestrian scale, walkability, public art and open spaces, mixed-use formats, and housing typologies that incorporate a variety of styles and formats. The program's mandates place a strong emphasis on design-based solutions for remediating the social maladies that plague public housing projects. The modernist towers of the 1950s and 60s failed to promote healthy communities, thus the neo-traditional development approach now used by HOPE VI seeks to achieve healthy and stable communities through urbanism at the human scale. Although the program has been criticized for abandoning the one-for-one replacement rule by which developers are not required to match the number of affordable housing units contained in the previous project, this approach has been incredibly successful at improving the safety, livability and diversity of the nation's most severely distressed public housing projects.²⁰⁹

A \$65 million revitalization project, the redevelopment of the Flag House Courts site takes a housing approach to commercial development by bringing a critical mass of consumers into the area that will in turn support expanded retail development (Figure 27). The residential component of the project, known as Albemarle Square, is located in the area bounded by Pratt, Central, Baltimore and Albemarle Streets (Figure 28). The site contains 336 total units including 182 tagged as rental affordable housing, 10 affordable units offered for sale, 135 market-rate units and 9 market-rate units programmed as live/work spaces. The affordable housing component was developed by

²⁰⁸ "HOPE VI Funds New Urban Neighborhoods," *New Urban News*, January/February 2002, <http://www.newurbannews.com/hopeVI.html> (accessed March 31, 2009).

²⁰⁹ Rachel Petersen, "HOPE VI in San Francisco," San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association, March 2005, http://www.spur.org/documents/050301_article_01.shtm (accessed April 1, 2009).

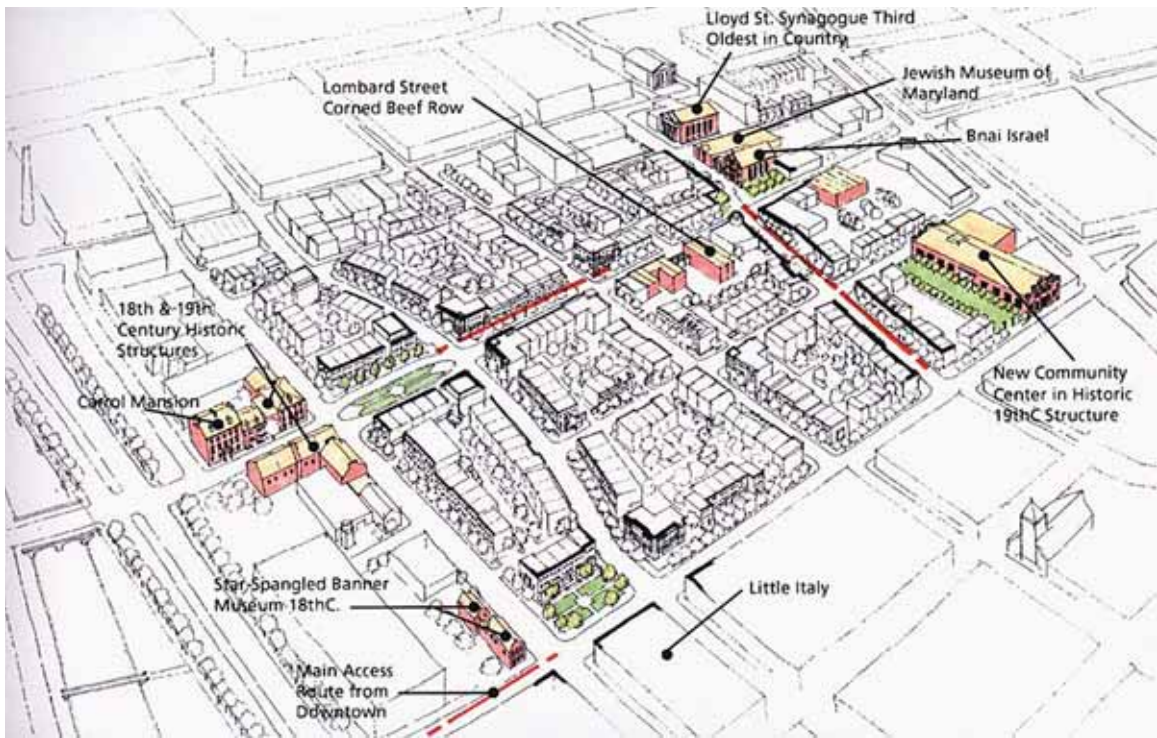


FIGURE 27. The redevelopment of the Flag House Courts site engages a number of significant historic buildings, shown here in color. The new residential development of Albemarle Square is the collection of buildings located at the center of this site plan. *Image by Torti Gallas and Partners, <http://www.cnu.org/sites/www.cnu.org/files/Baltimore%20land%20use.jpg>*



FIGURE 28. Redevelopment of the former Flag House Courts public housing site includes the new residential development called Albemarle Square. By bringing an influx of new residents to the area, the city hopes to spur commercial development on nearby Corned Beef Row. *Image by Torti Gallas and Partners (all rights reserved), http://www.tortigallaschk.com/image_pop.asp?i=images/THUMBS/81286/resource/screen_188733.jpg*

Flaghouse Courts LLC, the for-sale affordable housing units by Harrison-Adaoha/EHCDC and Beazer Homes took on the market-rate housing units.²¹⁰ Construction of Phase I of the housing began in the summer of 2003, which included 79 townhouses encompassing 124 rental units and five 3-story apartment buildings of 9 units each. Phase II includes the remaining affordable housing space in addition to 155 garage townhouses and condominium apartments.²¹¹ These buildings are designed to seamlessly blend with the historic context of Baltimore row houses in adjacent areas of the city, as well as to make affordable units indistinguishable from the market rate buildings (Figure 29). In this way, Albemarle Square achieves a mixed-income community that includes working-class families, young professionals and low-income residents requiring public assistance. By breaking down the physical boundaries to economic and social integration found in high-rise public housing projects, lower-density, human-oriented design formats derived from traditional urbanism can enhance the upward mobility of residents. In addition to the residential units, and to make the project function as a true neighborhood center, plans for the area also include ground floor retail with residential units above and a community and youth development center that will serve as a neighborhood catalyst for the rebirth of East Lombard Street.²¹²

One of the most interesting aspects of this redevelopment project is its approach to reviving the East Lombard Street commercial corridor through residential development. As Christopher Shea, deputy commissioner of development for Baltimore Housing describes, “What’s unusual with this is that we’ve created all of this [Albemarle Square] for a commercial district.” The city has taken a very progressive approach to revitalization in this area. In addition to developing the former Flag House Courts site, the city also owns 80% of the neighborhood’s vacant land. Hoping to capitalize on the

²¹⁰ Feiler.

²¹¹ Goldfrank.

²¹² Feiler.



FIGURE 29. Albemarle Square was designed to merge seamlessly with the historic context of East Baltimore. New residential buildings to the right respect the scale and massing of historic structures located on the left. *Image by R2 Productions, LLC, <http://baltimore.shownbyphotos.com/20070402-federal-hill-0141-800.jpg-large.html>*

draw of existing retail, which primarily consists of Corned Beef Row's three remaining delis—Lenny's, Weiss' and Attman's—the city is attempting to reposition the last remnants of this once-thriving district as the seeds for a new commercial corridor (Figures 30-31). Father Richard Lawrence, president of the Jonestown Planning Council and spiritual leader of community anchor St. Vincent de Paul Church, believes that this strategy of residential preceding commercial development is a smart approach. As he explains, "I think as we get more residents in the area, there will be more demands for [commercial] services. It will work more slowly than the housing...It will be entrepreneur by entrepreneur."²¹³ This has proven to be the case thus far, as the housing has been quickly absorbed by the market while new commercial development has been slower to come on line. The project won several awards from the design community however, including the 2001 American Institute of Architects National Honor Award in Urban Design and the 2001 Congress for the New Urbanism Charter Award.²¹⁴ Ironically, the same low-rise, low-density, mixed-ethnicity and mixed-use neighborhood obliterated by the towers is now being reintroduced as the last chance to save the neighborhood.

INTEGRATION OF NEW URBANISM AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Taking an innovative approach to the redevelopment of a former public housing complex, the Flag House Courts project leverages new residential construction as a strategy to encourage reinvestment on East Lombard Street. The master plan incorporates both new construction and adaptive reuse to stitch the fabric of the neighborhood back together and connect places that have been cut off from one another for nearly half a century. While private investment in the retail component of the project has not taken off as quickly as the housing, the redevelopment area has

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Torti Gallas and Partners, "Flag House Courts," Torti Gallas and Partners: Neighborhoods, <http://www.tortigallaschk.com/project.asp?p=81286> (accessed March 31, 2009).



FIGURE 30. The legacy of urban renewal on East Lombard Street has left a number of vacant lots. Yet several historic structures still remain, including the home of Attman’s Deli. *Image by Nat Hansen (all rights reserved), <http://www.flickr.com/photos/hansenn/2456031546>*



FIGURE 31. Redevelopment proposals for the section of East Lombard Street known as Corned Beef Row aim to reestablish the district as a community commercial hub. *Image by Torti Gallas and Partners, <http://www.cnu.org/sites/www.cnu.org/files/Baltimore%20HISTORIC%20COMM%20CTR.jpg>*

already enhanced the image of the neighborhood and fostered a sense of optimism for area merchants and residents. The seamless integration of market rate and affordable housing within a human-scale environment respects the city's indigenous building stock and has proven to be a successful application of New Urbanist design principles. On the whole, the Flag House Courts revitalization project is a hallmark example of the power of traditionally derivative urban design in creating safe, accessible and sustainable places for city residents.

WHAT'S OLD IS NEW AGAIN: HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND NEW URBANISM

REINTEGRATE A NEIGHBORHOOD

Redevelopment of the Flag House Courts public housing complex adopted a number of New Urbanist design interventions in keeping with the HOPE VI aspects of the project. After the demolition of the complex's buildings the historic street grid was reintroduced to connect East Lombard Street to the north with Little Italy to the south. When reintroduced through the project site, the new streets of Lloyd, Granby, Albemarle, Plowman and High knitted the urban fabric of the neighborhood back together. For the first time in nearly half a century the Corned Beef Row commercial corridor was directly linked with the Little Italy district. After the reintroduction of the grid, new residential buildings were added that harmonized with the stylistic and formal precedents of traditional Baltimore row houses (Figures 32-33). This process had an incredibly transformative impact, sparking a new sense of hope and optimism as visual, spatial and physical connections were reopened. Even for those that remained in the area throughout the duration of demolition and construction, the transformation has been remarkable. As Avi Y. Decter, executive director of the Jewish Museum of Maryland remarked, "Someone said to me that the museum has changed its location without even moving."²¹⁵ Thus while design interventions posited by the New Urbanists are not the

²¹⁵ Feiler.



FIGURE 32. Residential architecture in East Baltimore is dominated by 19th century rowhouse typologies. *Image by Earl, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/earlg/2740094556>*



FIGURE 33. The new buildings at Albemarle Square were designed to harmonize with indigenous residential building stock. *Image by Torti Gallas and Partners (all rights reserved), http://www.tortigallaschk.com/image_pop.asp?i=images/THUMBS/81286/resource/screen_188730.jpg*

only solution to wielding great cultural shifts, prioritizing the human experience of cities enables people to re-imagine the potential of their communities.

In addition to renewing connections to adjacent neighborhoods by reintroducing the historic street network, the project engages the contextual relationship of buildings as well. Extending beyond the boundaries of the former public housing complex through acquisition of private lots located adjacent to the project site, the development fosters a seamless transition between new and old. By selectively infilling vacant land and replacing blighted properties with sensitive new construction, Albemarle Square becomes fully integrated with the existing neighborhood commercial corridor. The residential development takes advantage of the street as the primary public realm by orienting residential buildings towards the roadways and locating parking at mid-block locations. Defining the public realm through streetscape frontages on thoroughfares and park space, the development keeps eyes on the street to promote safety and security.²¹⁶ In the words of Marc Wouters, project architect at the firm of Torti Gallas and Partners, “We’re going back to the future. We hope to create what already existed there before the high rises were built.”²¹⁷ During public meetings in the early planning stages, consultant Al Barry, president of the urban planning firm AB Associates, found that residents and business owners, “saw the reconstruction of Flag House Courts as a way to reinvigorate the entire area,” not simply the complex site itself.²¹⁸ By reducing housing density in the transition from high-rise towers to three story residential buildings this project allows for the integration of new public open space. On East Lombard between Albemarle and High Streets, an elliptical open space element has been inserted that includes a public art piece by local sculptor David Hess (Figure 34).²¹⁹ By taking a more inclusive approach to community revitalization, the redevelopment team sought to

²¹⁶ Van der Weele.

²¹⁷ The Jewish Museum of Maryland.

²¹⁸ Anft.

²¹⁹ Torti Gallas and Partners.



FIGURE 34. Open space elements at key nodes strengthen the public realm, such as the elliptical park on East Lombard between Albemarle and High Streets. *Image by Torti Gallas and Partners (all rights reserved), <http://www.avoe.org/urbanlovers4.html>*

encourage a mixed-income and mixed-use neighborhood that will enhance economic and social opportunities for residents.

In addition to striving for a seamless integration of new construction with vernacular Baltimore housing stock, the Flag House redevelopment also engages historic buildings within and adjacent to the project site. Institutional, religious and cultural functions are already satisfied in historic properties near the redevelopment area. In order to accommodate civic functions necessary for the generation of a strong community within the neighborhood, developers plan to incorporate a community center in a large 19th century building located on East Pratt Street near the intersection with South Central Avenue. The Jewish Museum of Maryland wants to incorporate additional exhibition space into this building, and hopes to include community outreach and business development programming here as well. On Corned Beef Row, historic preservation will serve as the foundation for increased commercial development. The demolition of blighted properties on East Lombard have left a number of vacant parcels in this once bustling district, thus the redevelopment scheme includes a mix of retail and office space to revive this struggling section of the neighborhood.²²⁰ The infill strategy for East Lombard Street includes buildings with ground floor retail and dwelling units on the upper stories to encourage further growth. The redevelopment project has already spurred historic preservation activity nearby, including a \$12 million adaptive reuse of the 19th century Hendler Creamery complex into new office space.²²¹ While private sector commercial developers have been slow to enter into what is still a risky venture, the critical mass of housing, cultural and institutional anchors, and the popularity of the remaining delicatessens makes this area well-positioned for a Main Street rebirth.²²²

²²⁰ Goldfrank.

²²¹ Jen DeGregorio, "19th Century Ice Cream Factory in East Baltimore to be Transformed Into Office Space," *The Daily Record* (Baltimore, MD), October 25, 2005.

²²² Van der Weele.

NEW INCENTIVES FOR INNER CITY DEVELOPMENT

While retail development has not been as successful as the housing component thus far, in less than a decade the project has helped to dramatically alter the nature of inner city development in Baltimore. The availability of large redevelopment areas such as the Flag House Courts site, coupled with smart growth measures implemented in the suburbs to curb low-density development, have improved the attractiveness of inner city sites for development. These factors have attracted a sizable number of national home builders that ordinarily work on greenfield development sites to invest in inner city neighborhoods instead. As executive vice president of Beazer Homes Maryland George Rathlev describes, "There's a mandate to show growth and, on the books, a unit is a unit."²²³ Rathlev's company developed 136 lots at the Flag House Courts site, testament to the fact that the attractiveness of urban formats includes consumers and developers alike. As new investment in downtown Baltimore has caused property values to go up, more players are coming to the table to take advantage of the improving inner city housing market. Thus projects such as the Flag House Courts redevelopment, while not as successful in terms of commercial development, are having a substantial impact on the marketability of city living.

In addition to improving the attractiveness of the Jonestown neighborhood for the private development community, the HOPE VI redevelopment of Flag House Courts has also had a positive impact on the area's image. By incorporating New Urbanist design elements into the restructuring of former public housing projects, the HOPE VI program seeks to reverse the legacy of disinvestment and remove the negative stigma surrounding these sites. Fostering mixed-income, mixed-use neighborhoods with human scale design that reflects local building traditions, climate and cultural factors, the New Urbanist approach is a key component of enhancing the upward mobility of residents.

²²³ Ezra Fieser, "Home Builders Moving Out of Suburbia and Into City Markets," *The Daily Record* (Baltimore, MD), October 14, 2004.

Preliminary studies on the impact of HOPE VI developments in Baltimore show a correlation between these interventions and improvement of the physical, economic and social aspects of these areas. Researchers found that the Flag House Courts redevelopment brought about a sharp decline in concentrated poverty in this area, which has been coupled with a reduction in crime. While economic activity has been negligible despite the intervention of HOPE VI, the researchers suggest that the image of the neighborhood has improved nevertheless.²²⁴ Working to break the dysfunctional pattern of modernist public housing formats by building a complete neighborhood that is mixed-use and mixed-income, the HOPE VI program effectively incorporates New Urbanist design as an impetus for reinvestment.

CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

In an interesting approach to urban renewal, the redevelopment of the Flag House Courts site tackles the issue of commercial revitalization by first providing the critical mass of residents needed to support large retail expansion. Whereas the housing component of the project has been hugely successful thus far, the commercial side of the equation is still risky from an underwriting standpoint. Yet the urban design aspects of the project are highly commendable. By incorporating the HOPE VI program's New Urbanist design principles, Albemarle Square invigorates the public realm and rejects the stigma surrounding modernist public housing projects. Incorporating adaptive reuse and taking advantage of existing community anchors including museums and places of worship, the redevelopment blends these New Urbanist design interventions with a sensitive preservation-minded approach to outfit this area of the Jonestown neighborhood for a prosperous rebirth.

²²⁴ Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies.

NEW URBANIST FEATURES IN THE FLAG HOUSE COURTS REVITALIZATION

The redevelopment of the Flag House Courts site is an exemplary model of the benefits of a New Urbanist design approach to achieving a quality urban experience. Reconnecting the city grid through the project site successfully linked an incredibly disadvantaged area of Jonestown to the north with the much more stable Little Italy district to the south. This design intervention, a standard of HOPE VI applications of New Urbanism, positions the struggling commercial corridor of East Lombard Street at the key juncture between historic and cultural assets to the east and west. To further reinforce the civic nature of the site's open spaces and streetscapes, parking has been cleverly tucked away at mid-block and building rear locations to deemphasize the automobile and prioritize the pedestrian experience. This approach works well to maintain a continuous yet variegated building frontage that avoids the monolithic appearance of typical housing projects while at the same time keeping eyes on the street to promote safety and security. By reconnecting Jonestown to the rest of the city, the Albemarle Square residential development effectively integrates itself within the context of historic Baltimore.

The high quality of the public realm in this project has been matched by the quality of materials and fixtures incorporated in the buildings themselves. Traditional building materials such as limestone and brick are used for both market rate and affordable housing units, thus maintaining the same standards for design and quality across socioeconomic lines. Removing the disparity in visual appearance for subsidized units shows lower income residents that they have not been ignored in the development process. Extending beauty of the urban realm for all segments of the population, Albemarle Square incorporates New Urbanist features ranging from public art, green open space, an urban street network and historically derivative building types to reinforce aesthetic cohesion with the surrounding neighborhoods. Achieving

a good level of density comparable to that of adjacent areas, the project incorporates predominantly three-story buildings with appropriate street widths to foster a sense of comfort and security for the pedestrian. The streets are kept to a modest width of two travel lanes and two parking lanes in most cases so as not to dwarf the buildings and create a feeling of low-density anti-urbanity. In this application of New Urbanist design principles, a healthy urban realm has been achieved that serves modern needs while simultaneously blending with the historic context of the area.

AFFORDABILITY AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT AT FLAG HOUSE COURTS

While from a design and aesthetic standpoint the project has been largely successful in achieving a good blend of old and new, the commercial development and affordable housing aspects of the project have not fully lived up to the expectations of some community members. Merchants have been disappointed by the lack of significant commercial development intended to accentuate the transformation that Albemarle Square brought about from a housing standpoint. While business owners recognize that the new residential units will prove integral to the retail corridor's success, they also understand that a complete and sustainable rebirth of the community will require neighborhood-serving retail and services. Thus far the city has fallen short in attracting this level of commercial development. Merchants believe that the public sector could work to attract new businesses by offering incentives such as tax breaks and low-interest loans that would lessen the underwriting risk for potential investors. Whether or not this area of Jonestown can once again boast a sustainable mix of uses, income levels, ethnic backgrounds and retail still remains to be seen. Developers pursued residential development prior to commercial revitalization, leaving Main Street merchants to wonder, "If you build the houses, will the businesses come?"²²⁵

²²⁵ Feiler.

Although this question remains unanswered, the project has otherwise proven quite successful. While Albemarle Square effectively reconnects this area of Jonestown with nearby neighborhoods, the integration of East Lombard Street with new commercial development has not yet been achieved.

While the residential redevelopment at Albemarle Square has proven much more successful than the commercial redevelopment of Corned Beef Row, the project has still managed to attract disapproval from affordable housing advocates who claim that this development does not sufficiently address the needs of the city's poorest residents. Of the 336 new units that have risen in place of Flag House Courts, only a fraction of them are occupied by former residents of the housing project. While early estimates indicated that 40% of former Flag House Courts residents would return to live in Albemarle Square, the real figures have been as little as half that.²²⁶ The HOPE VI program has often received criticism on this issue by not requiring one-to-one replacement of new subsidized units with the number previously available. This policy attracts developers by offering them the flexibility of working with lower densities.²²⁷ While not all former residents of Flag House Courts are accommodated at Albemarle Square, by reducing the concentration of poverty that existed on this site for half a century a more socially, economically and racially integrated environment is created that enhances the upward mobility of its most disadvantaged residents.

While the efforts of HOPE VI in facilitating the integration of affordable housing and good urban design into severely distressed inner-city neighborhoods often goes overlooked in the critical literature surrounding New Urbanism, the program has been incredibly effective over the past two decades in revitalizing existing urban areas. Adhering to the belief that "good design can improve the quality, durability, marketability, and community acceptance of inner-city revitalization efforts," HOPE

²²⁶ Architectural Record, "Urban Design," *Architectural Record* Vol. 189 Issue 5 (May 2001): 142.

²²⁷ Anft.

VI provides an innovative framework for reconciling historic preservation with New Urbanism.²²⁸ In the redevelopment of Flag House Courts, historic preservation functions within the New Urbanist context of the project in the form of cultural, religious and community assets. Although demolition of severely blighted properties was undertaken during this project, the existing historic assets stand to gain great benefit from the added reinvestment of new housing in the neighborhood. New Urbanism engages directly with historic properties by extending into adjacent areas beyond the bounds of the housing project site in order to blur the edges between new and old. The relationship between the conservation of historic properties and New Urbanist interventions at Albemarle Square proves mutually beneficial by providing community amenities within historic structures for residents housed in sensitive new construction. Carefully balancing new and old, public and private realms, New Urbanist design and integrative adaptive reuse and optimization of existing assets, the Flag House Courts redevelopment project offers an inspirational example of the benefit to be gained by taking advantage of the past within a modern context.

²²⁸ Deitrick and Ellis, 428.

CHAPTER 5

Downtown Revitalization, Redwood City, California

Category	Urban Retrofit and Infill
Land Area	6 acres
Built Area	85,000 square feet retail, 4,200 seat cinema, 0.5 acre public square
Designer	Freedman Tung & Bottomly
Developers	Blake Hunt Ventures, City of Redwood City, City of Redwood City Redevelopment Agency, Innisfree Ventures LLC
Historic Area	Downtown Redwood City
Key Dates	1853 – Simon Mezes acquires land and small town settlement 1856 – Redwood City plan adopted, city becomes San Mateo County seat 1858 – First courthouse built on Broadway Street 1863 – Railroad comes to Redwood City 1906 – San Francisco earthquake brings displaced residents to city 1910 – Fourth and final courthouse completed 1939 – Courthouse annex built 1998 – Fox Theatre purchased for rehabilitation 2005 – Courthouse annex building demolished 2007 – Courthouse Square opens, receives CNU Charter Award

PROJECT BACKGROUND

Located halfway between San Francisco and San Jose, the city of Redwood City, California provided the raw materials that fueled the region to prominence in the 19th century. What began as a Spanish estate owned by the Arguello family soon boasted a planned town and the county seat of San Mateo County. Benefitting from its close proximity to San Francisco, Redwood City enjoyed a healthy mix of commuter residents

and local businesses until the early years of the 20th century. Yet population explosion and rapid suburban expansion following the Second World War had a detrimental impact on the health and vitality of downtown as area residents turned to suburban locations for work, home and entertainment. In an attempt to reclaim its historic core, the city undertook New Urbanist based design interventions for the redevelopment of its Courthouse Square, theatre district and Main Street thoroughfare. This allowed the city to reposition itself as a regional hub for culture and entertainment. Combining historic preservation with sensitive infill and restructuring of the public realm, Redwood City's downtown revitalization program has achieved an excellent balance between new and old to strengthen the urban core.

REDWOOD CITY'S RISE TO PROMINENCE

The area now known as Redwood City was initially part of a larger Spanish rancho under the ownership of the Arguello family. Under their management the land served agricultural functions including livestock grazing and food production that supplied the local missions. As San Francisco grew to the north, the abundant forests of the Santa Cruz Mountains near Redwood City provided the raw materials necessary for its expansion. The city soon became a hub for logging and shipping undertaken on the deep water channel called Redwood Creek that connected the settlement to San Francisco Bay. As these industries grew, a small settlement of workers emerged near the wharf. In 1853 when lawyer Simon Mezes acquired this portion of the Arguello property as payment for defending the family's claim to the land before the U.S. Land Commission, he set out to develop a more coherent town plan for the haphazard settlement. Under his direction the land was surveyed and subdivided in 1856, resulting in an overlay of streets and blocks that remain to the present day (Figure 35). For the



FIGURE 35. Redwood City, initially called Mezesville, was surveyed in 1856 under the direction of town founder Simon Mezes. The heart of downtown maintains much of this original design to the present day. Image by City of Redwood City (all rights reserved), <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/history/mezesville.html>

town now known as Redwood City, Mezes began the tradition of setting aside space for public life by incorporating public parks and squares into the original plan.²²⁹

Bolstered by a strong business base, large population and available land, the newly-minted Redwood City became the county seat of San Mateo County in 1856. To serve its new civic role a county courthouse—the first of four in this location—was built on Broadway Street between Hamilton and Middlefield in 1858. By the latter half of the 19th century the city’s industrial base branched out to include shipbuilding, blacksmithing, tanneries and expanded shipping services. As activity at the wharf increased, a secondary node of commercial activity developed near the intersection of Broadway and Main Streets. With the introduction of the railroad in 1863, development in the downtown accelerated and residential construction in the area picked up as wealthy San Francisco commuters relocated to Redwood City. Despite these key advances in business development and transportation, the city witnessed a slow rate of population growth over the latter half of the century. While the wharf continued to serve as a hub of commercial activity, the lumber industry faded as other employment opportunities became available in the sectors of government, education and farming.²³⁰

In 1906, just as the third County Courthouse was completed, the San Francisco earthquake decimated the structure and sent a flood of displaced residents to Redwood City (Figure 36). While the dome and rotunda of the Courthouse were salvageable, the rest of the building was entirely rebuilt, eventually opening in 1910 (Figure 37). The number of commuter residents in Redwood City continued to grow as the 20th century progressed, yet the city still maintained a local business base of agricultural and industrial enterprises including tanneries, nurseries, light manufacturing and fruit canneries. As the lumber trade continued to wane, development focus shifted away

²²⁹ Redwood City Redevelopment, “Downtown Yesterday,” Redwood City Redevelopment, <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/history/index.html> (accessed April 5, 2009).

²³⁰ Ibid.



FIGURE 36. The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 decimated the third San Mateo County Courthouse. The dome and rotunda were salvaged for the fourth and final courthouse that now stands on the site. *Image by City of Redwood City (all rights reserved), <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/history/courthouse3.html>*



FIGURE 37. The fourth and final San Mateo County Courthouse was completed in 1910. The dome and rotunda of the current building were salvaged from the 1906 Courthouse that suffered irreparable damage from the San Francisco earthquake that same year. *Image by roarofthefour, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/18702768@N04/1934983450>*

from the port and moved inland along Broadway Street, establishing this thoroughfare as the commercial hub of the city. Increasing population and suburban expansion in the period following the Second World War led to decentralized development radiating out from the city center. A key player in the emerging economy of Silicon Valley, Redwood City became home to game developers Electronic Arts, the inventors of SimCity.²³¹ While population growth necessitated the construction of new governmental, civic and institutional buildings downtown, the proliferation of sprawling suburban development patterns drained life and vitality from the city center. By the end of the 20th century, civic leaders and community members recognized the need for public-private intervention to save the historic core of the city, and began formulating plans for a revitalization strategy to reposition the downtown.²³²

NEW URBANIST INTERVENTIONS REVITALIZE DOWNTOWN REDWOOD CITY

By the end of the 20th century the draining effect of suburban sprawl earned Redwood City the nickname “Deadwood City.”²³³ Although several attempts to revive downtown were made during this time, they failed to produce any significant results. Recognizing that a much more daring and innovative approach was needed, the city developed a New Urbanist approach for the revitalization of downtown. The resulting plan consisted of three subprojects developed through a series of public workshops, each working towards the goal of restoring public open space, encouraging economic development and transforming Redwood City into the cultural and entertainment capitol of the region. The first project was the redevelopment of the half-acre site south of the 1910 Beaux-Arts County Courthouse, now used as a local history museum

²³¹ Mike Connor, “No More Deadwood,” *Metro Active*, January 10, 2006, <http://www.metroactive.com/metro/01.10.07/downtown-redwood-city-0702.html> (accessed April 5, 2009).

²³² Redwood City Redevelopment.

²³³ Jon Zirkle, “Courthouse Square, Theatre Way and Broadway Streetscape,” Congress for the New Urbanism, <http://www.cnu.org/node/873> (accessed February 20, 2009).

and event space. While the building originally featured a public square fronting on Broadway Street between Hamilton and Middlefield, a 1939 annex on this site obscured the Courthouse from view and took away the city's sole public gathering space (Figure 38). This insensitive addition was demolished in 2005, thereby opening up the site for redevelopment. Rehabilitation of the Courthouse façade and the construction of a new public square where the annex once stood reintegrated this area of the city as a key visual node and public open space (Figure 39). The redevelopment of this plaza also included the addition of two pavilions located on the east and west ends of the square that frame the vista from the Courthouse south towards the striking tiered façade of the 1928 Art Deco Fox Theatre (Figures 40-41).

The second component of this revitalization strategy was a key element in repositioning Redwood City as an entertainment destination. The one-block section of Middlefield Road located south of Broadway was reconfigured as "Theatre Way," which serves as a bridge between the restored Fox Theatre to the west and a new cinema-retail development called On Broadway to the east (Figure 42). Developed as a public-private partnership between the City of Redwood City, the Redevelopment Agency of the City of Redwood City (RDA) and Innisfree Ventures, LLC, On Broadway features 85,000 square feet of ground floor retail and alfresco dining, a 20 screen/4,200 seat movie theatre on the second floor and a 590-space, two-level below grade parking garage owned and operated by the City of Redwood City.²³⁴ With a substantial number of restaurants located between this new development and the historic Fox Theatre, downtown is marketable as a cultural and entertainment destination bustling with activity both day and night. Theatre Way is designed as a shared use street that provides flex space to accommodate diners or parking as the situation demands. In addition to this section of Middlefield Road, the third design intervention undertaken as part of the revitalization

²³⁴ City of Redwood City, "Downtown Renaissance," Redwood City Now, <http://redwoodcitynow.com/renaissance.html> (accessed April 5, 2009).



FIGURE 38. The San Mateo County Courthouse's 1939 annex severed the southward view of the historic Fox Theatre. The tip of the cupola atop the Courthouse dome is barely visible behind this addition. *Image by Seth Gaines, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/sethgaines/2541876>*

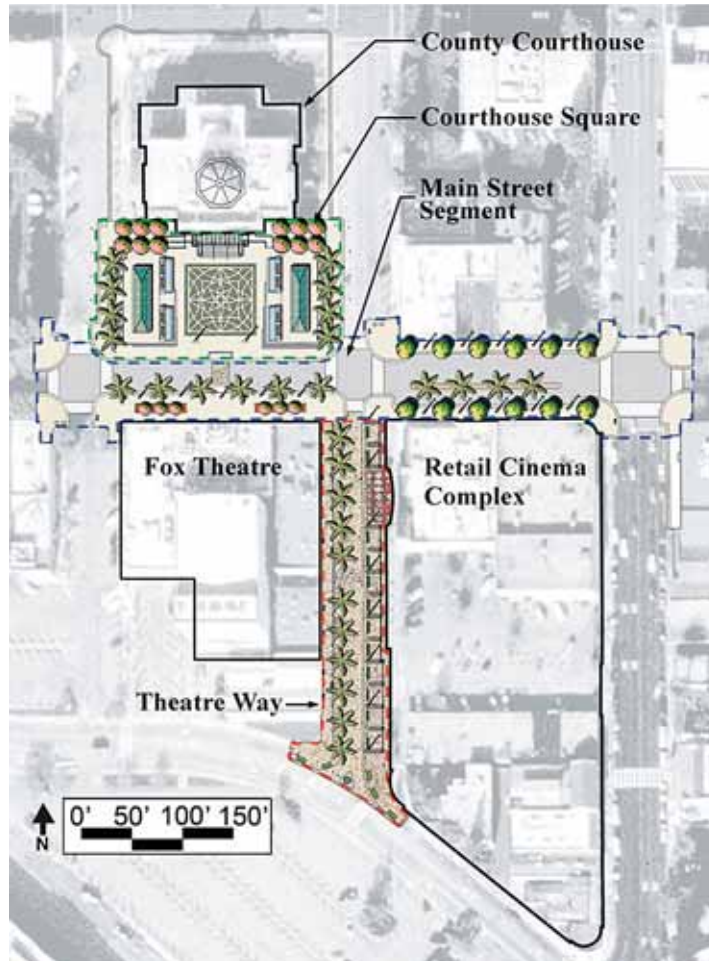


FIGURE 39. The revitalization scheme for downtown Redwood City consists of three intervention areas: redevelopment of Courthouse Square, construction of the On Broadway mixed-use cinema complex and a comprehensive streetscaping program. Image by Freedman Tung & Bottomly, https://www.cnu.org/sites/www.cnu.org/files/Redwood%20City_1.jpg



FIGURE 40. Two new pavilions have been constructed on the east and west ends of Courthouse Square. These buildings allow for indoor and outdoor dining and add life to the new public plaza. *Image by Freedman Tung & Bottomly, https://www.cnu.org/sites/www.cnu.org/files/Redwood%20City_2.jpg*



FIGURE 41. The 1928 Art Deco style Fox Theatre is the crown jewel of Redwood City's downtown entertainment district. The theatre anchors the south end of the newly redeveloped Courthouse Square. *Image by (nz)dave, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/nzdave/497263322>*

strategy is a cohesive streetscaping program along the two-block area of Broadway connecting Courthouse Square with the Theatre District (Figure 43). This intervention includes wider sidewalks, narrower travel lanes, patterned paving, custom street lighting and the planting of large Canary Island Date Palm trees to create a unified aesthetic for the downtown revitalization scheme.²³⁵ Backed by new residential development in the downtown, this program has set Redwood City on a new course in the battle against the draining effects of sprawl.

These three recently completed projects are part of a larger comprehensive plan aimed at enhancing the ability of the city to attract new residents and increase business activity. Redwood City's Downtown Revitalization Strategy and Precise Plan, adopted in May of 2007, is a design-specific vision of the city's future (Figure 44). The plan encourages development by outlining a firm yet clear set of standards backed by the commitment of the city in achieving this vision, and sets in place a streamlined approvals process for developers that meet these standards. The plan was developed by Freedman Tung & Bottomly (FTB), the urban design firm in charge of the Courthouse Square, Theatre Way and streetscape improvement projects. The result of a series of civic engagement forums, the plan effectively rezones downtown to ensure that new construction harmonizes with and respects the historic character of the city.²³⁶ With the goal of increasing the density of residential and office development in the city, the plan fosters the continued growth of a mixed-use, walkable downtown that takes advantage of transit connectivity at the city's Caltrain station.²³⁷ The Precise Plan stresses high quality and beautiful new construction, flexible mixed-use building types, well-designed public spaces, historic preservation and "restorative infill" that replaces low-density

²³⁵ Zirkle.

²³⁶ Connor.

²³⁷ Paul Shigley, "California's Best and Worst Mid-Sized City Downtowns," California Planning & Development Report, September 10, 2007, <http://www.cp-dr.com/node/1782> (accessed April 6, 2009).



FIGURE 42. The On Broadway cinema complex respects the scale, massing and style of adjacent Fox Theatre while disguising its size with ground floor retail and variegated façades along the street. *Image by City of Redwood City (all rights reserved), http://redwoodcitynow.com/images/streetscape_big.jpg*



FIGURE 43. The streetscaping campaign for downtown Redwood City brands the new entertainment district with a unified and coherent aesthetic. Custom Art Deco style streetlamps and Canary Island Date Palms resonate with the architectural and regional context. *Image by Ed Bierman, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/edbierman/2499253413>*

suburban buildings in the downtown with denser urban buildings over time.²³⁸ By focusing on these key elements, the plan seeks to enhance the emotional connection of residents to the downtown. As downtown development coordinator Dan Zack, AICP and senior planner Blake Lyon ponder, “How sustainable is a place if it is abandoned or neglected within a generation due to lack of affection for it?”²³⁹ Honing in on the city’s “lovability” factor, they argue, is the key to creating and sustaining a place that is functional and responsive to the needs of its workers, residents and visitors. Armed with a vision for the future, Redwood City is poised on the edge of a true renaissance.

INTEGRATION OF NEW URBANISM AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The revitalization of downtown Redwood City is a successful example of New Urbanism and historic preservation coming together to revitalize and reposition a struggling downtown. This scheme has all the amenities of a modern commercial and entertainment district with the authenticity and connectivity inherent in developing in an existing urban area. Through three discrete interventions in the built environment the RDA focused on enhancing the regional draw of entertainment and commercial offerings in the city to bolster the downtown economy, create a new center of public life and brand the city with a distinct visual aesthetic. In coordination with this revitalization strategy the city has also taken a progressive approach to traffic management with a free-market parking meter system that reduces vehicle miles traveled (VMT) and improves the pedestrian experience of downtown. Taking an integrative approach to revitalization, retrofit and infill in the urban core, Redwood City achieves the New Urbanist vision of a walkable, mixed-use district with transit connectivity and a robust

²³⁸ Dan Zack and Blake Lyon, “Sustainability and the Downtown Redwood City Precise Plan,” Redwood City Redevelopment, 6, <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/tomorrow/Sustainability%20and%20the%20Downtown%20Redwood%20City%20Precise%20Plan.pdf> (accessed February 28, 2009).

²³⁹ Ibid., 5.

public realm, yet does so within the context of a historic commercial corridor. This model can serve as an example for other cities by demonstrating that New Urbanism has the potential to bring about greatly transformative impacts for historic commercial corridors.

NEW URBANIST DESIGN WITHIN A HISTORIC CONTEXT: REPOSITIONING DOWNTOWN

The downtown revitalization of Redwood City grew out of the belief that in repositioning the regional draw of the city a careful balance had to be met between new construction and preservation of the city's rich historic building stock. Like many American cities, Redwood City inherited an overabundance of surface parking lots as a result of urban renewal. Recognizing that unique place qualities, a rich pedestrian experience and great public spaces are a competitive advantage of downtown—not abundant surface parking—the city reworked its strategy for improving the urban core. The first step in this process was the redevelopment of Courthouse Square. A 1939 annex constructed on the front lawn of the Courthouse damaged the building's façade and severed its visual connection to Fox Theatre. Recognizing the creation of a new public square as a top priority for the revitalization of downtown, City Council approved the design of the Courthouse Square redevelopment in 2004 and completed construction in February of 2007. The annex was demolished in 2005 as part of a \$12 million project that also included the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Courthouse's south portico. Strict directives of proportion and scale were adhered to for the design of the new public square so that it would respect the character of the historic Courthouse and Fox Theatre and maintain the human scale of the plaza.²⁴⁰ Also included in the redevelopment are two partially open air pavilions on the east and west ends of the plaza that serve as dining and vendor space, water fountains, landscaping features and café seating which serve to invigorate the plaza and ensure its usage day and night.²⁴¹ The project was awarded a Charter Award from the Congress for the

²⁴⁰ Zirkle.

²⁴¹ City of Redwood City.

New Urbanism in 2007, a testament to its achievement of the goals advocated by the CNU, yet with the important benefit of being accomplished in partnership with historic preservation in an existing urban area.²⁴²

The second step in the revitalization program represented the key element in repositioning downtown Redwood City as a regional entertainment destination. The RDA acquired a strategic site in the city center east of the historic Fox Theatre through eminent domain and sold the air rights to developers Innisfree Ventures, LLC and Blake Hunt Ventures. On Broadway, designed by Field Paoli Architects, was developed through this public-private partnership as a mixed-use cinema, dining and retail complex. The city undertook construction of a two-story parking garage beneath the new theatre complex to ensure the maximum amount of mixed-use development above ground.²⁴³ The Century Theatres building of On Broadway directly communicates with key historic icons including the Beaux-Arts San Mateo County Courthouse and the Art Deco Fox Theatre. As such, careful consideration was given to its massing, scale and architectural style to ensure that it respected this context.²⁴⁴ With 173,000 square feet of façade area, there was a risk that the building might take on a monolithic appearance and overwhelm adjacent buildings. Looking to historic precedents within the downtown, designers found that buildings in the core had façades ranging from 25 to 100 feet in width. Thus the façades of On Broadway are broken up at similar intervals, articulated in a variety of architectural styles and incorporate setbacks at the second story level to enliven the pedestrian experience and deemphasize the building mass.²⁴⁵ Adhering to a strict set of architectural design guidelines, the city has shown its commitment to reinforcing the contextual dimension of new construction to preserve the authenticity of the historic downtown.

²⁴² Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design, "Redwood City Courthouse Square," Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design, http://www.ftscities.com/Redwood_City_Courthouse_Square (accessed April 5, 2009).

²⁴³ Connor.

²⁴⁴ Taylor and Anderson, 94.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

To visually and physically connect the interventions undertaken at Courthouse Square and the Theatre District, a streetscaping campaign was also developed as a joint effort between the city and the RDA. In an attempt to transfer the beauty and grandeur of the Fox Theatre and San Mateo County Courthouse to the pedestrian scale, this streetscape improvement project energizes the public realm with both vertical and horizontal elements. These include custom streetlamps, colonnades of Canary Island Date Palms, decorative paving materials, street furniture and outdoor dining areas that visually link the public plaza to Theatre Way.²⁴⁶ The space between buildings has been designed as flex space that can transition from parking during the day to public gathering space in the evenings. Traffic calming devices such as curb bump-outs, wide sidewalks, narrow travel lanes and a drop-off area in front of Century Theatres prioritize pedestrians over motorists.²⁴⁷ Just as these improvements have branded the downtown with a unified aesthetic, the experience for motorists coming into the city is being handled in a similar way. Soon after exiting the highway on the way into downtown, a coherent signage system serves as a wayfinding device to engage the visitor experience.²⁴⁸ By repositioning itself as a marketable destination for retail, dining and entertainment, Redwood City has adopted a stylistic iconography to assert its position as a cultural hub.

Yet in the revitalization of downtown Redwood City new development is only one part of the equation. Preservation is playing a key role in the city's emergence as a regional entertainment destination as historic buildings are being reconstituted as live music venues. Real estate developer and club owner John Anagnostou spearheaded the creation of a live music scene where none existed before by personally buying up historic properties to rehabilitate as clubs and concert venues. Believing that

²⁴⁶ City of Redwood City.

²⁴⁷ Zirkle.

²⁴⁸ Connor.

quality of life should be the key component of a downtown revitalization strategy, Anagnostou purchased the 1,400-seat Fox Theatre in October of 1998 with the goal of repositioning Redwood City as a world-class entertainment district. As he explains, “Live entertainment and musicians are the soul of a city. If you don’t have a vibrant music scene, you don’t have a vibrant city. You can do all the fancy fountains, do all the fancy theaters, do the malls...but if there’s no music scene, there’s no culture.”²⁴⁹ With this vision in mind, Anagnostou went on to purchase the 1886 Alhambra Theatre and the 1913 Forrester’s Hall, both of which have been adaptively reused as venues for the city’s bustling jazz and blues scene. For places like Redwood City nestled in the heart of Silicon Valley, historic authenticity and a vibrant public realm are scarce commodities in a landscape dominated by placeless sprawl. Anagnostou argues that, “what we want is real buildings with real people, with real history, and a real music scene. Not generic Hard Rock Cafés and Planet Hollywoods...we don’t like generic. We hate it, as a matter of fact.”²⁵⁰ The creation of an entertainment district offering both cinema and live music options is now attracting area residents to the downtown. The chance to go shopping, catch dinner and a movie, and take a walk downtown was not available a decade ago, but now these opportunities are enabling the community to discover the joys of urban life and a vibrant public realm. Taking the revitalization model beyond mere design interventions, Redwood City tackled the economic aspects of its rebirth as well by creating a mixed-use district for entertainment that sustains activity in the downtown both day and night.

REPOSITIONING DOWNTOWN AS A NEW ECONOMIC CENTER

The city’s downtown revitalization strategy, spearheaded through a joint effort by public entities and private individuals, emerged from the belief that a vibrant city is

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

an entertainment city. In addition to the construction of the Century Theatres movie cinema and the rehabilitation of four live music venues, retail development at the On Broadway complex also provided new opportunities for the struggling downtown shopping district. Extending economic activity in the city to include national retail tenants such as Borders, New York Pizza, Cost Plus World Market and Shoe Pavilion, the RDA sought to bolster existing tenants in the city, particularly local restaurants. Placing an emphasis on expanded retail offerings provides the critical mass of consumers needed to support the restaurants, movie theatres and live music venues located downtown.²⁵¹ Several recently completed housing projects, including affordable housing units at Villa Montgomery Apartments on El Camino Real, are working towards the vision of creating a vibrant downtown district. With plans for expanded office space and increased residential development the city is laying the groundwork for a truly mixed-use, 24/7 urban center. Links to transit and a future high-speed rail line are part of the city's vision outlined in the Precise Plan that will further enhance the vitality of downtown by improving regional and statewide connectivity.²⁵² The Precise Plan also outlines a strategy of targeted infill over the short, medium and long term, thus planning for the continued densification of downtown.²⁵³ While entertainment offerings are jumpstarting Redwood City's renaissance, the city recognizes that a diversity of uses is required to sustain downtown for the long term.

In pursuit of becoming a cultural and entertainment center for the region, Redwood City has also revamped its parking management system. The city has adopted the model developed by UCLA urban planning professor Dr. Donald Shoup, whose research demonstrates that drivers searching for parking spots are the major source of

²⁵¹ Taylor and Anderson, 97.

²⁵² Zack and Lyon, 4.

²⁵³ Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design, "Redwood City Downtown Revitalization Strategy and Precise Plan," Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design, <http://www.ftscities.com/RedwoodCityRevitalizationStrategyandSpecificPlan> (accessed April 5, 2009).

traffic congestion in downtown commercial districts. To improve quality of life, reduce air pollution from vehicle emissions and support continued economic development, Shoup advocates a free-market parking strategy that places higher hourly rates on parking spots relative to their proximity to the busiest thoroughfares (Figure 45). In Redwood City for instance, parking spots on the main street of Broadway are 75 cents per hour while rates on secondary streets radiating out from the center of downtown are reduced accordingly.²⁵⁴ This method ensures the optimum balance of occupancy and vacancy, which Shoup has established as 85% to 15% respectively. These ratios ensure sufficient usage of the parking while guaranteeing the availability of spaces at all times, thus reducing the time required to find a spot. Time limits for parking in the city have also been lifted so that it is possible to catch dinner and a movie and not have to worry about getting ticketed. To sell this scheme to downtown businesses, the city directly allocates all parking revenues in excess of system maintenance fees towards downtown maintenance programs such as sidewalk cleaning and security.²⁵⁵ From design interventions to economic development, the revitalization of downtown Redwood City takes a comprehensive approach to improving the quality of life for residents, employees and visitors.

CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

Redwood City's innovative downtown revitalization approach effectively integrates New Urbanism and historic preservation into a unified vision for the health and vitality of the city. The Precise Plan addresses the long-term social and economic sustainability of these initiatives, and projects completed thus far prove that the city and development community are equally committed to making this vision a reality. Yet

²⁵⁴ Ceri Au, "The New Science of Parking," *Time*, July 9, 2007, <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1641244,00.html> (accessed April 6, 2009).

²⁵⁵ Rachel Gordon, "S.F. Plans Market Rates for Prized Parking Spaces," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 12, 2007.



FIGURE 44. Redwood City’s Precise Plan stresses design-specific approaches to future downtown revitalization. The proposed Depot Circle would concentrate new mixed-use development around the Redwood City Caltrain station. *Image by Freedman Tung & Bottomly (all rights reserved), <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/tomorrow/Precise%20Plan/Picture4.jpg>*



FIGURE 45. Redwood City has taken an innovative approach to parking management. Adopting the model espoused by Dr. Donald Shoup, rates are based on proximity to the heart of downtown. *Image by City of Redwood City (all rights reserved), <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/Parking/New/New%20Parking%20Price%20Map.pdf>*

continued growth and transformation must go beyond entertainment to support a truly mixed-use downtown that fits the lifestyle needs of residents, employees and visitors alike. This is where historic preservation and New Urbanism can continue to work hand in hand by promoting the authenticity of the city while providing for sensitive new construction that serves the needs of modern lifestyles. Redwood City is well-positioned to have a transformative impact within the Silicon Valley region and to serve as a model for communities throughout the U.S. This case offers a compelling best practice example of how, amidst the challenges of sprawling suburban development patterns and prolific decentralization, a committed partnership between public and private entities can work together to revive existing urban centers.

NEW URBANIST FEATURES IN REDWOOD CITY'S DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION

Undertaking a campaign targeted at urban restructuring and infill, the city is showing the private development community that strengthening downtown as an alternative to sprawl and decentralization has political backing. Taking advantage of the assets that already exist in the downtown has already initiated a series of new investments in the urban core. Yet thus far the preservation of historic resources has been primarily undertaken by private developers, and the large new construction projects have been spearheaded by the public sector. Fostering increased synergies between the public and private sectors for both new construction projects and preservation initiatives will help to mitigate the risk of involvement for private developers and encourage sustainable land use patterns through reinvestment in the urban core. In this way the city can improve the development climate for smaller investors, which will serve to reinforce the authentic and locally-based character of the downtown.

The revitalization of downtown Redwood City, California adheres to a high standard of New Urbanist design while simultaneously incorporating the preservation of important architectural icons. Recognizing that quality of life is perhaps the most important factor in attracting the creative class, the city has taken advantage of its authenticity and unique place qualities to enhance the competitive advantage of downtown. Supporting preservation in conjunction with sensitive infill development and the reintegration of streets, plazas and other elements of the public realm, the city's revitalization strategy merges the authenticity of a historic Main Street corridor with the amenities of a modern entertainment and shopping district. Achieving what the New Urbanists have advocated all along, Redwood City has developed a walkable, mixed-use development in proximity to transit that prioritizes public space and has enough variety of goods and services to provide activity in the district both day and night. While the scope of this transformation is limited to a few city blocks thus far, plans in the pipeline will continue to build on this precedent by increasing the concentration of residential and mixed-use development that is urban in form, scale, character and orientation. Adopting a nuanced architectural vocabulary that pays homage to historic buildings in the downtown and developing a cohesive branding scheme based on visual cohesion creates a unified image for the city that reinforces and enhances its unique place qualities.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENT IN REDWOOD CITY

While the repositioning of downtown as a regional entertainment and nightlife destination has proven successful for new retailers and local restaurants located in Redwood City, the city must also expand and diversify its mixed-use formats to include increased office space, commercial development and housing. This will allow the city to increase the critical mass of downtown residents and workers necessary to support

transit and expanded retail offerings. As a policy tool the Redwood City Precise Plan lays the groundwork necessary for achieving this future vision of downtown. The plan imposes minimum height requirements to encourage housing density and increased mixed-use development and advocates a strategy of incremental and organic growth.²⁵⁶ Continuing to include provisions for affordable housing will allow the city to develop a sustainable residential base. By creating a truly mixed-use city center that combines governmental, civic, commercial, residential and entertainment uses, Redwood City will be able to sustain its transformation and reduce auto dependency by locating people closer to the places they need to go. While the innovative approach to managing parking and congestion in the downtown is a great first step in achieving sustainability goals and reducing VMT, these interventions still place much of the emphasis on vehicular travel. Low-density development patterns just beyond downtown reveal that the area is still heavily dependent on private automobiles as the primary means of transportation. Increasing the density and walkability of downtown will self-reinforce a reduction in VMT, yet truly transforming land use and growth patterns in the city will require a transit system and enhanced regional rail connectivity.

In the revitalization of downtown Redwood City, New Urbanism and historic preservation go hand in hand to reinforce the unique place qualities of the city and improve the quality of life for visitors, employees and residents. In repositioning itself as a regional entertainment destination, the city has taken a flexible approach to finding the space required to meet these needs. Historic buildings such as the Fox and Alhambra Theatres are not conducive to the standards of modern movie theatres, yet they are easily adaptable as live music venues and offer the funky appeal of vintage architectural elements. As a complement to these historic venues, sensitive new construction such as Century Theatres offers all the conveniences of a large scale, 20-screen movie

²⁵⁶ Zack and Lyon, 4-5.

theatre, yet does so in a cleverly disguised architectural language that prevents the building from becoming a windowless big box in the heart of downtown. In Redwood City the relationship between historic preservation and New Urbanism has been mutually beneficial. Historic structures ranging from large civic buildings to intimate jazz clubs have been carefully and respectfully rehabilitated to add authenticity and excitement to downtown. At the same time, new interventions such as On Broadway and the comprehensive streetscaping program prove that it is possible to find a happy medium between retaining historic architecture and providing 21st century amenities. The New Urbanist vision of walkable, mixed-use and attractive places that prioritize the pedestrian and resurrect the central city are finally becoming a reality. Instead of further development on greenfield sites, reinvesting in the historic core unites the community and takes advantage of the assets and infrastructure that already exist. The case of Redwood City is already reshaping the way local residents perceive the center city. If strategies such as this are continued in cities across the nation, the CNU will be in a position to have a positive and transformative impact on the nation's historic downtowns.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

New Urbanism and historic preservation both advance traditional urbanism as a key ingredient in promoting quality of life and fighting urban sprawl. It is surprising that two fields so closely allied in mission have often developed an antagonistic role in practice. Finding a middle ground between adaptive reuse and new construction, urban restructuring and new town development, will ensure that the towns and cities of the future offer the best of both worlds. Places that respect the built cultural legacy of the past while allowing for new architecture that responds to the needs of future generations will enable preservationists and design professionals to coexist in a way that benefits the nation's cities and their inhabitants. As mixed-use urban formats become increasingly popular in the marketplace, Main Street has the opportunity to capitalize on this shift in consumer preferences. What is best for the bottom line is now often what is best for the environment and the inhabitants of the nation's cities and towns. What began as a niche following amongst a few colleagues nearly thirty years ago has blossomed into what the late Herbert Muschamp called, "the most important phenomenon to emerge in American architecture in the post-Cold War era."²⁵⁷ The New Urbanist movement has already had a tremendous impact on planning and development

²⁵⁷ Muschamp.

in the U.S., it is of paramount importance to ensure that this trend has a positive impact on the historic built environment in the coming century.

As a late 20th century response to urban planning and design of the previous century, New Urbanism incorporates elements of earlier approaches to city design. The optimism of the CNU stems from the underlying assumption that urbanism, and the practice of its design, is an iterative process that through constant reinterpretation becomes progressively better with time. This, as Talen points out, is not necessarily true of other segments of the design community. Yet the notion is almost elementary in its simplicity. By approaching the design of cities through a composite framework, it is more likely that the missteps of previous generations can serve as the foundation for better policy and practices in the future. In New Urbanism practice is what Talen describes as an interwoven set of elements representing the best practices of planning precedents, from the regionalism of Benton MacKaye, to the incremental interventions espoused by Allan and Jane Jacobs, to the resurrection of civic architecture and the importance of the public realm that stems from the influence of Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets.²⁵⁸ While New Urbanism picks and chooses which traditions it will retain and which practices it will just as quickly discard or overlook, it is still one of the most integrative of planning approaches to date.

The three case studies show the application of New Urbanist principles in real life scenarios that impact historic commercial corridors at a range of scales. The development of the First & Main lifestyle center in downtown Hudson, Ohio shows the impact of neo-traditional planning in the context of a small Midwestern town surrounded by low-density suburban sprawl. While the city's redevelopment plan for a problematic brownfield site adjacent to the nationally registered North Main Street district was incredibly successful in strengthening the regional draw of downtown

²⁵⁸ Talen, 276.

through the infusion of new retail, this achievement has been at the expense of other small towns in the area. For historic communities nearby, the First & Main project has the same impact as a typical regional shopping mall by draining customer traffic on Main Street. In the struggling east coast city of Baltimore however, the approach taken in the redevelopment of the former Flag House Courts site responded to a much different set of issues. In this case, residential development served as the impetus for new commercial development. Yet the role of design interventions made within an urban framework is complex, and despite the bold initiative taken by HUD and the city, the private development community has yet to add significant investment in the neighborhood's existing retail corridor. The case of Redwood City, California then is perhaps the most inspiring and translatable of the three cases. Despite its location within the sprawling Silicon Valley region, the city was able to undertake an integrative approach to the infill and restructuring of its urban core through a series of partnerships between multiple developers, builders, urban design firms and private entrepreneurs. Setting the stage for a new set of policies and plans in support of a long-range vision for the future of downtown, the city successfully repositioned itself as the budding nexus of culture and community for the region. As these cases demonstrate, the balance between preservation and neo-traditional development interests are not often the easiest solutions to pursue, nor do they always produce the desired results. Yet in the continued attempt to unify the best practices of New Urbanism within the framework of existing urbanism, the mistakes encountered and lessons learned will contribute to the development of even better solutions and approaches in the years to come.

Now in light of the new administration in Washington, and the importance of cities on the national agenda for the first time in decades, conditions are right for the development of a framework to protect existing urban areas and ensure that any new growth meets the highest standards of design, density and open space

conservation. In spite of the recent economic downturn, or perhaps because of it, the time to create plans and set agendas for the near- and long-term is now. If the goal is to reduce the amount of land, energy and resources the nation consumes by reusing the infrastructure, building stock and other physical assets that already exist, then New Urbanism and historic preservation must both be a part of the equation. The two movements share common goals, including a reduction of land consumption, fostering healthy communities and privileging good design and quality construction over cheaper alternatives. It will be to the benefit of both to work together to achieve these objectives.

THE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS: STRATEGIES TO SAVE MAIN STREET

The available research on the topic of New Urbanism's role in the restructuring of existing urban areas provides a substantial amount of information on neo-traditional planning in practice, even including examples in which the preservation of historically significant commercial districts played a crucial role. Yet this literature is lacking in terms of providing a set of strategies for how to equip the nation's historic commercial districts, downtowns and Main Streets to compete in this new era of commercial development. Even within the preservation community the likes of Richard Moe, Carter Wilkie, Donovan Rypkema and Doug Loescher recognize that Main Street must be proactive in its response to this dilemma, yet they stop short before explaining what these solutions should be. So what is it going to take to ensure the viability of America's Main Streets while recognizing the momentum of return-to-urbanism forces such as the CNU? The following is a set of guiding principles and strategies necessary to improve the tactical advantage of Main Streets over their suburban competition. These recommendations each stem from the belief that a solution based on retaining the strongest representatives of the nation's built cultural legacy while allowing for the best

in new construction is the preferable course of action for outfitting the nation's cities and towns to stay competitive and viable in the new millennium.

Collaborate

The Redwood City Revitalization program did not happen overnight, nor was it executed by any one public or private entity. It took the united effort of the city and the RDA to set up the necessary policy and regulatory framework to inject confidence into the market. This encouraged developers to build urban buildings in an urban area, even though prevailing trends in the region were toward low-density suburban building typologies. By adopting a Precise Plan that defined and articulated clear goals for the short- and long-term—and showed what this would look like on the ground—more people will be able to buy into the city's vision because they understand that these physical interventions are part of a larger framework for enhancing quality of life and protecting the fabric of their communities.

Be Willing to Compromise

As the availability of undeveloped land dwindles and the population increases, future growth will begin to shift towards previously developed areas in lieu of untouched open space. As smarter growth patterns catch on and developers come into the uncharted territory of existing cities and towns, they will be challenged to think creatively in order to provide innovative solutions to the constraints of urban sites. Yet it is not solely the developers of new construction projects that will be forced to compromise. The preservation community will likewise have to think beyond the individual building level and weigh their decisions in terms of what is best for the neighborhood, the city and the region. Only then can the best new construction play a meaningful role within the context of existing urbanism.

Reduce, Reuse, Recycle

Although there are differing currents of thought within the CNU about where and how to develop—some advocate urban restructuring and infill development whereas others favor denser suburban growth patterns—the nation’s cities must prioritize one over the other. This is not to say that these two approaches cannot be pursued concurrently, they should be. But the most environmentally, socially and economically sustainable development pattern—and the one that provides the most benefit for existing cities—is the approach that incorporates sensitive new construction within the context of existing urbanism. This reduces the amount of open space consumed, reuses existing buildings and recycles the existing infrastructure networks and amenities already available in the nation’s urban centers.

Set the Stage

Ensuring that existing assets, infrastructure and building stock are optimized to their fullest potential, the policy and regulatory frameworks in place must permit the implementation of these strategies. Smart, intuitive and clear alternatives to urban sprawl must be a viable option for the development community to pursue. Streamlining the bureaucratic framework within which these plans operate will be as useful for developers as it is for local officials. These plans and policies do not have to be imposed on the private market, but they must at least be legal routes to pursue. Presenting the option of urbanism will be the first step in ensuring the desired outcomes are both allowable and achievable.

Prepare for Change

As the 21st century progresses, the lifestyle patterns of modern society will likewise evolve. While there is no way to predict how people will live, travel, work and play in the coming decades, enhancing the quality of life for future generations by providing green open space, reinforcing character-defining place qualities through the preservation of cultural heritage, and enhancing accessibility to a multi-modal transportation system will be essential. These elements have a timeless quality because they address basic human needs by providing beautiful, safe and equitable places to live. Making sure that the buildings we build today are flexible enough to accommodate the needs of tomorrow will ensure the longevity of physical investments in our cities.

Plan for Permanence

Outlining a clear yet firm vision for the future of downtown demonstrates the seriousness of these intentions to the real estate development community. This game plan should include short term goals that, once achieved, will boost confidence in the realization of bolder long-range objectives. When J.C. Nichols opened the first lifestyle center in 1923, he followed the mantra of “planning for permanence,” anticipating the repercussions of his design interventions decades into the future. Taking this approach to reinvestment in existing cities will encourage lasting, beautiful and sustainable building patterns over short term benefit. Ultimately, what is best for the nation’s cities is also best for the health of the regions in which they are located and for people to which they are home.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACP Visioning and Planning, Ltd., preparers. *Hudson, Ohio: 2004 Comprehensive Plan*. City of Hudson Document Library. http://www.hudson.oh.us/document_library.asp?Category=&Type=11&Year= (accessed March 22, 2009).
- Anderson, Steven C.F. and Brian Peter Falk, producers. *Community Builder: The Life and Legacy of J.C. Nichols*. Documentary film first aired on PBS November 2006.
- Anft, Michael. "Half Staff: Facing the End at Flag House Courts, the City's Last High-Rise Project." *Baltimore City Paper*, December 22, 1999. <http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=3641> (accessed February 20, 2009).
- Architectural Record. "Urban Design." *Architectural Record* Vol. 189 Issue 5 (May 2001): 142.
- Au, Ceri. "The New Science of Parking." *Time*, July 9, 2007. <http://www.time.com/time/printout/0,8816,1641244,00.html> (accessed April 6, 2009).
- Berke, Philip. "Questioning Assumptions 2: Does It Make a Difference?" *Planning* Vol. 72 Issue 1 (January 2006): 38-39.
- Bodzin, Steve. "New Life for Old Malls." *Journal of Housing & Community Development* Vol. 60 Issue 3 (May/June 2003): 51-55.
- Booth, John. "Hudson Merchants Unite in Marketing Effort." *Crain's Cleveland Business*, July 14, 2008. <http://www.crainsicleveland.com/article/20080714/FREE/538606688/1022/breaking> (accessed March 18, 2009).

Booth, John. "Lifestyle Change." *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 26 Issue 43 (October 24, 2005): 1, 23.

Bressi, Todd W., ed. *The Seaside Debates: A Critique of the New Urbanism*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2002.

Bzdega, Sarah. "Painting a Pretty Picture." *Des Moines Business Record* Vol. 24 Issue 36 (September 4, 2006): 1, 12-13.

City of Hudson. "City of Hudson Downtown Development." City of Hudson. <http://www.hudson.oh.us/news/downtown.asp> (accessed March 22, 2009).

City of Redwood City. "Downtown Renaissance." Redwood City Now. <http://redwoodcitynow.com/renaissance.html> (accessed April 5, 2009).

Congress for the New Urbanism. "Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism." <http://www.cnu.org/canons> (accessed March 3, 2009).

Congress for the New Urbanism. "Charter of the New Urbanism." <http://www.cnu.org/charter> (accessed March 3, 2009).

Connor, Mike. "No More Deadwood." *Metro Active*, January 10, 2006. <http://www.metroactive.com/metro/01.10.07/downtown-redwood-city-0702.html> (accessed April 5, 2009).

Corbett, Judith and Joe Velasquez. "The Ahwahnee Principles: Toward More Livable Communities." *Western City Magazine*, September 1994.

Cotiaux, Neil. "Neighborhoods: Hudson – The Community's Step Into the Future with First and Main." *Akron Life & Leisure*, November 2004, 50-56.

Cox, Colby D. "LEED-ND: Paving the Way for America's Residential Future." *Environmental Design & Construction* Vol. 8 Issue 6 (July 2005): 62.

Cozens, Paul and David Hillier. "The Shape of Things to Come: New Urbanism, the Grid and the Cul-De-Sac." *International Planning Studies* Vol. 13 Issue 1 (February 2008): 51-73.

DeGregorio, Jen. "19th Century Ice Cream Factory in East Baltimore to be Transformed Into Office Space." *The Daily Record* (Baltimore, MD), October 25, 2005.

- Deitrick, Sabina and Cliff Ellis. "New Urbanism in the Inner City: A Case Study of Pittsburgh." *Journal of the American Planning Association* Vol. 70 Issue 4 (Autumn 2004): 426-442.
- Duany, Andrés and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. "The Second Coming of the American Small Town." *Wilson Quarterly* Vol. 16 Issue 1 (Winter 1992): 19-50.
- Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company. "Welcome to SmartCode Central." SmartCode Central. <http://www.smartcodecentral.org/index.html> (accessed March 4, 2009).
- Farwell, Jennifer. "The Latest on LEED." *Preservation*, March/April 2009, 12-13.
- Feiler, Alan. "A New Beginning for Corned Beef Row." Baltimore Housing. http://www.baltimorehousing.org/pressroom_detail.asp?id=102 (accessed March 30, 2009).
- Fieser, Ezra. "Home Builders Moving Out of Suburbia and Into City Markets." *The Daily Record* (Baltimore, MD), October 14, 2004.
- Francaviglia, Richard V. *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996.
- Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design. "Redwood City Courthouse Square." Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design. http://www.ftscities.com/Redwood_City_Courthouse_Square (accessed April 5, 2009).
- Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design. "Redwood City Downtown Revitalization Strategy and Precise Plan." Freedman Tung & Sasaki Urban Design. <http://www.ftscities.com/RedwoodCityRevitalizationStrategyandSpecificPlan> (accessed April 5, 2009).
- Fulton, William. *The New Urbanism: Hope or Hype for American Communities?* Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1996.
- Gajilan, Arlyn Tobias. "Wolves in Shops' Clothing." *Fortune Small Business* Vol. 15 Issue 1 (February 2005): 16-18.
- Galantay, Ervin Y. *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present*. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1975.
- Gallery, John Andrew. *The Planning of Center City Philadelphia: From William Penn to the Present*. Philadelphia: The Center for Architecture, Inc., 2007.

- Gantt, Harvey. "New Urbanism Meets the Existing City." *Places* Vol. 12 Issue 1 (October 1998): 84-86.
- Gates, Jennifer. "A Study of Inactive Main Street Communities." Master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2005.
- Gogoi, Pallavi. "Bringing Community to the City." *Business Week Online*, February 2, 2006. http://www.businessweek.com/innovate/content/feb2006/id20060202_200657.htm (accessed March 8, 2009).
- Goldfrank, Andy. "Recent Tales from Baltimore, Maryland: Digging in the Wake of Bulldozers." *The Pontil*, May 2004.
- Gomez, Henry. "Dread Ahead on Main Street." *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 25 Issue 44 (November 1, 2004): 7-9.
- Gomez, Henry. "Hudson's Big Gamble." *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 25 Issue 27 (July 5, 2004): 3, 22.
- Gordon, David and Shayne Vipond. "Gross Density and New Urbanism." *Journal of the American Planning Association* Vol. 71 Issue 1 (Winter 2005): 41-54.
- Gordon, Rachel. "S.F. Plans Market Rates for Prized Parking Spaces." *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 12, 2007.
- Gunning, Jeff. "The Life in Lifestyle Centers." *Urban Land*, August 2006, 58-64.
- Handy, Susan. "Questioning Assumptions 1: Do New Urbanists Walk More?" *Planning* Vol. 72 Issue 1 (January 2006): 36-37.
- Hatcher, Harlan. *The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1949.
- Hazel, Debra. "Their Town: Residents in Hudson, Ohio, Had Final Say in Downtown Project." *Shopping Centers Today*, October 2004. http://www.icsc.org/srch/sct/sct1004/public_private_1.php (accessed March 24, 2009).
- Hegemann, Werner and Elbert Peets. *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art*, 8th edition. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996.
- Hinshaw, Mark. "The Case for True Urbanism." *Planning* Vol. 71 Issue 6 (June 2005): 24-27.

- "HOPE VI Funds New Urban Neighborhoods." *New Urban News*, January/February 2002. <http://www.newurbannews.com/hopeVI.html> (accessed March 31, 2009).
- Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1902.
- Hudson Heritage Association. "Hudson History." Hudson Heritage Association. <http://www.hudsonheritage.org/HudsonHistory/tabid/192/Default.aspx> (accessed March 12, 2009).
- Jackowe, David. "Old World: Remembering the Glory Days of Deli on Corned Beef Row." *Baltimore City Paper*, February 28, 2001. <http://www.citypaper.com/special/story.asp?id=6044> (accessed February 20, 2009).
- Jacobsen, Eric O. "The New Urbanism." *Christian Reflection: A Series in Faith and Ethics*, Cities and Towns Issue (2006): 28-36.
- Janson, Jean Ellen. "An Analysis of Public and Private Design Review: Neo-Traditional Development Standards and Historic Preservation Ordinances." Master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1993.
- Jewish Museum of Maryland, The. "Voices of Lombard Street: A Century of Change in East Baltimore." Exhibition Pamphlet, 2007. <http://www.jhsm.org/html/documents/JMM-134-brochure.pdf> (accessed March 4, 2009).
- Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies. "Neighborhood Effects of HOPE VI: Evidence From Baltimore." Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies. <http://ips.jhu.edu/pub/Neighborhood-Effects-of-Hope-VI-Evidence-From-Baltimore> (accessed February 20, 2009).
- Johnston, Christopher. "Chagrin Falls Looks to Protect Its Main Draw." *Crain's Cleveland Business* Vol. 19 Issue 11 (March 16, 1998): 20.
- Katz, Peter and Vincent Scully. *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community*. New York: McGraw Hill Professional, 1993.
- Leake, Eric. "The Architect of Infill." *Louisville Magazine* Vol. 60 Issue 2 (February 2009): 32-36.
- Leigh, Catesby. "The Sins of Shady Lane." *American Enterprise* Vol. 17 Issue 5 (June 2006): 22-26.

- Livable Streets Initiative. "New Urbanism." *StreetsWiki*. <http://www.livablestreets.com/streetswiki/new-urbanism> (accessed March 3, 2009).
- Loescher, Doug. "Smart Growth: New Opportunities for Main Street." *Main Street News* (January 2000).
- Lofton, Lynn. "Ocean Springs' Cottage Square Leading the Way with Mixed-use Development." *Mississippi Business Journal* Vol. 30 Issue 50 (Fall/Winter 2008): 6-7.
- Lupold, Harry F. and Gladys Haddad, eds. *Ohio's Western Reserve: A Regional Reader*. Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1988.
- Mitchell, Sandy. "Prince Charles—Not Your Typical Radical." *National Geographic* Vol. 209 Issue 5 (May 2006): 96-115.
- Moe, Richard and Carter Wilkie. *Changing Places: Rebuilding Community in the Age of Sprawl*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1997.
- Muschamp, Herbert. "Can New Urbanism Find Room for the Old?" *New York Times*, June 2, 1996, Architecture View Section.
- National Park Service. "Hudson Historic District." *Ohio and Erie Canal National Heritage Corridor*. <http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/travel/ohioeriecanal/hud.htm> (accessed March 12, 2009).
- National Register of Historic Places. "Ohio, Summit County, Historic Districts." National Register of Historic Places Historic Districts. <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/oh/Summit/districts.html> (accessed March 12, 2009).
- Neal, Peter, ed. *Urban Villages and the Making of Communities*. London: Spon Press, 2003.
- Petersen, Rachel. "HOPE VI in San Francisco." San Francisco Planning and Urban Research Association, March 2005. http://www.spur.org/documents/050301_article_01.shtm (accessed April 1, 2009).
- Redwood City Redevelopment. "Downtown Yesterday." Redwood City Redevelopment. <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/history/index.html> (accessed April 5, 2009).

- Reece, Jennifer. "First & Main Site Still Undeveloped." *Hudson Hub-Times*, January 22, 2007. <http://www.hudsonhubtimes.com/news/article/1508641> (accessed March 24, 2009).
- Ross, Nicola. "New Urbanism Stalls Without Public Transit." *Alternatives Journal* Vol. 29 Issue 3 (Summer 2003): 14.
- Rybczynski, Witold. "Seaside Revisited: A Model Town, 25 Years Later." *Slate*, February 28, 2007. <http://www.slate.com/id/2160718?nav=ais%CE%88> (accessed February 22, 2009).
- Rypkema, Donovan. *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide*. Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994.
- Rypkema, Donovan. "Why Historic Preservation is Smart Growth." Speech given at the Conference on Smart Growth, National Audubon Society of New York, March 3, 1999. <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/hp/smartgrowth/rykema.asp> (accessed March 3, 2009).
- Shapiro, Seth A. "Hybrid Redevelopment." *Urban Land*, January 2007, 73-76.
- Shields, Richard. "Blinded by the (Green) Light: The Rise of Environmentalism and a New Vocabulary—Four Perspectives." *Real Estate Issues* Vol. 33 Issue 3 (November 3, 2008): 73-78.
- Shigley, Paul. "California's Best and Worst Mid-Sized City Downtowns." California Planning & Development Report, September 10, 2007. <http://www.cp-dr.com/node/1782> (accessed April 6, 2009).
- Steuteville, Robert and Philip Langdon, eds. *New Urbanism: Comprehensive Report & Best Practices Guide*. Ithaca: New Urban Publications, Inc., 2003.
- Talen, Emily. *New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Taylor, Yann and Rob Anderson. "A Moving Target." *Urban Land*, January 2007, 92-97.
- Torti Gallas and Partners. "Flag House Courts." Torti Gallas and Partners: Neighborhoods. <http://www.tortigallaschk.com/project.asp?p=81286> (accessed March 31, 2009).
- Tu, Charles C. and Mark J. Eppli. "An Empirical Examination of Traditional Neighborhood Development." *Real Estate Economics* Vol. 29 Issue 3 (Fall 2001): 485-501.

- Tu, Charles C. and Mark J. Eppli. "Valuing New Urbanism: The Case of Kentlands." *Real Estate Economics* Vol. 27 Issue 3 (Fall 1999): 425-451.
- U.S. Green Building Council. "LEED for Neighborhood Development." U.S. Green Building Council. <http://www.usgbc.org/leed/nd> (accessed March 3, 2009).
- Van der Weele, J. "Flaghouse Courts Revitalization." Congress for the New Urbanism. <http://www.cnu.org/node/2198> (accessed February 20, 2009).
- Wheeler, Robert A., ed. *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and Private Documents of Northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000.
- Whelan, Robbie. "City of Baltimore Expected to Approve Sale of Hendler Creamery for \$750K." *The Daily Record* (Baltimore, MD), February 6, 2008.
- Whyte, William H. *The Last Landscape*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983.
- Zack, Dan and Blake Lyon. "Sustainability and the Downtown Redwood City Precise Plan." Redwood City Redevelopment. <http://www.redwoodcity.org/cds/redevelopment/downtown/tomorrow/Sustainability%20and%20the%20Downtown%20Redwood%20City%20Precise%20Plan.pdf> (accessed February 28, 2009).
- Zimmerman, Martin. "Is New Urbanism Growing Old?" *Planning* Vol. 67 Issue 6 (June 2001): 10-13.
- Zirkle, Jon. "Courthouse Square, Theatre Way and Broadway Streetscape." Congress for the New Urbanism. <http://www.cnu.org/node/873> (accessed February 20, 2009).

APPENDIX

Ahwahnee Principles for Resource-Efficient Communities

Preamble

Existing patterns of urban and suburban development seriously impair our quality of life. The symptoms are: more congestion and air pollution resulting from our increased dependence on automobiles, the loss of precious open space, the need for costly improvements to roads and public services, the inequitable distribution of economic resources, and the loss of a sense of community. By drawing upon the best from the past and the present, we can plan communities that will more successfully serve the needs of those who live and work within them. Such planning should adhere to certain fundamental principles.

Community Principles

1. All planning should be in the form of complete and integrated communities containing housing, shops, work places, schools, parks and civic facilities essential to the daily life of the residents.
2. Community size should be designed so that housing, jobs, daily needs and other activities are within easy walking distance of each other.
3. As many activities as possible should be located within easy walking distance of transit stops.
4. A community should contain a diversity of housing types to enable citizens from a wide range of economic levels and age groups to live within its boundaries.

5. Businesses within the community should provide a range of job types for the community's residents.
6. The location and character of the community should be consistent with a larger transit network.
7. The community should have a center focus that combines commercial, civic, cultural and recreational uses.
8. The community should contain an ample supply of specialized open space in the form of squares, greens and parks whose frequent use is encouraged through placement and design.
9. Public spaces should be designed to encourage the attention and presence of people at all hours of the day and night.
10. Each community or cluster of communities should have a well-defined edge, such as agricultural greenbelts or wildlife corridors, permanently protected from development.
11. Streets, pedestrian paths and bike paths should contribute to a system of fully-connected and interesting routes to all destinations. Their design should encourage pedestrian and bicycle use by being small and spatially defined by buildings, trees and lighting; and by discouraging high speed traffic.
12. Wherever possible, the natural terrain, drainage and vegetation of the community should be preserved with superior examples contained within parks or greenbelts.
13. The community design should help conserve resources and minimize waste.
14. Communities should provide for the efficient use of water through the use of natural drainage, drought tolerant landscaping and recycling.
15. The street orientation, the placement of buildings and the use of shading should contribute to the energy efficiency of the community.

Regional Principles

1. The regional land-use planning structure should be integrated within a larger transportation network built around transit rather than freeways.
2. Regions should be bounded by and provide a continuous system of greenbelt/ wildlife corridors to be determined by natural conditions.
3. Regional institutions and services (government, stadiums, museums, etc.) should be located in the urban core.

4. Materials and methods of construction should be specific to the region, exhibiting a continuity of history and culture and compatibility with the climate to encourage the development of local character and community identity.

Implementation Principles

1. The general plan should be updated to incorporate the above principles.
2. Rather than allowing developer-initiated, piecemeal development, local governments should take charge of the planning process. General plans should designate where new growth, infill or redevelopment will be allowed to occur.
3. Prior to any development, a specific plan should be prepared based on these planning principles.
4. Plans should be developed through an open process and participants in the process should be provided visual models of all planning proposals.

Copyright 2008, Local Government Commission.

Charter of the New Urbanism

The Congress for the New Urbanism views disinvestment in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society's built heritage as one interrelated community-building challenge.

We stand for the restoration of existing urban centers and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighborhoods and diverse districts, the conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of our built legacy.

We recognize that physical solutions by themselves will not solve social and economic problems, but neither can economic vitality, community stability, and environmental health be sustained without a coherent and supportive physical framework.

We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice.

We represent a broad-based citizenry, composed of public and private sector leaders, community activists, and multidisciplinary professionals. We are committed to reestablishing the relationship between the art of building and the making of community, through citizen-based participatory planning and design.

We dedicate ourselves to reclaiming our homes, blocks, streets, parks, neighborhoods, districts, towns, cities, regions, and environment.

We assert the following principles to guide public policy, development practice, urban planning, and design:

The region: Metropolis, city, and town

1. Metropolitan regions are finite places with geographic boundaries derived from topography, watersheds, coastlines, farmlands, regional parks, and river basins. The metropolis is made of multiple centers that are cities, towns, and villages, each with its own identifiable center and edges.
2. The metropolitan region is a fundamental economic unit of the contemporary world. Governmental cooperation, public policy, physical planning, and economic strategies must reflect this new reality.
3. The metropolis has a necessary and fragile relationship to its agrarian hinterland and natural landscapes. The relationship is environmental, economic, and cultural. Farmland and nature are as important to the metropolis as the garden is to the house.
4. Development patterns should not blur or eradicate the edges of the metropolis. Infill development within existing urban areas conserves environmental resources, economic investment, and social fabric, while reclaiming marginal and abandoned areas. Metropolitan regions should develop strategies to encourage such infill development over peripheral expansion.
5. Where appropriate, new development contiguous to urban boundaries should be organized as neighborhoods and districts, and be integrated with the existing urban pattern. Noncontiguous development should be organized as towns and villages with their own urban edges, and planned for a jobs/housing balance, not as bedroom suburbs.
6. The development and redevelopment of towns and cities should respect historical patterns, precedents, and boundaries.
7. Cities and towns should bring into proximity a broad spectrum of public and private uses to support a regional economy that benefits people of all incomes. Affordable housing should be distributed throughout the region to match job opportunities and to avoid concentrations of poverty.

8. The physical organization of the region should be supported by a framework of transportation alternatives. Transit, pedestrian, and bicycle systems should maximize access and mobility throughout the region while reducing dependence upon the automobile.
9. Revenues and resources can be shared more cooperatively among the municipalities and centers within regions to avoid destructive competition for tax base and to promote rational coordination of transportation, recreation, public services, housing, and community institutions.

The neighborhood, the district, and the corridor

1. The neighborhood, the district, and the corridor are the essential elements of development and redevelopment in the metropolis. They form identifiable areas that encourage citizens to take responsibility for their maintenance and evolution.
2. Neighborhoods should be compact, pedestrian-friendly, and mixed-use. Districts generally emphasize a special single use, and should follow the principles of neighborhood design when possible. Corridors are regional connectors of neighborhoods and districts; they range from boulevards and rail lines to rivers and parkways.
3. Many activities of daily living should occur within walking distance, allowing independence to those who do not drive, especially the elderly and the young. Interconnected networks of streets should be designed to encourage walking, reduce the number and length of automobile trips, and conserve energy.
4. Within neighborhoods, a broad range of housing types and price levels can bring people of diverse ages, races, and incomes into daily interaction, strengthening the personal and civic bonds essential to an authentic community.
5. Transit corridors, when properly planned and coordinated, can help organize metropolitan structure and revitalize urban centers. In contrast, highway corridors should not displace investment from existing centers.
6. Appropriate building densities and land uses should be within walking distance of transit stops, permitting public transit to become a viable alternative to the automobile.

7. Concentrations of civic, institutional, and commercial activity should be embedded in neighborhoods and districts, not isolated in remote, single-use complexes. Schools should be sized and located to enable children to walk or bicycle to them.
8. The economic health and harmonious evolution of neighborhoods, districts, and corridors can be improved through graphic urban design codes that serve as predictable guides for change.
9. A range of parks, from tot-lots and village greens to ballfields and community gardens, should be distributed within neighborhoods. Conservation areas and open lands should be used to define and connect different neighborhoods and districts.

The block, the street, and the building

1. A primary task of all urban architecture and landscape design is the physical definition of streets and public spaces as places of shared use.
2. Individual architectural projects should be seamlessly linked to their surroundings. This issue transcends style.
3. The revitalization of urban places depends on safety and security. The design of streets and buildings should reinforce safe environments, but not at the expense of accessibility and openness.
4. In the contemporary metropolis, development must adequately accommodate automobiles. It should do so in ways that respect the pedestrian and the form of public space.
5. Streets and squares should be safe, comfortable, and interesting to the pedestrian. Properly configured, they encourage walking and enable neighbors to know each other and protect their communities.
6. Architecture and landscape design should grow from local climate, topography, history, and building practice.
7. Civic buildings and public gathering places require important sites to reinforce community identity and the culture of democracy. They deserve distinctive form, because their role is different from that of other buildings and places that constitute the fabric of the city.

8. All buildings should provide their inhabitants with a clear sense of location, weather and time. Natural methods of heating and cooling can be more resource-efficient than mechanical systems.
9. Preservation and renewal of historic buildings, districts, and landscapes affirm the continuity and evolution of urban society.

Copyright 1996, Congress for the New Urbanism.

Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE and habitat destruction, accelerated by global settlement patterns of sprawl, pose significant challenges requiring a global response. The scale and extent of these problems has come into sharp focus in the decade since the execution of the Charter of the New Urbanism. Timely action is both essential and presents an unprecedented opportunity.

THESE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES complicate equitable development the world over. Holistic solutions must address poverty, health and underdevelopment as well ecology and the environment.

TOGETHER, the transportation and building sectors account for the majority of energy and non-renewable resource usage, making the design and planning of the totality of the built environment essential in tackling these problems.

SMART GROWTH, GREEN BUILDING AND NEW URBANISM each have produced advances in resource and energy efficiency. Yet they alone are insufficient and are sometimes even at odds with one another in tackling this challenge. It is time for each of their specific strategies to be integrated.

THE CHARTER OF THE NEW URBANISM provides a powerful and enduring set of principles for creating more sustainable neighborhoods, buildings and regions. They have provided guidance to policy makers, planners, urban designers and citizens seeking to address the impact of our towns and cities on the natural and human environment. Meaningful change has been achieved by simultaneously engaging urbanism,

infrastructure, architecture, construction practice and conservation in the creation of humane and engaging places that can serve as models.

YET THE PROFOUND NATURE of the environmental crisis calls for amplification and more detailed enrichment of the Charter. It is imperative for a unified design, building and conservation culture to advance the goals of true sustainability.

AS A SUPPLEMENT to the Charter of the New Urbanism, a set of operating principles is needed to provide action-oriented tools for addressing the urgent need for change in the planning, design and building of communities. These practical principles shall be global in scope and in information sharing. In their application, actions must respond to local conditions and be continuously developed and refined over time.

WE PROPOSE THESE Canons as time-honored operating principles for addressing the stewardship of all land and the full range of human settlement: water, food, shelter and energy. They simultaneously engage urbanism, infrastructure, architecture, landscape design, construction practice and resource conservation at all scales:

General:

1. Human interventions in the built environment tend to be long lived and have long-term impacts. Therefore, design and financing must recognize long life and permanence rather than transience. City fabric and infrastructure must enable reuse, accommodating growth and change on the one hand and long-term use on the other.
2. The economic benefits shall be realized by investing in human settlements that both reduce future economic impacts of climate change and increase affordability. Patient investors should be rewarded by fiscal mechanisms that produce greater returns over the long term.
3. Truly sustainable design must be rooted in and evolve from adaptations to local climate, light, flora, fauna, materials and human culture as manifest in indigenous urban, architectural and landscape patterns.
4. Design must preserve the proximate relationships between urbanized areas and both agricultural and natural lands in order to provide for local food sources; maintain local watersheds; a clean and ready water supply; preserve clean air; allow access to local natural resources; conserve natural habitat and to guard regional biodiversity.
5. Globally, human settlements must be seen as part of the earth's ecosystem.
6. The rural-to-urban transect provides an essential framework for the organization of the natural, agricultural and urban realms.

7. Buildings, neighborhoods, towns and regions shall serve to maximize social interaction, economic and cultural activity, spiritual development, energy, creativity and time, leading to a high quality of life and sustainability.

The Building and Infrastructure

1. The primary objective of the design of new buildings and the adaptive reuse of older ones is to create a culture of permanence with well-crafted, sound, inspired and beloved structures of enduring quality. Places shall promote longevity and the stewardship of both our natural and man-made environments.

2. Architecture and landscape design derive from local climate, flora, fauna, topography, history, cultures, materials and building practice.

3. Architectural design shall derive from local, time-honored building typologies. Building shells must be designed to be enduring parts of the public realm. Yet internal building configurations must be designed to be flexible and easily adaptable over the years.

4. The preservation and renewal of historic buildings, districts and landscapes will save embodied energy, as well as contribute to cultural continuity.

5. Individual buildings and complexes shall both conserve and produce renewable energy wherever possible to promote economies of scale and to reduce reliance on costly fossil fuels and inefficient distribution systems.

6. Building design, configuration and sizes must reduce energy usage and promote easy internal vertical and horizontal walkability. Approaches to energy design should include low technology, passive solutions that are in harmony with local climate to minimize unwanted heat loss and gain.

7. Renewable energy sources such as non-food source biomass, solar, geothermal, wind, hydrogen fuel cells and other non-toxic, non-harmful sources shall be used to reduce carbon and the production of greenhouse gases.

8. Water captured as precipitate, such as rainwater and that internally harvested in and around individual buildings, shall be cleaned, stored and reused on site and allowed to percolate into local aquifers.

9. Water usage shall be minimized within structures and conserved through landscape strategies that mimic native climate, soil and hydrology.

10. Building materials shall be locally obtained, rapidly renewable, salvaged, recycled, recyclable and have low embodied energy. Alternatively, materials shall be chosen for their durability, exceptional longevity and sound construction, taking advantage of thermal mass properties to reduce energy usage.

11. Building materials shall be non-toxic and non-carcinogenic with no known negative health impacts.

12. Food production of all kinds shall be encouraged in individual buildings and on their lots consistent with their setting in order to promote decentralization, self sufficiency and reduced transportation impacts on the environment.

The Street, Block, and Network

1. The design of streets and the entire right-of-way shall be directed at the positive shaping of the public realm in order to encourage shared pedestrian, bicycle and vehicular use.

2. The pattern of blocks and streets shall be compact and designed in a well-connected network for easy, safe and secure walkability. This will reduce overall vehicular usage by decreasing travel time and trip length. Design shall strive to minimize material and utility infrastructure.

3. The positive shaping of the public realm shall focus on creating thermally comfortable spaces through passive techniques such as low albedo and shading with landscape and buildings. The techniques shall be consistent with local climate.

4. The design of the streets, blocks, platting, landscape and building typologies shall all be configured for both reduced overall energy usage and an enhanced quality of life in the public realm.

5. Roadway materials shall be non-toxic and provide for water reuse through percolation, detention and retention. Green streets integrate sustainable drainage with the role of the street as defined public space. Their design shall maintain the importance of the building frontage and access to the sidewalk and roadway, balancing the desirability of surface drainage with the need for street connectivity and hierarchy.

6. A wide range of parking strategies (such as park-once districts, shared parking, parking structures, reduced parking requirements, minimized surface parking areas and vehicle sharing) shall be used to constrict the supply of parking in order to induce less driving and to create more human-scaled, amenable public space.

The Neighborhood, Town and City

1. The balance of jobs, shopping, schools, recreation, civic uses, institutions, housing, areas of food production and natural places shall occur at the neighborhood scale, with these uses being within easy walking distances or easy access to transit.
2. Wherever possible, new development shall be sited on underutilized, poorly designed or already developed land. Sites shall be either urban infill or urban adjacent unless the building is rural in its program, size, scale and character.
3. Prime and unique farmland shall be protected and conserved. In locations with little or declining growth, additional agriculture, parklands and habitat restoration shall be promoted on already urbanized or underutilized land.
4. Neighborhoods, towns and cities shall be as compact as possible, with a range of densities that are compatible with existing places and cultures and that hew tightly to projected growth rates and urban growth boundaries while promoting lively mixed urban places.
5. Renewable energy shall be produced at the scale of neighborhood and town as well as at the scale of the individual building in order to decentralize and reduce energy infrastructure.
6. Brownfields shall be redeveloped, utilizing clean-up methods that reduce or eliminate site contaminants and toxicity.
7. Wetlands, other bodies of water and their natural watersheds shall be protected wherever possible, and the natural systems which promote recharge of aquifers and prevent flooding should be restored wherever possible, consistent with the urban-to-rural transect and the desirability of urban waterfronts as public spaces of extraordinary impact and character.
8. Natural places of all kinds shall be within easy walking distance or accessible by transit. Public parklands and reserves shall be protected and the creation of new ones promoted.
9. Within neighborhoods, a broad range of housing types, sizes and price levels for a population of diverse ages, cultures and incomes can provide for self-sufficiency and social sustainability, while promoting compact cities and regions.
10. A steady source of water and the production of a wide range of locally raised foods within an easily accessed distance establish the self-sufficiency and overall size

of neighborhoods and/or small towns. Nearby rural agricultural settlements shall be promoted to preserve local traditional foods and food culture.

11. Projects shall be designed to reduce light pollution while maintaining safe pedestrian environments. Noise pollution should also be minimized.

12. The design of neighborhoods and towns shall use natural topography and shall balance cut and fill in order to minimize site disturbance and avoid the import and export of fill.

The Region

1. The finite boundaries of the region shall be determined by geographic and bioregional factors such as geology, topography, watersheds, coastlines, farmlands, habitat corridors, regional parks and river basins.

2. Regions shall strive to be self-sustaining for food, goods and services, employment, renewable energy and water supplies.

3. The physical organization of the region shall promote transit, pedestrian and bicycle systems to maximize access and mobility while reducing dependence on automobiles and trucks.

4. The spatial balance of jobs and housing is enabled at the regional scale by extensive transit systems. Development shall be primarily organized around transit lines and hubs.

5. The siting of new development shall prefer already urbanized land. If undeveloped land is used, then the burden for exceptional design, demonstrable longevity and environmental sensitivity shall be more stringent and connections to the region shall be essential.

6. Sensitive or virgin forests, native habitats and prime farmlands shall be conserved and protected. Imperiled species and ecological communities shall be protected. Projects to regenerate and recreate additional agricultural areas and natural habitat shall be promoted.

7. Wetlands, other bodies of water and their natural watersheds and their habitats shall be protected.

8. Development shall be avoided in locations that disrupt natural weather systems and induce heat islands, flooding, fires or hurricanes.

Copyright 2008, Congress for the New Urbanism.

INDEX

A

AB Associates 115
adaptive reuse 2, 18, 44, 45, 46, 53, 59, 61, 69, 72, 82, 83, 111, 117, 119, 123, 140, 148, 173
affordability 16, 18, 35, 36, 52, 53, 58, 60, 172
affordable housing 52, 53, 107, 109, 113, 120, 121, 122, 141, 146
agrarian business 78
agricultural land 25, 46
agricultural products 77
Ahwahnee Principles iv, 40, 156, 163
air pollution 142, 163
air rights 138
Albemarle Square v, vi, 100, 107, 108, 109, 110, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123
Alhambra Theatre 140, 146
aluminum siding 36
American frontier 32
American Institute of Architects National Honor Award in Urban Design 111
American Planning Association (APA) 13, 14, 15, 16, 54, 157, 158
Anagnostou, John 139
architectural review 78
architectural styles 31, 35, 62, 65, 138
 Art Deco 130, 133, 135, 138
 Beaux-Arts 129, 138
 Colonial Revival 76
 Federal 76, 97
 Greek Revival 76
 vernacular 77, 117
 Victorian Italianate 35, 76, 94, 97

 Western Reserve 76, 84, 85, 94
architectural unity 31
architecture schools 42, 43
Arguello estate 124, 125
assessment framework 68, 69, 71
Athens Charter 41
Atlantic Station, Atlanta, Georgia 62
automobiles 25
 access 28
 dependency 2, 54, 55, 69, 146
 emissions 142
 expressways 27
 highways 27, 36, 139, 168
 impact on development patterns 38
 impact on land use 36
 parking 28, 59, 86, 87, 88, 91, 115, 120, 121, 130, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 146, 174
 traffic 25, 27, 54, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 91, 95, 97, 136, 142, 150, 164
 usage 24

B

Baltimore Housing 104, 109, 157
Baltimore, Maryland iv, v, vi, 3, 16, 71, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 119, 120, 150, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162
 Canton 105
 Federal Hill 105
 Fells Point 105
 Jewish community 102
 row houses 113

Baron von Haussmann 20
Barry, Al 115
Beazer Homes 109, 118
big box stores 86, 90
Blake Hunt Ventures 124, 138
Bliss House 77
brownfield redevelopment 69, 71, 72, 74, 80, 91,
149
building codes 43
building façades 31, 36, 37, 65, 85, 86, 91, 130,
135, 137, 138
built heritage 41, 66, 166
Burnham, Daniel H. 20

C

California gold rush 19
Calthorpe, Peter 8, 10, 40, 67
Calthorpe Associates 8, 61, 67, 68
Campbell, P. J. 98
Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism
iv, 17, 45, 46, 156, 171, 172
Carroll, Charles 101
Carroll Mansion 102
cast iron 35
Celebration, Florida 43
central village green 35, 97
Chagrin Falls, Ohio 97, 98, 159
Chagrin Falls Preservation 97
charrettes 51, 105
Charter of the New Urbanism iv, 2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 16,
17, 24, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 60, 60,
64, 66, 67, 156, 166, 171, 172. *See also* New
Urbanism
CHK, Inc. 100
chrome 36
City Beautiful movement 6, 20, 23, 29
city planners 25
city planning 51
Civil War 78
Cleveland/Akron metropolitan region 71
Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad 73, 77
colonial community planning 20
colonial North America 29
colonial towns 32
Spanish 34
Columbia, Maryland 20
commercial architecture 35, 93, 94
communal memory 64
community building 51
community connectivity 51, 60
community design 54, 164

community meetings 85, 89
Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne
(CIAM) 41, 51
Athens Charter 41
Congress for the New Urbanism Charter Award 111
Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) 2, 3, 6, 8,
10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 24, 29, 37, 38,
40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 60, 64,
65, 66, 67, 104, 107, 111, 124, 129, 137, 138,
147, 149, 151, 153, 156, 162, 166, 170, 176.
See also New Urbanism
Charleston conference 41, 66
Connecticut Western Reserve 73, 84, 97
Corbett, Michael 40
Corned Beef Row v, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108,
111, 112, 113, 117, 122, 157, 159
Country Club District 28
Country Club Plaza v, 27, 28, 30, 56
Courthouse Square vi, 4, 124, 125, 129, 132, 133,
134, 137, 138, 139, 157, 162
open air pavilions 137
Crocker Park, Westlake, Ohio 80, 95
cultural diversity 18
cultural integration 52

D

dairy products 78
Davis, Robert 39, 64
decentralization 7, 144, 174
Decter, Avi Y. 113
deed restrictions 28
Del Mar Station, Pasadena, California 43
densification 38, 141
department stores 28
design guidelines 39, 49, 62, 84, 85, 138
development buffers 55
Dorchester, United Kingdom 24
Dorsky Hodgson + Partners 73, 85
downtown revitalization 14, 37
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
assassination 100, 102, 106
Duany, Andrés 8, 9, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49,
52, 53, 60, 62, 64, 157
Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company 8, 24, 39, 43,
48, 49, 64, 67

E

East Baltimore 3, 100, 102, 103, 110, 114, 117, 156,
159
East Lombard Street v, vi, 3, 100, 102, 106,
109, 111, 112, 113, 117, 120, 122. *See*

also Corned Beef Row
Easton Town Center, Columbus, Ohio 56, 80
Eaton, Pauline 95
economic development 74, 82, 129, 142
economic revitalization 3, 13
Electronic Arts 129
Ellsworth, James W. 73, 78
embodied energy 45, 173, 174
eminent domain 138
energy conservation 46
energy efficiency 2, 164, 171
environmental protection 52, 55
Eton Collection, Woodmere, Ohio 79, 80, 95, 98
expressways 27
eyes on the street 115, 120

F

Fairmount Properties 73, 81
Federal Aid Highway Act 25, 36
Field Paoli Architects 138
First Congregational Church 74
First & Main iv, v, 3, 71, 73, 74, 75, 81, 82, 83, 83,
84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96,
98, 149, 150, 161
Fitch, James Marston 65
Flag House and Star-Spangled Banner Museum v,
102, 103
Flag House Courts iv, v, 3, 71, 100, 101, 104, 105,
106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 118, 119,
120, 121, 122, 123, 150, 155, 161
 public housing project 3
 redevelopment of 3
Flaghouse Courts LLC 109
flex space 130, 139
Forest Hills Gardens, Queens, New York 23
form-based codes 62
form-based zoning 9
Forrester's Hall 140
Fort McHenry 101, 103
Fox Theatre vi, 124, 130, 131, 133, 135, 137, 138,
139, 140, 146
Francaviglia, Richard V. 7, 8, 33
Freedman Tung & Bottomly 124, 132, 133, 134, 143
Friends Meeting House 102
front page architecture 18, 62, 68

G

Galantay, Ervin Y. 6, 7, 19
Gallery, John Andrew 7
Garden City movement 6, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26
General Motors 73, 79

Gibbs, Bob 59, 60
GI Bill 25
Gindroz, Ray 8, 10, 13, 67
glass block 36
glazed tiles 36
global climate change 2, 172
good urbanism 40, 42, 52
Great Depression 20
greater horizontality 36
greenbelt 20, 34, 164
green building 44, 45
greenfield development 10, 11, 14, 37, 44, 46, 60,
67, 69, 118
ground floor retail 31, 83, 109, 117, 130, 135

H

Harrison-Adaoha/EHCDC 109
headline architects 43
Hegemann, Werner 10, 11, 48, 49, 149, 158
Heritage Ohio/Downtown Ohio, Inc. 95
Heritage Walk Guided Tour 101
Hess, David 115
Highland Park Village, Dallas, Texas 28
high-speed rail 141
highways 27, 36, 139, 168
Hinshaw, Mark 14, 18, 61, 62
historic buildings ii, 2, 13, 68, 68, 69, 83, 85, 86, 97,
98, 108, 117, 137, 139, 145, 170, 173
historic built environment 2, 29, 56, 67, 149
historic context 60, 72, 109, 110, 121
historic downtowns 13, 18, 29, 61, 79, 147
historic landmarks 72
historic materials 44
historic preservation 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 13, 15, 17, 37, 43,
46, 59, 60, 61, 68, 98, 99, 117, 123, 125, 134,
136, 138, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 151. *See*
 also preservation
historic urbanism 3, 3, 5, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 18, 27,
28, 29, 32, 37, 41, 43, 44, 45, 54, 58, 59, 62,
67, 68, 69, 72, 83, 85, 95, 98, 122, 136, 138,
150, 151, 152, 153, 167
H.J. Russell New Urban Development LLC 100
Holme, Thomas 34
HOPE VI 16, 53, 101, 105, 107, 113, 118, 119, 120,
122, 159, 160
 one-to-one replacement 107, 122
Housing Authority of Baltimore 105
housing development 3
Howard, Ebenezer v, 19, 20, 21, 38
Howe, Henry 76
HUD 53, 71, 105, 150

HOPE VI 16, 53, 101, 105, 107, 113, 118, 119,
120, 122, 159, 160
one-to-one replacement 107, 122
Hudson 78
Hudson, David 73, 74, 78
Hudson Chamber of Commerce 90
Hudson Comprehensive Plan 80, 82
Hudson Historical Society 81
Hudson Land Development Code 85
Hudson National Register Historic District 73, 74,
77, 79, 160
Hudson, Ohio iv, v, 3, 71, 73, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82,
84, 90, 98, 149, 155, 156, 158
Architectural and Historic Board of Review 78
as utopian colony 74
clock tower 78
public library 81, 95
village green 81, 86
Hudson Village Development Corporation 73, 80
human scale 66, 91, 107, 118, 137

I

immigrants 100, 102
impervious surfaces 55, 95
incrementalism 16
indoor shopping mall 28
industrial land 69, 71
Industrial Revolution 35
infill development 10, 11, 38, 43, 45, 46, 56, 60, 61,
62, 65, 69, 71, 72, 82, 117, 125, 134, 136,
141, 144, 145, 150, 153, 165, 167, 175
infrastructure 2, 3, 4, 10, 18, 24, 25, 27, 36, 49, 56,
81, 147, 151, 153, 172, 174, 175
Innisfree Ventures LLC 124
Integral Properties LLC 100
International Council of Shopping Centers 56

J

Jacobs, Allan 149
Jacobs, Jane 149
Jewish Museum of Maryland 102, 113, 115, 117,
159
Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies 16, 119,
159
Jones, David 101
Jonestown 3, 100, 101, 102, 104, 111, 118, 119,
120, 121, 122
vacant parcels 117
Jonestown Planning Council 100, 111

K

Katz, Peter 9, 10, 38
Kentlands, Maryland 10, 16, 43, 47, 162. *See also* New Urbanism
Key, Francis Scott 101, 103
Kierland Commons, Scottsdale, Arizona 56
King Philip II 34
Krier, Leon 39, 41, 65

L

Lafayette Courts 105
landscape design 24, 28, 166, 169, 172, 173
land use patterns 29, 144
land use regulations 43
Lawrence, Richard 111
Laws of the Indies 7, 34
Learnéd Owl Bookstore 89, 90
Le Corbusier 41, 51, 64
machines for living 41
LEED 44, 45, 156, 157, 162
LEED-ND 44, 45, 156, 162
life-cycle assessment criteria 44
Legacy Village, Lyndhurst, Ohio 79, 80, 81, 90, 95,
98
Lexington Terrace 105
lifestyle centers 3, 15, 30, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 68,
71, 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 89,
90, 91, 95, 97, 98, 149, 154. *See also* New
Urbanism
impact on Main Street 58, 59, 80, 89, 97
linoleum panels 36
Little Italy, Baltimore 101, 102, 104, 105, 113, 120
livestock grazing 35, 125
live/work spaces 107
Lloyd Street Synagogue v, 100, 102, 103
local chains 86
Aladdin's Eatery 89
Fundamentals Creative Toy Store 89
Saywell's Drug Store 90
Uniquely Ohio 89, 90
local connectivity 54
Local Government Commission (LGC) 40, 165
local materials 23, 24
Loescher, Doug 4, 12, 13, 18, 151
London, England 19, 69, 70, 159, 160
Los Angeles, California 10
Lyon, Blake 136, 162

M

Machado & Silveti 39
MacKaye, Benton 149
MacWherter, John 90
Main Street iv, v, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 48, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 68, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 117, 121, 125, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151, 157, 158, 160
Anglo-European influence 32
as icon 7, 31, 62
commercial districts 3
design 32
economic influences 32
ethnic influences 29, 32
geographic influences 29, 32
historical development 3
in the southeast 32
in the southwest 32
on the eastern seaboard 32
organic growth 5, 19, 32
planned growth 5, 19, 32
political influences 32
recommendations 4, 13, 17, 37, 151
religious influences 32
responses to modernism 7
revitalization 7, 13
technological influences 32
main street retail 9, 15
Main Street, USA 8
market-rate units 107
Markham, Ontario 54
Martin, Michael 51
Massachusetts Bay Colony 32
massing 29, 31, 83, 85, 87, 93, 110, 135, 138
meeting house 34
Mezes, Simon 124, 125, 126
mid-Atlantic 32
Mid City Urban LLC 100
mid-West 77, 149
mixed-use development 4, 15, 23, 31, 43, 56, 57, 80, 83, 101, 138, 143, 145, 146
mobility 36, 54, 109, 118, 122, 168, 176
modernism 42, 64, 66
tower in the park 51
modern lifestyles 4, 5, 29, 32, 144
modifications 37
Moe, Richard 4, 12, 12, 12, 13, 66, 151
Montgomery Village, Orangeville, Ontario 54
Morse Controls 80

Morse Instrument 79
Morton, Michael 80, 81
Moses, Robert 27
Moss, Eric Owen 49
Moule, Elizabeth 40
Moule and Polyzoides 12
Murdough, Thomas 80, 81
Murphy, Liz 89
Murphy Homes 105
Muschamp, Herbert 5, 18, 41, 148

N

National Anthem 101, 103
national chains 56, 58, 81, 89
Ann Taylor Loft 89
Borders 141
Caribou Coffee 89
Chico's 89
Cost Plus World Market 141
New York Pizza 141
Shoe Pavillion 141
Walgreen's 90
national home builders 118
National Trust for Historic Preservation 4, 37, 58, 161
National Trust Main Street Center 4, 6, 12, 18
four-point approach 37, 98
Main Street program 90
native building technology 23, 24
Hispanic 34
Native American 34
natural habitat 45, 172, 176
Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) 44, 45
Naylor, Wendy Hoge 97
Neal, Peter 68, 69, 70
neighborhood revitalization 71
neighborhood unit 21
neo-traditional town planning 5, 6, 11, 12, 20, 23, 39, 39, 40, 43, 47, 55, 59, 66, 68, 149, 151.
See also planning
new construction 5, 8, 29, 29, 32, 37, 38, 59, 68, 71, 83, 111, 115, 117, 123, 134, 137, 138, 144, 146, 148, 152, 153
New England 32, 34, 35, 50, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79
new town development 34, 148
New Town Movement 5, 19, 24, 37
new towns 19, 20, 23, 24, 32, 48, 50
New Urbanism iv, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 29, 32, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 83, 99, 104, 111,

- 113, 120, 122, 123, 129, 136, 137, 138, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166, 170, 171, 172, 176
- Ahwahnee Principles iv, 40, 156, 163
- blank slate mentality 48, 49
- Canons of Sustainable Architecture and Urbanism iv, 17, 45, 46, 156, 171, 172
- Charter of the New Urbanism iv, 2, 5, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 24, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 60, 60, 64, 66, 67, 156, 166, 171, 172
- Congress for the New Urbanism Charter Award 111, 137
- Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 24, 29, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 104, 107, 111, 124, 129, 137, 138, 147, 149, 151, 153, 156, 162, 166, 170, 176
- Charleston conference 41, 66
- critique 11, 16, 39, 41, 47, 48, 52
- design 4, 11, 20, 23, 29, 34, 35, 71, 113, 119, 120
- developments 43
- Easton Town Center, Columbus, Ohio 56, 80
- Kentlands, Maryland 10
- Kierland Commons, Scottsdale, Arizona 56
- Santana Row, San Jose, California v, 56, 57
- Seaside, Florida v, 10, 11, 12, 39, 40, 41, 43, 47, 57, 156, 161
- firms 8
- Calthorpe Associates 8, 61, 67, 68
- Duany Plater-Zyberk and Company 8, 24, 39, 43, 48, 49, 64, 67
- Machado & Silvetti 39
- Moule and Polyzoïdes 12
- Urban Design Associates 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 61, 62, 67, 68
- greenfield development 3, 14, 24, 37, 45, 46, 55, 67, 147
- hierarchies of scale 9, 41
- imitation of Main Street 8, 9, 12, 14, 27, 32, 39, 62, 64
- impact on Main Street 3, 9, 13, 17
- lack of authenticity 3, 13, 14, 31, 39
- lifestyle center 3, 30, 56, 58, 71, 73, 74, 75, 80, 81, 83, 84, 89, 90, 91, 95, 98, 149, 154
- master planning 11, 15, 24, 39
- nostalgia 9, 62
- philosophical approaches 10, 38
- planning 16
- price premium 53
- professional practice 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 34, 38, 65, 66, 68
- New World 19, 32
- New York City 27
- Nichols, J.C. 27, 28, 56, 154, 155
- “planning for permanence” 28, 154
- North Main Street, Hudson, Ohio v, 3, 73, 75, 76, 80, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 149
- O**
- Ohio and Erie Canal 77, 160
- Ohio Turnpike 82
- Olmsted, Frederick Law 28
- open air urban retail 9, 15
- open space 2, 7, 24, 25, 28, 34, 35, 42, 45, 50, 52, 55, 69, 83, 115, 120, 129, 130, 150, 152, 153, 154, 163, 164
- conservation of 52
- Ordering of Towns, the 7, 32
- Orenco Station, Hillsboro, Oregon v, 43
- outdoor dining 133, 139
- P**
- palimpsest 32
- parking 28, 59, 86, 87, 88, 91, 115, 120, 121, 130, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 146, 174
- peak oil 2
- pedestrian districts 36, 37
- pedestrian experience 27, 39, 86, 88, 120, 136, 137, 138
- pedestrians
- access 28
- pedestrian scale 29, 85, 94, 107, 139
- Peets, Elbert 10, 11, 48, 49, 149, 158
- Peninsula, Ohio 77
- Penn, William 7, 34, 35, 157
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 7, 32, 34, 35, 157, 162
- as green country town 35
- physical determinism 50
- Pickersgill, Mary Young 101, 103
- Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 8, 12, 13, 14, 62, 67, 68, 73, 77, 157
- place-based authenticity 18, 28
- placemaking 24, 66
- planned communities 17
- planning 17
- Anglo-European influences 7, 19, 20, 32
- colonial community planning 20
- Hispanic influences 20
- history of 10, 37
- in the United States 5
- Laws of the Indies 7, 34
- modernism 3, 25

- neighborhood unit 21
 - neo-traditional town planning 5, 11, 39, 68, 149, 151. *See also* neo-traditional town planning
 - Parisian influences 20
 - town planning 5, 6, 12, 20, 23, 24, 29, 37, 39, 40, 43, 47, 48, 49, 55, 59, 66
 - Traditional Neighborhood Development 8, 40, 41, 53, 54, 55, 61, 62, 64
 - Plater-Zyberk, Elizabeth 8, 9, 38, 39, 40, 49, 62, 157
 - Polyzoides, Stefanos 40
 - porcelain-enameled steel 36
 - Porter, Lemuel and Simeon 76
 - Portland, Oregon 67
 - post-Cold War era 148
 - postmodernist 66
 - Poundbury, Dorchester, United Kingdom 24
 - preindustrial villages 20, 23, 24, 37
 - preservation iii, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 37, 43, 45, 46, 59, 60, 61, 65, 67, 68, 69, 78, 79, 81, 83, 86, 98, 99, 117, 119, 123, 125, 134, 136, 137, 138, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 152, 154, 166, 173. *See also* historic preservation
 - Prince Charles 24, 160
 - private developers 40, 105, 144
 - private realm 43
 - Providence, Rhode Island 10
 - public art 27, 107, 115, 120
 - public housing projects 53, 107, 109, 118, 119
 - public policy 42, 43, 66, 166, 167
 - public-private partnership 81, 130, 138
 - public realm 50, 115, 116, 119, 120, 125, 137, 139, 140, 145, 149, 173, 174
 - public squares 32, 34, 35, 64, 124, 130, 137
 - public transportation 44
 - public workshops 129
 - Puritans 32
- Q**
- quality of life 2, 4, 82, 140, 142, 145, 146, 148, 152, 154, 163, 173, 174
- R**
- Radburn, New Jersey v, 20, 26
 - rail connectivity 82, 146
 - railroad speculation 78
 - Rathlev, George 118
 - real estate
 - design 43
 - development 43
 - redevelopment 4, 53, 60, 69, 71, 72, 80, 99, 101, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 136, 137, 143, 149, 150, 160, 162, 165, 167, 168
 - Redevelopment Agency of the City of Redwood City (RDA) 130, 136, 138, 139, 141, 152
 - Redwood City, California iv, vi, 3, 71, 72, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 152, 156, 157, 160, 162
 - Broadway Street 129, 134
 - Caltrain 134, 143
 - Canary Island Date Palms 134
 - Century Theatres 138, 139, 141, 146
 - county courthouse 127
 - annex 124, 130, 131, 137
 - “Deadwood City” 129
 - Downtown Revitalization Strategy and Precise Plan 134, 136, 141, 142, 143, 146, 152, 157, 162
 - logging industry 125
 - On Broadway vi, 130, 132, 135, 138, 141, 147
 - public gathering space 139
 - restorative infill 134
 - San Mateo County seat 124, 127
 - shipping industry 125
 - street lighting 134
 - Theatre Way 129, 130, 134, 139, 162
 - wharf 127
 - Redwood City Downtown Revitalization Strategy and Precise Plan 134, 136, 141, 142, 143, 146, 152, 157, 162
 - Redwood Creek 125
 - Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture 102
 - regional accessibility 53
 - regional connectivity 54
 - regionalism 17, 149
 - regional malls 56, 79
 - Regional Planning Association of America 19
 - regulatory framework 10
 - rehabilitation 130, 139
 - Residences at First & Main v, 83, 96
 - Reston, Virginia 20
 - restorative infill 134
 - retail Darwinism 97
 - Riverside, Illinois 28
 - rooflines 31
 - Rybczynski, Witold 39
 - Rypkema, Donovan iii, 18, 58, 60, 61, 151, 161

S

San Francisco Bay 125
San Francisco, California 107, 124, 125, 127, 128, 142, 158, 160
San Francisco earthquake of 1906 124, 127, 128
San Jose, California v, 56, 57, 124
San Mateo County, California vi, 124, 127, 128, 131, 138, 139
Santa Cruz Mountains 125
Santana Row, San Jose, California v, 56, 57
Schaefer, William Donald 102
Seaside, Florida v, 10, 11, 12, 39, 40, 41, 43, 47, 57, 156, 161. *See also* New Urbanism
 as set for The Truman Show 39
 design 39
Seaside Institute 11, 57
sense of place 27, 59, 78, 81
setbacks 28, 49, 138
Shea, Christopher 109
shopping center 15, 27, 28, 36, 74, 79, 86, 89, 95
Shops of Saddle Creek, Memphis, Tennessee 56
Shot Tower 102
Shoup, Donald 141, 143
 free-market parking strategy 142
Silicon Valley 72, 129, 140, 144, 150
site control 24
small businesses 58, 59, 89
small towns 8, 9, 24, 31, 71, 82, 87, 98, 124
SmartCode 9, 24, 43, 48, 49, 55, 157
Smart Growth 9, 13, 43, 44, 56, 61, 160, 161
Smart Growth Network 44
 ten principles 44
smart growth planning 49
smart growth zoning 49
social segregation 69
social services 53
Solomon, Dan 39
Southdale, Minneapolis, Minnesota 28
Spanish Laws of the Indies 7
standardization
 building materials 35
Stein, Clarence 19, 26
stormwater runoff 55
street furniture 139
street grid 28, 34, 54, 120
street networks 2, 7, 42
streetscape 31, 36, 37, 94, 97, 115, 134, 135, 139
streetscaping 4, 29, 72, 132, 134, 135, 139, 147
street trees 87
street width 49, 87
stylistic ambiguity 23

subsidized units 120, 122
suburban development 9, 10, 20, 38, 41, 42, 50, 129, 144, 163
suburbanization 36
suburban life 9, 28
suburban mall 9, 15, 28, 29, 36, 37, 58, 59
suburban retail 7, 15
suburban subdivisions 53, 54
suburbs 23, 25, 27, 36, 51, 60, 66, 118, 166, 167
Summit County 76, 79, 160
sustainability 2, 10, 28, 40, 44, 45, 46, 66, 82, 99, 113, 121, 136, 142, 144, 146, 153, 154, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175
 triple-bottom-line 45
sustainable design 40, 172
sustainable urbanism 45, 46

T

Talen, Emily 16, 17, 37, 52, 149, 161
terra cotta 35
The Ordering of Towns 7
Third Street Promenade, Santa Monica, California 62
Torti Gallas and Partners 100, 108, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 161
town planners 27, 34, 39
town planning 5, 6, 12, 20, 23, 24, 29, 37, 39, 40, 43, 47, 48, 49, 55, 59, 66
town plans 34
townships 34
traditional building materials 120
Traditional Neighborhood Development 8, 40, 41, 53, 54, 55, 61, 62, 64
traditional urbanism 28, 109, 148
traffic 25, 27, 54, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 91, 95, 97, 136, 142, 150, 164
 management 136
traffic calming 87
 curb bump-outs 139
traffic engineers 25
transit 23, 36, 52, 54, 56, 60, 62, 134, 136, 141, 145, 146, 163, 164, 166, 168, 175, 176
transportation 9, 29, 36, 44, 54, 127, 146, 154, 164, 168, 171, 174
transportation policy 9
trolley car suburbs 36
true urbanism 14, 18, 32, 61
two-part commercial block 31

U

Unwin, Raymond 23
urban-adjacent 45
urban centers 29, 44, 67, 144, 153, 166, 168
Urban Design Associates 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 61, 62, 67, 68
 projects
 Crawford Roberts 62
 South Oakland 62
 South Side Flats 62
urban extension 69
urban infill 45, 175
Urban Land Institute (ULI) 15, 27
urban plan-making 17
urban planning 10, 37, 42, 43, 66, 115, 141, 149, 167
urban renewal 69, 71, 72, 104, 112, 119, 137
urban restructuring 10, 38, 144, 148, 153
urban retail 2, 59
urban retrofit 11, 69, 71, 72
urban sprawl 3, 4, 13, 27, 38, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50, 54, 55, 60, 61, 65, 66, 69, 129, 134, 140, 144, 148, 149, 153, 166, 171
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) 53. *See also* HUD
U.S. Green Building Council (USGBC) 44, 45, 162
 LEED rating system 44, 45, 156, 157, 162
 LEED-ND 44, 45, 156, 162
U.S. Land Commission 125

V

vehicle miles traveled 136, 146
Villa Montgomery Apartments 141
vintage materials 85

W

walkability 3, 23, 27, 34, 38, 39, 45, 54, 66, 82, 87, 107, 134, 136, 145, 146, 147, 173, 174
walking distance 21, 34, 163, 168, 175
Walt Disney World
 Main Street, USA 8
Walton County, Florida 39
War of 1812 101
Western Reserve College 73, 76, 78
 as Case Western Reserve University 76
 as Western Reserve Academy 76, 78
 as “Yale of the West” 76
Weyland, Bill 60
“white flight” 25
Whyte, William H. 32, 48, 49, 55, 162

Wilkie, Carter 12, 13, 66, 151, 160
workforce development 53
World’s Columbian Exposition v, 20, 22
World War II 7, 20, 25, 125, 129
Wouters, Marc 115
Wright, Gwendolyn 7
Wright, Henry 19, 26

Z

Zack, Dan 136
zoning 9, 25, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 49
 Cartesian zoning 40, 42