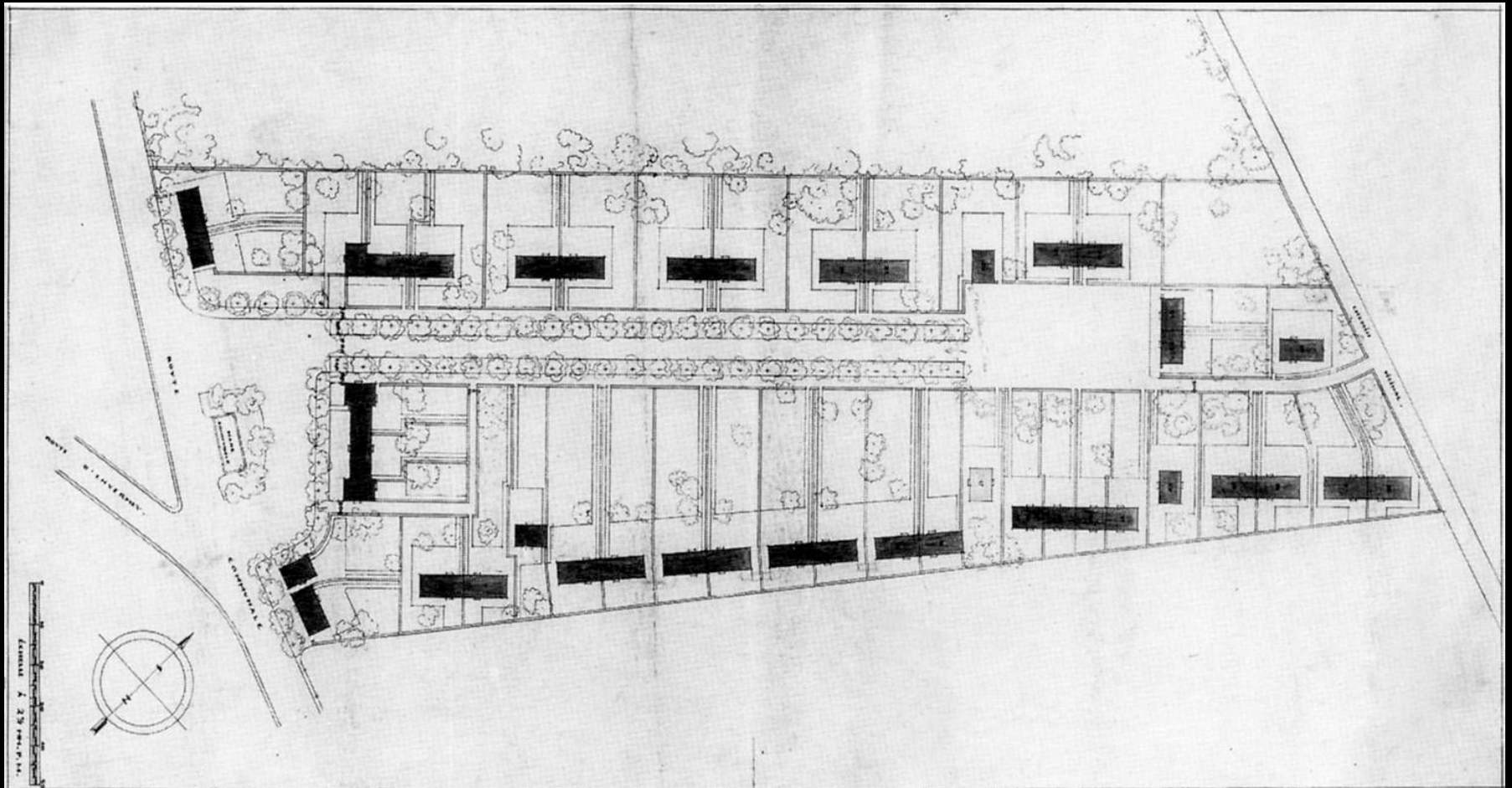
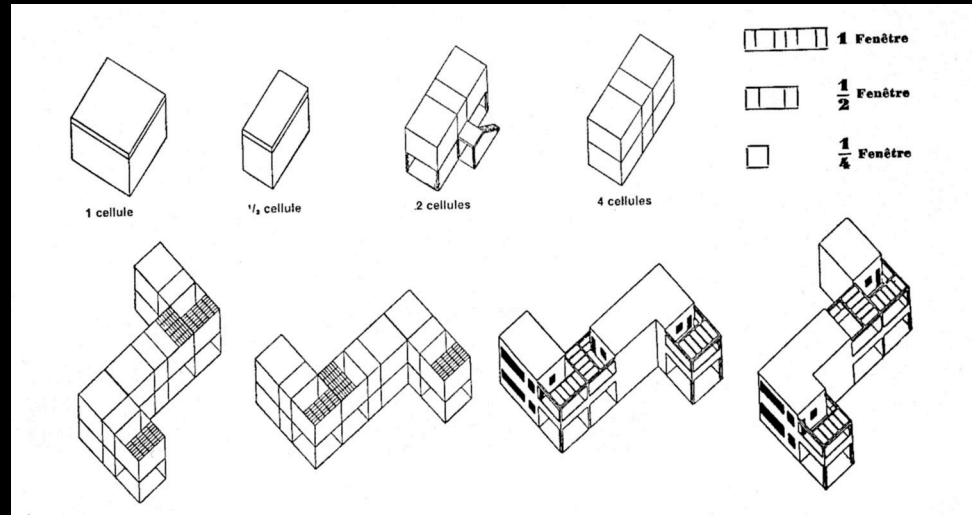
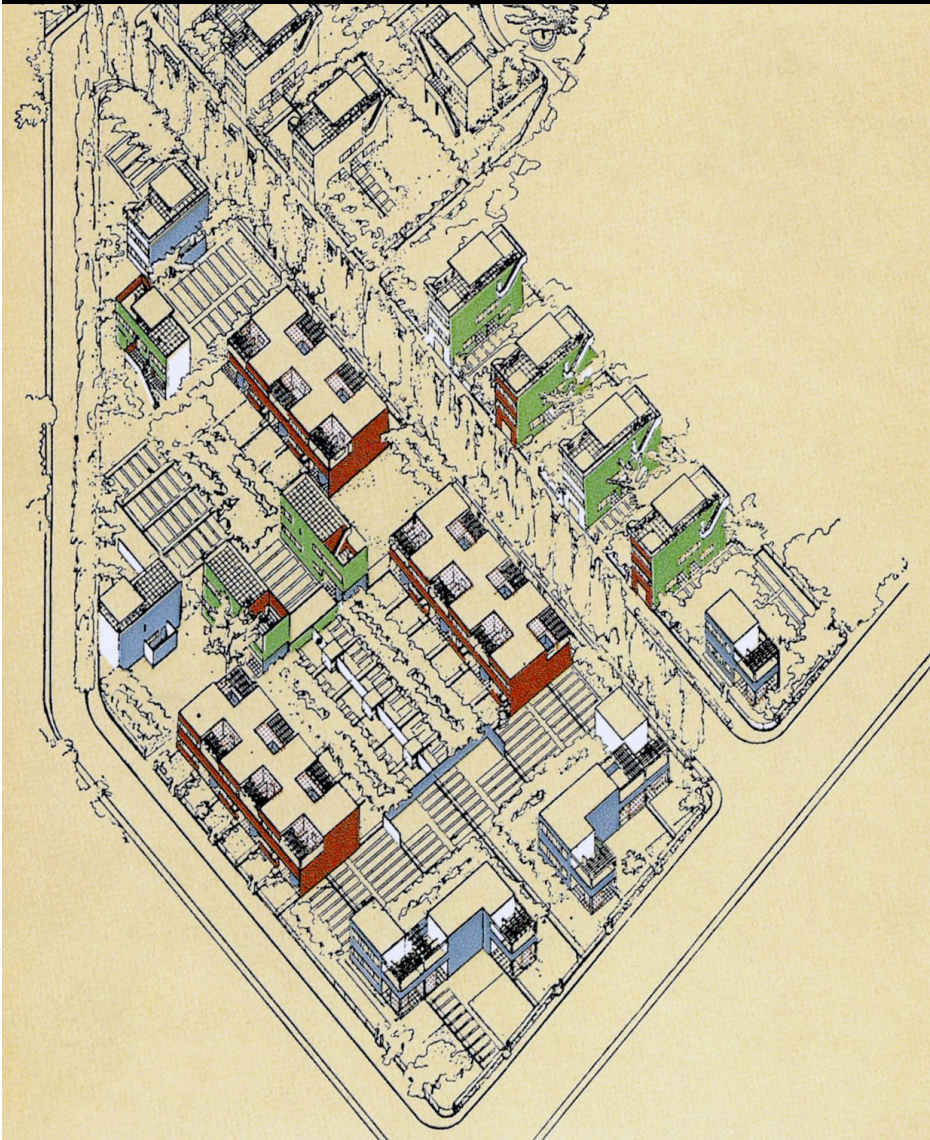


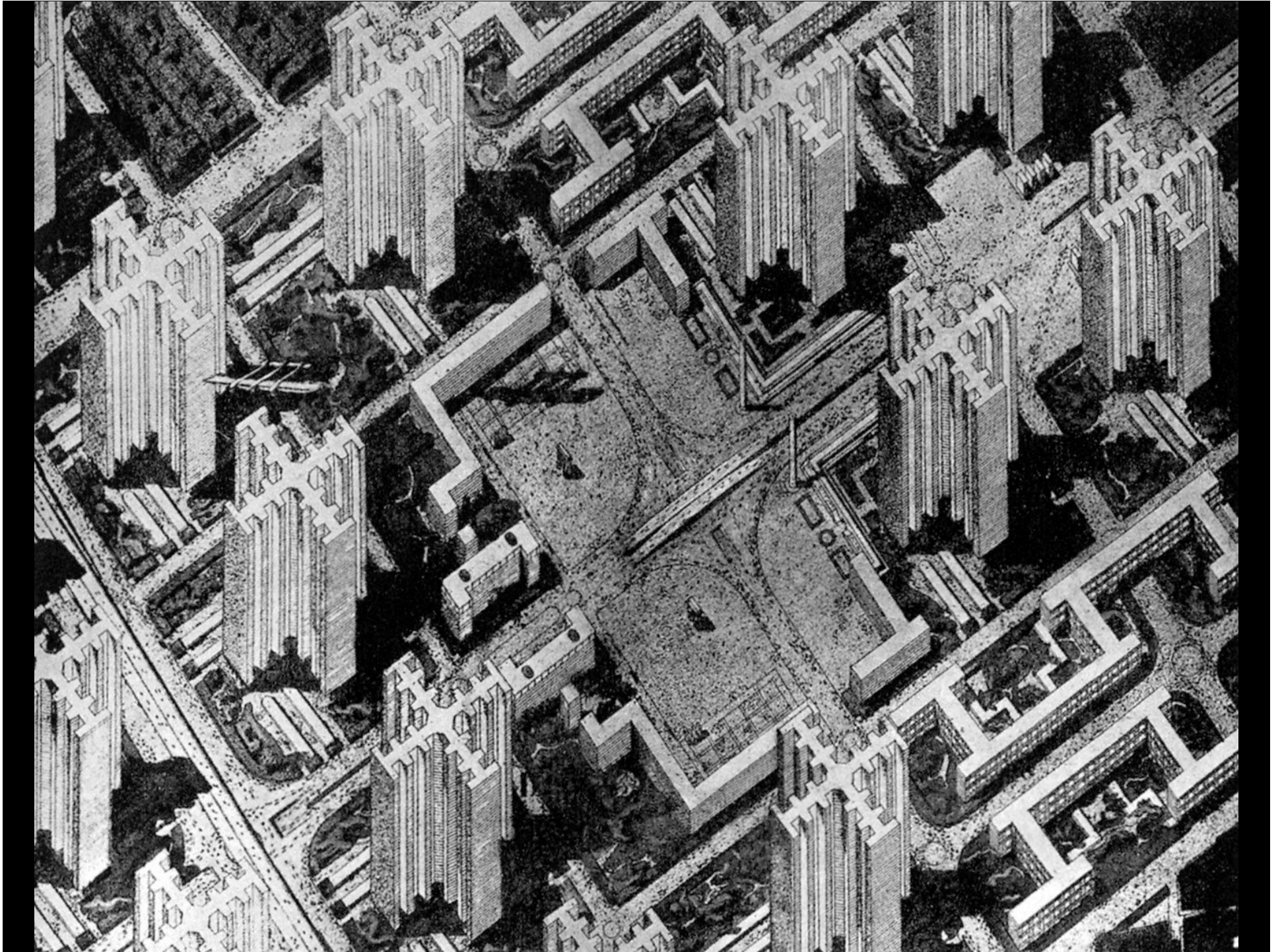
FAÇADE ANTERIEURE

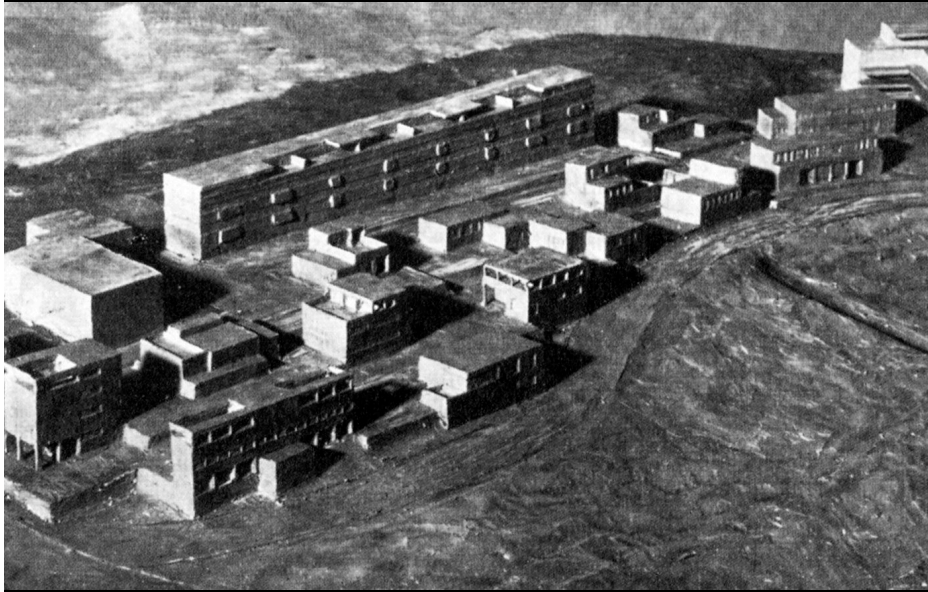
FAÇADE LATÉRALE

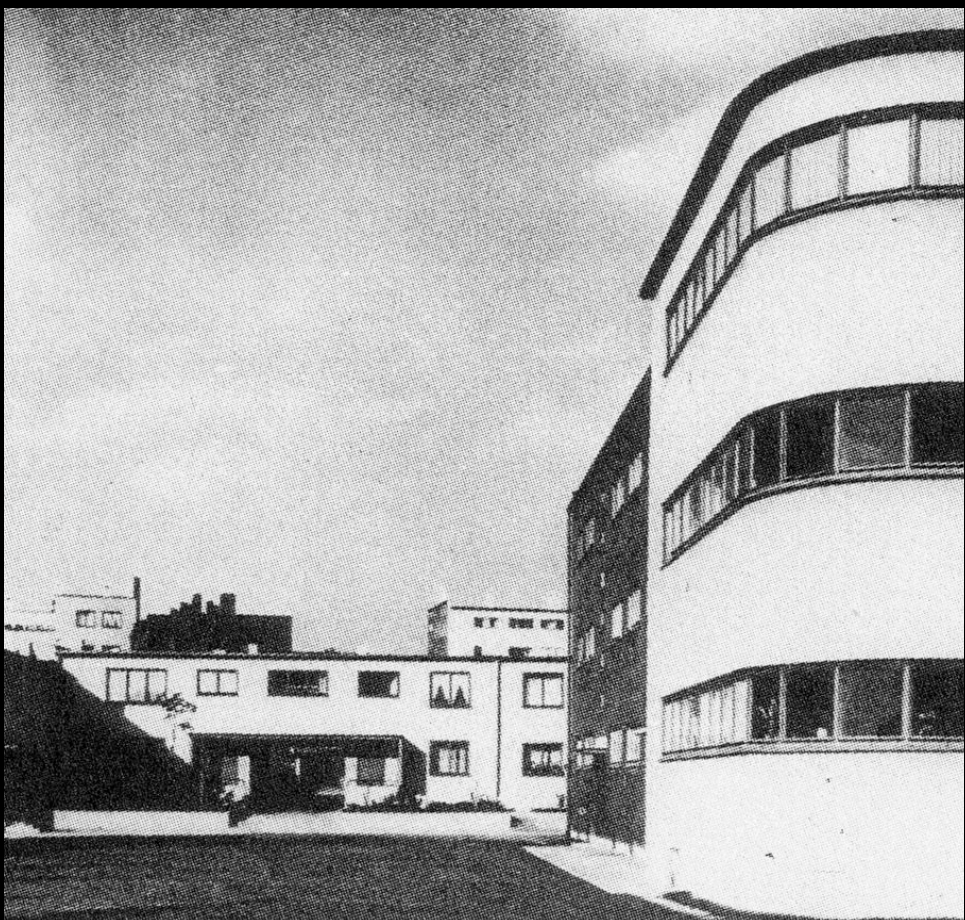
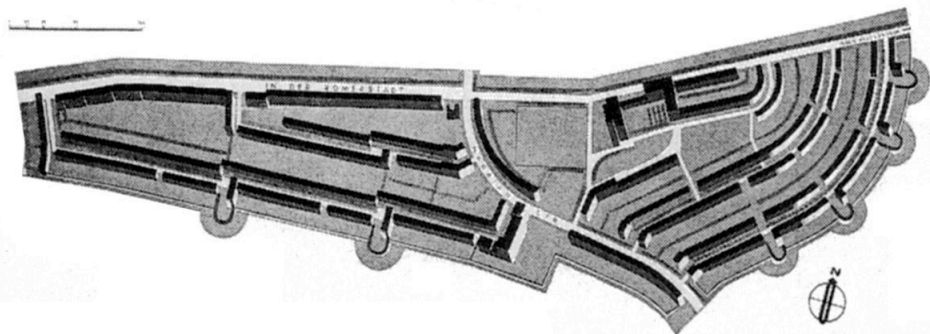
FAÇADE POSTÉRIEURE

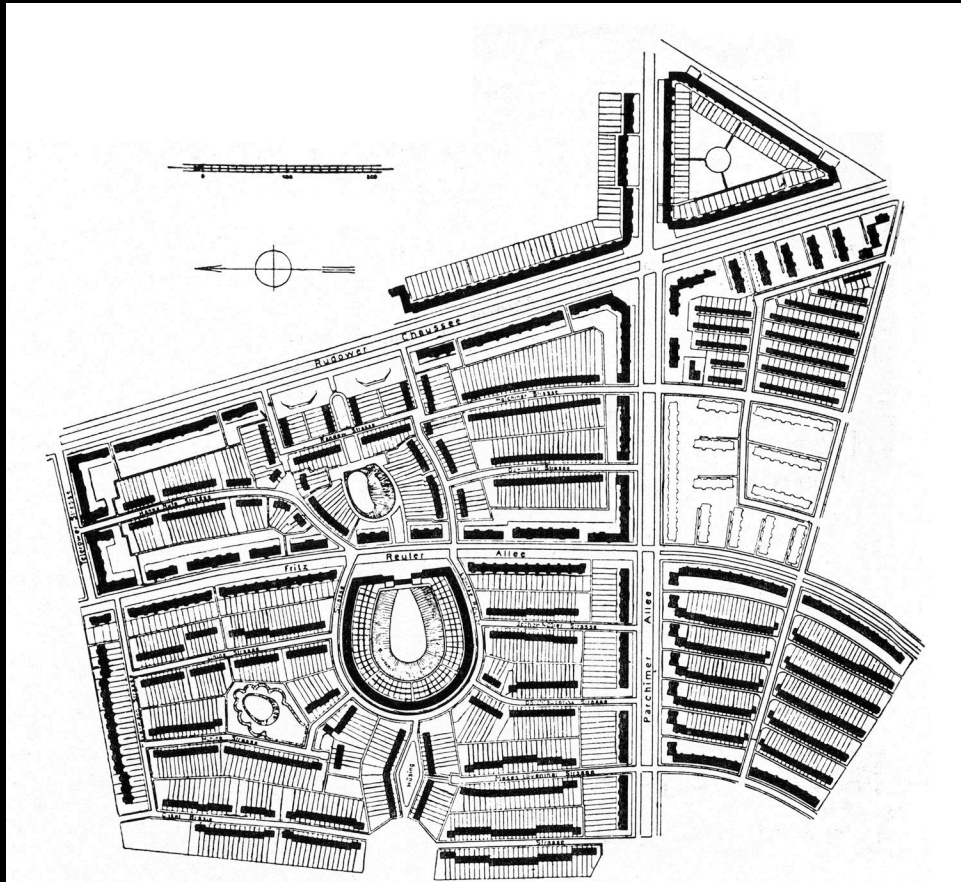








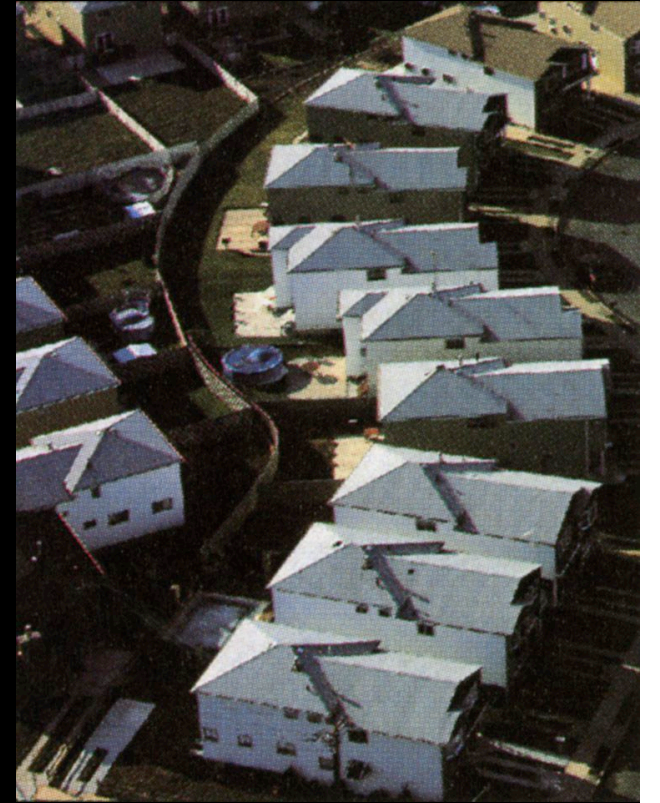






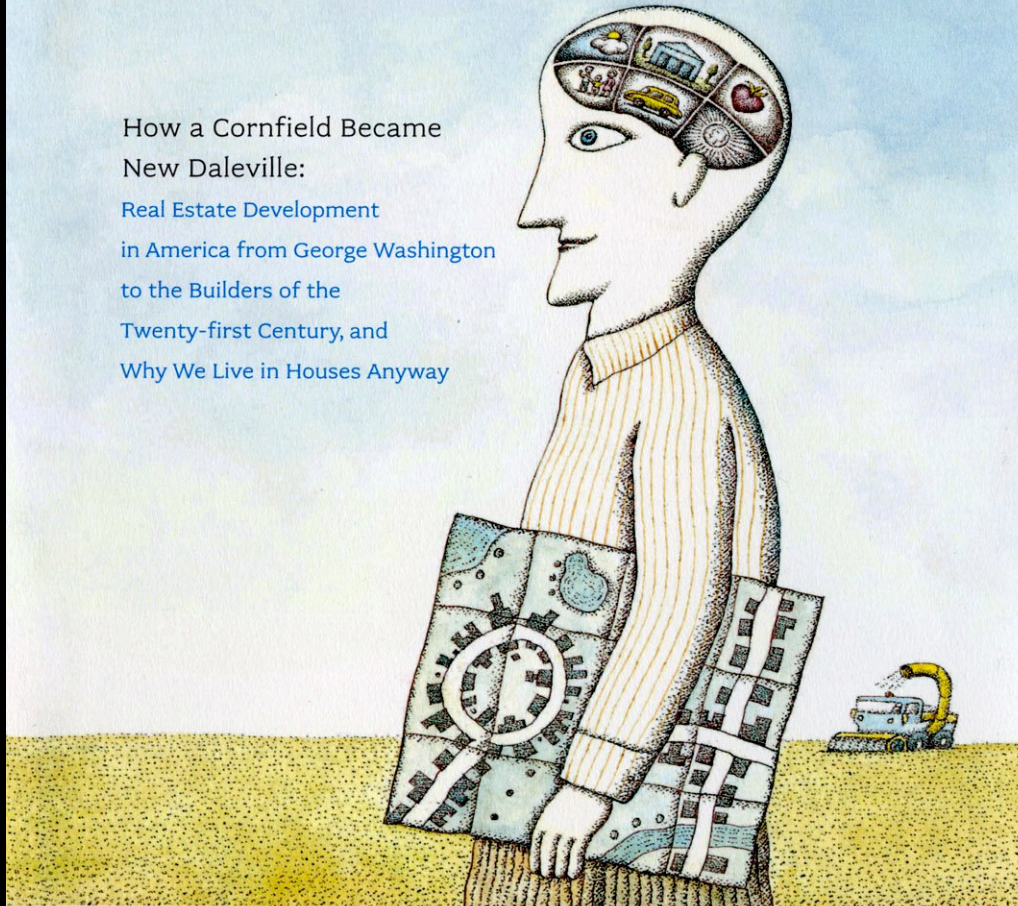






# LAST HARVEST

How a Cornfield Became  
New Daleville:  
*Real Estate Development*  
in America from George Washington  
to the Builders of the  
Twenty-first Century, and  
*Why We Live in Houses Anyway*



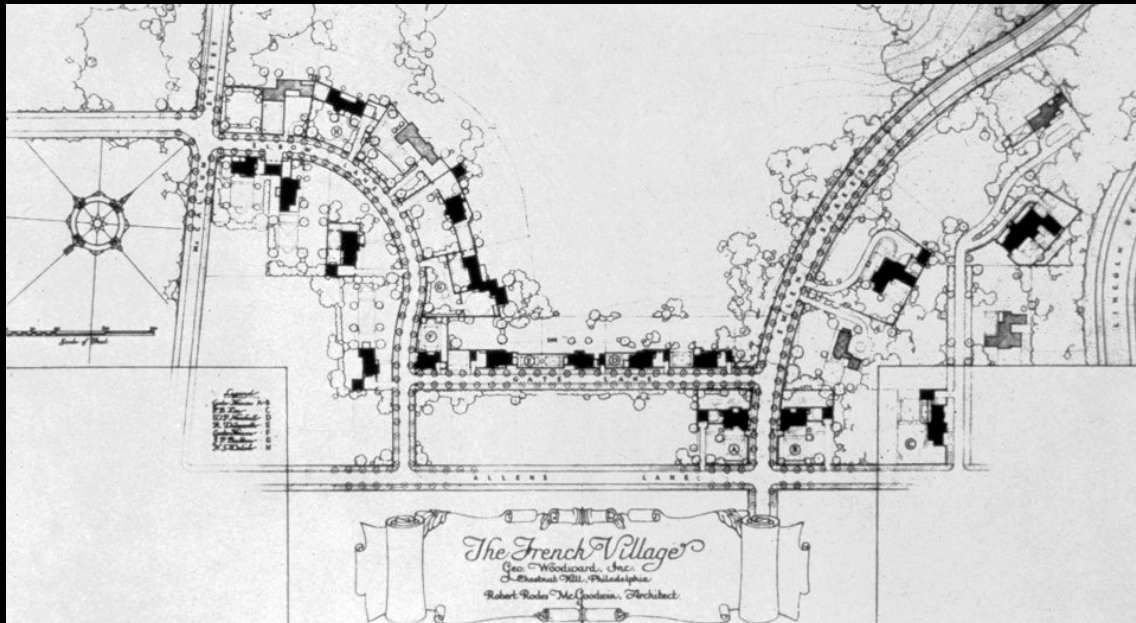
Witold Rybczynski

*Award-winning author of*

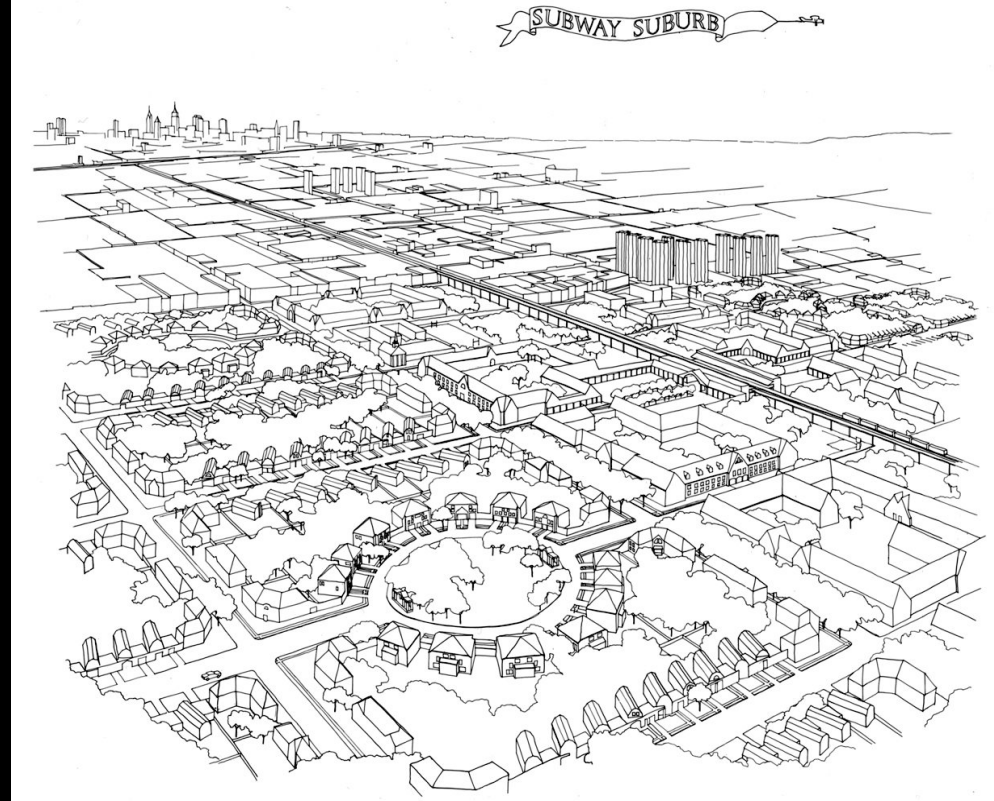
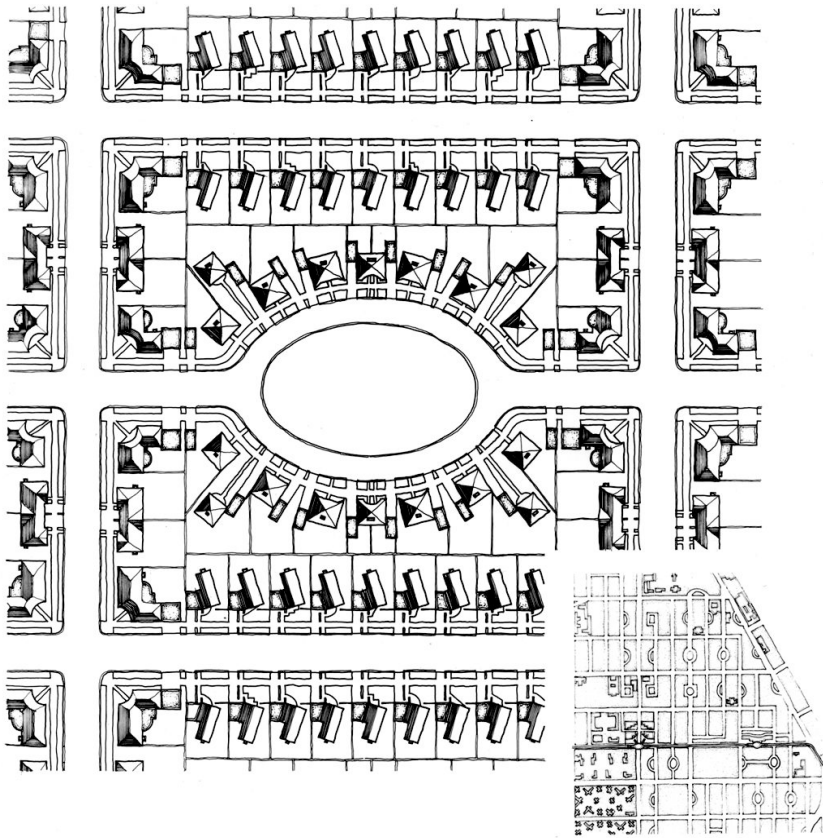
**A CLEARING IN THE DISTANCE**

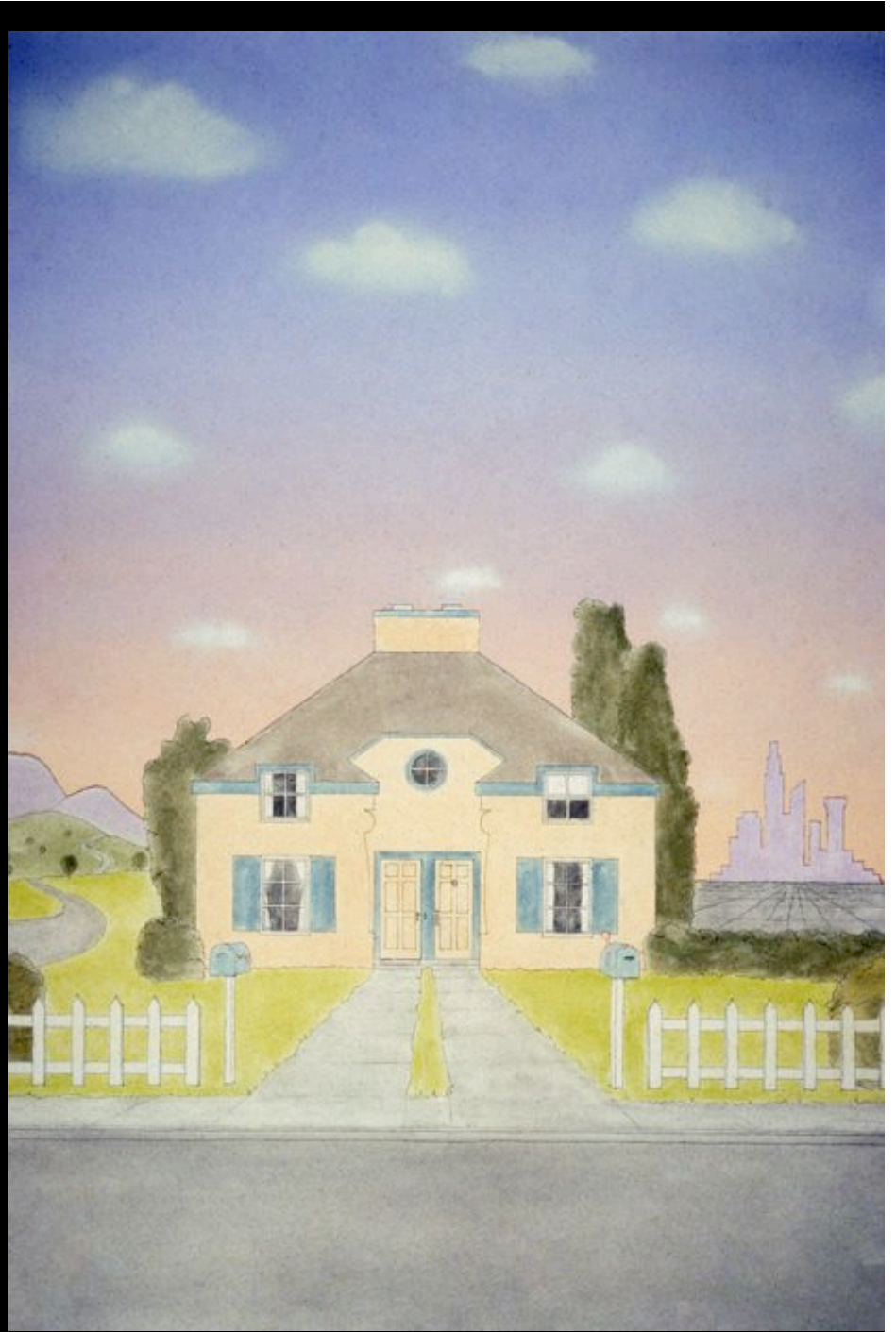


Subway Suburb

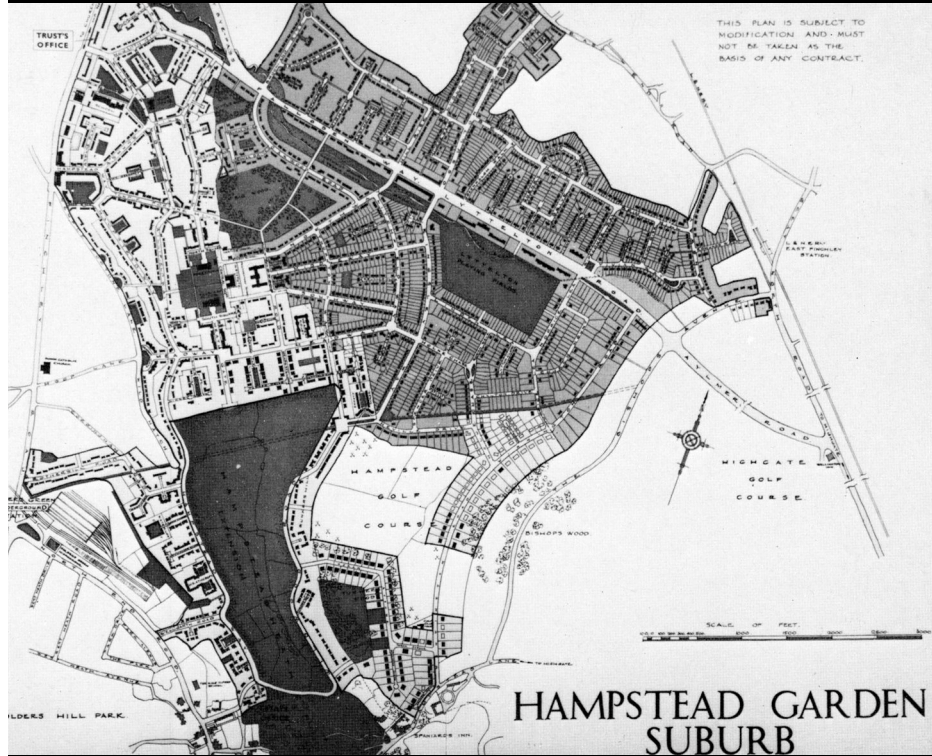






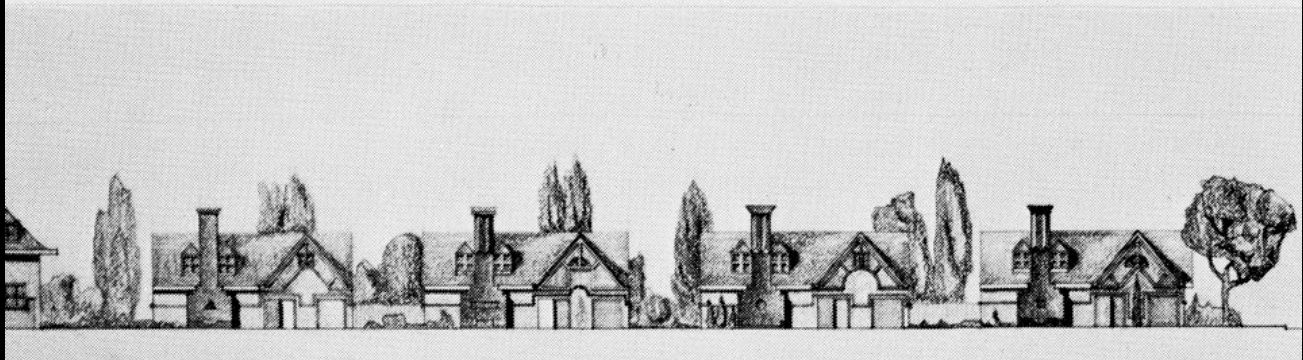
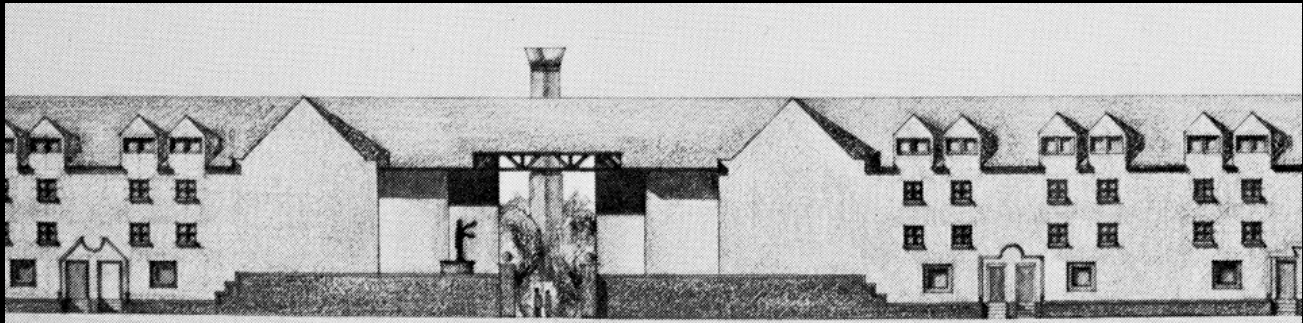


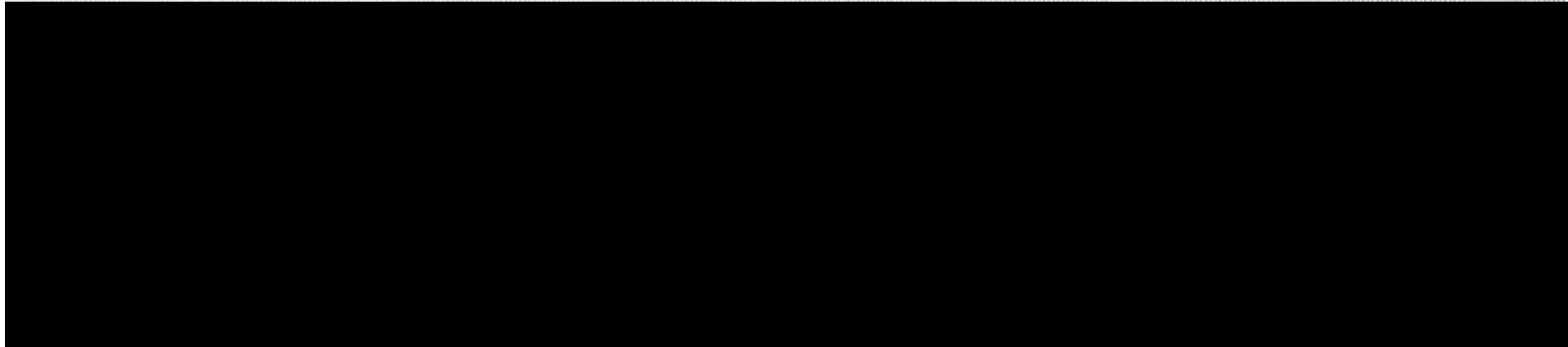
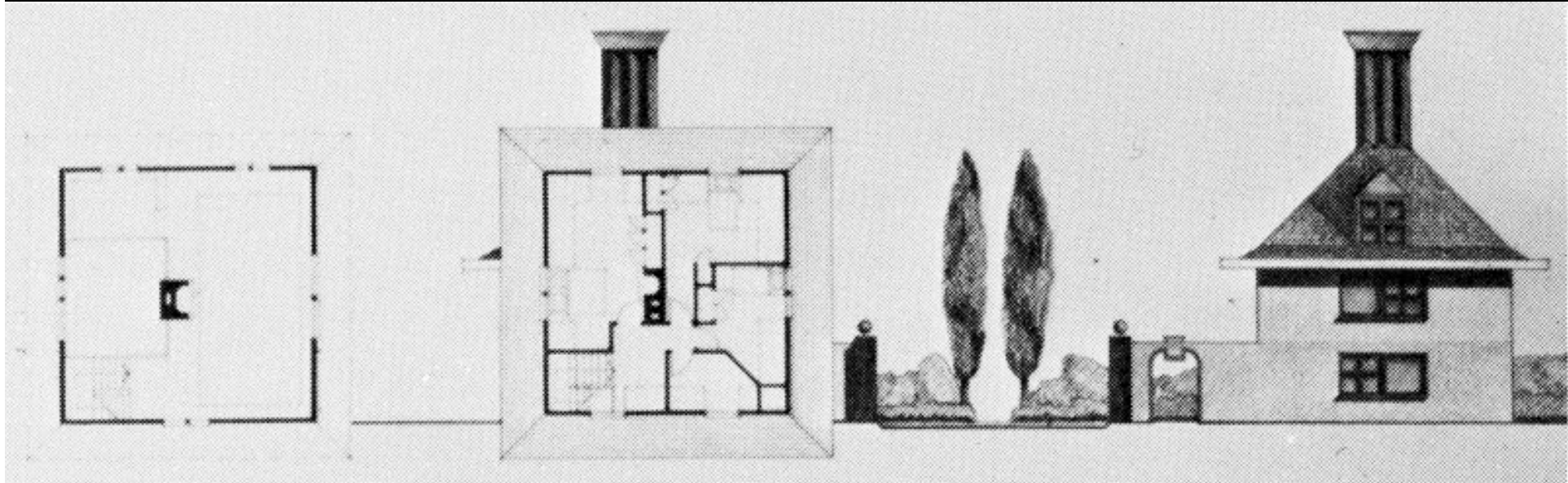
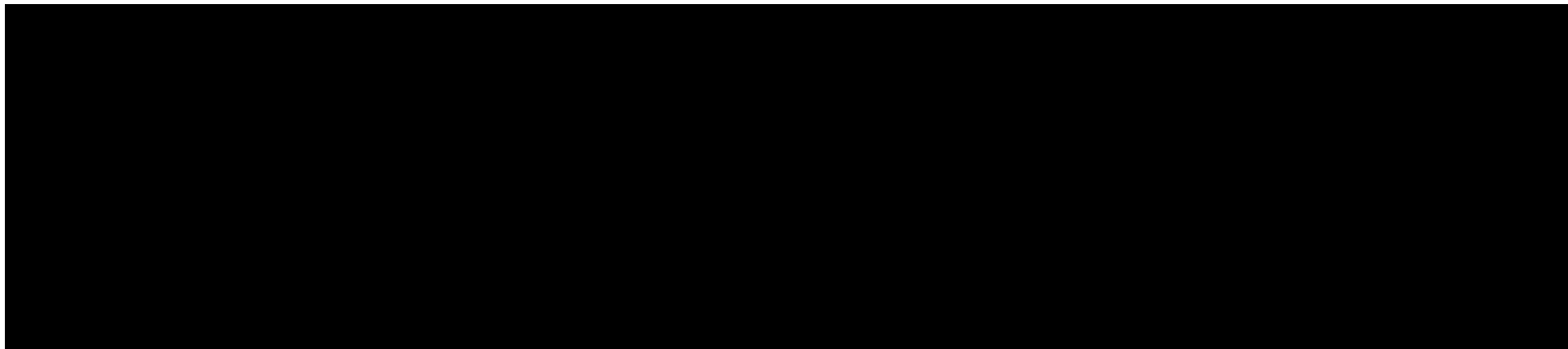


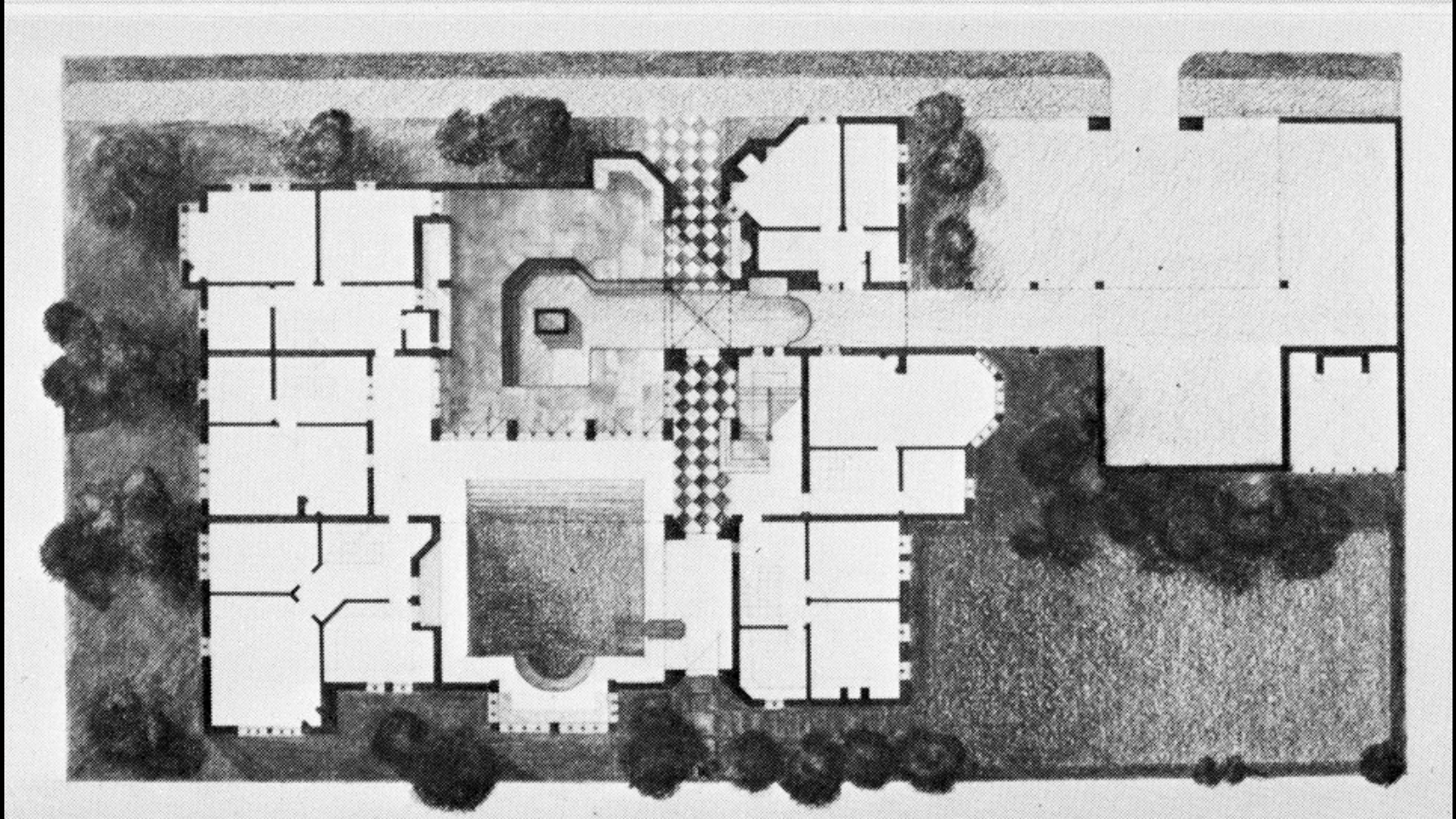
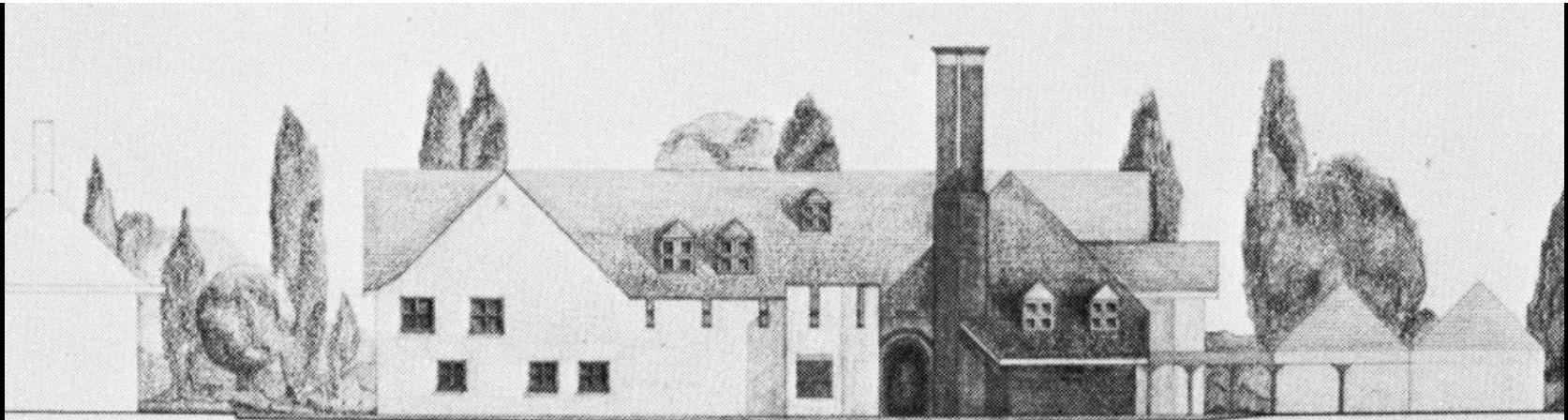




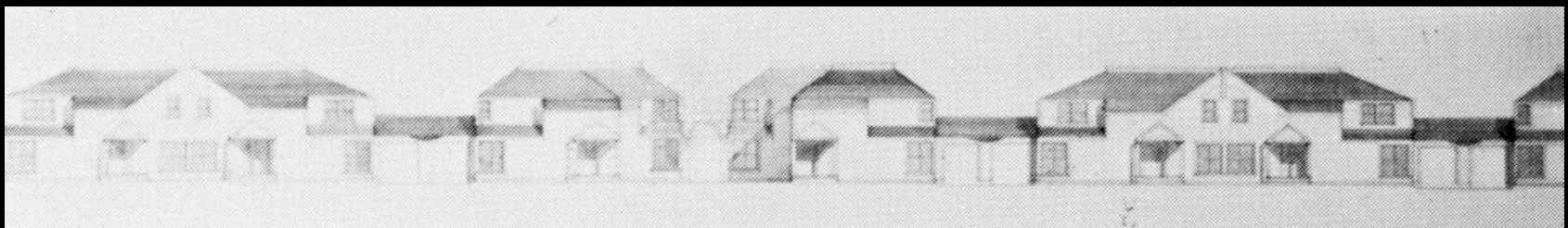
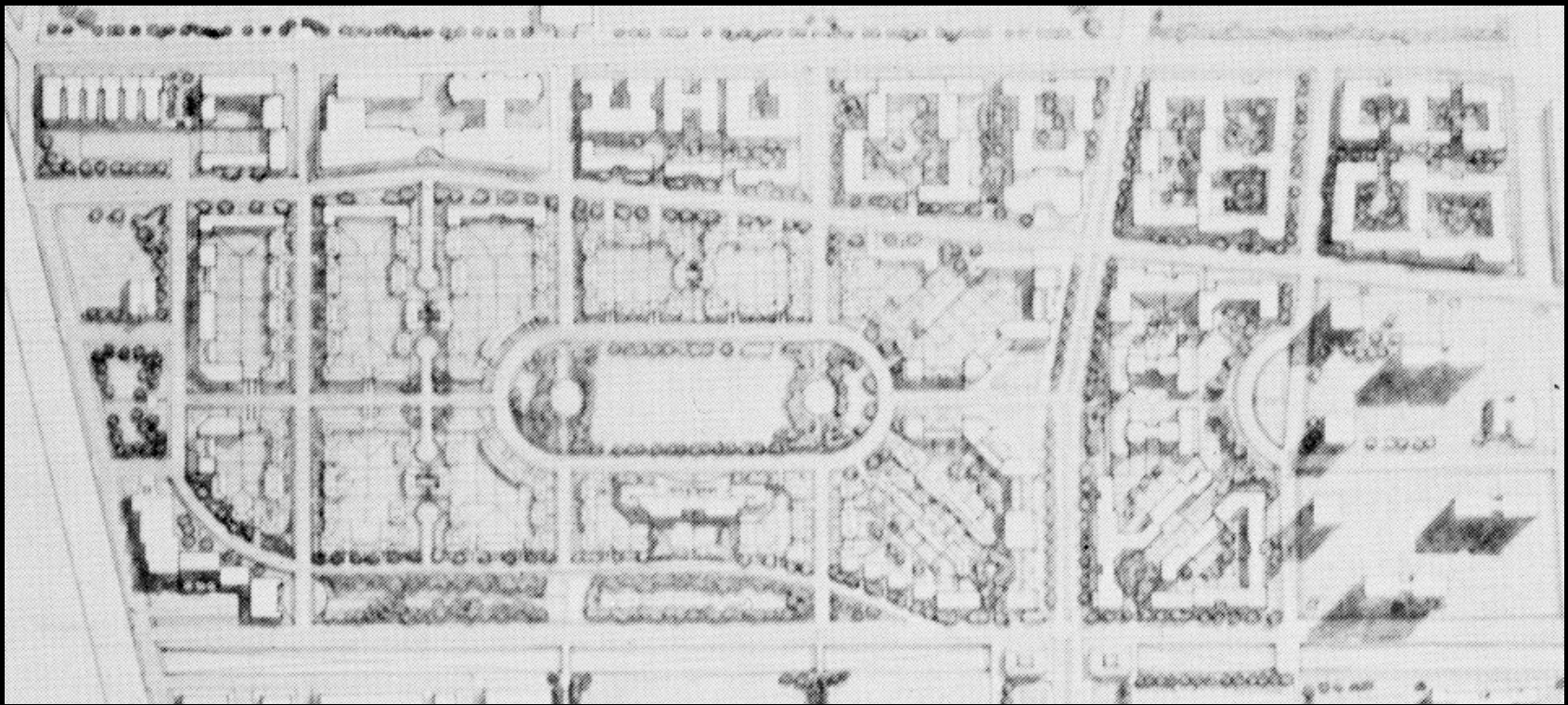
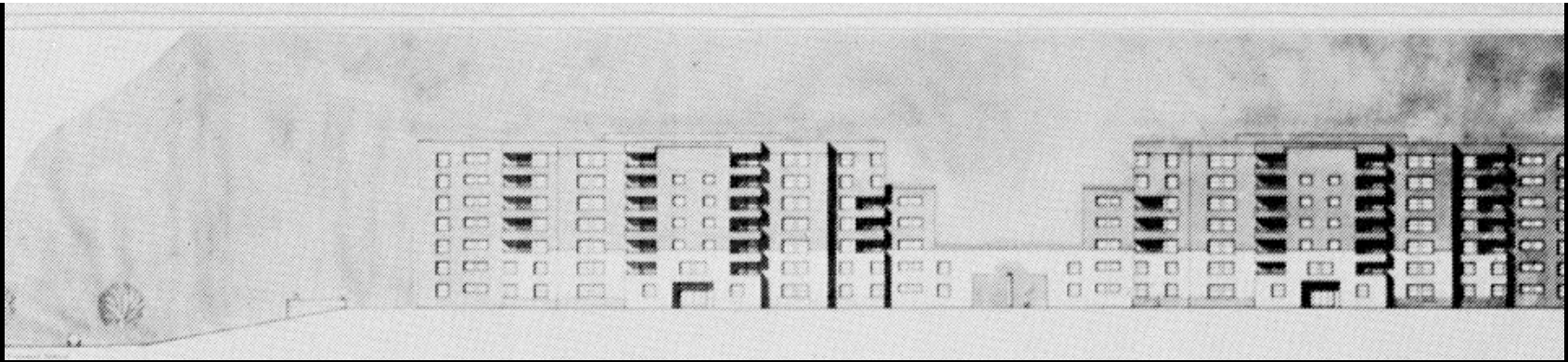
















A Street in Hampstead Garden Suburb, London, by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, about 1910.



Forest Hills Gardens, Queens, New York, by Frederick Law Olmsted and Grosvenor Atterbury, about 1910.



A Street in Riverside, Illinois, by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, 1869.



Broadacre City (project), by Frank Lloyd Wright, 1934.



Park Village East, Regents Development, London, by John Nash, 1825.

## The Suburban Alternative for the "Middle City"

by Robert A.M. Stern

In spite of a substantial body of opinion to the contrary, the Anglo-American suburb is a remarkable urbanistic achievement, not just a degraded species of town planning. A new and long-overdue look at the suburb can revitalize the design of the seemingly inevitable suburban developments that ring our metropolitan regions. But, even more importantly, it can also supply much-needed models for the redevelopment of the vast, virtually empty urban wastelands that lie between the inner cores of our cities and the suburbs beyond in what, for the sake of argument, we can call the "middle city." President Carter's recent trip to the South Bronx focused the nation's attention on our most devastated middle city. But other large sections of New York and whole neighborhoods in Cleveland, Detroit, and St. Louis also lie fallow, virtually empty of people and buildings, and with no discernible assets except those which are called the "urban infrastructure"—the network of streets and the utility systems buried in their rights-of-way. The development of these urban fringe areas was a debased or incompletely realized version of the high-density inner-city model, and they were never more than speculatively conceived way stations for an upwardly mobile immigrant population moving towards cultural assimilation. The tenements were knock-offs of the inner-city apartment house, just as the row houses were knock-offs of inner-city brownstones, in which two or three families inhabited the space occupied by one family in the original.

For the past thirty years or so, architects and planners, in their efforts to stem the flight of businesses to the rapidly suburbanizing countryside, have been almost exclusively concerned with the commercial revitalization of the inner city. And until very recently the generally accepted residential redevelopment model of our cities was the high-rise tower or slab built in a park-like setting. It is now clear that this model does not provide an adequate response to the diverse aspirations of large numbers of our citizens, no matter what their economic status. It is also clear that we can no longer ignore the problems of the "middle city," the vast land areas between the inner city and the suburbs. In most cases, the high-rise apartment has been a developer's dream and little else. On the other hand, the one-, two-, or three-family house on its own lot can, under the proper circumstances, be as economically and technologically viable as the high-rise apartment—and it has proven an overwhelming popular success as well.

I would suggest this to architects, planners, sociologists, economists, and political strategists beginning to consider the burnt-out wastelands of our middle cities: look to the suburb, especially to the pre-automobile suburb, for a workable redevelopment strat-

egy. This model, with its tradition of free-standing houses within walking distance of village centers (and usually of rapid transit stations), has proven a viable format for development that can support a variety of people of different age groups, life-styles, and even economic and social levels.

New suburbs should be built where they are really needed—not in the remote reaches of the outer city, but near the inner cities where the existing network of roads, rapid transit, and utilities, and where the sudden availability of land with no evident higher use combine to make it possible to introduce this remarkable urban format to a new consumer market.

In proposing the suburban model for the South Bronx of our cities, I realize that I am taking on two sacred cows. The first is the notion that the history of cities is and has always been one of increasing population and therefore population density. The second is that the suburb is the particular fief of the middle classes, leaving the other forms of housing to those less well off economically and to the rich, who not only can choose what they want but who also are able to spend enough money to make their choices work. In challenging the former view, one merely contradicts dearly held theories of some physical and economic planners. But in challenging the latter, one strikes at the jugular of our national value system. Still it is important to point out that, though home ownership is a *sine qua non* among the badges honoring individual success, in reality such ownership for the past thirty or more years has in effect been subsidized by the government as a result of the FHA, the GI Bill, and many other similar programs.

Suburbs are an important and unique part of Anglo-American culture. They are as much a product of our traditions and aspirations as they are of rapid industrialization and excessive land speculation. And, just as a history of the suburb needs to be written, so too must a new generation of architects begin to examine without prejudice the varieties of suburban types that have existed. For the truth is that the suburbs we are building now, based as they are on the automobile, are not the ones we idealize. It is the earlier suburb that represents the desirable paradigm, not only from the point of view of the design of the individual buildings, but also from the standpoints of convenience and of economic value. That is why Garden City and not Levittown, Shaker Heights and not Columbia continue to ring the bell of status.

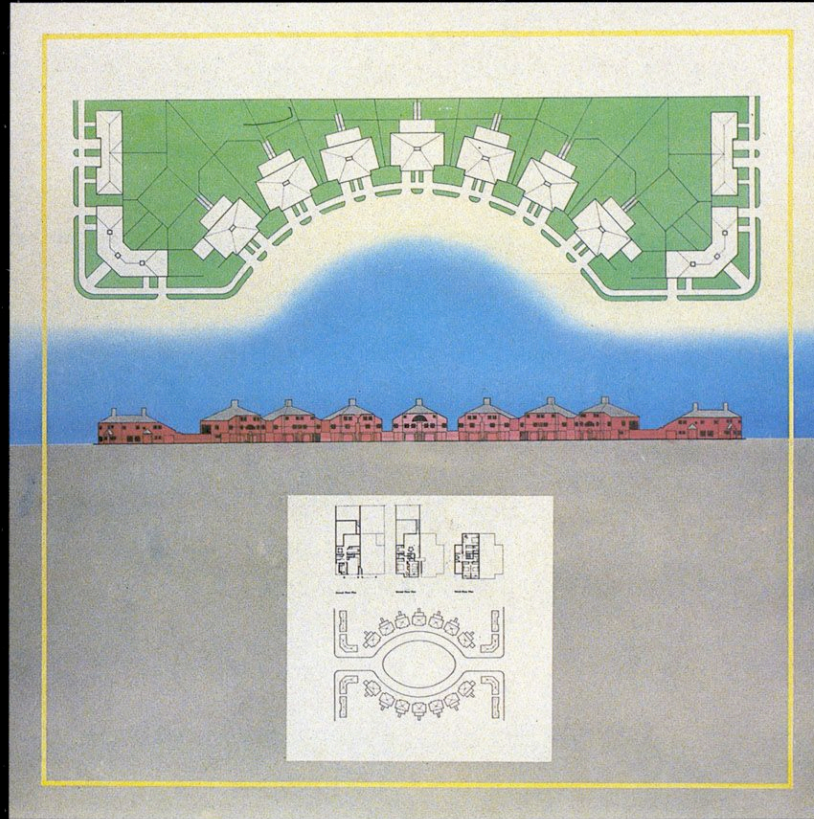
Many suburbs—like Hampstead Garden Suburb in London, and Forest Hills Gardens in New York—are within the political boundaries of large cities, and this fact raises an important question about what a suburb really is. It is clearly a planning type. But is it also a








# The Anglo-American SUBURB



Guest-edited by Robert A M Stern  
with John Montague Massengale

 Architectural Design Profile

# Pullman

Illinois. George M Pullman, developer. Solon Spencer Beman, architect. Nathan F Barrett, landscape architect. 1880

George M Pullman's town was the first of the romantic industrial villages in the United States. It was designed in 1880 by the architect Solon Spencer Beman and the landscape designer Nathan F Barrett (who later designed a number of other model communities including Rochelle Park), in a collaboration that was perhaps the first between an architect and landscape designer for the purposes of establishing a new community.

The town grew up out of Pullman's simultaneously idealistic and opportunistic belief that a well designed industrial complex was not necessarily incompatible with a suitable environment for family life and that the benefits accruing from such an arrangement would benefit owner and wage-earner alike. But Pullman's virtues are often forgotten because of the despotic labour policies of the Pullman Palace Car Company, which kept ownership of all housing, commercial and industrial buildings, as well as the parks and the church. When the Pullman Company lowered wages but raised rents in 1894, the workers fought a famous and bloody strike which led to a Supreme Court decision ordering the company to sell all dwellings. It is ironic that 14 years earlier Henry Demarest Lloyd had written that Pullman need not fear strikes, and that a London newspaper in 1883 called Pullman 'the most perfect city in the world'.<sup>1</sup>

Pullman was built on a portion of a 4000-acre site 13 miles south of Chicago's centre along the right-of-way of the Illinois Central Railroad. Beman and Barrett's scheme, bounded on one side by Lake Calumet and on the other by the railroad, employed a gridiron plan for the residential areas north and south of the Pullman factory. A greenbelt of open land was provided to buffer the community and allow for future growth. Pullman was a model community not only as a result of its provision for adequate housing, cultural and recreational amenities, but also because of its sophisticated infrastructure. Most notable were the separate storm and sewage systems which carried the storm water from roofs and streets through cobblestone gutters to Lake Calumet, while sending sewage in glazed pipes to a 300 000-gallon reservoir where, as part of a complex process, it was fermented, the unpolluted effluent recycled, and the remainder used as fertiliser for nearby farms owned by Pullman. Power for the factory and the town was supplied by the 700-ton Corliss engine which had powered the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, the same engine that initially inspired Henry Adams's observations on the Dynamo and the Virgin.

The construction of Pullman was notable for pioneering applications of mass-production techniques to housing development. The

housing was solid, if somewhat dour in its appearance, with a variety of types provided to meet the needs of a diverse community of workers. The workers housing, though unexceptional in its style, was admirably constructed with slate roofs and brick trimmed in stone, and provided amenities such as private backyards connected to rear service alleys.

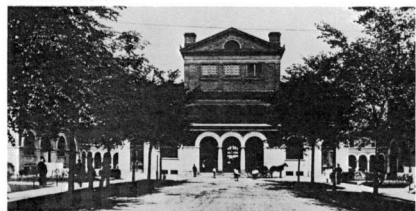
A large hotel, the Florence, was built at the railroad station. Nearby was Pullman's best designed building, the Arcade, a pedestrian mall with a 90-foot-long, glass-roofed gallery. A Market House provided to supplement the drygoods shopping facilities in the Arcade burned down in 1892, ten years after its completion, and was replaced by the present structure, a classical design reflecting the impact of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Pullman was almost destroyed in 1960 for the construction of an industrial park. But residents formed the Pullman Civic Organisation to save the town, which was soon granted national landmark status.<sup>2</sup>

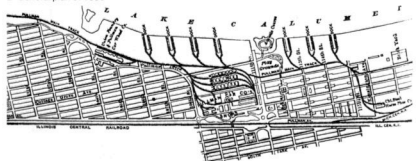
#### Notes

- 1 Quoted by H Mayer and R C Wade in *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1969, p 192.
- 2 Norbert J Pointner II, 'Pullman, A New Town Takes Shape on the Illinois Prairie', *Historic Preservation* 22, April-June 1970, pp 26-35.

1 Arcade on Market Square



2 General plan of 1880



3 Housing and Greenstone Church



# Port Sunlight

Lancashire. W H Lever, developer. Thomas Mawson, landscape consultant. 1888

W H Lever, the founder of Port Sunlight (and one of the original Lever Brothers), appears to have learned from Pullman's mistakes and introduced a complex form of profit sharing which insured not only that the village would be fiscally sound and well maintained, but that the residents would come to regard it as their own.

Begun in 1888, Port Sunlight initially occupied a 52-acre site on a branch of the Mersey River. But the site was awkward, with muddy ravines, and over the following 20 years the town was expanded on filled land to 221 acres, 130 of which were devoted to the village, and the rest to the factories.

The authorship of the original plan for the village is unclear: it would appear that Lever played the decisive role in its formulation, although Thomas Mawson, a landscape architect who had worked at Saltaire, had a relationship with the project almost from its inception. Walter L Creese has written that the planning strategies employed are consistent and impressive: 'In angling the houses at the street

corners and forming rudimentary U-shaped courts out of the larger combinations, Lever's architects effectively forecast certain devices to be incorporated in the garden cities. The most important advance was in the use of the houses on both sides of the road to characterize and punctuate the space between, rather than simply to limit it. At Port Sunlight they were so designed that little or no distinction could be perceived among the individual houses of each group externally. What it amounted to visually was a street of mansions in which the volumes held up remarkably well, a need increasingly felt as the thoroughfares grew wider under the pressure of circular reform ... the superhouse equated with the superblock at last. The Shavian country house had become the multiple.'<sup>2</sup>

Many architects participated in the design of the housing, including J Lomax-Simpson, Ernest George and Maurice B Adams. As a result, the overall stylistic character of the village can be described as vigorously eclectic. Creese notes that: 'The sense of stylistic

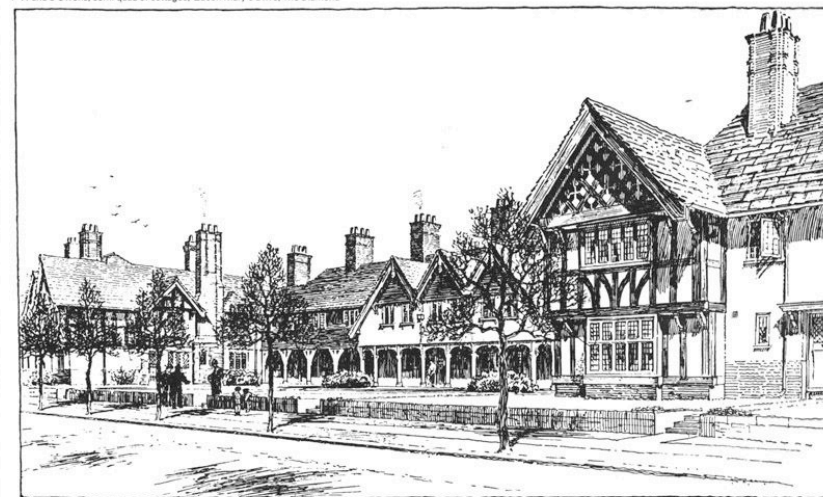
eclecticism and artificiality which, to be sure, began in Bedford Park, grows almost rampant in Port Sunlight and Bourneville. The only possible way to explain Port Sunlight visually is as a kind of last, ruddy glow of High Victorianism, with all its little dignities and affectations, its prosperity and expansiveness. This eclecticism of forms, styles, and surfaces was to swell until, as W L George put it, each street exhibited its own "local nationality".<sup>2</sup>

Later developments at Port Sunlight reflect the academic planning principles of the City Beautiful movement. Ernest Prestwich won the 1909 competition for the expansion of the village with a formal scheme, which contrasted with the more picturesque original plan. As executed by Mawson, the new development showed the growing importance for English architects of the American Beaux-Arts movement.

#### Notes

- 1 *The Search for Environment*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1968, p 122.
- 2 *Op cit*, p 123.

1 Wand S Owens, semi-quad of cottages, Queen Mary's Drive, The Diamond



# Kohler

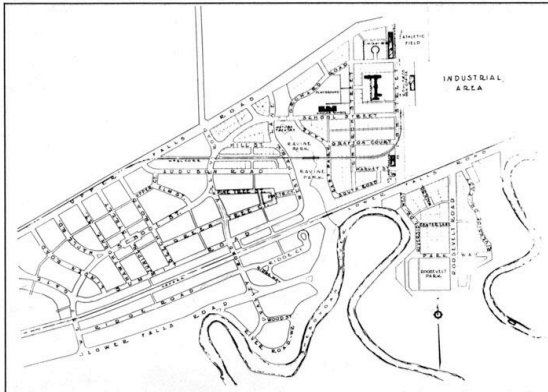
Wisconsin. Kohler Company, developer. Olmsted Brothers, landscape architects. Richard Philipp, architect. 1913

Kohler was built by the well-known plumbing manufacturers on the Sheboygan River in Wisconsin. Although the company first moved to the site around the turn of the century, it was not until several years later when the architect Richard Philipp, partner in the Milwaukee firm of Brust & Philipp, accompanied Wisconsin's Governor Walter J. Kohler on a tour of the 'garden cities' of Europe and America that serious plans were made for the founding of a model village on the site.<sup>1</sup> The Olmsted Brothers were hired as landscape architects, apparently after some problem had developed with the plans of Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, the authors of *Civic Art*.<sup>2</sup>

Olmsted's design took advantage of a natural ravine to introduce a continuous park running alongside the centre of the town from the school to the river. Commercial and institutional buildings were located to the east, between the park and the factory; the most unusual of these was the American Club, a residence for single men maintained by the company across from the plant. The houses on the shady streets of Kohler were built by the Kohler Improvement Company, a non-profit development company that sold houses and the land at cost and arranged financing. Built with a solid burgher charm which we are coming to appreciate again, they help to dispel some of the associations that often accompany the phrase 'company town'.

## Notes

- 1 L.L. Smith, 'The Industrial Garden City of Kohler, Wisconsin', *American Landscape Architect* 3, September 1930, pp 11-18.
- 2 John W. Repas states that Hegemann & Peet were the original planners of Kohler, in *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1965, p 430.



- 1 Plot plan of 1913
- 2 Brust and Philip, American Club, residence for single men, c 1915
- 3 Brust and Philip, Lincoln Circle, c 1915

# Tyrone

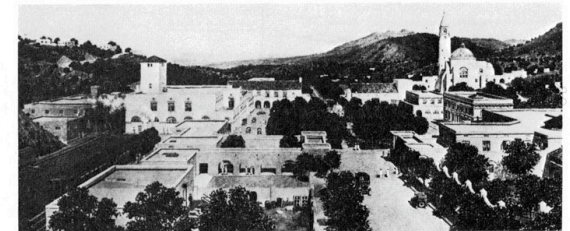
New Mexico. Phelps-Dodge Corporation, developers. Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, architect. 1915

Tyrone, the grandest copper-mining town ever built, was designed by Bertram Goodhue for the Phelps-Dodge Corporation. Cupped in the Burro Mountains, Tyrone was notable for its combination of City Beautiful and Romantic Naturalist planning techniques with the Spanish-American architecture gaining popularity in the west after the success of Goodhue's work at the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego.

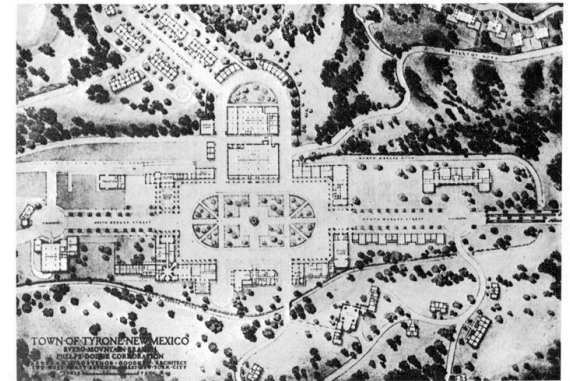
The style was appropriate for a company town near the Mexican border that employed many Mexican workmen, although the Mexican labourers were housed in their own quarter removed from the executives' and bureaucrats' houses. The principal feature of Goodhue's design was the central square or plaza bounded by the railroad station and post office, the company store, the company headquarters, and a four building containing a bank, shops, and a library. All the buildings had arcades on the plaza, except for the company headquarters occupying the place of honour usually reserved in such a plan for the town hall. The rest of the plaza was never completed; even unfinished, however, the quality of its design and construction distinguished Tyrone from other mining towns. Many years later several of the miners fondly remembered the dances held under Chinese lanterns hung in the plaza.<sup>1</sup>

Other features of the town were equally ambitious: the company store opposite the headquarters was known as the 'Wanamaker's of the west'; the hospital, said to be the best between Kansas City and San Francisco, had private phones in every room and a number of sunken bathtubs.<sup>2</sup> The workmen's houses were model designs for the time, though they couldn't compare to the free-standing houses on the curving streets of the exclusive residential section.

Tyrone was built in two stages, from 1915 to 1916 and 1916 to 1917. In the first stage the workers' houses employed so-called 'old style' motifs (pitched tile roofs), but in the second stage 'new style' flat-roofed cottages were introduced for variety and perhaps to save money.<sup>3</sup> The plan was never completed, however, and Phelps-Dodge stopped operations in 1921 when copper prices sank as rapidly as they had risen during the war. The workers offered to take a 25 per cent pay cut, but even so Tyrone's ore was too low a grade to be profitable. Over the next four decades workers periodically opened the mines in anticipation of higher prices, a dude ranch was opened, and occasional artists and writers moved into the vacant houses. But over the years the workmen's cottages, the ware-



1, 2 Central Square as projected, 1915, perspective and plan



houses, and the school were torn down, and the railroad station, the store and the hospital were fenced off behind barbed wire. Finally in 1966 Phelps-Dodge announced it would reopen the mines as open-pit mines where the town stood. The company demolished the town in 1967.<sup>4</sup>

Though little known, Tyrone may have had a major impact on suburban design: Clarence Stein was in charge of the project when he worked in Goodhue's office and was undoubtedly influenced by it in his later work, including the Canadian mining town of Kitimat, British Columbia, built by Alcan in the 1950s.<sup>5</sup> Another Phelps-Dodge mining town in Spanish-American style still thrives: Ajo, Arizona

designed in 1917 by William M. Kenyon and Maurice F. Maine.

## Notes

- 1 Robert B. Riley, 'Gone Forever: Goodhue's Ghost Town', *AIA Journal* 50, August 1968, pp 67-70.
- 2 Riley, *op cit*, pp 69-70.
- 3 'The New Mining Community of Tyrone, NM, New Building for the Burro Mountain Branch of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation', *Architectural Review* 23 os, April 1918, pp 59-62, plates LIII-LVII.
- 4 Riley, *op cit*, p 70.
- 5 Lewis Mumford, 'A Modest Man's Enduring Contributions to Urban and Regional Planning', *AIA Journal*, December 1976, pp 19-28. For a description of Kitimat see 'Kitimat, A New Town Prototype', *Architectural Forum* 101, August 1954, pp 128-147.
- 6 'Ajo, Arizona', *Architecture* 39, January 1919, plates XI-XV.