

PLANNING PROBLEMS
OF
TOWN CITY AND REGION
PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS
1926

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITY PLANNING
NEW YORK

WAASDORP & NORTHRUP

From the collection of the

j f d
y z n m k
o Preinger Library a h
u v q g
e s w p
b t c

San Francisco, California
2006

7.5.6.
Gordon & Kaelber

30

247

**PLANNING PROBLEMS OF
TOWN CITY AND REGION**

PLANNING PROBLEMS OF TOWN CITY AND REGION

PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS
AT THE EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON CITY
PLANNING

HELD AT
ST. PETERSBURG AND PALM BEACH, FLA.
MARCH 29 TO APRIL 1, 1926

Published for the Conference by
WM. F. FELL CO., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MCMXXVI

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ADDRESS OF WELCOME	1
Frank F. Jonsberg, Chairman, St. Petersburg Planning Commission.	
NEW COMMUNITIES PLANNED TO MEET NEW CONDITIONS	5
John Nolen, President of the National Conference on City Planning.	
Discussion	17
A PLANNING REVIEW. (Illustrated)	19
Secretary's Report.	
THE ARCHITECT AND CITY PLANNING	25
William F. Steele, Vice-President, American Institute of Architects, Sioux City, Iowa.	
Discussion	32
PLANNING OPPORTUNITIES AND PROBLEMS IN PERIODS OF RAPID DEVELOPMENT	34
Carl C. McClure, President, Florida State Association of Real Estate Boards.	
Discussion by G. Gordon Whitnall, Los Angeles, California	40
General Discussion	46
REGULATING LAND SUBDIVISION	49
A Progress Report Presented by Irving C. Root, Flint, Michigan.	
Discussion	50
COMBINED ZONING AND PLANNING CONTROL OF UNSUBDIVIDED AREAS	57
Robert Whitten, City Planning Consultant, New York City.	
Discussion	64
THE CITY CANNOT PROTECT ITS HOMES, PREVENT MISPLACED STREETS, KEEP GOOD STREET LAYOUTS, OR ACQUIRE PERMANENT PLAYGROUNDS WITHOUT STATE ENABLING ACTS	66
Edward M. Bassett, Counsel, New York Zoning Committee.	
Discussion by Ernst Freund, Professor of Law, University of Chicago	73
General Discussion	82
REGULATION OF OUTDOOR ADVERTISING	86
Mrs. W. L. Lawton, Glens Falls, New York, Chairman, National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising.	

	PAGE
THE PLANNING OF PLEASURE RESORT COMMUNITIES	92
Frederick Law Olmsted, Fellow, American Society of Landscape Architects, Brookline, Massachusetts.	
THE FLORIDA WATER FRONT	105
Judge James F. Glenn, Tampa, Florida.	
THE PLACE OF THE RAILROAD IN THE CITY PLAN. (Illustrated)	115
Harland Bartholomew, City Plan Engineer, St. Louis, Missouri.	
Discussion by C. F. Loweth, Chief Engineer, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, Chicago, Illinois	130
General Discussion	140
WHAT CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING CAN DO TOWARD THE SOLU- TION OF THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM	155
Colonel A. B. Barber, Director, National Conference on Street and Highway Safety, Washington, District of Columbia.	
WHAT CITY PLANNING MEANS TO THE COMMUNITY	163
Allen D. Albert, Chairman, Planning Commission, Jacksonville, Florida.	
SELLING CITY PLANNING	175
Carl Hunt, Executive Vice-President, Chamber of Commerce, Orlando, Florida.	
Discussion	188
CITY PLANNING AS A SUBJECT FOR UNDERGRADUATE COURSES IN COL- LEGES	191
George B. Zug, Department of Modern Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.	
A STATE PLAN FOR FLORIDA	197
Mrs. Robert M. Seymour, Miami, Florida.	
THE PLACE OF THE EAST COAST IN A STATE PLAN FOR FLORIDA	202
G. Gordon Whitnall, Director, Los Angeles Plan Commission.	
Discussion	207
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE	209
ORGANIZATION OF THE NINETEENTH CONFERENCE	213

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

FRANK F. JONSBURG, Chairman, St. Petersburg Planning Commission

I must confess that it was with a feeling of resignation and reluctance, rather than enthusiasm, that I greeted your President's kind invitation to speak to you today. Not because I was unmindful of the privilege, but because of a decent, and let us hope becoming, sense of the utter inadequacy of my attempting to convey to you in any measure the depth and sincerity of St. Petersburg's welcome to the Eighteenth National Conference on City Planning.

We welcome you most cordially to this serene and genial clime, to this rose garden of brotherly love and affection, where little has been left undone by nature and few undone by man. I have said that I come with a feeling of reluctance; to that I must add "diffidence," when I find my feeble remarks dignified by the title of "address" on your program, for I have not come with any long or prepared speech. Too often we after-luncheon speakers (and let me pause to say that I have always considered the word "speakers" superfluous, for we are merely "after luncheons")—too often, as I have said, we after-luncheon speakers—leave our listeners in the lamentable mental condition of the man whose wife talked too much and when a friend asked the afflicted husband what she talked about, he replied, "she doesn't say." And so while I may not say much my remarks will be brief and thus at least have brevity to commend them. They will be quite as brief as were the speeches of those days of old when men went to dinners with guns in their hip-pockets and the speaker either carried a gun himself or did his orating near the door. Fortunately for some of us the gun-toting days are gone forever, though I note with alarm that the hip-pocket is still a source of much concern and worry to many of us, even here in St. Petersburg, so near

Havana, where they have so many things that we do not have—legally. But I would not have you think from what I have said that I am not in favor of the Eighteenth Amendment. On the contrary, I feel that prohibition did not come one day too soon, for I think that you will agree with me that we as a nation had lost our respect for liquor, and prohibition has at least served to save it from neglect.

But seriously, gentlemen, for many years it has been my privilege to know city planners and I have never ceased in my reverence for them nor have I ever faltered in my envy and admiration for the way in which with a few lines of pen and pencil and a few deft strokes of a brush they can transform a "just-grown" Topsy town into a superlative quintessence of metropolitan perfection that trembles on the very verge of the marvelous—and then leave it for a planning board to effect the miracle as best they can. And while we would not be so rash as to offer gratuitous advice to you men who make advice a profession, still we have always felt that this is the greatest weakness among city planners. It has always seemed to us that they act too much on the policy of the man who was walking with a young lady of rather vague and uncertain beauty,—turning to her escort she propounded this vital question,—“If a man takes a young lady to dinner and the theater should she let him kiss her on the way home?” And his judgment was this, “No, he has done enough for her already.”

And so too often I fear our planning commissions and planning boards enter the rather perilous fields of civic endeavor armed with book and plan, but lacking the blandishments of counsel and advice of city planners. St. Petersburg is more fortunate in this respect. It has been our privilege to have Dr. Nolen undertake the diagnosis of the fundamental ailments of our civic anemia as regards city planning, and we are likewise fortunate in having a planning board that always keeps close to the eternal magic of simplicity. St. Petersburg, as is the portion of cities everywhere, has its problems with their attendant difficulties and we have the usual discussions, and committees, and boards, and elections

without end. Some of us think these things are quite important, and perhaps they are, but I have noticed that when the murk and mist have passed away and when the ballot box has been laid at rest and the voter once more has smoothed his ruffled brow, sweetness reigns again and all is peace and gentleness. And so I suppose that we are very much like every other city in this broad and happy land. Excessive harmony in civic life or city planning would probably be bad for all of us. So let us hope that human endeavor never achieves a perfection in city planning that will take from our city planning boards the hectic happiness which is now theirs. Every day friends, acquaintances and strangers leave an infinite variety of problems upon our doorstep—problems that range from the preservation of our civic soul to the platting of the planetary system. We must soothe the disgruntled and labor with the visionaries who cherish fondly fluttering hopes and dreams of a civic perfection that could only be attainable through Divine intervention.

We have walled-in habits and traditions to destroy. We have problems of conflicting tastes, of different ideals and aims. Not contending forces of good and bad, but of good and good; and these problems must be met and solved with sympathy toward both sides and if not with wisdom, at least with common sense. And as a certain number of fleas, we are told, are good for a dog, because they keep him from brooding on being a dog, so do these problems perhaps serve to save us from meditating and musing upon difficulties and perplexities that would only leave us embittered, stricken and scarred workers in the vineyard of civic labor.

But I am talking shop when I should be bidding you welcome to Sunshine City, where we would have you feel that all is peace and gentleness and that our citizens are the very cream that rises to the top of the milk of human kindness. And we hope you will buy one of our wonderful sand lots, teeming as they are with humus, nitrates, phosphates and red bugs—lots which we would have you believe will bring immediate and abounding prosperity to the fortunate purchasers. And if there are any walking in the

darkness of ignorance regarding lots there is always a real estate man ready to take him by the hand and lead him into the light of understanding, and like the lion and the lamb, they will lie down together—and in a little while one of them will get up and go to work again.

Then there is our climate. Weather inspires either to criticism or to praise. Up North you deplore it; down here, we applaud it, —but unfortunately neither here nor there can we control it. So while you are with us we can only be hopeful—and anxious. But whatever our weather may be, marred by no stain of weakness, you will always find us most energetic and enthusiastic in its defense.

And now one more word in closing. There has been much adverse propaganda regarding us in the North. Floridians generally are not uneasy about what the rest of the country thinks of them. We are what we are and what others think we are is not a matter of vital concern, knowing as we do that it is based upon misconception and propaganda rather than upon understanding. We believe that we are able to take care of ourselves without taking anything that belongs to any other state or people and we believe that as you walk among us and learn to know us you will understand us. We want understanding for understandings endure and build for faith.

And when at last the stirring breezes of our harmless boasting and oratory have gently blown you back into that cold and cheerless void, the Northern states, may the good influence of our contact with each other leave us both better and more earnest exponents of Florida and Sunshine City.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

NEW COMMUNITIES PLANNED TO MEET NEW CONDITIONS

JOHN NOLEN, Town and City Planner, Cambridge, Massachusetts

There are two main divisions of city planning directly connected with the better distribution of population: one is the replanning and rebuilding of existing towns and cities; the other is the laying out and construction of new communities, either what are known as "satellites"* of existing cities, or complete and separate new towns in new locations, what are usually termed in England "Garden Cities."† The town planning problem before us is not whether our efforts shall be given either to the replanning of existing cities, or the laying out of new communities of the two classes mentioned above, for if there is to be a better distribution of population, both of these solutions must be employed to the full and both must go on concurrently.

Illustrations could readily be given of dead cities, of cities that have ceased to be, but the civilizations that these cities represent have gone with them. Illustrations might also be cited of towns and cities that through changes in industrial, economic or other conditions have become less important, less populated. This is

* "By a satellite town is therefore meant a town in the full sense of the word, a distinct civic unit, with its own corporate life, possessing the economic, social and cultural characteristics of a town in these present times, and, while still maintaining its own identity, in some sort of relation of dependence upon a great city. The term does not mean a village, because a village is essentially not a town; neither does it mean a suburb or any form of community which is absorbed, or in process of absorption, into another community. The word 'satellite' is used in a pseudo-astronomical sense: that is to say, of a body that is under the influence of a more powerful body but physically distinct."—From "The Building of Satellite Towns," by C. B. Purdom.

† "A Garden City is a town planned for industry and healthy living; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a permanent belt of rural land; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community."—"Town Theory and Practice," by C. B. Purdom.

the case, for example, with mining towns, and with other towns built as a means of utilizing natural resources, which in time are exhausted. But cities, generally speaking, are permanent, and will remain permanent through the ages. Cities are not only permanent in the fact that they continue to exist, but they are largely unchangeable in all of their main features. A review of the form of cities in this country or in other countries will bring to mind the comparatively small changes that have taken place in them. Furthermore, a review of American cities for the last twenty-five years, the period of most active modern city planning work, will show that notwithstanding substantial changes and fine achievement in many directions, the form of these cities remains much the same. A study of Chicago and St. Louis, of Detroit and Flint, of San Francisco and Los Angeles, or of other cities that have a broad record of vigorous progress in modern city planning, would illustrate the point that under the most favorable circumstances, and the most energetic effort, the replanning and rebuilding of existing cities must be done in most instances from a very conservative and limited point of view.

Is there anything comparable to the unchanging character of cities from the city planning point of view? Consider how little change is made in the plan of a city even when a great conflagration, earthquake, or flood occurs, sweeping all buildings and improvements from the land. London, Boston, San Francisco, Baltimore, Galveston and Dayton are examples of this point.

If it can be demonstrated that old cities are not well adapted to the new conditions, and if they are so unsuitable for their present purposes, and if they cannot be changed very much, why cannot such cities be scrapped? The answer is: first, they have certain great advantages of location with reference to harbors or railroads or topography or raw materials or agricultural products, etc.; secondly, the vested interest of individuals and corporations or of the whole body of citizens represents too great an investment of capital in land and improvements. Almost everything else that mankind has produced, except art and things of great beauty, is

periodically destroyed and changed to meet the new conditions and new requirements of civilization. Indeed, very little remains even of cities except their general plans, meaning by general plans the location of streets and blocks and the distribution of the main organic parts of the city—the location, for example, of the principal features, both public and private. But these general plans, these principal features, remain much as they were originally.

NEW COMMUNITIES

New town and cities and new villages are constantly coming into existence, either casually or deliberately. There are substantial reasons why the increase in population, which in the United States amounts to over a million a year, cannot and should not be taken care of entirely in or immediately around existing cities, or in many instances even in the neighborhood of existing cities. So far as new communities are concerned, the main point of the town planning movement and the argument of this address is to make action more deliberate, to plan and build new towns and cities by intention, and to do it with knowledge and skill and understanding. The problem is different from the replanning of existing cities in that it need not be approached so conservatively. These new towns should express new standards and new ideals, and be an attempt to meet in new ways the modern conditions of life and the peculiar opportunities that these conditions and resources offer.

Thus, the question may very properly be asked, why not plan and build new towns and cities, both urban and rural? And the two reasons that I would cite of major importance for building new communities are these: first, to take care of new territory which for one reason or another is from time to time opened up; and the second is to meet the new requirements and new standards by new planning.

Some of the causes for the opening up of new territory are the following:

1. The extension of the railroads and main highways and the construction of new harbors and canals. The transcontinental

railroad development and the resulting settlement of the middle west, the northwest, California and the southwest can be traced to this cause. Many of the new towns and cities of the southern states and of Florida are also the result of railroad extensions, especially the Florida Western and Northern, recently constructed across the state; or of highway extension such as the Dixie Highway and the Tamiami Trail.

2. The occupation of new lands as a result of the discovery of gold or oil or other minerals, or of new agricultural, forest or industrial products.

3. The establishment of new industries due to new inventions, such as the automobile, the motor truck, the radio and the airplane.

4. The construction of a series of industrial or manufacturing plants distributed more or less over the whole country, such, for example, as the U. S. Steel, General Electric, various automobile companies, Sears Roebuck, etc. Railroad repair shops and railroad towns may also be mentioned in this class.

5. The drainage and irrigation of newly opened lands. The reclamation service of the Federal and State governments, or similar work carried through by private enterprise, calls for new communities. The building of island communities off the coast of Florida is the actual creation of new land areas for occupation, giving opportunity for new planning and construction on fresh lines.

6. Resort communities for winter or summer occupation, and the possibility of their development and enjoyment due to the accumulation of surplus wealth-seeking investment, or tourists looking for new means of health and recreation. Mr. Roger Babson, the well-known economist, speaks aptly of "going-away winters" as a new industry.

7. Various miscellaneous causes, such as the establishment of new colleges or other educational institutions, etc.

8. May we not add another cause for new towns? There must be a limit to the size of cities. What this limit is may be open to discussion, it is true, but human capacity to plan, organize and

govern, or at any rate, the law of diminishing advantages in cities in proportion to cost (like the law of diminishing returns in agriculture) will sooner or later fix a limitation to the size of existing cities and compel new population to seek settlement in new communities.

NEW REQUIREMENTS AND NEW STANDARDS

There is likewise good reason in modern municipal requirements and the new standards of cities for the laying out and construction of "satellite" towns or more independent and complete new towns and cities to take care of the new population. In the last half century in the United States, for example, the new requirements of city life could be illustrated from the following subjects, all of which directly affect city planning:

1. The public school and its expansion; the steam railroad; the electric trolley and cable car; the automobile, motor truck and motor bus; the moving picture and radio; changes in building methods and materials; steel construction for buildings and the elevator; changes in municipal public utilities and in city engineering, such as modern pavements and sidewalks and street lighting. All of these changes in the equipment of cities do actually require a city planned differently from a city laid out as it was fifty years ago, or else they give advantages and economies wherever new planning can be employed.

2. New habits and tastes of the city dweller. Home life is different from what it was a few decades ago. The apartment house has come into existence, and with it a greater and greater dependence upon cafés and restaurants. The servant problem has risen like a nightmare. The love of nature has developed. Country clubs have become almost a necessity of city life. It is only in the last fifty years that public parks and playgrounds have come to be an integral part of a city's layout, including wild and natural reservations, beaches, and in the northern parts of the country provision for winter sports.

3. Changes in municipal sanitation and sanitary standards

illustrated in new methods of city water supply, disposal of wastes, etc. Also, in the lowering of the death rate from about 20 per thousand in 1880 to 12.3 per thousand in 1923.

4. Economic changes and the consequent raising of the standard of living, expressing themselves in urban conditions as the result of the increase of per capita wealth, which in 1850 was only \$300 and today is over \$3,000.

5. Especially important are changes in leisure and its use, and the new ideas with regard to outdoor games and sports and physical recreation generally. The working day fifty years ago was two or three hours longer than it is today, the Saturday half-holiday was unknown, and Sunday was looked upon as primarily a day for religion and rest. No existing city, large or small, practically finds it possible to provide today adequate open areas for its well-recognized requirements. The problem of properly employing the new leisure depends directly upon new planning to provide adequate and suitably planned areas for the new ideals of recreation.

6. New standards of beauty. Except in remote sections the old simplicity and charm of American villages and towns have largely disappeared, but a new form of urban beauty has not yet taken its place. The Victorian period of architecture and the planning standards of our own Civil War time are still too much with us, but there are many hopeful and unmistakable evidences of a transition stage. We are pioneering. We are finding ourselves. We are gradually breaking away from the old, gradually taking on the new. This stage is naturally an awkward one and not generally characterized by beauty. The amenities of city life have been sadly sacrificed. New town planning, new forms of architecture and landscape architecture, new engineering, should unite more and more as there is now an opportunity to do in a harmonious expression of new city ideals. It has recently been written of one of the most practical, progressive and successful builders of a new city on the East Coast in Florida: "One thing he has already done and it is the biggest part of that accomplishment which I undertook to write about: he has proved that the practical can be romanticized

and that 'beauty draws more than oxen.' He has sowed in the hearts of his fellowmen a deeper respect and a truer reverence for loveliness than they ever had before."

New towns cannot for one reason or another be planned, perhaps, to meet all of these new requirements, but under normal circumstances very much more successful provision can be made in planning new towns than in the replanning of existing cities. The difference after all is much like the success with which old buildings constructed fifty or more years ago as compared with new construction could be revamped now to meet the needs of a modern office building or a metropolitan city hotel. Furthermore, the new communities can and should be planned not only to take care of present requirements, but to anticipate those of the future which we can now in some measure at least forecast, permitting more frequently the easy conversion of city territory to different uses and changed conditions.

WHAT SHOULD THE NEW TOWN OR CITY BE LIKE?

1. The new town or city should have the right location, the right site geographically. This is a matter of primary importance, and is related closely to national, state and regional planning. It should not be left to chance or speculation or mere private aggrandisement. It should somehow be brought under public control.

2. The local plan for a town should be based upon topographical conditions, and be worked out in right relation to railroads, main highways, water frontages or other controlling natural features. This point is also one of primary importance.

3. The character of the new town should be rightly conceived with reference to its purpose and the use of the land. The plan should recognize and express the different requirements of cities, whether primarily industrial or residential or recreational, and so on, and should reflect topographical and climatic conditions. The town that is to be a resort should be so planned for its greatest success.

4. The probable size of a town must have some consideration; otherwise the fundamental planning, the parts not easily changed, cannot be satisfactorily determined. Even though there is no intention of controlling rigidly the ultimate size of the town, some approximate idea of its size should be kept in mind when the original plan is made. The uncontrolled growth of cities is the problem that gives gravest concern today. Thomas Jefferson long ago said "great cities are great sores." One of the most striking illustrations that could be given is a quotation from Ferrero, in his volume entitled "Ancient Rome and Modern America," in which he says: "The disease which killed the Roman empire was in fact excessive urbanization. Neither the attacks of barbarism from outside, nor those of Christianity from within, would have prevailed against its might and its massive weight if the strength of the Colossus had not been already undermined by this internal cancer." Whatever the estimate of the size of a town or city may be, whether it be 25,000 or 250,000 or more, in the planning of new communities there should be some notion of size but there should also be an elastic element to provide, so far as possible, for error in forecasting, in either overestimating or underestimating the size of the town.

It would seem worth while in the discussion of this subject to consider some of the essential physical features of a town or city. An occasion like the present does not call for detail, but even a brief summary of the essential features from the planning point of view will bring to mind the considerations that should control and influence new planning and the degree to which such considerations could have weight in new planning as compared with the revision of old planning.

Take, for example, the railroads, and consider the situation in existing cities, and how little can be done to bring about railroad changes and even then the great cost and difficulty involved. The problems of the railroads would include the location of right of ways, separation of grades, the reduction in number of crossings by local streets, the location of passenger and freight stations, adequate platforms for the use of passengers, the unification of

right of ways, the relation of railroads to industrial property, the coordination of rail and water transportation, etc., etc. It is difficult to revise such matters as these in an established city, but in new planning a proper and convenient layout could readily be secured.

This comparison of the railroad is equally true of waterfronts, whether for industry or recreation. The logical division of the waterfront for the use of industry and recreation has been a source of controversy and conflict in many existing American cities. In new planning a satisfactory line and policy could be established with comparative ease. The same situation exists with regard to other waterfront problems.

The most striking comparison, perhaps, of new towns and existing cities could be made with regard to streets and main thoroughfares. In new cities the selection of locations for major streets and the fixing of their width, alignment and grade involve no great difficulty beyond the technical skill of the engineer and designer necessary to an understanding of the requirements. In an existing city, on the other hand, the changes in the major streets necessary to take care of modern requirements are a more and more baffling problem, and one that has not yet been fully solved in any American city of importance. The seriousness of the traffic problem is shown in the mortality figures. According to a statement recently issued by the National Automobile Association, based on tabulations made by the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, 19,828 persons were killed in automobile accidents in 1925, this figure showing an increase of 10% over that for 1924.

The contrast of new and old in cities could be applied readily to other subjects, as, for example, public buildings and their grouping, schools, and the selection of open spaces. The latter is one of the most far-reaching factors in rendering modern city life wholesome and happy. It involves the setting aside of natural features for parks and recreation, the distribution throughout the city area of play space and the establishment of neighborhood and recreation centers for children and adults.

A well-known legal authority, one versed in city planning, has

said that what finally remains and is most permanent in a city is "the determination of the legal quality of the various land areas for various purposes." It is quite obvious that by the proper application of skill to the planning of new areas, combined with easily determined restrictions and early zoning, it is possible to fix this legal quality of land in a much more satisfactory manner than is possible with an existing city where conditions are already firmly established and more or less unchangeable.

Housing, a matter of supreme importance, has not been given as much attention by city planners in the United States as in other countries, and there are some good reasons for this situation. Furthermore, the housing standards in many American communities, both large and small, are not as high as they should be. Here again there is the contrast between the potentialities of the two situations. In the planning of new communities it is feasible from many points of view to apply successfully housing standards that are much higher than in existing cities, especially the large cities. In such matters as the size of lots and the provision of light, air, sunshine and an agreeable environment, the contrast is obvious; also the securing of neighborhood recreation and other essential facilities for family and social life, more particularly the requirements of children.

PRACTICALLY WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Must the control of the location of towns and cities be left to accident or to the sporadic promotion of the owners of property, as, for example, is now the case in Florida as it has been in other states in periods of great activity, or could such development be regulated and controlled in any way by the governing public authorities? Would national planning and regional planning give opportunities to regulate reasonably the location of future towns and cities? No definite answer can be given at the present time to these questions, but at any rate, here are some of the practical ways in which the development of new towns could be initiated and to some extent more wisely directed.

1. The Federal Government has had a great opportunity in the past, especially in connection with the reclamation service, and still has considerable opportunity, to influence favorably the location and development of new communities.

2. The Farm Communities Association, recently organized, working in connection with the Federal Government, or with some of the State Governments, could develop well-ordered and well-located villages and towns in the country—"Farm Cities," as they are sometimes called, making new centers of agricultural life.

3. There should be plans for states as well as for cities. Florida should have a plan. The state of New York has undertaken to plan for its future through the services of the Housing and Regional Planning Commission, one of its chief purposes being to secure a more efficient distribution of population. The Chairman of this Commission recently stated in a published report, "We have come to the conclusion that the continued concentration of population in our big cities is not inevitable. There are opportunities for better forms of growth in this state. We can choose to guide the growth of the state along natural channels, but in a more efficient way. The fact that new uses of nature are opening new opportunities makes it essential that we take advantage of these to re-direct the current of growth before the mold is again set."

4. The railroads have been instrumental in past years and will probably be more so in the future in establishing and developing new towns of all classes—industrial, commercial, residential, and resort.

5. Industrial corporations of national dimensions, such as the U. S. Steel, the General Electric Company, and also groups of smaller industries working together, which is even better, have it in their power to inaugurate in many places new towns well located and planned to meet the new conditions of modern life, especially modern industrial and labor conditions, combined with proper housing.

6. Finally, there is an almost unlimited opportunity for limited dividend companies, working along the lines represented by Letchworth and Welwyn, the garden cities of England, or by the Hamp-

stead garden suburb, or by "Mariemont, Ohio," and other new towns in this country.

FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A movement for the planning and building of new towns, like its fellow movement for the replanning of existing cities, is dependent upon public opinion. In the formation of public opinion to stimulate, encourage and support these various forms of action leading toward new town planning should be mentioned the National Conference on City Planning, now in session here, the American City Planning Institute, the National Housing Association, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the Federated Civic Societies and the various national, technical and popular groups concerned with this and related subjects. Mention should also be made of the various "Foundations" and the financial help that they could give to a more thorough study of this subject and to actual demonstrations of the advantages of applied better methods.

Considerable influence could also be contributed by the new technical town planning knowledge that is constantly being developed at the universities and special schools working in this field, such as Harvard University and the various other universities and educational institutions in this country; also the University of Liverpool in England, and higher art and technical institutions throughout the world.

Attention should be drawn to the International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities. This Federation can be especially useful because of the great value of the international exchange of ideas and experience, and the generous, public-spirited pooling of the results of research, invention, study and experiment in planning new communities to meet new conditions in modern life.

The new order of community life such as is here roughly and briefly depicted as being possible in the planning of satellite towns, garden cities or farm cities, under whatever name they may appear, ought to include more of the things that make life worth living: decent homes; cities clear of slums; children well fed with fit

bodies and active minds; cities which see the sunlight and do not live under a dense canopy of smoke; cities more free of noise; and above all, safer cities. In these new cities we could, if we would, add much to the decoration and adornment of life and its legitimate amusements and recreations. We could help to better physical and esthetic conditions, giving new towns and cities more color and individuality. We could have a wider enjoyment of music and art and architecture. We could secure ample playgrounds, tennis courts, parks, beaches, and forest reserves. Indeed, by building anew we could raise the whole plane and standard of the common life, physical, mental and esthetic, and at the same time by good planning actually lessen the cost of developing and maintaining cities, reducing local taxes, because of the more practical ways in which provision could be made for the requirements of railroads and highways, of business and other economic factors upon which the wealth and, therefore, the welfare of cities finally rest.

DISCUSSION

EDWARD UNWIN, London, England: I was very glad indeed that the element of æsthetics was introduced into the President's address. I firmly believe that even on the practical basis nothing has a bigger influence on the inhabitants of the town than whether that town is ugly or beautiful. I think whether our streets are convenient or inconvenient comes second. I would rather go slowly through a beautiful street and be held up at crossings than to race at any speed through a hideous one. This matter of esthetics has a broad effect on the social and moral life of the community.

We have not in Great Britain as yet taken the same course that you have in trying to solve the drink problem, but I think I am not going too far in saying that if all our homes were beautiful there would be no drink problem. Hempstead Garden Suburb has no drink problem. To be sure there is no public saloon on the estate, but there is one right across the street, and there is a large working population. You don't see streams of people on their way to the saloon on Saturday nights, as you see in other areas inhabited by the same class of people, and you never meet anybody the worse for drink. They have so many attractions to keep them at home—nice surroundings, nice gardens and all the things that

really make life worth while living. If there is no pleasure in the home or the street or the surroundings, in desperation you go to some place where you can get alcohol in large quantities and consume enough to drug you and forget your surroundings.

It is equally true of a whole host of other social evils. I believe that in making our towns places of beauty we are presenting a solution of the problem that the churches are looking for—that all social reformers are looking for, and are improving the whole standard of life in all our work, in all our recreation.

R. H. TORREY, Field Secretary, National Conference on State Parks: In the survey which our organization has been making, of state parks, during the past year, we have found a great many borderline cases where city parks developments and county and state developments interlock. There are many cases where so-called state parks are so close to the city that they really serve the city more than the state. Especially in the west there are a good many cases where cities have gone further afield to establish city parks which are used by people from all over the state. Denver, for example, has its mountain parks, some of which are forty or fifty miles outside of the city and are maintained by a special department.

There is another feature in the development of state parks in which the city is concerned, emphasized particularly in metropolitan regions. In northern New Jersey, for instance, in Newark, Paterson and Jersey City, the authorities are taking for their water supply systems many of the most beautiful lakes in the hill country. The same is true in Westchester County in the Croton system. Almost any one who has lived around New York for twenty years can remember when he could go to any one of a dozen lakes in the hills for recreation. Now those lakes have been bought for miles and miles around and are patrolled by police and have no recreational value. Salt Lake City maintains three parks around the Wasatch Mountains, which furnish the water supply. They have the water area carefully patrolled and bathing is not allowed, but people can go there and picnic and this use by the public has had no bad result. Dallas, Texas, and Tulsa, Oklahoma, do the same thing. Sanitary engineers may be horrified at the double use of water supply areas, but where so many fine lakes and streams are being taken out of recreational use I believe some plan should be worked out whereby some of the recreational values can be saved.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

A PLANNING REVIEW

SOME RECENT EVENTS OF FAR-REACHING INFLUENCE ON CITY AND REGIONAL PLANS

The first vehicular tunnel from New Jersey to Manhattan Island nearing completion; the only artery crossing the Hudson, south of the Bear Mountain Bridge, forty miles to the north.

Initial appropriation by the legislatures of New York and New Jersey for a bridge across the Hudson between New Jersey and Manhattan Island. It will have the longest span of any bridge in the world, will be built by the Joint Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, and will bring rural New Jersey within an hour of Broadway.

Approval, by the people of New York, of a constitutional amendment which makes available three hundred million dollars for elimination of railroad grade crossings in New York State; a great stimulus to local planning.

Completion of the Delaware River Bridge from Philadelphia to Camden, New Jersey.

Detroit's Master Plan for 120-foot major highways and 204-foot super highways, three regional arteries now being widened and the three principal streets of Detroit approved for widening at a cost of four million.

Agreement by U. S. Bureau of Roads, Highway Departments of State of Illinois and Cook County and the Chicago Plan Commission to co-ordinate all road development in the Chicago Region in accordance with a single major highway plan.

Development of a complete system of parks and parkways for Westchester County, New York, at a cost of thirty-five million.

The economic and physical transformation of Memphis (quoting a spontaneous editorial in the city's leading newspaper, *The Commercial Appeal*) was brought about by the adoption and

vigorous execution of the comprehensive city plan by an enlightened city administration. Street openings and widenings, rerouting of transit lines, relocation of railroad yards, railroad grade separations, zoning ordinance, and new parks and playgrounds, have already been worked out in accordance with a definite scheme of city growth that has proved the wisdom as well as the popularity of city planning without economic hardship.

In St. Louis over half of the 87 million dollar bond issue approved in 1923 is being spent to carry out recommendations of the city plan. Five million alone for the civic center tract of 45 acres.

Notable gifts of land induced by city plans; as in Detroit, for the forty-six mile outer boulevard; in Akron, a park of 180 acres, and 1,000 acres more offered to the Metropolitan Park Board; in Springfield, over 200 acres for parks and parkways.

Kenosha, Wisconsin's signal achievement in community cooperation in creating a civic center and an outer boulevard, and in widening the principal street. Not a cent has been spent in condemnation proceedings or in litigation. Citizens have moved back buildings and donated front strips; subdividers have replanted their lots to conform to the outer boulevard.

CITIES WHICH HAVE PLANS—MARCH, 1926

I. Earlier Plans, Made Before 1912.—With a very few exceptions, these plans are not as complete, or are not based on as thorough study, as the later plans.

<i>Colorado</i>	<i>Maine</i>	<i>Pennsylvania</i>	
Boulder *	Auburn *	Reading	
Denver	Bangor †	Scranton	
<i>Connecticut</i>	<i>New Jersey</i>	<i>Tennessee</i>	
New Haven	Glen Ridge *	Chattanooga †	
New London †	Madison *	<i>Texas</i>	
<i>Illinois</i>	Montclair †	Houston	
Chicago	Ridgewood *	<i>Virginia</i>	
<i>Indiana</i>	<i>New York</i>	Roanoke †	
Fort Wayne †	Binghamton †	<i>Wisconsin</i>	
<i>Iowa</i>	<i>Ohio</i>	Madison †	
Dubuque †	Columbus	Milwaukee	
			Total, 22

* Under 25,000.

† Between 25,000 and 100,000.

II. Plans Made After 1912

<i>Alabama</i>	<i>Iowa</i>	Niagara Falls †
Birmingham	<i>Des Moines</i>	Rochester
<i>California</i>	<i>Kansas</i>	<i>Schenectady</i> †
Berkeley	Hutchinson †	Syracuse
Fresno †	Topeka †	Utica
Los Angeles	Wichita †	White Plains † ‡
Oakland	<i>Louisiana</i>	<i>North Carolina</i>
Pasadena †	Shreveport †	Asheville †
Richmond *	<i>Maryland</i>	Charlotte †
Sacramento †	Baltimore	Greensboro * ‡
San Diego †	<i>Massachusetts</i>	High Point * ‡
<i>Santa Barbara</i> †	Boston	Raleigh †
<i>Colorado</i>	Fall River	<i>Ohio</i>
Pueblo †	Gardner *	Akron
<i>Connecticut</i>	New Bedford	Ashtabula †
Bridgeport	Newton	<i>Cincinnati</i>
Bristol *	Norwood *	<i>Dayton</i>
Hartford	Springfield	Hamilton †
<i>Stamford</i> †	<i>Wakefield</i> *	Lakewood †
<i>Florida</i>	Walpole *	Toledo
Fort Myers * †	Winchester *	<i>Oregon</i>
St. Augustine *	<i>Worcester</i>	Portland
St. Petersburg †	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>Pennsylvania</i>
<i>Sarasota</i> *	Ann Arbor †	Erie
West Palm Beach †	Detroit	Harrisburg
<i>Georgia</i>	Flint	Pittsburgh
Atlanta	Grand Rapids	<i>Rhode Island</i>
<i>Columbus</i> †	Jackson †	Providence †
Savannah † ‡	Lansing †	<i>Westerly</i> *
<i>Illinois</i>	<i>Minnesota</i>	<i>South Carolina</i>
Alton †	Minneapolis	Charleston †
Decatur †	St. Paul	<i>Tennessee</i>
East St. Louis †	<i>Missouri</i>	Memphis
Elgin †	St. Louis	<i>Texas</i>
Evanston †	University City *	Dallas
Joliet †	Webster Groves *	<i>El Paso</i> †
La Salle *	<i>New Hampshire</i>	<i>Virginia</i>
Peru *	Manchester †	Norfolk
Quincy †	<i>New Jersey</i>	<i>Washington</i>
Rockford †	Camden	Seattle
South Beloit *	<i>Belleville</i> *	<i>Wisconsin</i>
<i>Springfield</i> †	Dover *	Appleton *
<i>Indiana</i>	East Orange †	Beloit †
Anderson †	Jersey City	Green Bay †
Elkhart †	Newark	Jamesville *
<i>Evansville</i> †	<i>New Brunswick</i> †	<i>Kenosha</i> †
Indianapolis	Passaic †	La Crosse †
Richmond †	Paterson	Waukesha *
South Bend †	<i>New York</i>	Williams Bay *
Terre Haute †	Buffalo	Total, 119

* Under 25,000.
‡ In process.

† Between 25,000 and 100,000.
Italics show plans finished in 1925.

PLANNING PROBLEMS



This map is based on data collected up to March 1, 1926. Zoned cities are given only in those states which otherwise would have shown little or no planning activity. Three states, Idaho, New Mexico, and Mississippi, had no planning activity, but since the map was made the Gulf cities of Mississippi have started a regional planning scheme.

PLANNING AGENCIES

In March, 1926, there were well over 300 official local planning agencies in the United States, exclusive of zoning agencies, and twelve definitely organized regional planning agencies, exclusive of regional commissions with limited planning functions, like park commissions, water and sewer boards, etc.

The local agencies may be classified by population groups as follows:

- Cities of 300,000 and upward, 20 out of 23.
- Cities of 150,000 to 300,000, 24 out of 26.
- Cities of 75,000 to 150,000, 45 out of 61.
- Cities of 25,000 to 75,000, 80 out of 177.
- Cities of 10,000 to 25,000, 100 out of 502.
- Communities of less than 10,000—about 50.

CITY PLANNING ACHIEVEMENT

The best test of the value of city planning is the effect of the "city plan" on the city structure. Is the plan being followed? It is hardly fair to make this test in any city unless its planning agency or its city plan is at least five years old, although some cities which are placed in this list have a shorter planning history.

For convenient reference, a classification of outstanding accomplishments has been attempted in accordance with various elements of city planning. In each case the improvements followed the recommendations of the city plan.

1. The Street System:

This covers street widenings, extensions, elimination of dead-ends, jogs, rounding of corners, building lines, etc.

New York: Buffalo, Rochester
 Mass.: Boston, Springfield
 California: Los Angeles, Santa Barbara
 Illinois: Chicago
 Indiana: South Bend
 Michigan: Detroit, Flint
 Minnesota: St. Paul
 Missouri: St. Louis
 Pennsylvania: Pittsburgh

New Jersey: Newark, Camden, East Orange

Tennessee: Memphis
 Texas: Dallas, El Paso

2. Parks, Parkways, Playgrounds:

Massachusetts: Springfield
 Michigan: Detroit, Flint
 Minnesota: St. Paul
 New Jersey: Union County
 New York: Buffalo and Westchester Co.
 Ohio: Akron, Cleveland
 Wisconsin: Milwaukee

3. Grouping of Public Buildings:

California: Los Angeles
 Missouri: St. Louis
 New Jersey: East Orange
 New York: Buffalo
 Wisconsin: Kenosha

4. School Sites:

Michigan: Flint
 Minnesota: St. Paul

5. Grade Separation:

Michigan: Grand Rapids
 New Jersey: Paterson
 Ohio: Akron

6. Traffic Control:

California: Los Angeles
 Illinois: Chicago
 Minnesota: Minneapolis

7. Control of Land Subdivision:

Many cities, notably:
 Florida: West Palm Beach
 Indiana: Evansville
 New York: Troy, Rochester
 Wisconsin: Milwaukee

8. Aviation Fields or Air Ports:

Illinois: Chicago
 New York: Buffalo

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR CITY PLANNING

1. A City Plan Office.—This should be an officially recognized part of the administrative machinery. It may be a superintendent of city planning with an advisory board, as in Rochester, New York; a planning engineer attached to the city engineer's office, as in several cities; a city planning board with its own engineer executive as in many more cities; or a city planning board or committee using the city engineer's office for technical assistance. Any of these may be adequate with the support of public opinion and the co-operation of the other municipal departments. Without such backing none of them can accomplish much.

2. A City Plan.—This should cover the street system, parks and playgrounds, public building sites, and zoning as a minimum. The interpretation of the plan, its modification when needed, are the continuing functions of the city planning office, which should also recommend at the right time items of the city plan for execution.

3. Public Support.—From the beginning of planning activity, the support of the public should be secured. In large cities this may necessitate a citizens' planning association, with a budget for publicity purposes.

Cities which have to a notable degree all these essentials are Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Dallas, Memphis, and Springfield, Massachusetts. They would also be ranked Class A for carrying out improvements in accordance with their plans.

THE ARCHITECT AND CITY PLANNING

WILLIAM F. STEELE, Vice-President, American Institute of Architects,
Sioux City, Iowa

The great art and science of architecture is an organic living force in human history. It is not brick and mortar merely, nor sticks and stones. "Man liveth not by bread alone," nor does he build with material things only. Out of his higher nature, out of his spirit, using that strange God-like faculty we call creative, he has made architecture in his own image—for truly, the architecture of a city is the composite portrait of that city, or the group of beings which has caused it; and always, if we know how to analyze architecture, is revealed the man we call the Architect. The Woolworth Tower suggests the aggressive Gilbert, the Nebraska State Capitol speaks to us of the poetic Goodhue, the Allegheny County Court House reminds us of the sturdy Richardson; and when we remember the Golden Doorway at the Chicago Fair we think of Sullivan, the Inspired.

Not all who call themselves architects, nor more than a few, can stand shoulders together with the Great Ones. We are content tonight to remind ourselves that we belong to a profession which has produced great men, that our Guild is worthy because of what its men of genius have given to the world. If our claims seem extravagant and boastful, let them be measured by our best, and not by our every-day "bread and butter" performances.

The Old Roman, Vitruvius, said of the qualifications of the architect: "Let him be educated, skilful with the pencil, instructed in geometry, know much history, have followed the philosophers with attention, understand music, have some knowledge of medicine, know the opinions of the jurists, and be acquainted with astronomy and the theory of the heavens."

It sounds like a large order even today, but if we substitute more modern terms for what the ancients described as fully as their limited knowledge of science allowed, we shall find the list to be substantially correct though not nearly complete.

We live in an age of specialization and we have become over-specialized. We are beginning to question the validity of the assumption that all human knowledge and skill may be regimented, divided and subdivided, without losing more than we gain. The span of years allotted to us is very short, and Art is eternal. And by Art I do not mean a pretty accomplishment, a luxury of rich men, a thing of picture galleries, a matter of hanging ornament on the plain bones of Life, or of painting bright colors on its too drab surfaces. Art is the supreme human accomplishment. It is what happens when man's spirit takes complete possession of his work, and when the result enriches mankind by its unescapable rightness. Since we are what we are, not merely material, and not exclusively spiritual, our works, to have that convincing "rightness," must have our complexities woven into their fabric, and with our perversities changed and directed into a harmonious pattern. A mere "specialist" cannot do this.

Just as we have the master physician to guide and direct the clinic, to correlate its findings and to interpret them so as to be able to make a correct diagnosis; so in the arts and sciences, we must have at least some men who are trained to be leaders. Theirs it must be to develop a right sense of relative values, to guide and direct the various specialists, to conceive of a project as a whole, as a complete, organic entity, to be able to articulate it, to break it up into its component parts and to assign each to the specialist who may best answer its particular requirements.

Such a person is, or ought to be, the architect, and if he is less than that the fault is partly his and partly the client's, whose ignorance has failed properly to appraise a full measure of professional service and accomplishment. As a rule men respond more or less adequately to the demands of their environment. It is human to follow the lines of least resistance, and the slang phrase,

"Let George do it," explains why so much of our professional work is indifferent, inadequate or even sometimes vicious.

The architect is interested in City Planning in the very nature of his life work. The study of building includes the study of the site, the group-plan, the surroundings generally. It includes development of potential ground value, the best use of space, the due consideration of light, air, drainage, water supply. It further includes the proper disposition of all the contributing factors toward useful and beautiful buildings. The fact that City Planning goes beyond buildings and their location, and aims at the development of the Good Life in a community is not different in kind but only in degree from the aim of architecture, which goes beyond its buildings and their location toward the development of the Good Life of those who shall dwell in and make use of those buildings.

The architect has had to do with City Planning from its beginning. The need for City Planning has been accentuated by the problems of congestion and overcrowding in all our cities, but its desirability had long been set forth silently by the vision, here and there, of a fine building, or a group of them, properly environed with all the surroundings in well-ordered and harmonious arrangement.

It is not within the province of this paper to assemble statistics or indulge in argument. It is intended to be thought provoking, suggestive, possibly persuasive. It is not necessary to refer to the story of the older countries. A short step backward of less than thirty-five years will bring us to the "White City" at Jackson Park, Chicago. We meet the architect-in-chief, Mr. Daniel H. Burnham, and we see again the achievement which, more than any other one thing, awakened interest in City Planning in America. "Dan" Burnham was no narrow specialist. He was a born leader and executive. He knew how to pick the men he needed for every part of the great scheme. He had architects, landscape-architects, engineers, craftsmen, all working together. Individual initiative and resourcefulness, where it was felt they could be

allowed to assert themselves, were given free rein. The final result, while it was bad for architectural design, owing to the choice of an un-American mode or "style," was immeasurably valuable for City Planning, particularly on the esthetic side. Burnham's interest in City Planning never waned. He was called into conference by many cities, and though most of the plans of his time are no longer regarded as economical, his "Chicago Plan" is being slowly worked out, with relatively few changes. Burnham's intense and vivid personality brought the architectural profession to the fore in Chicago, and today we find architects exerting great influence in connection with state and municipal problems in Chicago and Illinois.

New York has but recently called a conference between its Mayor and a committee of the New York Chapter, A. I. A., which took up a survey of building regulations, and discussed the necessity for closer relationship between the architects and the city departments. The committee considered the City Planning Program, fire hazards from various types of construction, approved a suggestion for a city survey and urged the appointment of a City Planning Commission. In speaking of this matter the "Western Architect" states editorially that "it seems to be the intention of the administration to continue to employ the advice of the Institute and the engineering societies on all matters and appointments affecting city planning and building. That there is one profession which has no "axe to grind," no other motive save public service, and no hope of reward other than that of good citizenship willing to give time and talent for the common good, is a matter for both public and professional congratulation. It is also worthy of record that the day of the politically appointed architect of minor attainments has gone and that municipalities are beginning to recognize that design has something to do even with bridges. In New York this is evidenced by the appointment of Cass Gilbert as architect of the great municipal bridge, projected to span the Hudson River, as well as the private structure which will occupy the entire site of Stanford White's Madison Square Garden. The seeds planted

more than sixty years ago by those organizers of the American Institute of Architects and the faithful carrying out of its ethics in practice and structure are now coming to a full and legitimate fruition."

For years the American Institute of Architects has studied City Planning through its national Chapter committees. Its committee reports are valuable contributions to the literature on the subject, particularly the reports of the last two or three years. The attitude of the Institute is not one of self seeking. The Institute is not concerned as to whether or not individual architects are recognized, whether or not they are employed on this, that, or the other project. The Institute realizes the responsibility which rests upon the profession as a whole. City Planning is going to be measured by its results. Superficial, merely "City Beautiful" stuff, work done by special interests to further their own ends and to make money for themselves, will not endure, nor can it bring anything but ultimate discredit upon City Planning. We are beginning to realize that it is not enough to relieve congestion by widening streets, by establishing arterial roads, etc. We have found out that the more room we give to a crowded center the more people will flock there. We are studying the basic causes of congestion, and questioning seriously the old "Booster" idea that unrestricted increase of population in our cities was the desirable thing for every forward-looking community. We are studying economic questions of every kind that can affect our community life and enterprise. We are interested in taxation and its relation to housing problems. We are studying zoning, and not only what happens in restricted districts but what results outside of and around them. We are coming to the conclusion that City Planning to be of permanent value must also be Regional Planning.

The work which has been done has already changed in many respects the practice of architecture. The spectacular effect of the zoning ordinance upon the New York sky-line has amazed the entire country. The architect has been able to develop out of mere restrictions, assets of added interest and beauty. The study of

usable space and its relation to the necessities of light, air and sanitation which has resulted in so many State Housing laws, has helped the architect in his hitherto losing fight against speculative greed and avarice. The new spirit of co-operation which prompts remedial legislation of this kind is welcomed by the architect, and he is glad to have his ambition to achieve better architecture seconded by the thoughtful men and women who are enlisted, heart and soul, for the idea, not merely of a City Beautiful, but also a City Serviceable. The architect has been trained to build well, and as permanently as possible. In recent years he has been distressed and puzzled by the tremendous pressure which fluctuating land values have exerted against permanent building. To illustrate, an architect designs and superintends a building which is intended to produce a net revenue of 6% on the total investment. The return is adequate for a few years, but suddenly the leases expire and the owner wakens up to the fact that the property has increased in value. He raises the rents, makes out new leases, and the process repeats. After a while it happens again and in twenty years it is impossible to raise rents any higher. No tenants can afford to pay them. Down comes the building and a taller building goes up—or he has found that business has moved away from him. His tenants are not making money. His rent roll dwindles, his property has shrunk in value. His building falls into disrepair. In neither case was the investment permanent. In both cases a temporary building would have served better the owner's material interests. The architect hopes that the unprejudiced, scientific development of the study of City Planning will find a solution of this problem.

The architect realizes the economic waste of fire and the prevailing abuses of fire insurance. He knows that fire is largely preventable and he has come to the further conclusion that not only fire-resisting construction but fire-retarding or fire-stopping areas and open spaces are necessary in a well-studied city plan. He senses a connection between this need and the already well-defined necessity for parks and playgrounds. He realizes too the conditions

which reduce all terms of the city plan to dollars and cents, and he has a hope that the city planner will be able some day and somehow to equate the more human elements in ratios more reassuring to those of us who cherish beliefs in justice, and a hope for its ultimate realization.

Utopia? No, but we must have some vision of Utopia if we would direct our efforts in the line of real progress. Is it Utopian to merely suggest that community problems are best solved by unprejudiced, honest professional people? This is no reflection upon the theory of democracy, nor is it a hint of disparagement for any useful branch of human effort, but just a recognition of the fact that the professional man has no special interest to serve and his whole training and tradition emphasize strict adherence to impartiality in service. The professional man is a custodian of the inheritance of knowledge and skill in his own particular field. He must faithfully administer this trust. He must have but one standard of service, his best. He must be a source of accurate and reliable information and his advice must be based upon a judgment ripened by thorough painstaking study and experience.

In the modern community special interests must necessarily clash. Changes which benefit some will hurt others. When opposing interests cannot agree no one can settle the division so well as a qualified expert. But the expert must be careful to be just, and he should be able to present his reasons for a decision in such convincing form as to disarm opposition.

In Louis Munford's stimulating book, "The Story of Utopias," he says: "The chief business of eutopians was summed up by Voltaire in the final injunction of *Candide*: Let us cultivate our garden. The aim of the real eutopian is the culture of his environment, most distinctly not the culture, and above all not the exploitation of some other person's environment. Hence the size of our Eutopia may be big or little; it may begin in a single village; it may embrace a whole region. A little leaven will leaven the whole loaf; and if a genuine pattern for the eutopian life plants itself in any particular locality it may ramify over a whole continent

as easily as Coketown duplicated itself throughout the western world. The notion that no effective change can be brought about in society until millions of people have deliberated upon it and willed it is one of the rationalizations which are dear to the lazy and the ineffectual. Since the first step towards Eutopia is the reconstruction of our ideas, the foundations for Eutopia can be laid, wherever we are, without further ado.

“Our most important task at the present moment is to build castles in the air. We need not fear, as Thoreau reminds us, that the work will be lost. If our Eutopias spring out of the realities of our environment, it will be easy enough to place foundations under them. Without a common design, without a grand design, all our little bricks of reconstruction might just as well remain in the brickyard; for a disharmony between men’s minds betokens, in the end, the speedy dilapidation of whatever they may build. Our final word is a counsel of perfection. When that which is perfect has come, that which is imperfect will pass away.”

In closing let me add that there is no conflict between Architecture and City Planning. On the contrary, I believe that I have shown them both to be of closest kin. Architecture is the oldest of the arts and is proud to claim parenthood of its youngest and most lusty child. Let us work together with high aims and honest purpose. Whatever the result, the joint effort will have been worth while.

DISCUSSION

EDWARD UNWIN, London, England: Town planning, which has been referred to as the youngest child of the arts, is, in my view, one of the very oldest children. If we look at its history we will find that the really outstanding figures have not been specialists. We will find that the practical men and the dreamers have not been two separate classes but one and the same people.

One need only call to mind Sir Christopher Wrenn, who was famous as an astronomer and a scientist before he started being an architect, and who made attempts at city planning, from which some of us can learn quite a bit today, I believe. San Micheli, the great architect of the Italian Renaissance, whose buildings are

still an inspiration to many of us, was in such demand for his services as a military engineer that the majority of the kings of Europe were trying to outbid one another for his services. Michelangelo, the painter, has left equally great memorials in the solidest stone, which will stand, we hope, for many hundreds of years to come.

I am a little afraid that the architect of the present day, all over the world, is in danger of forgetting these things, and that is really the point that I want to make.

I have attended conferences of this sort since the days when I was taken there in a perambulator. I may say that this has been the most enjoyable, both socially and for the matters discussed, but as far as I have been able to ascertain, I find the architect to a very large degree absent. I don't know where he is.

There are four professions, the four wheels to the chariot of progress: the lawyer, the engineer, the landscape architect and the architect. Don't let us try to go on driving on three wheels or we will come to smash. I want to see our profession coming in with weight on those particular points where it is especially suitable. I want to see strong pronouncements by the architects as a class on such questions as the heights of buildings. I have seen at home lamentable failures of the architectural profession to grasp quickly the importance of new movements, both to the community and to the profession itself. In our own housing schemes in England there was a very serious lack of appreciation by architects of the requirements of working-class housing that is beginning to be cured. But the lack of appreciation was such in the early days of that movement that a great deal of the work was carried out by surveyors who could do the practical side but were quite untrained in giving those schemes the artistic, the beautiful, side that they ought to have.

I think the mistake that we made in England is a mistake that is in danger of being made here, and I want to see more evidence all over the world that the architect is a man with a tremendous social interest and social drive. We have got to realize the oneness of the problem, and get together and remember that we can't divide ourselves into water-tight compartments.

PLANNING OPPORTUNITIES AND PROBLEMS IN PERIODS OF RAPID DEVELOPMENT

CARL C. McCLURE, President, Florida State Association of Real Estate
Boards

First, in order that your welcome may be full and complete, I wish to extend to you the welcome of the realtors of Florida, who, like you, are striving to improve their profession and to promote the interests of their clients and the substantial development of their cities, their communities and their state. Speaking for the members of the Florida Association of Real Estate Boards, I wish to assure you we appreciate your choosing Florida cities as the meeting places for this conference. We are quite sanguine of the good which will accrue to us from your visit by the ideas and suggestions you will leave with us and we trust also from the opinion of Florida those of you from out of the state will take away with you. We offer you any assistance or co-operation within our power.

In speaking to you on any subject bearing upon city planning, I realize I cannot tell you anything you do not already know; the best, therefore, which I consider may come from anything I may have to say will be to give you an idea of some things we probably do not know and thus you may be aided in dealing with the situation in Florida and elsewhere by having gained some knowledge of what the average citizen needs to know about city planning. Indeed, I am hopeful of saying something which may start an argument and result in general round-table discussions during the progress of this conference which will lead you into consideration of the subject in a much more effective manner than I could hope to cover it.

In trying to develop this subject, I find the field rather circumscribed by the last and qualifying phrase, which is, of course, as

intended it should be, and yet I am rather at a loss to differentiate between those opportunities and problems which attend rapid development and those common to all development periods. Accordingly, I may find it necessary to discuss rather general subjects with specific application.

Prominent, also, in consideration of this subject, is a proper discernment and conception of what is our aim; that is, whether the opportunities we wish to consider are opportunities for money making or opportunities for service; whether the problems have to do with how to get the most out of a development project, or what is proper and right to put into it. Of course, our discussion and consideration must not be too idealistic, but be practical as well.

If money making were our principal objective, chances are we would not be engaged in our present vocations—there are others, especially one other, having to do with a commodity (or possibly it is not a commodity, but at least an article) for which we could find ready demand, and traffic in which, although illegal, offers immense returns. In reality, it is not the money *taken* but the money *earned* which justifies our business existence. The professional gambler or crooked gamester takes money but he gives nothing in return.

A certain organization, international in scope, has as its slogan "He profits most who serves best." True, the organization referred to is altruistic in character. However, it is my belief that the rule is general. Moreover, in my opinion, practical application of this principle contemplates that, in computing our profits, we use not the measure of gold or of worldly goods, but count that wealth which is measured by friendship, calculated by heart-throbs, and determined within ourselves by the knowledge of having done our part well. Exemplification of the ideal of service is a paramount requisite of genuine success.

I know the motive of this conference is the betterment of the service to the public to be rendered by you and by those with whom you work, those who undertake to carry out the plans you formu-

late. Accordingly, we shall treat the subject from that viewpoint. Fair and commensurate remuneration is a sure reward of unselfish service. I am pleased to acknowledge the realtors' duty and obligation toward the promotion of and co-operation in such a program.

Opportunities offered in any development program or period are wide and varied, but possibly no one thing is more important than the opportunity to provide those things which will insure happy homes and contented residents. The opportunity ordinarily offered in this regard is without question enlarged during the time of rapid development, due to the practical certainty that the home purchaser himself is very likely, at such times, to fail to look sufficiently far ahead to insure the continued comfort, peace and satisfaction of himself and his family. Accordingly, this task and responsibility then rest primarily upon the developer and his co-worker—the city planner. Consideration of these opportunities thus afforded brings us directly to that part of the subject which is undoubtedly most important and worthy of greatest consideration, the problems to be confronted and how to dispose of them.

Probably the first and most important problem, and one which is very possibly most difficult to solve, is: The extent of development to plan for the future. There is danger in either extreme of not planning far enough or making the plans too elaborate, extensive and far-reaching. Partly finished, partly developed, partly built-up subdivisions, remaining so over a considerable period, frequently prove to be a hindrance to the progress and development of a city, a community, and can become so to large areas. On the other hand, congested, overcrowded, overbuilt development projects are in no way conducive to the happiness and contentment of the residents in that district and do not add to the attractiveness of the city or community. Therefore, one of the chief functions of a city planner, to my mind, is to be able to analyze conditions affecting a given development and those which are likely to affect it for a considerable future period; in other words, to be able to gauge the future demand for property such as

is to be provided by the contemplated development. In view of the fact that Florida is, at the present time, and will no doubt continue to be for a considerable period in the future, the scene of the most rapid development ever recorded, I am prompted to say that there exists here, undoubtedly, the best opportunity at present offered for the exercise of judgment, ability and far-sightedness by the city planner and the developer in determining future possibilities.

At this point, I might express my personal opinion that probably the greatest danger attendant upon periods of rapid development is that of mistaking promotion for development, with the result that real development is often inadequate and sometimes non-existent. Too frequently there is left too much for the purchaser to do. I am prompted here to express my personal view as being absolutely opposed to the placing on sale of undeveloped subdivisions or of properties on which development and improvement are not provided for. I have seen splendid properties ruined by just such a process and I am certain practically all of you can say as much. As an illustration, I could cite to you a tract of approximately twenty acres in a city in Florida which was placed on sale two years ago in an undeveloped condition and without provision for the installation of modern improvements. The city at the time this property was subdivided and sold to the highest bidder had a population of approximately five thousand. The property in question lay within four blocks of the City Hall, five blocks of the Court House, and six blocks of the Post Office. Notwithstanding the fact that the city has now increased in population to near twenty thousand and that for many blocks beyond the property in question high-class residential sections have sprung up in which beautiful homes have been erected, many costing each in the tens of thousands, there are but two small homes in the subdivision in question, the streets are not yet paved, sidewalks are not laid, and as the result of lack of development the city has been backward about providing for the extension of modern utilities and conveniences to this property. In other words, one of the most

promising pieces of property within the city has been ruined for the present time and for a considerable time to come. Probably you may consider that this part of the work is not your responsibility and I may possibly be willing to grant that such is the case, however, I am prompted to assert that justification for your work of city planning is best accomplished by the carrying out of the plans which you may prescribe. There was really nothing to be faulted in the lay-out of the property I have just described, but the most beautiful plans that could be devised are of little or no value if provision is not made for carrying them into effect. Probably few if any connected with real estate operation in Florida the past two years have been entirely without error in this regard, but recognizing it as we must for some time past it has been and is, undoubtedly, our duty to do all possible to correct it.

Another common fault in the laying out of subdivisions and one which becomes especially acute in times of rapid development is that of making the lots too small; in other words, trying to get too many lots on an acre or, expressing it still differently, trying to get too much out of an acre. The 50 x 100 foot lot, and often less, frequently referred to as "the postage stamp lot," has, to my mind, become a positive evil in Florida, as I understand it has in other places where rapid and intensive development has been carried on. Very properly, we laud the man who can make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, but, undoubtedly, the man who undertakes to make two lots stand where one should stand is a malefactor of his profession, be it real estate or any of its kindred or allied lines, and may properly be termed an enemy to the substantial development of his community.

While, in the immediate foregoing, I have expressed only my personal views, yet I am willing to say that I believe they are shared by a great majority of the realtors of Florida. Indeed, the legislative committee of the Florida Association of Real Estate Boards is, at the present time, at the instance of the Board of Governors, considering the promotion of legislation to regulate and control subdivisions. If you agree with this, we will welcome

your counsel and co-operation. Further, we should have a state-wide Zoning Enabling Act. The combined efforts of our recognized organizations should be effective toward securing needed legislation.

No doubt, in the promotion of your work, you frequently have difficulty in getting your client, the developer, to give due consideration to the common good which may become overshadowed by his thought of personal gain. Of course, you want the business, but after all, is not consideration of successful results to be obtained by the proper application of your planning knowledge of more importance and of more advantage to you and your profession than the possibility of an immediate fee? No doubt, your careful consideration of this factor in the equation will guide you to the proper decision.

Among the most common faults in cities of past development is that of narrow streets. Unfortunately, this error or mistake is not entirely overcome in late development work. Again, the desire to get the most possible out of the property in number of lots blinds the developer to the increased value which will accrue by providing wide streets. As an illustration, I heard this remark recently about a certain important new city: "It is a beautiful city; we were impressed with it, but were certainly disappointed to note that some of their streets were so narrow—traffic is already congested." Certainly, to permit such an accusation to be possible was a grave error and must result in loss to the developer of that city.

Speaking in general of city planning, a common error which becomes enlarged in periods of rapid development is failure to include, in a general planning program, sufficient territory, and there result lack of uniformity, insufficient provision for public utilities and their extension and minor, yet quite troublesome, difficulties, such as jogs in streets, lack of uniform vision for public utility easements, an unattractive variety of parkways, plantings and other features.

It is almost needless to mention the advisability, and, in fact,

practical necessity, for extensive park system, parkways, and playgrounds. Lack of these has undoubtedly proved a great handicap to many cities and communities. Exceptional opportunity for adequate and spacious parking is offered in new developments, and rapid development should not be permitted to interfere with thoughtful consideration of this important factor.

I have not attempted to exhaust the subject. I cannot but start upon it. I have mentioned only a few points which have come to my mind; no doubt you are thinking of many more right now. Thus, as I have said, an exchange of ideas would be beneficial.

As I understand the subject and, in fact, as I believe I have seen it expressed, city planning means the sound, orderly, healthy development of the city and surrounding community. Co-operative effort by all agencies is, of course, necessary to accomplish this object. I believe we are, in Florida, developing that co-operative spirit, that broader view, giving thought to the future, which must result in a well-planned, comprehensive development program. Toward this desired end, the realtors of Florida solicit your co-operation and offer in return full reciprocation.

DISCUSSION

G. GORDON WHITNALL, Los Angeles: In opening the discussion it occurs to me that the title gives the whole story, for most of the problems in city development are the result of an entire failure to accept the opportunities when they were opportunities, and before they became problems. My discussion will, of necessity, not be technical in the usual sense of that term, for I believe that the so-called community problems are after all but to a degree technical; they are in fact social problems in which success will be met with to the degree that we have public support and public support in turn comes only through an intelligent discussion in clear and simple English with the people who constitute our citizenship. My discussion must also pivot largely around actual experiences with which I am familiar, trusting that they will parallel conditions elsewhere and especially here in Florida where you are now experiencing those wonderful accomplishments that we have known in the past in our own section of the country.

I wish also to emphasize the distinction between purely technical planning, such as is represented in development projects of large scales, planned as complete units in all essentials from beginning to end. That is not the type of planning presented for discussion now, but rather the problem of the existing community which is the result of gradual and a featureless development, one that has apparently involved no motion. Suddenly this community participates with surrounding communities in a general movement of rapid development; they fall heir to speed in growth that is almost mushroom in its type, and in that process we find both the germ of good and of bad. I am going to try to isolate these two kinds of germs.

I frequently compare the subdivision in community development to every-day "Irish Confetti" that we speak of commonly as bricks. The subdivision is to a city what a brick is to a building, except that the bricks are placed one above the other and the subdivisions are laid one beside the other. With bricks it is essential to lay one upon the foundation and the next above it, thereby creating a wall, rather than to place the foundation stone first and then aloft erect a cornice and put the bricks in between. You cannot work buildings that way but that appears to be just the way that subdivisions are built. Today we create one somewhere at the center of a community, tomorrow another one several miles removed and in the process of events others get scattered in until the voids are filled. We are not enough concerned that each of them shall be fitted into a single master plan for the community in its larger sense.

In normal development this subdivision process goes on and few people give any consideration to it, but when the process becomes abnormal, when speed is added as is now the experience here, then the necessity for certain degrees of control in order to effect a desired co-ordination becomes so obvious as to attract even the attention of the layman. You may say that the wherewithal from which communities are made, so far as the foundations are concerned, is in a state of flux, as though you were pouring metal into a form, and as the metal hardens or as the units of the community develop they will take the shape of the form or pattern. Consequently, the necessity of a master, pre-determined plan to which the units shall conform.

May I give you an actual experience? In connection with our extensive program of remodeling, made necessary by lack of fore-

sight, we are now working out one of many projects which when completed will consist of a new thoroughfare of considerable width from the eastern city limits to the western—a total distance of ten miles. It will cost about ten million dollars and this is only for straightening in spots and a widening over all, most of the thoroughfare being now in existence, but separated at certain points like a broken chain. It has taken us three years to accomplish this improvement. That is exactly the period during which we have been trying to exercise some intelligent control over new subdivision activity.

During 1925 there were put on record in the Los Angeles district over 1,400 new subdivisions which, if combined, would create a considerable community. In these new subdivisions the city will secure an additional 150 miles of major thoroughfares comparable to the one we are remaking in the heart of the city, every mile of which is properly located for the present and future needs of the community. If we had not exercised control over these subdivisions but had left until tomorrow the task of remodeling, as we are doing in the individual instance I have given, you can readily figure that the job of remodeling would have cost the city the sum of one hundred and fifty million dollars. These figures are of great significance to the people of a community which is bonding itself heavily for street widenings. They need no more argument on the value of planning. I mention this chiefly to emphasize that the first incentive of the average individual developer is to cause as rapid a turnover of land as possible, with as great a financial return as possible. Consequently the ultimate community welfare is not always borne in mind. The result of this practice leaves the dregs to the community later to dispose of in the way of expensive if not insurmountable problems. It follows, therefore, that the community has a moral right, if not a legal duty, to inject itself into the process in order to prevent these problems.

What are some of the types of problems that result from the very rapid process of subdivision activity? Lying between Los Angeles and the harbor front are stretches of comparatively flat country, eminently suited to industrial activities, both by reason of access and by nearness to shipping centers—land that until recently was available at acreage prices. Industrial development comes on apace. A survey shows that the available land for industrial purposes is greatly limited. We discovered that the great areas lying immediately back of the water front have been ruined for their

most logical use by the process which was represented by free rides in busses, barbecue sandwiches and other such things as are incident to the passing of a deed to a 25 x 100-foot lot. What is left of the land has become a drug on the market, totally unsuited for the purposes for which it was sold, all the result of speculative conditions that attached during the boom times.

That is the dark side, but frankly I question whether what we are doing would be possible had it not been for this sad experience. We are now able to convince owners of land and developers that it is important to withhold from any other use the areas still available for industrial use. By what we term our "master plan," by the co-operation of chambers of commerce, realty boards, civic groups of all kinds, owners are persuaded not to cut up their property for the sake of immediate sale. We cannot prohibit by compulsion—we can only persuade. I feel, however, that in the actual accomplishment of city planning projects we must rely not so much upon legal power as upon the sheer weight of the soundness of our arguments, based on experience.

One other illustration: In our recent zoning work in Los Angeles city we have found that out of the total property available for all uses we have out of every three lots a little over one available for business. Obviously two lots can never support one lot perpetually as a business use. One street many miles long had for instance a transition overnight from a rather orderly residential section into a most extensively developed business shoe-string. I refer to Western Avenue. We have hundreds of Western Avenues now. Every subdivision with a street more than sixty feet wide is positive that that street is going to repeat Western Avenue's experience.

Realtors present will be particularly interested in our experience with two surveys, one in 1920 and one just recently finished. In 1920 we could tell you exactly the percentage of property that was vacant, the percentage that was used for single residences, that used for multiple residences, that used for business, and so on, through the zoning classifications. This survey merely gave us a picture of the static condition. It gave us no information as to whether the condition was normal, subnormal or abnormal, but now as a result of our recent survey we find that of the 41% of the land which was vacant in 1920 a certain portion has been filled up with business, another portion with industry and another portion with residences. We can now state, not as theory but as fact, that the ratio of one business lot to two residence lots can never be

absorbed adequately by the community. We give these and other results of our survey to the realtors and to the chambers of commerce. They immediately interpret them in their development programs and without resorting to legal force at all there is created a public sentiment that even at this moment is surprising in the degree to which it is opposed to the craze for so-called business property.

Though all the frontage of several miles of streets is available in our zoning for business, by actual count less than 25% is used for that purpose and in the 25% are included all of the temporary real estate offices. You can conclude what legitimate business of a suburban permanent character remains. Consequently, 75% at least of the available property for business will be developed for another use. We must strike from the picture the probability of development of so-called business because of traffic which goes by, because we have long ago abandoned the thought that traffic as such is conducive to business development. Business must depend upon potential buying power within tributary areas. In these tributary areas which are already 75% developed there have been built hundreds of bungalow courts, two-story residences, flats and apartments, and all these together have succeeded so far in furnishing buying power enough for only 25% of the area. The remaining 75% of available business area must depend for its development on the same tributary residence area of which only 25% is remaining undeveloped.

With these facts no hard-headed business man or investor would put his money into a lot reserved under our zoning ordinance for business which should rather be available for almost any other kind of use.

What does this all lead to, and as planners what can we do in order to obviate this conditions? Certainly we can no longer keep within our shell, confine our researches to our own planning group. We must demonstrate to the business men, the realty boards and other like groups the sound economic reason that is the basis of real city planning, and make them the active business partners in this task of building communities rightly. There should be nothing in the discussions at our planning conferences which cannot be understood by the layman. We must do more than evolve wonderful plans and submit them on a silver platter to a community incapable of interpreting what they mean and much less able to put them into effect. When we started our city planning work in

Los Angeles we were like swimmers cast into the midst of a raging stream. You might as well ask a swimmer to strike out for a certain point on the shore as to have asked our commission to create any objective in the way of a finished plan. We would have been swamped. We had all we could do to keep our heads above water, but gradually we made contact with other groups and out of these associations came related activities, most important of which was the creation of a Traffic Commission—a citizen group with an expert staff composed of Messrs. Bartholomew, Olmsted and Cheney. The Traffic Commission has been responsible for the plan of the rearrangement of the city, while our official body, the Los Angeles Plan Commission, has directed its attention to the preventing of problems by keeping the subdivision development in line with the master plan.

Just one other suggestion from our experience which may show a way to take the most advantage of our opportunities. We find in California that the dealers in real estate are organized in a professional sense. This comparatively new profession has divided itself into highly specialized groups and many of them declare, and rightly, that they are not essentially dealers in commodities, but are renderers of public service. There are courses in real estate which have been lately sponsored by the universities, both in extension correspondence courses and in night courses under the metropolitan college of the university. Still more recently such courses have been made a part of the college curriculum and the number of people who enroll and make real estate their life's vocation is amazing. These students get a full measure of city planning in the process of their education and go out with the realization that city planning is a necessity, just as much as water supply and sewage disposal.

May I conclude by repeating the statement that in my opinion and in the opinion of those with whom I am associated in California opportunities are merely problems in the making, and there is no way so well suited to taking advantage of those opportunities as through the general subject of city planning, specifically applied to the public mind through all the devices of publicity. There is nothing more fascinating than to take what we in these conferences discuss in somewhat technical terms, translate it into plain English and give it to the people wherever they are, and have them drink it down and not ask what it is made of. They only know that it tastes good and they feel well after having taken it.

H. G. WRAY, South Bend: I would like to ask first what ratio of residence lots will support a business lot and whether you do not have the right to change the classification of a district that seems to be ill chosen.

MR. WHITNALL: As I recall it, the business area should be 5% of the residence area. As to the other question, we doubtless have the right to make the change, but we have found it better practice to make known the facts to property owners and let them petition for the change.

H. S. BUTTENHEIM, Madison, N. J.: I should like to ask Mr. Whitnall whether if the business district had been restricted originally to the 25% which has since actually been occupied, there would have been any great increase in selling prices, such as to penalize business severely for that restriction.

MR. WHITNALL: If we attempted to hold strictly to some ratio that would be actually in accordance with the demand we would of course create a degree of monopoly that would not be warranted. It has become our policy only to indicate the tendency and always to allow sufficient leeway to permit of natural changes and extensions. I might say also that in new areas where zoning is antedating actual development, we are creating with the consent of the owners what are termed business centers, as distinguished from the business "shoe-string," and in the few cases where it has been tried it is working admirably.

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, St. Louis: It is the lot of the city planner to be called in usually after rapid development has done its worst to a community. Much has to be done over and the job is expensive, difficult and can never be done well as if there had been some sort of a general plan in the beginning. In our preparation for street plans for Los Angeles we found an extreme lack of co-ordination, no conception of boulevards as distinguished from major traffic streets, and all too usual standardization in plotting. Most of the Los Angeles metropolitan area is quite level, like Florida, making it possible to use a rectangular system and so when it came to devising a scheme for handling traffic we had to accept a great many conditions that we would never have put into a regional design.

Outside of the city, too, in Los Angeles County, there is a metropolitan district of about 200 square miles, in which the Los Angeles

County Planning Commission functions. When I was there early this month I was told that there were 500 miles of street widening in actual process, part of the major street or highway plan that was being developed by the Regional Planning Commission. There again they are confronted with a great area already platted without reference at all to a master plan of the whole area. Consequently, on the vast plain about Los Angeles there are great numbers of cities growing up both to the west and to the south and almost without exception there is no main highway leading from one city to another. They are perpetuating the same lack of inter-community highways that is found in the New York Region, particularly between the great cities of Paterson and Newark. In the matter of traffic alone I am sure that we would save much trouble and much expense if in periods of rapid development in cities large and small we could have growth follow a master plan.

EDWARD M. BASSETT, New York City: One of the advantages of the rapid development of an area is that it is done largely by subdivisions shown in filed plats. The filing of plats gives an opportunity for the municipality to bring about a give and take arrangement, which is not afforded at other times.

For instance, Greater New York has been growing gradually, not by additions and the filing of large plats. A farmer will sell off first 10 lots, pretty soon 10 more lots. It has been a matter of more gradual growth than around Los Angeles or in many of your Florida cities. There is no opportunity for a municipality to make the give and take arrangements such as exist in a rapidly developing period.

Now, what am I driving at? In Greater New York, in Boston, in Chicago, the city grows out gradually, pouring over everything, solidly built up. Every builder wants to build on his plot and make it yield just as much as possible. The streets are, as a rule, in a gridiron or fixed form, often much wider than necessary. The main thoroughfares as a rule are too narrow. All this is partly because of the fact that there cannot be an intimate co-operation between the land owner and the municipality. No space is put aside for playgrounds. We are learning now that small parks for playgrounds, especially in these days when automobiles make the streets dangerous for children, are just as necessary in the early opening of territory as are the streets themselves. There is no willingness on the part of the little developer, the builder of 10 lots, the farmer who sells off 15 lots at a time, to set aside a playground

or two. But if developments are being laid out consisting of 30 acres at a time, there is an opportunity for the municipality and the land owner to sit down together and arrange the best plan. The commission chairman says: "Here are the thoroughfares; we will make them broad enough. Here are the inferior streets. If you are generous in one way, these purely residential streets can narrow down as low as 50 feet, and possibly in some cases to 40 feet in width. Now, in view of this layout, which is going to be approved by authority and put on the official map and filed for reference in the Registrar's office, will you not set aside two playgrounds, one here and one there, in eligible localities?"

There is an opportunity, I say, for give and take. It is brought about in England to a much greater extent than it is with us. Along with that opportunity of trading between broad streets and narrow streets (and if you can have some narrow streets, then put in some playgrounds in your development) there comes the opportunity for further give and take on zoning. Let the developer have his nucleus of stores, an opportunity for multi-family houses as a buffer district between the business district and the residential district, the whole being an entity that can be admirably arranged when these big developments are being created and the plats are being filed. But that does require an amount of organization pursuant to the state law, which most of our states—I think I can say which not one of our states has as yet perfected—but which is the line that the National Conference on City Planning, in my opinion, in the next ten years is going to be working along; the passing of state laws so that municipalities can take advantage of this method of organization of the land, and then when the periods of rapid development come along—as they will in the future, as they have in the past—the organization will be such that the community will not have to be built up twice over or three times over, but it can start right at the very beginning.

REGULATING LAND SUBDIVISION

A Progress Report Presented by IRVING C. ROOT, Flint, Michigan

We have seen from Mr. Whitnall's discussion the very great importance of subdivision control, and the costly results of the lack of such control; the various programs of street opening and widening throughout our country must total well into the billions of dollars. Some of this expenditure will be assessed on properties specially benefiting, but even so it represents a great unnecessary expense, for most of it could have been prevented if we had exercised proper control over subdivision in the first place.

The importance of this subject was realized last June at a joint conference of the American City Planning Institute and the National Association of Real Estate Boards in Detroit, and a Joint Committee was appointed to arrive at some solution of the problem and bring in a report. The members of this Joint Committee have been able to reach points of common agreement. The realtor looks upon matters from a different viewpoint from that of the city planner, since he has a financial interest in the land that he is preparing for sale, while the planner has in mind the design of the subdivision and the needs of the future community. On these three viewpoints the Joint Committee is agreed.

1. The necessity of a state planning act in which shall be delegated to the cities and counties the authority to prepare general plans and to approve subdivisions.

2. Under the authority of this Act a master plan should be prepared for the area of control, showing the locations of major highways, open spaces and designating land areas for specific uses.

3. The approval or rejection of subdivision plans should be in the hands of a plan commission or similar agency which would have the power to prevent the use of land if not platted in conformity with the master plan.

The Joint Committee has not yet decided upon the detail of the procedure to be followed in acceptance of all plats, but it is our opinion that a preliminary plan of the proposed subdivision should be required and that, if approved as to form with or without changes, it should be followed by record plat sheets. These would be subjected to a check both on paper and on the ground before final acceptance. It is also the conclusion of the Joint Committee that only by wholesale planning can piecemeal platting be made safe and sane.

It is clear, I think, that the method of preventing the use of platted land which does not conform is the greatest problem. A suggestion which has met with a good deal of approval is that the best way to prevent the use of land would be to refuse the issuance of building permits on the subdivisions that are not properly laid out. The whole question of enforcing subdivision control is a legal problem and one which I hope will be discussed by Mr. Bassett and others.

When the report of the Committee is complete we will hope to present a model state act as well as specific recommendations in the form of an outline which can be used by planning commissions in the acceptance of plats.

DISCUSSION

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, St. Louis: We all recognize that from 80% to 90% of the developers of real estate will abide by regulations such as are proposed by Mr. Root's Committee, but in some cities real estate groups have not quite reached the state of a profession, and the development of land is in the hands of people absolutely unwilling to accept any regulation. If there is a provision for acceptance of plats they merely ignore it and sell their land by metes and bounds. I have in mind specifically the city of Evansville, Ind., where they suffer from the type of Kentucky operator who recognizes only primitive laws. This is the kind of person with whom we are more concerned than any other. How can we compel him to conform to a plan? On the other hand, I would like to cite the platting practice in St. Louis. Owners not only bring in their preliminary designs to the city planning com-

mission office for approval, but that office is recognized as the source of platting authority and we now have the great majority of owners or their engineers come to the office to examine our plans before they touch pencil to paper, to make their subdivision plans.

EDWARD M. BASSETT, New York City: I prophesy that some of us in this room today will look back upon this St. Petersburg Conference as being almost the first groping after lawful methods to bring about comprehensive planning.

Look at it this way: Taxation is a form of regulation. It is taking part of one's property to carry on the business of the community. It is done under the community power, sometimes called the police power. Unreasonable taxation is unconstitutional and void. But we were long ago driven into exercising taxation to carry on the community, and we have found a method of doing it through an administrative discretionary board, subject to review by court. So that we don't hear of any upsets of our taxation system upon unconstitutionality because, if a piece of property is assessed twice what it ought to be, the question is carried to the court by the aggrieved person and if he proves his case the court will send the assessment back to the assessors and say "cut the assessment in two," and the man pays his tax that year. The system is carried on without your hearing about it and there are no declarations of unconstitutionality. The courts become part of the machinery to carry on quiet, systematic distribution of taxation.

About eight years ago we progressed further into the subject that is now called zoning, which is the regulation of the height, bulk and use of buildings, and the use of land. It is done and has grown up under this community power which resides in the state legislation, sometimes called the police power—that thing which is separate and apart from eminent domain. When it is done under the police power, no compensation is made. But just as reasonable taxation is lawful and is adjusted by the court so as to be reasonable, so reasonable zoning is lawful, and in instances where it is unreasonable, the proper machinery causes it to be adjusted by the court and it is sent back to the body that issues the permits, so that the permits shall be reasonable.

Thus, in many of the states of this country the zoning plan is protecting communities, and the courts are part of the machinery, and decisions upon unconstitutionality do not any more arise than they do with taxation.

Answering Mr. Bartholomew's question, "How can you treat

the particular owner fairly under any plan of impressing compulsory platting upon the owner?" I would say, taxation must be reasonable or else it is going to be adjusted by the court, and zoning must be reasonable or else, in the precise instance, it is going to be adjusted by the court. Just so, the platting must be reasonable or else it is going to be adjusted by the court.

We are living in an age of law, and law is going to control taxation and zoning and platting. It is going to control it, as Mr. Root says, through the issue of permits for structures.

We are going to see this thing grow up. The first prophetic court case is the one referred to by Mr. Bartholomew, *Town of Windsor v. Whitney*, 95 Conn. 357, where the court with great vision said that a plan which combines street widths with front yard requirements for new buildings was based on the police power and builders must comply with it.

A plat in the future will need to be approved by authority. The neighbors will have a hearing, so that it shall not injure them. That plat will probably embody details of zoning as well as of streets and small parks. Not every plat can contain a small park for a playground. Some will be too small. Some large plats will not contain a park for a playground because they may comprise business or industrial property, or the streets may have to be so wide that it would be unfair to the plattee to cause him to insert a small park in addition. But if any developer is treated unfairly by the municipality he will have a right to call upon the court as the adjusting part of the machinery, to see that he is treated fairly and that the platting is done in such a way that his investment will yield him a fair return. The courts are going to see that the balance is held true between the community and the individual owner.

I would not prophesy that condemnation would ever cease to be necessary. In built-up districts, small parks can be acquired only on payment. But in the development of new areas, I prophesy that the time is coming, within a generation, when small parks for playgrounds will largely be created, just as streets are created today, by laying them out on a plat and then that will usually be followed by dedication.

When you think of it, it is not the selling of land that ought to be prohibited; it is not the making and recording of a deed, or the selling by metes and bounds that ought to be prohibited. A street is a strip of vacant land over which the abutting owners have the

right of access and light and air. It is such a strip of land before it is bought by or dedicated to the public. The main thing is to refuse permits so that buildings keep off of this particular strip of land.

A small park for a playground is a piece of land owned by the public, over which the abutting owners have no easement of light, air and access. It differs from a street because you cannot front a building on it and thus have access to it as the matter of right. But the small park can exist as a private open space, and if there is a way of keeping buildings off it, there you have your playground.

Under our written constitutions private property can be taken for a public use only on making proper compensation. A man cannot be deprived of his property except by due course of law. Other countries do not give their courts the power to set aside the acts of legislative bodies. We are the only country in the world, I think—certainly the only country of importance in the world—where courts can set aside the legislative acts. On that account we have had to develop a method of taxation that is for the United States; we have had to develop a method of zoning that is for the United States, and we are now up against developing a method of city planning that is for the United States. I believe this is going to be an epochal meeting in starting this subject.

DALTON MOOMAW, South Bend, Ind.: It is necessary in our practice for the subdivider to have the approval of the city planning commission before recording his plat, and their approval is not given until the street and lot plan conform to the city plan. After the approval of the plan commission, the plat goes to the Board of Works, which accepts the dedication of the streets as located on the plan. If this dedication has not been accepted, or if the streets have not become public, the owners will be refused the street improvements, surfacing, sidewalks, curbs, sewers, etc.

EUGENE MASTERS, St. Augustine, Fla.: But if the plan commission refuses to accept the plan and the owner goes ahead with it nevertheless, and the lots are sold and the streets built up, in the course of years taxpayers on these private streets which have no sewers, pavements and other public utilities demand that their streets be improved and accepted as public streets, and if the city administration does not heed the demand they will be forced to by the courts. Why should we not use the same procedure as in our zoning? When the plan commission refuses its approval of a

plat, the matter could be appealed to a Board of Adjustment or Appeals which in cases of hardship would have the authority to mitigate the severity of the regulations in any given case. There must be a good deal of give and take in our dealings with real estate developers. After all, they can do a service to the community.

JOHN IHLDER, Washington, D. C.: Mr. Bartholomew makes the point that it is not fair to put the onus and expense of getting or being refused a permit upon the innocent purchaser, when it should be put on the subdivider. Of course, this proposal to refuse to issue a permit is aimed at the subdivider because if it comes to be known that there will be no permits issued on a certain plat because that plat has not the approval of the plan commission and is not in accordance with the master plan of the city, the subdivider will soon be unable to sell lots in such a subdivision. That kind of thing becomes known after one or two people have been bitten. I should say, therefore, that it was rather an effective way of controlling subdivisions development. It also has the further advantage that even if the subdivider goes ahead and lays out his plat and establishes his street lines in an unapproved way he cannot get buildings on them because permits won't be issued. I agree that after buildings are erected not much can be done, but before they are put up the plat can be corrected.

MR. BASSETT: Let us assume, with Mr. Bartholomew, that the owner of a small acreage, say, 15 acres, has prepared a plat on which streets are misplaced. The plan commission has refused approval, or let us even assume that it has not been asked to approve, but lots in the plat have been sold in metes and bounds. Let us assume further that lots have been transferred many times and that finally the owner of a lot takes his plan for a house on the 30-foot misplaced street, to the building inspector for a permit. The building inspector says "No, that street never has received official approval." He then goes to court and asks the judge for an order compelling building inspector to give a permit, and the court says "No, because you did not exhaust the remedy given you by law. You should have asked the commission to put your street on a map and on its refusal asked for a court review." It is a principle of the law in every state of the Union that a man must exhaust his other remedies before he can bring up the question of constitutionality, and this question is squarely an issue when the litigant

asks mandamus against the building inspector, because of the unconstitutional withholding of a permit.

The applicant may show that his situation is exceptional. The court will then answer, "You should have presented your case to the Board of Appeals." (For there should be a Board of Appeals in platting just as there now is in zoning.) After the owner has been to court once or twice or has had his case heard by the Board of Appeals, the community is going to realize that the land to buy in order to get a building permit without litigation or trouble is the land the platting of which has had the sanction of the municipality.

We must have lawful safeguards on this. The reason that zoning is being declared unconstitutional in some states is because it does not have a safety valve, and like a boiler that does not have a safety valve it blows up sooner or later. If you try to refuse building permits without providing proper safety valves the scheme is going to blow up, but that is what we are here for, I think—to devise among ourselves by contributing our different views and the experience of different cities, a workable method of preventing the owner of a 30-foot lot on a misplaced private street from erecting a building.

MR. BARTHOLOMEW: I have the greatest respect for Mr. Bassett's opinion, but I believe that the more reasonable procedure is outlined in the Windsor, Conn., case. In other words, we should not allow improper platting and we should not permit innocent people to purchase lots on which they will be refused building permits. I am led to this opinion because I know that in large cities notice rarely gets to the ultimate purchaser and I know, too, that at least in Missouri it will be many long days before the owner of a 25-foot lot will be denied the privilege of building on it.

My suggestion for procedure would be: Where an original subdivider is attempting to sell lots in an unapproved subdivision, the city shall have the right immediately to start condemnation procedure which will result in proper streets and proper lot arrangements. I believe that then and there is the time to go into court to find out which is the reasonable plan. It sets the issue up before the land is cut up and spoiled and a large number of innocent purchasers are damaged. I believe it will save many millions of dollars.

MR. BASSETT: We are getting down to the very rock-bottom of this subject. In the Windsor case the judge did say that he was

not deciding anything on the question of acquisition of the streets in the plan of Windsor, but only where the houses should stand. I agree absolutely with Mr. Bartholomew that condemnation should step in before the selling goes to any great extent, such as fifty transfers between grantors and grantees. I was carrying it out to its logical conclusion under the community or police power, to see what would happen if you had the power of going before a Board of Appeals, as Mr. Masters suggested. The rational plan would be to do exactly as Mr. Bartholomew says. The thing in its very inception almost would be carried on under eminent domain, and the street would be opened, under condemnation, in the right place.

MR. IHLDER: I would like to call attention to the fact that the condemnation method may be expensive to the community and I would also like to point out that the South Bend method of refusing sewer and water seems to me to be entirely anti-social, that is, the community is harming itself in order to punish certain individuals who have not in the past complied with its requirements.

JOHN A. ROGERS, Daytona, Fla.: Once or twice the hardship on the innocent buyer has been mentioned, but we all know that purchasers must take care of themselves in real estate transactions. The abstract of title should show the non-approval by the plan commission and certainly the attorney to whom the abstract is shown has the duty of finding out whether the lot is in an approved plat. It seems to me the innocent buyer is properly taken care of in the usual course.

COMBINED ZONING AND PLANNING CONTROL OF UNSUBDIVIDED AREAS

ROBERT WHITTEN, City Planning Consultant, New York City

Broad areas of unbuilt and unsubdivided land, such, for example, as the recently annexed lands of West Palm Beach, need a different sort of planning and zoning control than that appropriate for urban areas that have been generally built up or subdivided into building lots. For the built up or subdivided areas a detailed city plan can be developed including railroad terminals, transit lines, parks, water front, streets, public buildings and zoning. For the unsubdivided areas, however, such complete and detailed planning is seldom appropriate. It is too early to select the locations for small parks, playgrounds or schools; to determine the location and width of minor streets, to fix lot sizes and building set-backs, or to locate the small neighborhood store centers.

Detailed planning cannot go on much in advance of actual subdivision and development. A certain measure of broad planning is, however, even more necessary for the large unbuilt areas than for those that are now generally subdivided and developed. This requires a regional survey of all land within the urban influence and which will be subject to subdivision and development within a period of from 10 to 50 years. As a result of this broad regional survey a general or master plan should be prepared and officially adopted. Such master plan would:

- A. Determine the general location and width of all main thoroughfares and parkways.
- B. Determine the larger industrial and business zones.
- C. Determine the areas most suitable for large parks and for water supply and forest reservations.

In determining the general location of main thoroughfares, due consideration should be given not only to traffic requirements but also to the importance of furthering the development of self-contained neighborhood communities. Such neighborhood communities can best be developed when they are given definite physical boundaries. It is difficult to develop such a neighborhood community in an area bi-sected by a heavy traffic artery. In a residence area to be developed primarily with single family detached houses, if main thoroughfares are located at half mile intervals, the requirements for through traffic will be met. The general pattern thus formed will separate the residence area into 160-acre tracts, each of which will be surrounded by main traffic roads. Each of these 160-acre tracts can then be planned as a complete neighborhood unit with provision for small parks and playgrounds, for a public school and for a neighborhood shopping center. When fully built up the unit will have a population of 3,000 to 6,000. The resulting school population of 600 to 1,200 can be accommodated at a single school centrally located and no pupil will have to walk much more than a quarter of a mile to the school.

In the comparatively limited zone where apartment house construction may be properly anticipated, the main thoroughfares should be laid out at $\frac{1}{4}$ mile intervals instead of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile intervals. The resulting 40-acre tracts with the apartment type of housing will give a population of 5,000 to 10,000. When ripe for subdivision these small units, also, can be planned with all the functions and facilities of a complete neighborhood unit.

The last five years have witnessed great progress in the art of real estate subdivision. Twenty years ago the carefully laid out and restricted subdivision was a rarity. Now it is almost the rule. The Florida boom has been fruitful in affording possibilities for interesting trials of new methods and especially opportunities for development on a scale large enough to create real neighborhood units instead of merely continuing the existing street pattern with the customary small "addition." These additions of 10 or 20 acres are often carefully laid out and restricted, but are too small to

create self-contained neighborhoods and, consequently, too small to be really properly laid out or wisely restricted.

Theoretically, each subdivision should mean, not the mere cutting up of acreage into small lots and their sale to persons who hope to resell at an advanced price, but the building of real neighborhood communities. We have outstanding examples of the work of the community builder in Roland Park, Baltimore, Palos Verdes, California, the Country Club district of Kansas City, Mariemont, Cincinnati, Forest Hills, New York, and Shaker Heights, Cleveland. Several similar projects of which Coral Gables is the best known example are now under way in Florida. But while every city has at least one fair example for the work of the community builder the number of mere subdivisions is legion.

In periods of prosperity and expansion there is an almost insatiable demand for lots. The subdivider supplies this demand. Much of the demand comes from individuals who have no knowledge of real estate values and who seemingly are as willing to pay good money for a lot in an inaccessible location without public improvements and with no real prospect of being in demand for actual home sites for a period of at least 50 years, as for a lot in an improved subdivision that has been planned as a real neighborhood community and where homes are now actually under construction.

There are great difficulties to be overcome before the unbuilt fringes around cities can be generally subdivided and developed for real community neighborhoods. The capital required for the complete development of a 160-acre tract is very large and the period of development during which carrying charges mount must necessarily extend over a considerable period of years. The financial success of various large projects of the kind proves, however, that this is a fundamentally sound basis of city building.

One difficulty in the way of a more general application of this method of creating real neighborhood communities, is the very great difficulty often experienced in buying numerous small tracts of land and combining them into an area large enough to make a self-contained neighborhood. To obviate this difficulty it will be

necessary to give the development company the power of condemnation. A company organized to build a neighborhood community is performing a most important function in the interest of the city and state. It should have the right of condemnation just as that right is granted to the railroad or other public utility company. In return for this grant of state authority the development company should be subjected to a sufficient measure of public control to insure the building of a real neighborhood community with proper provision not only for the necessities but also for the amenities of neighborhood life.

Henry Wright, Chairman of the Community Planning Committee of the American Institute of Architects, in the March, 1926, issue of the Journal of the Institute attempts to show that for persons of limited income the single family home is an absurdity. He rightly states that the question of proper types of dwelling for the limited income classes is subject to definite scientific analysis. He then undertakes to analyze the cost data of the United States Housing Corporation in building houses for war workers and concludes from his analysis of two of the 97 housing projects for which data is published, that the costs for land and public improvements for the single family house if reduced to a rental basis constitute an increased monthly rental of \$10 over the same costs in a six-family apartment development. That there should be a substantial saving in per family land and improvement costs for a six-family as compared with a single family development is obvious; but study of data relied on by Mr. Wright, has convinced me that his difference of \$10 a month rental is about double the amount actually shown by the Housing Corporation data.

Where land is high in value it is of course difficult to plan a single family housing development for those of limited income. The bare land will cost so much that it will materially increase housing costs. In general, however, land cost is only a small proportion of the total housing cost. On 97 projects of the United States Housing Corporation, planned for the housing of 21,005 families, the cost of the bare land was but \$192.14 per family housed and the total

cost for land and buildings was \$5,108.93 per family. In recent years acreage values of land ripe for subdivision have greatly increased. But even with land values three or four times the Housing Corporation figures, the cost of bare land is still but a small portion of total housing cost.

If acreage costs \$3,000, or any given sum, doubtless housing can be constructed at a lower cost per family if all families are housed in six-family or twelve-family buildings, rather than in single family houses each occupying a 40-foot lot. It is very doubtful, however, whether the six-family development will result in cheaper rents than the single family or two-family development. Land values have a way of increasing in proportion to the intensity of use. When the two-family house comes into the single family neighborhood it usually means that land values increase and that rents are not reduced. Similarly, when the six-family apartment is erected in a two-family house district the chief result is a boosting of lot values. The increased land values absorb the increased rentals arising from the housing of six families on the lot area formerly used for the housing of but two families. Multi-family housing should result in lower rentals but in practice it never seems to work out that way. In cities where the population is spread out in single family homes, the lot prices are low and rentals compare favorably with the cities of the same population where crowded tenement conditions are the rule.

The single family detached house is an American institution which while still predominant in most cities of the country is now being seriously challenged in some centers by the two-family house, the three-decker, the four-family flat, the kitchenette apartment and the high class apartment. The increasing responsibilities and burdens of home ownership constitute a strong argument for the apartment house method of living. The smaller home with its private garden continues, however, to have a strong appeal to the vast majority. While the apartment often has the weight of advantage for a family of adults, its inferiority is patent as a home for children.

Much of the present financial burden imposed on the owner of a single family home is the result of unwise methods of controlling the subdivision of a land into building lots, the character of street improvements required by city standards and the increase in land values with attendant higher carrying charges and higher taxes. If we are to retain the single family home as the predominant type of housing in American cities we must find ways to reduce the financial burdens of the home owner.

Assuming that a 160-acre tract of land is to be built up and permanently maintained as a single family section, street and pavement widths can be greatly reduced over the standards now maintained in most cities. On a short street with no through traffic and serving only as access to the single family houses fronting on it, the 30 or 40-foot width of pavement required by certain city standards is wasteful. A 20 or 24-foot pavement is better and much less costly. City standards as to pavement width are, however, predicated on the possible requirements of the future when the use of the property fronting on the street may be changed to an apartment house use or a business use. Economies in street and pavement cost cannot be reasonably demanded by the home owner unless the character of the neighborhood is permanently established as a single family district. This can best be secured by restrictive covenants established in the deed by the developer at the time the land is subdivided and sold. Only by such permanent restrictions, moreover, can the constant increase in land value resulting in increasing interest and tax burdens be avoided. If there are no private restrictions or zoning regulations to prevent the coming of the more intensive housing types, land values will mount with the growth of the city, being predicated on the estimated net returns from the housing of two, four, eight or sixteen families on the lot originally intended for a single family dwelling. With the mounting taxes resulting from these increased land values it is easy to see that a man of moderate means will have difficulty in maintaining a private home. This increase in land value is largely speculative. A comparatively small area would house the

entire population of the city in apartment houses. Unless most of the city area is carefully restricted or zoned against apartment house construction, there will, however, be an increase in value through a much wider area than can possibly be developed for that purpose. The result in many cities is that large residence sections are spotted with apartment houses with the permanent result of depreciated building values more than offsetting the increase in land values.

While detailed planning should not go on much in advance of actual subdivision and development, it is desirable to fully plan each tract of 160 acres more or less that is bounded on all sides by main thoroughfares laid down in the master plan before a plat for the subdivision of any part of this 160-acre tract is approved for subdivision into building lots. Each one of these larger tracts should be planned as a unit with adequate provision for a complete neighborhood life. Small parks, playgrounds and school sites should be located. One or more shopping centers should be laid out. The local streets should be so arranged as not to invite through traffic. This will not only reduce pavement standards and costs but will also reduce traffic accidents. In order to fix street improvement standards on the most economical basis it will also be necessary to determine the housing density that is to be allowed in this neighborhood unit. Housing density is a fundamental factor that should influence or control the quality and width of paved roadways as well as the design of sidewalks, curbs, gutters, storm water drainage, sanitary sewers, water mains and other utilities. Without a predetermination of housing density the city's standard requirements for the construction of improvements and utilities must necessarily be based on the maximum density that may reasonably be anticipated.

If a neighborhood unit is to be restricted permanently to single family houses on 50-foot lots and no through traffic is to be admitted, the city's general standard, requiring 60 and 80-foot streets, can in most cases be reduced to a requirement of 40 and 50-foot streets, thus effecting a saving in street area equal to about 10 per

cent of the gross area of the entire tract. This saving alone is sufficient to provide adequate small park, playground and school ground area for the entire neighborhood unit. Other substantial economies can be secured through a corresponding modification of standards as to pavement widths and public utilities. These economies in the aggregate are undoubtedly sufficient to cover all the increased costs due to the designing and building of a real neighborhood community as compared with those needed for the usual residential subdivision.

In a hilly or broken country great savings in grading and other utility costs can be effected by carefully adjusting the streets and building lots to the contours. By such adjustment, moreover, much natural beauty is preserved and the amenity and comfort of the neighborhood secured. Some so-called practical men consider it necessary to disregard all considerations of beauty or amenity and confine themselves to the bare necessities of sustaining life under urban conditions of living. It is, however, pertinent to inquire whether with amenity and beauty excluded urban life is really worth sustaining. However, with even a fair amount of foresight and intelligence applied to the design and building of our neighborhood communities there seems to be no economic reason why the demands both of necessity and amenity cannot be fairly met.

DISCUSSION

EDWARD M. BASSETT, New York: Mr. Whitten's paper is the most forward-looking, definite thing which has been brought before us at this annual conference. It looks to a method that can prevent a hundred of these embarrassments that the planning of the past has been subject to. It is a following out, with all of the environment taken care of, of that plan which has been worked upon by many, of having the main thoroughfares go around instead of through the center of the community. It is turning the planning of the past inside out, so that congestion in the center will be prevented.

Mr. Whitten rightly says that there must be a control of the

human burden on the land. If business places are not controlled, they will clog the main thoroughfares with their loads of men and vehicles. Private restrictions will not control them because of the great value of the land once private restrictions are broken. One man may say to his neighbors, "I will start something that will break the restrictions light and tenderly, and you agree not to start suit against me." The next fellow goes a little further and after a few have followed suit, the private restrictions have gone, and you can't draw private restrictions that will hold against such practice. Zoning is essential to supplement private restrictions.

THE CITY CANNOT PROTECT ITS HOMES, PREVENT MISPLACED STREETS, KEEP GOOD STREET LAYOUTS, OR ACQUIRE PERMANENT PLAYGROUNDS WITHOUT STATE ENABLING ACTS

EDWARD M. BASSETT, Counsel, New York Zoning Committee

City planning subjects are streets, parks, public reservations, sites for public buildings, harbor lines, locations for transportation facilities, and zoning regulations. There may be others, but I think not. When these are stamped by law on the land, there you have the city plan. Each subject has its problems.

STREETS

The problems of street widths and of the size and shape of the blocks are often difficult. Their solution, however, depends on the skill and experience of the planner. The city needs no further powers from the state legislature. Other problems arise that no skill of the planner, however great, can solve. New statutory powers from the legislature to the city are needed to solve them. Here are some of them.

Misplaced Private Streets, Which Later Become Public Streets.— Any landowner can lay out a private street often in the wrong place. No one can stop it. Then he can sell off lots on his misplaced private street. No effective way has been found to stop him. Then the lot owners can apply for building permits, and if the building commissioner does not grant them, the courts speedily issue a mandamus order. The result is a misplaced street with buildings on both sides. A few such misplaced streets, wholly or partly built up, can upset the plan of an entire neighborhood. Some say penalize the original owner who sells off lots without

first filing a plat approved by the city authorities. But the owner refuses to make a plat. He sells by metes and bounds. No court will penalize him. Some say refuse the dedication or cession of the street and prevent sewer and water connections. This is easy to say, but in practice it is hard for the authorities to prevent the connection of a private sewer with the public sewer, or to deprive lawful homes of city water. Sooner or later the street becomes a public street and the authorities have to make the best of it. The crux of this problem is the issue of building permits. No one would buy a lot for building on a misplaced private street if he knew beforehand that he could not get a building permit. The solution is that the state law should provide that no permit for a building shall be granted except on a street shown on the city plan. The applicant should have the right to appeal to a discretionary administrative board, such as the board of appeals, in order that he may obtain a permit by variance from the strict letter of the law in cases where the proposed building, like a barn in a field, a clubhouse off the highway or an isolated factory, has no necessary relation to the street. The determination of the board of appeals would be subject to court review and readjustment.

Buildings in the Beds of Mapped Streets.—In nearly every state of this country a landowner can erect or enlarge a structure in the bed of a mapped street which has not yet been opened. As he owns the land he cannot be deprived of the use of the land for buildings until the title of the land for street purposes actually vests in the city. Some say why not open at once all the streets that are on the city plan. This would be an extravagance. In the outlying districts, where the land is tilled, it is not street ownership that the city needs but only that the streets as mapped shall be kept free from buildings until they are needed as open streets. If the consistent plan of city streets can be broken up by every property owner who chooses to build a factory or dwelling house in the bed of a mapped street, there is little incentive in careful planning ahead of population. One reason why city officials are careless about fixing lines of future streets far ahead of population

is because there is no assurance that these lines will be permanent. It is especially important that the location of main thoroughfares should be fixed well ahead of development and that nothing should prevent the freedom of opening these thoroughfares when the right time comes. Sometimes the construction of six or eight houses in a mapped thoroughfare will cause the future thoroughfare when opened to make a detour which spoils the city plan in that locality. Some state legislatures endeavor to require that before building lots can be sold an approved plat must be filed showing the streets and making a dedication of them to the city. This requirement is always held unconstitutional when brought before the court. Is there an effective solution of this problem? Both New York and Massachusetts have been working on it for the last two years. The method favored in New York is for the state legislature to provide that no permit for a building or addition within the bed of a mapped street shall be issued, but if the land is not usable to advantage, that then the applicant may apply to a board of appeals, which in its discretion can issue a permit for a building of as temporary a character as is reasonable, and which when removed after condemnation would cause the least burden on the land to be assessed for benefit. This method has been incorporated in several laws, but cannot yet be said to be in actual use. It will undoubtedly be held to be a lawful method, and when it goes into effect many builders, who now freely put up their buildings in the beds of mapped streets, will locate them properly rather than go through the procedure that the law prescribes. Often they plan deliberately to break up the mapped street by erecting a substantial building, but if they see that they cannot, they will let the bed of the mapped street alone.

Careless Changes of Street Plan by Council.—This is the problem of how to protect the city plan against easy changes that look right at first, but which fundamentally upset the plan as a whole. Often the council with the best of intentions will change the location or width of a street on the application of the surrounding property owners. Without giving the matter a great deal of study

they see no objection and no one happens to protest. So the change goes through, and later every one regrets it because it was the wrong thing. I do not consider that planning commissions instead of councils ought to legislate. The best kind of elective officials cannot be obtained if their powers are taken away from them by state law. Councils are, however, assisted toward getting the right thing if they can say to property owners desiring such a change that they must first get a report from the planning commission. When one considers that streets, when actually created and built up, endure for centuries, the importance of deliberate action is plain. The state law should provide that, before a change is made by the council in the street plan, a report should be had from the planning commission. Sometimes to make careful deliberation more certain the state law requires that after receiving the report of the planning commission more than a majority vote is necessary to depart from the report or change the street plan. State laws imposing this requirement of careful consideration on councils are meeting with beneficial results. A busy council cannot look into the details of the entire street layout of the city, and councils are and ought to be desirous of having the aid of a planning commission in order to avoid mistakes.

PARKS

Postponement of Playgrounds until the Land is Built Over.—The problem of securing playgrounds before the land is built over is rapidly coming to the front. The most satisfactory playgrounds are small parks—that is, the land is stamped with the park quality but is used for a playground. Nearly all our great cities allow streets to be built up solid and then, later, when the demand for playgrounds springs up, they are compelled to condemn buildings as well as land. This makes the cost excessive. If the cost is to be spread by assessing an area of benefit, the surrounding property owners protest against making the playground. If the burden is assumed by the city, a large amount of money goes only a little way. What is needed is the production of small parks for

playgrounds before the land is built over. They should be produced as automatically as streets because in residence districts they are as much needed as streets. Some state laws have required that landowners in platting should set aside a certain fraction of the land, usually about 10 per cent, for playgrounds. This method is not satisfactory because some districts need playgrounds and others do not. Small plats would contain playgrounds of inadequate size. These statutes usually omit small plats—for instance, less than five acres. There is a serious question whether such discrimination is not unconstitutional. These statutes sometimes provide that the developer must dedicate the playground to the city. This requirement, inasmuch as it is an indirect way of taking property for a public use without compensation, has been declared unconstitutional. Far-sighted developers in all our large cities are now recognizing that from a financial point of view it is a benefit to set aside playgrounds in developments. Many are doing this voluntarily. The proposition of the Regional Plan of New York is that a state law should provide that the planning commission in approving plats before recording should have the power to insist upon the setting aside of adequate playground space in the development as well as adequate streets. No dedication would be compelled, but sooner or later these open spaces that could not be built upon would almost inevitably become public playgrounds. In the meantime they would be used for private recreation. The problem of producing playgrounds at the right time and in the right place is one of the most serious that is facing American cities. Theoretically the cost of playgrounds should be assessed on the surrounding benefited area. Practically this plan does not work out well, especially in built-up areas. It does not produce playgrounds. Many cities consider that the only right way is to carry out simultaneously a city-wide program for new playgrounds. The trouble is that few cities are willing to do this. The subject is further complicated if the city uses general tax funds to buy playgrounds throughout the built-up section and then expects suburban developers to dedicate playgrounds without charge.

Then, too, it must be admitted that the acquirement of large school sites open all day will largely solve the playground problem.

ZONING

Zoning Not Like Private Restrictions.—Private restrictions can cover many subjects of an economic and esthetic character, such as peaked roofs, style of architecture or minimum cost of house. Such restrictions are contractual and have nothing to do with the police power. Zoning regulations, however, are based on the police power, that is, they must be established for the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the community. They cannot cover matters of esthetics. Some framers of zoning ordinances consider that zoning has been established to take the place of private restrictions. This is not the case. Private restrictions are helpful and desirable, but they are short lived and do not at all take the place of zoning regulations. No private restrictions need ever refer to zoning, nor need any zoning ordinance ever refer to private restrictions. They are entirely separate and apart. Courts will usually not listen to the private restrictions in trying a zoning case, nor to the zoning regulations in trying a private restriction case. Yet they go hand and hand with each other and never conflict. Each sort is enforced in a different way. The problem under this heading is for the city to make its zoning regulations adequate and protective without forgetting their relation to the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the community. Zoning ordinances must not be framed to imitate private restrictions.

Lack of State Enabling Act.—The state legislature is the repository of the police power. This novel invocation of the police power, which we now call zoning, is quite uniformly frowned upon by the courts unless the state legislature specifically grants the city the power to zone. Many court decisions that are cited to show that some state or some court is opposed to zoning would have been decided differently if there had been an adequate enabling act. Some states having home rule charters based on home

rule constitutional amendments have not passed enabling acts for zoning, considering that all the police power of the state is already vested in the cities. This expectation has not been realized, for in all the states thus circumstanced, when cities have adopted a zoning ordinance without a state enabling act, the courts have either set aside the zoning or are finding fault with it.

Lack of Board of Appeals.—The board of appeals is the safety valve of zoning. It is absolutely necessary to the success of a zoning ordinance. No ordinance or zoning maps can treat every piece of real estate so fairly that exceptions will not arise that are arbitrary and therefore likely to bring about a judgment of unconstitutionality. The making of variances in the grants of permits is the only way that the application of the zoning ordinance can be made reasonable in all cases. These variances cannot be made as a legislative act. The first reason is that the local legislature should not be granting special favors not subject to court review regarding their own ordinance. No legislative act is subject to court review and readjustment. Therefore the variance must be made by a discretionary administrative body acting under a rule prescribed by a legislative body and whose decisions will be subject to court review and readjustment. In Greater New York the functioning of the board of appeals assisted by court review has for nine years prevented any declaration of unconstitutionality regarding the provisions of the zoning ordinance. If it were not for the board of appeals, there would probably be at least five declarations of unconstitutionality each week. Such a number of adverse decisions would have gradually lessened official respect for the law and it would undoubtedly today be on the scrap heap. Nearly all the adverse decisions of courts in this country regarding the constitutionality of zoning ordinances have been because there has been no board of appeals or else because city solicitors have not insisted that every applicant should go to the board of appeals instead of to the courts. After he has been to the board of appeals he must, if he goes further, go to the courts for court review and readjustment. The city solicitor should ask the court to insist on

the foregoing procedure. An applicant cannot demand a judgment of unconstitutionality until he has exhausted the remedy given by law. This procedure never brings about a declaration of unconstitutionality. The board of appeals must be established under state law.

DISCUSSION

ERNST FREUND, Professor of Law, University of Chicago: I remember when, as a child, I studied history and came to the period between 1789 and 1815, I wondered how anything in the world could go on with all the turmoil in politics that the world then witnessed. Well, since the time I met this Conference last we have had similar upheavals. Empires have fallen, but people kept on thinking and moving along, and one of the movements that kept apace was City Planning.

I think I am perhaps one of the very few if not the only person here who has an interest in city planning that is entirely unprofessional. For that reason I have, perhaps, the detached point of view and attitude of the onlooker, and the observations that I shall offer here are given in a somewhat academic spirit.

I confess that from the very beginning I had certain doubts and difficulties about this entire movement. That is the privilege of a man like myself. It wouldn't have been for Mr. Bassett and his co-workers, the pioneers, to be beset unduly by difficulties. Those on the firing line must not doubt too much, as you know. Furthermore, this seems to me to be a fact: That the truth often does not lie along the most obvious lines, and yet practically if you have to deal with the courts, you have to approach them on somewhat obvious lines of thinking to which they are accustomed. Thus, it was the path of least resistance to link up this whole matter of zoning with what is called the police power.

The police power is the doctrine of private rights subject to the public welfare, which is especially committed to the guardianship of the Legislature. But does it define the police power to refer to the public or the general welfare? As I heard Mr. Bassett this morning use the latter term repeatedly, I mentally shook my head and said to myself, "I want something more definite."

I have here the terms of the model zoning enabling act drawn by the Department of Commerce, which recites the various purposes that are pursued by City Planning and Zoning. They are:

- “To lessen congestion.
- “To secure safety from fire and panic.
- “To promote health and the general welfare.
- “To provide adequate light and air.
- “To prevent overcrowding of land.
- “To avoid undue concentration of population.”

That is the first part, and I confess that on all these grounds I do not quite see how you justify the discrimination between different localities to the extent to which it is carried out in the law of zoning, because all these are elements of the public welfare that apply to all the parts of the city alike. If congestion is undesirable in a residence district, it is also undesirable in a tenement district, and the very point is that you exceed in your regulation the limits which are the minimum limits of the public welfare, as we understand the term. So on this entire basis I do not quite see how you can get very far.

But then comes another clause which is quite significant, “and to facilitate the adequate provision of transportation, water, sewerage, schools and parks, and other public requirements,” and there, it seems to me, you have a very excellent foundation for the entire matter of zoning, if it were an open one, because it is quite true that all public improvements depend upon the character of private improvements. Public improvements are a matter of municipal discretion and municipal planning, and it would be quite conceivable for the municipality to say, “Before we make a plan for services of different character and for streets as we wish to lay them out, we must know and we must be assured of the continuance of certain character of improvements.” Now, I do not say that a city could do that by its own unaided power. It might do it by agreement, just as you have private agreements to require the platters of land to agree to do the thing and make that a covenant of the land, but that would be inconvenient.

Why has it not been used? For the reason, very largely, that zoning had to be applied to districts which were already settled and laid out and planned, and also for the reason that there is a very strong feeling in this country, although it is not, perhaps, quite borne out by legal principle, that a person has a right to the public improvements which are necessary to his property. That feeling is so strong that I doubt very much whether, as a matter of practical legislation, you could have made much headway with that argument. It is, however, interesting to me that the drafts-

men of the model act recited this purpose, because it seems to me to give, theoretically, a perfect foundation in law for zoning, where the field is as yet open, but not where the field is already pre-empted.

We will leave this aside. If it be conceded that the general phrases that I first read are after all very precarious and doubtful foundations of the power, what is the legal theory that underlies the principle of zoning? How can it be sustained? Now, I speak with all due deference to those who know more about that than I do and have perhaps thought more about it than I have, but to my mind the legal principle of zoning is the idea that there is such a thing as unfair, illegitimate non-conformity. You know that we are in the process of developing, in the law of trade and commerce in this country, the idea of unfair competition, and there has been created a Commission known as the Federal Trade Commission, that will slowly evolve that notion.

Now, conceivably it might have been possible to deal with at least a good many of the elements of zoning, through this concept of illegitimate, unfair non-conformity, which it seems to me is the crux of the entire matter. Mr. Bassett has repeatedly referred to the problem of the one or two exploiters who, for the sake of profit, sacrifice the interests of legitimate investors. That is at least one of the problems that confronts the property owner and that has induced zoning in this country.

What justifies the insistence upon conformity? Conformity, of course, is a notion that has only a very limited application in the law. There used to be non-conformity in former ages. We had non-conformity acts in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that related to religion, and we have had non-conformity that related to political ideas, sedition, and so forth, but conformity itself is not a positive legally accepted interest. Conformity is a relative matter. Conformity to what? You must have your standards. Now what is the standard of conformity in zoning? To my mind it is pretty clear, although for some reason or other in this country we have not thought it wise to accept the term which is so common in English legislation. The whole clue is the term "amenity," which you find in the forefront of the English Town Plan Acts. The established character of a district is such as to amenity of residence and of aspect, and the question is whether it is the divine right of the American citizen to spoil and disturb that character. There is the real problem, it seems to me, and we have to face it.

That is the way I envisage the problem and the theory, and I give it to you for what it is worth.

Now, why is it legitimate to insist upon this relative conformity in this matter? For this reason: That all land is unique; every piece of land has its own character, and there are no two pieces of land that are quite alike. As a consequence, lands in a neighborhood are interdependent. That interdependence, I think, is a legitimate foundation of legislation and ought to be recognized as such in our law.

It is not always so recognized, as is shown by the history of drainage legislation. Years ago the highest court of the State of New York said that you cannot have a drainage improvement unless the public health is involved; the mere fact that properties are so tied together that they can advantageously be better improved by a joint scheme than by separate schemes would not, in the early days, have been recognized by the courts as legitimate grounds for compelling a person to accede to a scheme. That position has never been overruled in New York, but in most parts of the country they have finally silently ignored it. It is merely a further advance in the same direction to recognize a neighborhood so united in character that the law may legitimately insist upon conformity of improvements to a common standard.

Now, whether that can be brought under the general idea of the police power or not I do not know, but if the police power is not wide enough, that simply means that we need other powers besides the police power. However, I think if you interpret that power liberally enough, you can say that just as you can have police ordinances for a city, that do not extend over the state at large, so there is a possibility of more limited grouping even than the city, and that the law may recognize the inherent unity of a neighborhood.

This recognition presents, however, this enormous difficulty that, as each neighborhood is in a sense unique, so each piece of land in that neighborhood is also in a sense unique, with the consequent problem of so constituting and bounding the neighborhood unit as to avoid injustice to individual owners.

I have often felt—and I have been surprised that the matter has not been stressed to a greater extent than it has been—that every zoning scheme involves a problem which I should call the border problem; that is to say, a zoning scheme can never work as equitably toward the margin as it will work in the center. In other words, there

is a differentiation of interests which in some way or other is ignored in the law. I say it is ignored in the law, but it isn't absolutely ignored because we have a method of dealing with these matters, and there comes in Mr. Bassett's Board of Zoning Appeals, one of the most ingenious devices in legislation of recent years. I have always admired that contrivance and I have been curious about its history.

You find that the variation is not an original product of zoning laws. As I traced it back in the history of New York for other purposes, I found that the variation first came in the Charter of the city of New York with reference to building regulations, as to the various specifications, and so forth, in building, and then was carried into the labor law. There the idea of variation serves a very distinct purpose. Standardization in building materials, in building requirements, standardization in factory requirements, in safety devices, is not in itself desirable, but it is necessary because you cannot operate a law with vague and indefinite requirements. In order to make it administratively enforceable, you have to make it definite, otherwise you can never get any convictions on the part of the jury for violations.

That standardization is not in itself the most desirable thing because it impedes progress and initiative and, therefore, experience has shown that when a person has something better to offer than the standard prescribed by the law, there should be a tolerance, a variation, and that was the origin.

Is that the variation that you get in the case of zoning? I do not think it is. The variation in the case of zoning is simply a disguised dispensing power. It is not carrying out the purpose of the scheme, but it is the recognition that the idea of conformity in this particular case operates injustice and, therefore, must be varied. In that aspect the power of variation is an absolutely novel thing in our legislation, and it is simply due to the skill of such gentlemen as Mr. Bassett that this matter has not been brought before the courts and that it has not been gravely questioned. However, it has established itself, and I can see that it is a beneficial instrument.

Remember, however, that it deals with the entire problem of conformity, not upon the basis of law, but upon the basis of discretion. Do not let us be deceived by the phrases that they have put into these acts, "provided that justice be done and the spirit of the law be observed." That phrase is thrown in to make a good impression upon the courts, and the purpose is apparently accom-

plished. In reality, you have an extraordinary dispensing power which means that to deal with the problem of conformity, after all, you are thrown back upon discretion, which is the negation of the rule of law. That is the way you have to work this system, and you see what a delicate piece of machinery it is.

I think, however, that with a good Board of Zoning Appeals you have a guarantee that on the whole satisfaction will be done, and that is the way the thing has been worked out.

I look very differently upon another additional method that we have in Chicago; I don't know whether you have it elsewhere. I receive every week the Bulletin of the City Council, with their output of legislation; and there is not a number where I do not find one or two or three amendments of the zoning ordinance. In other words, when you cannot get a thing through your Board of Appeals, you get it through your alderman, and he gets an amendment into the zoning ordinance to suit the particular need or desire of his constituent. That seems to me a grave infraction of the entire principle because it isn't done systematically, but it is done entirely through political influence, and there, it seems to me, is one of the possible ways of breaking down the entire system.

I understand that in some states there is a rule that amendments of the zoning ordinance can be made only upon recommendation of the Board, but the rule is not absolute because ordinarily there is a provision that if the Board does not consent, then an increased majority can pass the amendment of the zoning ordinance. This, however, is a very slight safeguard, as votes in a city council go, and in most cases a four-fifths majority is as easily obtainable as a bare majority. If the council is to be given power to overrule the Board, it should be only by a unanimous vote, giving any member of the council a veto power. Whether that is a practical proposition is another question.

The zoning ordinance is, after all, a legislative act and must be subject to amendment, and the way of amending a comprehensive scheme and at the same time observing the comprehensive nature of the original measure has not yet been devised. You find that in many different fields of legislation as soon as you standardize, you also get the danger of amendment. Take your civil service classifications: it crops up all around. And, personally, I have not found a way in which that matter can be dealt with.

The whole zoning problem in this country is affected by two

factors which I should like myself to learn a little more about than I know now. They are in a sense peculiarly American. The one is the extraordinary sensitiveness of property to its surroundings. I know something about foreign cities. As a boy, I lived in two German cities, and I have traveled somewhat in Europe. Conditions there are very different. People do not mind a little store around the corner a bit. When you go to Vienna, you find that the palace of one of the great aristocratic families has a big glass works display room on the lower floor. The family has glass works on its Bohemian estates, and thinks nothing of advertising the fact in its residence. We wouldn't have that in this country because it is not conformable to our ideas. One of the millionaires in Frankfurt built his house right across the way from an amusement establishment where there were concerts given twice a day. We wouldn't do that.

Years ago I visited San Francisco and called upon an old friend of mine who had lived in Germany and came to San Francisco and became a successful physician and made a fortune. He had a lovely place across the bay in Alameda. He took me over in the evening and I looked out across the landscape and I found little truck gardens and then a tile factory. That was the only view there was. I expressed my surprise that he should go to such surroundings.

"Why," he said, "don't you see the advantage? I have no neighbors. The people I want I bring myself from San Francisco, and that suits me perfectly."

I thought, myself, that was thoroughly un-American.

There is a subtle psychology about this sensitiveness; I think it is connected with our democratic institutions; where you haven't got natural class differences you make them artificially, but I think the fact is undeniable. If you live in a big apartment, one of our palatial apartments, you don't care who your neighbors are. The sensitiveness is only restricted to the private house where the neighbors are close by. If you go into bigger buildings, just as in Europe, that disappears.

There is also one point which I forgot to mention when I spoke of the border problem, as I called it, which I would like also to have more light upon, and it has also something to do with this matter of sensitiveness. Is it not possible to deal, at least in an undeveloped district, with this entire matter of the border problem by the separation of different zoning districts through parkways?

We are in a period where we have to alter city plans to a considerable extent for the purpose of providing the arterial highways that will accommodate the automobile traffic. It has always seemed to me, from my limited experience—and I speak, of course, with great deference to those who know better—that when I live on a street like the Chicago Midway, which is I think 400 feet wide—or if there is a parkway in front of my house, I do not care what is on the other side. The parkway makes a natural line which reduces that problem of sensitiveness very considerably.

In view of that, I have just wondered whether City Planners, who have a free hand, when they deal with new districts, couldn't utilize the parkway as one of the ways in which to mitigate that insistent and vexed problem of the border property.

The second factor that I wish to dwell upon is the instability of American neighborhoods, the lack of attachment to a local habitat. There, likewise, I note a contrast between American and European conditions. I lived, as a boy, in the city of Dresden, and then in the city of Frankfurt. In the seventies my father bought a new house in a new residence district. When I go back to Dresden now, that house is exactly as it was and the neighborhood is exactly as it was, and a relative of mine lives in that house now. The whole thing is unchanged. Practically the same is true of Frankfurt. Now I should say that apparently Dresden must have been zoned because they did not allow any but villas of a very beautiful type to be placed in that part of the city. In Frankfurt it was different. In Frankfurt property was very much mixed, but it didn't interfere with the building of very handsome houses next to apartment houses. People simply didn't think about it; it didn't make very much difference. People were not sensitive. But there, likewise, I find, when I go back, the entire district is unchanged. On the other hand, the house in New York, where I was born, I suppose would be entirely out of the question for living purposes. I probably wouldn't recognize it at all.

Take my own block in the city of Chicago: I live near the University. I have always felt that an institution was perhaps the most stabilizing factor in property that you can think of, and we relied upon the fact that the property around the University would be relatively permanent. In Chicago they zone, as they zone, I suppose, in a good many other cities, by very small strips; two sides of a block are residence zones, and if you go beyond that, you will get into apartments. You probably have seen a good

many of those zoning maps. Now what has happened since we have been there? Our block has been invaded by the fraternities, and at the corner they have built a big dormitory. It is quite beautiful; I admit the architecture is very fine. They are going to build up the entire south side of our block with a structure of a monumental character. My wife and I feel that we are the last private family to live in our house, and I think other private residents in our block feel the same way.

I think zoning will not remove the fact that property in this country is unstable. We had in Chicago a beautiful residence district along Prairie Avenue which extended from Eighteenth Street down to Twenty-seventh Street, all millionaires' homes. I don't believe that half a dozen of these families still live in those homes. The founders have died and their successors are either unwilling or unable to keep the places up. The houses are still there; no question of an invasion of a factory or apartment house. It is merely the fact that the houses have become rooming houses within the zoning principle, to be sure, but the district is ruined. I just wonder whether zoning will produce that stability which does not seem to be conformable to American mobility.

There is also a question in my mind, whether we have not to face in this country a certain time limitation with reference to all zoning. I think Mr. Bassett himself said in one of his papers that through the zoning systems changes come when they ought to come. That seems to me a great optimism. I am not now considering the case of the exploiter who is unfairly non-conforming. He ought to be dealt with. But I am referring rather to the subtle changes in the character of the neighborhood. One person foresees it and sells to someone whom he knows will put the building to unfair use. Under zoning he cannot do that and will most likely have to get out at a loss, and ultimately the pressure will be such that the use of that particular district which has been protected in the zoning system will have to be abandoned. There is a phrase in the law which, when translated, means "the law favors the vigilant and not the sleeping," but I wonder whether zoning does not favor the sleeping, at the expense of the vigilant?

I believe that nothing in this world is theoretically perfect. The thing has worked out probably as it ought to have worked out; in other words, instead of having a new principle which the courts would have been very slow to follow, such as I suggested, the unfair non-conformity, we had something different—we had

zoning under the public welfare. That is very much more easily digestible to a court. And then we had all these problems, that I have suggested as typical, dealt with by a sort of subterfuge, by a sort of camouflage, and that is the Board of Zoning Appeals, and back of it we have the political power to undo zoning of every kind.

I have here in my hand the English Town Planning Act, as they call it, of 1925. I don't know whether you are all familiar with that; it is rather recent, and it is interesting to me as showing how the matter is handled in Europe where they are not bothered with having to determine whether a thing can be done or cannot be done under the police power, but where they simply go ahead with, after all, a very conservative sense of the rights of property, as you all know the English have.

I find in this law some interesting points: In the first place, they put "amenity" right in the foreground; they are not afraid of that term; they can use it. They do provide for what we perhaps have little occasion to provide for, the preservation of areas or districts of architectural, artistic or historic interest. We have perhaps few of those, but we have some, and they are nowhere taken care of in our acts. They have the same in the German law, where they speak of "the preservation of the special character of a district." That, I think, is perfectly legitimate, and I don't think there would be any reason why we shouldn't have that.

Then they provide largely for compensation, which we do not. The compensation in the English Act takes two long sections. I, myself, am skeptical. I think that opening the door to compensation would probably be the ruining of zoning schemes in this country. In England they do all this by arbitration. They do not have the constitutional right of a jury trial. I think that would be hopeless. But, above all, the conservativeness of the English law is manifested by confining the entire act to undeveloped areas; they leave built-up districts (other than those of special interest) alone. That shows the sense they have of the inherent difficulties of the subject.

FREDERICK LAW OLMS TED, Brookline, Mass.: It is true that congestion is undesirable in every way, but congestion in one kind of district used for certain purposes is not congestion in another district used for other purposes. For instance, in the passageways leading to subway trains, we certainly have congestion in New York

at many points, but with a moderate increase in the capacity of the opening and with a very moderate increase in the width of the stairways congestion would be eliminated. Yet there would be a flow of people measured in terms of thousands every hour which, if it were taking place in the doorway of a private house, would be excessive and terrible congestion. Just so with other elements—so with the question of light and air as affected by density of buildings.

The value of concentration in business areas is so important that a moderate diminution of the amount of light and air is a reasonable and proper price to pay for the convenience of concentration, where it would not be a reasonable price in the case of residential occupation. Therefore it is reasonable to differentiate not because in certain districts a greater degree of congestion is permissible, but because in certain districts a greater degree of density is not congestion.

FRANK B. WILLIAMS, New York City: Just a word further on this point. Granted that different sections of the city need the same amount of air and light, and granted that higher buildings are permitted in some parts of the city, we must defend these differences on the ground of reasonableness. We would be glad in downtown New York to limit the heights of buildings more than we do; the general welfare demands it, but we are unable to do so on account of existing conditions—the price of land, existing developments, etc. Usually, and considering what is lawful, we are unable to go as far as public health demands, because it would not be reasonable, under the circumstances. Hence it is right and legal to make different provisions for different parts of the city.

JOHN IHLDER, Washington, D. C.: May it not be considered fair and legal to differentiate between a private house section and a tenement house section on the theory that we must give consideration to the children? In a tenement house section on the lower east side in New York you may provide adequately according to health standards for light and air, but if the children have to play on crowded streets we have a kind of congestion which should be eliminated, for it is certainly important for the community to offer children a normal, wholesome life.

GEORGE HERROLD, St. Paul: I have followed with much interest Mr. Bassett's approach to the subject of playground requirements,

and the phase of it which is related to school grounds should be noted.

In St. Paul, with an \$8,000,000 appropriation for new schools, we are trying to acquire about five acres of ground for each building, and are picking our locations in accordance with future school population. If school buildings are properly located, they furnish the ideal place for the playground. Why should they not be one and the same? In St. Paul we have a playgrounds department which handles playground locations, and we have a school department which handles school locations. They never play ball together, but they ought to be made to.

A part of Mr. Bassett's program is to acquire lands for playgrounds, but if you have a playground site you cannot put a school building on it. If you get land for school buildings you can also use it for playgrounds. It would therefore seem that for the best development of our children we should approach the school location proposition first.

We have an old law in Minnesota which has provisions relative to the dedication of land for open spaces, when the tracts are first platted, but it is never made use of. When we want a park in St. Paul we select our acreage, get an appraisement on it privately, lay out a district which can be assessed to pay for it, condemn it and spread the cost of it over the whole district. We believe that districts benefited should pay for parks.

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, St. Louis: I know of more than a dozen cities where the rule laid down by Dr. Strayer at the Springfield Planning Conference is being followed. And I believe that it would be an excellent thing if the Conference would find out the large number of cities that are following the so-called 5-15-25 rule—five acres for recreational purposes for elementary schools, fifteen acres for Junior High Schools and twenty-five for Senior High Schools.

S. H. HARE, Kansas City: In Oklahoma City, not by law but by ruling of the State Plan Commission, 5% of each subdivision is required for parks or public property. The city does not guarantee to develop this acreage or to maintain it or to use it for a park or any other public use. As a result of this a number of pieces of property have been acquired, but they are not always suitable either as to location or as to size. They are now considering the

sale of several of these small properties, and with the money buying an acreage suitable in location and size for park purposes.

EUGENE MASTERS, St. Augustine, Fla.: What attracted my attention most in Mr. Bassett's paper was the lack in Florida of state enabling acts on the subject of city planning. I take it that this condition prevails in other states. Would it not be well for this Conference to memorialize the several state legislatures on this subject? If it is proper, I move you that this matter be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

CHARLES W. LEAVITT, New York City: I have found out that in Florida a good many people think that zoning is city planning, but I think we all realize from Mr. Bassett's paper that although zoning is an important part it is only one element in the city plan. One phase of zoning that has not been touched on much today is the effect of it in control of height and shape of buildings. Although New York has been much benefited, it is not altogether satisfactory. Two buildings which have been erected recently on the corner of 41st Street, Manhattan,—one on Madison Ave. and the other on Fifth Ave.,—were allowed under the Zoning Act to go up very high, particularly the one on the corner of Fifth Ave., which faces the public library. One would think that you might put up a building of any height where you have a great open space to front on, like Bryant Park, but the effect of the height of the Farmers Loan and Trust Building has been to curtail the rents of some of the buildings lying in the short block between Fifth and Madison Avenues to about one-third. The revenue from rents will hardly now carry the mortgages on those places. In Florida, where there is plenty of room, it may be attractive to see high buildings going up in a town which has been slow in development, but they will reduce the rental values of buildings on which the gloom is cast.

REGULATION OF OUTDOOR ADVERTISING

MRS. W. L. LAWTON, Glens Falls, N. Y., Chairman, National Committee
for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising

The object of the City Planning Conference, as I understand it, is not only to promote cities and towns which shall be more convenient for business and for traffic, but also to promote cities and towns which shall be more beautiful places in which to live. Now, I have not heard that specified in the list of objects, as read this morning, but I think that it certainly should be there. We must consider for our children not only plenty of air and plenty of light and playgrounds, but we must consider also beautiful surroundings in which they shall grow up.

I want to speak for just one moment on the value of outdoor beauty in our daily lives. If I were to ask you to name the great natural assets of this country, I expect you would mention the forests and the water power and the mineral resources, but how many of you would include on that list the natural beauty of the country—and yet what greater asset does our land possess than its natural beauty?

There are some communities today, in this day of automobile travel, which are beginning to realize that the beauty of the community is a commercial asset, but outdoor beauty is more than a commercial asset, it is a spiritual asset, a power for uplift. If you do not realize this in your every-day life, ask yourself what happens in times of crisis. When you are bowed down with grief, it is to the everlasting hills that you raise your eyes for comfort. When you are torn by passion, it is beneath the stars or in the silence of the forest that you find peace. And when you are overcome with exhaustion, it is to the great open spaces of nature that you turn for recreation.

This power of outdoor beauty is going on not only in times of crisis, it is going on daily, hourly, whether we are conscious of it or not. And so I say, the great outdoor beauty, whether it be the beauty which God has created in the open or the beauty which man has created in the city, is one of the great character-building forces of our nation.

I think we all realize that today this beauty is threatened in America by commercialism. The great stream of automobile traffic, increasing at a rate almost incredible, is trailing the commerce of the cities out along every country road, and the quiet beauty of our rural roads is fast giving way to the sordid ugliness of cheap commerce. And the same process is going on in our cities: in the strife for the almighty dollar we are forgetting that business can succeed and still respect beauty, and so we find very few cities in America which are truly beautiful, not only in their residence sections but also in their business sections. We go on living our daily business life in more or less ugliness, and when we escape to the country seeking relief, we find that the ugliness is coming there too.

But all over this country today you are finding a spirit manifesting itself in opposition to this "uglification," a spirit which does recognize this power of outdoor beauty and demands its conservation. The National Parks Movement, seeking to save the great scenic spots, is one manifestation of this spirit. But it is not enough to save the great scenic spots, because the masses of the people will never see Yosemite and Yellowstone. The masses of the people, if they feel this power of beauty, must feel it in their every-day lives, on the streets of their towns and on the highways of their localities, and you find the demand expressed for the conservation also of this every-day beauty.

The Governor of Maine very recently issued a call to the people of the state to save the beauty of the highways of Maine as one of its assets. The State Highway Commission of Pennsylvania is expending tax money to beautify the ugly spots along new rights of way by vines and shrubs. Right here in Florida the State

Chamber of Commerce several years ago appointed a State Highway Beautification Commission, and there are today some 35 cooperating commissions in cities and in counties working to save the beauty of Florida. Perhaps the most significant manifestation of this spirit is the nation-wide movement of the last two years to restrict commercial advertising to commercial districts.

I think you will all agree with me that the leading factor in the commercializing of our landscape and in the "uglification" of our cities has been the extremely rapid growth and the indiscriminate use of outdoor advertising. This movement, starting in one town to save the beauty of one locality, has spread with great rapidity until today there are over one hundred organizations, many of them state and national, working together through one committee which acts as a clearing house to urge the restriction of all commercial advertising to commercial districts. Our policy is absolutely conservative. We are not trying to fight outdoor advertising; we are not asking the signboard man to get off the earth at all. We are simply asking him to stay in his own yard. If business needs the signboards, let us have them, but why should they not be kept where business belongs?

Our methods have been just as conservative as our policy. We have simply striven to carry on a campaign of public education, to awaken the public to the value of this beauty and to the necessity of conserving it, and we have tried to express that public opinion so that the advertisers of the country might realize how the public feels about this form of advertising when it is placed where it destroys beauty.

The results that we have obtained in the two years' campaign are these: We have a list of 30 of the great national advertisers, who have told us in writing that they agree with us that this thing should be restricted, and in the future, as far as possible and as fast as possible, they will restrict their boards to commercial districts. We have developed a great power of public opinion which is showing itself in many ways. It is showing itself in the outdoor advertising industry itself.

I want to say very emphatically that we give full credit to the outdoor advertising industry for all that it has accomplished in the last ten years in the way of improvements. The organized billboards that we have today—of course, there is a large part that is not organized—are better built, they are better maintained, they are painted by better artists, the copy which goes on them is carefully censored, and we are very grateful for all this, but we believe the time has come when we must have an equal improvement in the matter of location. I think that the five or six men who stand at the head of this industry are agreed with us that the time has come for a restriction in the matter of location, but I do not believe that those five or six men could possibly swing into line all of the thousands of individual billboard-plant owners all over this country to adopt a policy of restriction, unless public opinion made it very clear to those men that such a policy would be for their own business interests. That is human nature and it is good business. I believe that the Public Opinion Campaign which has gone on for the past two years has had much to do with the adoption of the new standards of practice which the industry announced last fall. When these new standards of practice are put into effect, we may expect a decided improvement in the location of these boards within the next five years, but they do not go far enough, for this reason: They still assume that the landscapes are a legitimate field for billboard advertising and they do not provide sufficient protection for civic beauty in the use of billboards in the city.

A word as to the use of billboard advertising in our cities. What is the use of spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to create beautiful residence sections, beautiful boulevards, fine public buildings and pieces of statuary, beautiful parks, if we are to allow one industry, for its own private profit, to give a commercial background to those spots of beauty, a background of billboards. If we would protect the civic beauty we create in our cities, we must find some way to regulate the use of outdoor advertising in our cities.

Of course, some cities are doing this by zoning; other cities are

attempting to do this by local ordinances, and other cities—I presume the majority—have made no attempt as yet whatever.

I would like to say one word about the ordinance which we have in Glens Falls, which is a small city in New York State, because I believe it is a good type of ordinance. In Glens Falls, if a man wishes to erect a billboard over six feet high, he must apply to the City Council for a permit; he must show the City Council that two weeks previously he has notified every property owner within two hundred feet of that desired location that he is applying for this permit. This gives those property owners the right to come before the Council and express their opinions and their objections, if they have any. Then the Council, with the requests on one side and the objections, if there are any, on the other side, can make the decision. In other words, this ordinance gives the property owner in the immediate community around the chosen location a chance to express his opinion and his rights. The organized industry tells me that that ordinance is prohibitive; that they cannot successfully carry on their business in any city with an ordinance like that. I think that is extremely unfortunate because it seems to me that the community around the desired billboard location must have its rights protected.

Of course, the great difficulty in regulating this matter in our cities, or anywhere else, is that we are restricting a man's use of his private property, and I do not know of any right in the country that is protected more jealously than the private property right. But we must educate our people and our courts to realize that as our communities grow and become more complicated a man's right to do as he pleases with his private property must be more and more restricted to protect the rights of the community as a whole. Our courts are recognizing this in their support of the zoning laws; they are recognizing it in supporting ordinances which protect us against unpleasant sounds, an offense to the ear, and ordinances which protect us against unpleasant smells, an offense to the nose—and the time is coming when they will protect us also against unwelcome sights, an offense to the eye. Professor Freund, in his

book on "Police Power," has stated that this does not involve a new principle, but it will simply be a new application of an old principle.

In closing let me say that Massachusetts, instead of waiting for the slow development of the police power along this line, has passed an amendment giving her the right to regulate all advertising which comes within public view. Under that state amendment she has made her state regulations and cities have made their city regulations.

The billboard industry at the present time has challenged the constitutionality of that amendment and the whole thing is in the courts and will be fought out probably up to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that decision will be vital to every community and every state in the Union.

THE PLANNING OF PLEASURE RESORT COMMUNITIES

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, Fellow, American Society of Landscape Architects, Brookline, Mass.

Some of you here, intent on urgent practical problems in the development of Pleasure Resort Communities, may expect this to be a snappy "How-to-do-it" paper, with clear-cut recipes, confidently guaranteed to give good results if taken home and put to immediate practical use. Old Timers of these conferences could tell you to expect nothing of the kind; because they know the author's cautiousness and his inclination to quasi-philosophical discussions of the general principles of city planning cookery.

This time I am going to surprise the Old Timers by getting right down to brass tacks and giving some brief didactic recipes.

HOW TO MAKE A MODERN AMERICAN PLEASURE RESORT—DONE WHILE YOU WAIT

Take one large slice of carefully selected climate and one slice of land of almost any sort readily obtainable in the local markets. It is preferable to select firm plump land that is neither bony or full of hard lumps nor too juicy—juiciness is a real danger in some parts of Florida; but if the climate and other ingredients are of good quality, an appetizing flavor and appearance can be imparted to any land that is not actually stale, or, as the dealers call it, "blighted."

A desirable addition, always used in making the best quality of Resorts, is one or more of the natural attractions commonly called "Features." The most popular kinds are large bodies of water edged with beaches. But if such water features are combined with land that is too juicy, it may be necessary to resort to a tedious drying process, requiring the use of a great deal of financial gravy

and sometimes delaying the preparation of the dish so long that the guests lose their appetite. Another kind of Natural Attraction is Woodlands, and a third is Mountains, or, in the absence of real mountains, Humps and Hollows. The kinds known loosely as "Beautiful Scenery" vary greatly in quality, from genuine full-flavored sorts of prime value to flavorless substitutes that are useful only as a basis for spreading publicity sauce.

The remaining basic ingredient is one or more live and well-nourished Transportation Services. Native stock that comes with the land is preferable, but if this is not obtainable, a costly imported Transportation Service must be procured.

Place these ingredients in a large vessel, in booklets usually called a "Project." Add a firmly tied bunch of Staff, consisting of one broad-headed General Manager, one Landscape Architect, one Architect, one Engineer and one live Sales Manager, selecting specimens with good sound tops and being careful not to remove too much of their roots or fringes consisting of well-seasoned assistants. A bunch of this sort which has been repeatedly used before with good results is even better than a fresh one, provided it has not become too hard-boiled and unabsorbent of new flavors.

Pour in sufficient finances to cover the whole and to allow for considerable boiling off; otherwise there is great danger of burning before the dish is ready to serve. Insufficient financial juice is a much commoner mistake than an excess, and more risky, because if a deficiency suddenly appears burning is apt to take place before more juice can be added, but an excess is apt to be wasteful through boiling over and sticking to the pot.

Stir briskly, adding Oil of Tact from time to time when any of the bunch get too hot at their points of contact. If the General Manager does not keep cool and infuse a strong predominating flavor throughout the bunch the dish is likely to be spoiled. If there are signs of his going bad before the cooking has advanced very far, a replacement may be made, but changes are apt to waste a great deal of the financial juice and injure the flavor, and it is

generally better to use a slower fire and more oil of tact than to change the ingredients after cooking has started.

When effervescence has taken place, and the plans cooked, out of the Landscape Architect, the Engineer, and the Architect have blended to a satisfactory consistency, sufficiently covering the land and causing firm adhesion of the General Manager and the Sales Manager, stir in construction crews to taste, break over the whole one large publicity campaign, and serve.

It is worth while to compare with the above an old recipe used in the preparation of some of the most celebrated European Pleasure Resorts and occasionally used with great success in America.

HOW TO MAKE A MELLOW OLD-FASHIONED PLEASURE RESORT OF THE FIRST QUALITY

Take one small, old Settlement that happens to have grown in a Good Climate and is well rooted among Natural Attractions. These may be of any kind but usually include genuine Beautiful Scenery of prime quality and either a Beach-and-Water feature or Mountains or Mineral Springs—frequently an assortment of these, with or without the addition of Forests. Keep thoroughly isolated and protected from any draft of publicity and in an atmosphere heavily charged with Local Traditions, until thoroughly ripe and of the full-flavored picturesque quality obtainable in perfection only by this slow natural process. Then slowly drop into it a few Discriminating Connoisseurs, of the kind used in making Leaders of Fashion, and allow them time to become thoroughly filled with Pride of Discovery. Gradually insinuate Modern Plumbing and other Conveniences, without spoiling the Picturesque Shell; and one by one add comfortable Hotels, Private Villas, a Concourse or Esplanade, one or more Casinos, Clubs, Bathing Pavilions, etc., together with public and private gardens. During this process pour in a gradually increasing amount of Publicity. This will be accompanied and followed by the rapid development of what is called by French Chefs a Clientele. This is the critical stage of the Concoction.

If the Local Traditions are strong enough to digest and assimilate the Inflow measurably well, or if at this stage Constructive Planning successfully reinforces the Local Traditions, the perfection of a Mellow Old-Fashioned Pleasure Resort is the result.

If, however, a rapid and uncontrolled individualistic Exploitation supervenes, as is not infrequently the case at this stage, there is great danger of ptomaine poisoning and of the evaporation of the Discriminating Connoisseurs and their following; whereupon the cake "falls" and becomes a soggy and unappetizing mass, which can be disposed of, if at all, only at low prices in a wholesale way to the indiscriminating, by covering it with a deep layer of Publicity Frosting.

To be serious now, Europe and America are strewn with the wrecks of once fashionable Pleasure Resorts that were strangled by the results of their own popularity. Their popularity stimulated a growth so rapid and so unregulated that it ran wild. This rank growth so completely swamped out, obscured or even wholly destroyed the qualities that originally made the resorts attractive that they ceased to be attractive any longer, and went into decline or complete eclipse.

In the ordinary commercial-industrial city people will stand for the loss of many pleasant features as the city grows, because they think they *have to* in order to earn their bread and butter. Until they feel that their life is no longer worth living they will stick to the city that makes it possible for them to live. They will grumble at congested streets, at crowding and jostling, at darkened windows, at ugliness and disorder and the rest of the city's evils; they will perhaps try to help themselves by city planning; they will wish they could afford to live in a pleasanter place; but they will stick it out because they feel dependent on their jobs there for being able to live at all.

But a Pleasure Resort Community is in a totally different case. Its growth, even its continued existence, is made possible simply because a certain proportion of its inhabitants, permanent or transient, find it a more agreeable place of abode than other places.

They go there because they are *not* tied down by the necessity of staying somewhere just to earn their living; because they are free to choose a place that attracts them by its pleasantness. If the growth of such a place renders it less pleasant to them, there remains nothing else to hold them there, and the bottom begins to drop out.

So it is clear enough that Resort Communities need deliberate planning and control of their growth in the interest of the community as a whole even more than most cities.

I have alluded, in the recipe which I first gave, to one type of Pleasure Resort Planning, where a large tract of land is deliberately planned from the start for resort purposes, and where that planning is made effective through unified ownership of the entire site.

Few of the Pleasure Resort tracts that have been so planned are complete and independent communities. They are generally tracts which are imbedded in, and form parts of, larger communities, which have usually grown without a plan. They are greatly dependent on the success or failure of those communities. And in those communities deliberate planning has generally come, if at all, as a delayed effort to meet visibly growing evils.

For there are few communities in America of any importance as Pleasure Resorts which have developed very far in accordance with the Old-Fashioned recipe, wholly without conscious and deliberate community planning and without showing urgent need for such planning. There are few that have not passed the stage where local traditions and habits and the mere moral force of local public opinion are sufficient to prevent individual enterprise from undermining the basis of attractiveness on which depends the continued prosperity of the resort as a whole.

In other words, practically all of them are faced with the necessity of relying in some degree upon the methods of organized community planning, and of organized control of community growth, which are available in ordinary cities that began without comprehensive centralized planning and are characterized by

diversity in land ownership and diversity in the motives and aims of the land owners. These ordinary methods of city planning are, of course, prevented by proper legal protection of the rights of minorities from exercising anything like so complete and autocratic control as is exerted by a large land-owning development company when it sets out to plan a pleasure resort in the matter indicated by my first recipe; but it must be borne in mind that most communities where the pleasure resort element is a dominant factor contain increasingly important units or subdivisions within which such autocratic planning control through the right of unified land ownership is operative, and is more or less successfully combatting the evils of unregulated growth within these subdivisions—although often, I must say with regret, in a narrow and selfish competitive spirit.

The great problem of pleasure resort communities is to work out a successful combination of these two opposite methods of planning and control—the political, with its limited powers but with jurisdiction covering all the lands in the community regardless of their ownership, and the proprietary, which legally includes all the powers not possessed by the municipality but is limited in jurisdiction to lands held in a single ownership. They can be so combined only by patient co-operative effort for the promotion of the general welfare.

This problem exists in every city but is far more crucial for pleasure resort communities than for others because of their vulnerability—because their prosperity is absolutely dependent upon retaining and enhancing their attractiveness and avoiding those developments which tend to impair it. We can take time only to hint at the possible interplay of these two methods of planning in pleasure resort communities.

Take the familiar subject of street traffic and its congestion. Acute in every city, it presents greater dangers in a pleasure resort than elsewhere, because of the lack of any strong economic inducement for most of the people to stay there if they have to put up with unpleasant conditions.

I am reminded of the stranger who got as far south as the middle of West Palm Beach in his flivver, becoming more and more distracted with the traffic congestion and more and more uncomfortable and disgusted. Finally, he made a U-turn in the middle of a block, contrary to all traffic rules, and was bawled out by a cop, who yelled, "Where do you think you're goin'?" Said he, "I'm goin' right back to No'th Georgia."

Now relief and safeguard as to traffic troubles depend mainly on public or political planning and action. In the older portions of the city they are to be sought through such devices as street widenings and openings, traffic and parking regulation and the provision of off-street vehicular storage—as in the interior of large blocks—by direct municipal action and by stimulating private action through suitable ordinances and regulations, etc. All these are primarily municipal activities. In the growing fringes of a city they are to be sought by firm insistence, on the part of such municipal authorities as planning commissions, that more adequate thoroughfares shall be laid out step by step with new subdivisions. It is the old story, but with a difference. Bolder steps, that will secure radical relief, are more essential in a place dependent on pleasure resort business than in a firmly rooted commercial and industrial city. Also it is more essential to buy this relief, through substantial economic sacrifices, if necessary, without serious sacrifice of established features of attractiveness.

For example, in a certain Florida pleasure resort there is a wide street, the center of which is occupied by a notable double avenue of palms in long grass plots. The need for automobile parking space without blockading of traffic has led to a demand for the destruction of these palms and for substituting a commonplace unbroken expanse of sun-baked asphalt from outer curb to outer curb. The question arises whether that easy hand-to-mouth procedure would not be suicidal; whether it would not be a better investment, for example, to provide much more adequate parking space in the interior of the adjoining large blocks, now in process of conversion from residential to business use, and to retain per-

manently the attractiveness of the palm avenue which has helped to give distinction to the street.

Cities of the automobile age obviously need a larger amount of open space available for vehicular use in *proportion to the square feet of floor space in buildings* than was needed in the horse and buggy age—for a given degree of comfort and convenience. Every acre of floor space in buildings generates far more street traffic than it could in horse and buggy days. A commercial city *may* be able to stick to something like the old proportion between street space and building floor space—may even go on for a time multiplying the building floor space by erecting tall buildings without increasing street capacity—and take up the difference by added discomfort, irritation and grumbling. But the pleasure resort city cannot pay that sort of price for its inertia very long without killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. And it needs not only mere mechanical means of handling the growing tides of vehicular traffic without unbearable delays. Great commercial cities may be justified in some cases in going to such extremes as sluicing street traffic through dark tunnels or double deck streets. The cry in such places is “*Anything* to get there without unbearable delay.” But in a pleasure resort people are repelled by unpleasantness even more than by delay; they want not merely room to move, but an *appearance* of roominess in the city. Toward an appearance of roominess and toward other elements of pleasure, non-vehicular open spaces—parks and squares and public gardens and street plantings—all contribute their share.

Toward all such things a community can move effectively, with proper city planning, by the familiar municipal methods of acquiring and improving land for streets and parks and public grounds, of regulating the approval of subdivision platting, of zoning, and of the other methods to which all city plan commissions look.

But in its relation with subdividers a competent and active city plan commission can go still further by providing a really first-rate and helpful consulting planning service, placed freely at the dis-

posal of subdividers, a service that will help the latter to see how they can best accomplish their own special purposes on their own initiative in fields that are quite beyond the definite and arbitrary control of municipal authorities, so far, of course, as those private purposes are in reasonable accord with the general objectives of the community at large.

Most subdividers, when they come to understand the method and realize that the Plan Commission and its staff know their business practically and intend to be fair and reasonable, are themselves fair and reasonable, will meet the Commission more than half way and will appreciate and adopt many good suggestions which the Commission could not force them to adopt against their will. And all this can be done without municipal paternalism, without taking the bread out of the mouth of professional makers of subdivision plans. Often such intelligent and sympathetic official criticism of subdivision plans is the first thing that awakens a small subdivider's mind to the value of employing competent professional service.

But in a pleasure resort community the most conspicuous and important of those fields which lie beyond the positive and arbitrary control of the municipality, the most clearly beyond the scope of public city planning to reach with any authoritative legal control, is that of the appearance of the privately erected structures, which constitute the greater part of the visible city and which more than anything else determine whether the city shall as a whole be beautiful or ugly, attractive or repellant.

It is in this field that one of the greatest contributions to the art of city planning has been made within the last generation, by private initiative working not through any newly developed powers of the state, but by exercise, in a new spirit, of the powers inherent in individual ownership of land.

Beginning with a few far-sighted land companies engaged in the business of building up suburban residential communities of attractive quality (for the sake of the profit to be obtained in selling off the land therein), a technique has been gradually de-

veloping, based on the right of a land-owner to sell his land subject to any reasonable covenants which he may see fit to impose in his deeds, and which the purchaser accepts by taking his deeds. This technique includes a requirement that the designs of buildings to be erected on the land must be approved by the vendor of the land on purely esthetic grounds. It is making it possible, in the common interest of a sizable community, to accomplish two great results. The first result is, to control in large measure the extreme vagaries of individual taste and of mere ignorance and haste, by disapproving ugly designs. It is these extreme vagaries of taste, and the absence of those strong local traditions and preferences which in olden days so often produced harmonious and architecturally pleasant towns, that have done so much to make modern towns ugly and unattractive. But the second result goes far beyond the point of rejecting the very ugly, far beyond the point where positive and arbitrary control in such matters is commercially practicable, by giving wise and influential *advice* to individual builders whose plans are not bad enough to justify arbitrary disapproval and yet are far from making any notable contribution to the beauty and attractiveness of the neighborhood. Such people are immensely influenced by really good advice. People do not build ugly, inharmonious and inappropriate buildings because they *like* ugliness or disharmony or inappropriateness. Never! They do so because they do not realize what they are doing. Or they do not know how to avoid those evils. Or are laboring under the mistaken impression that the means of securing beauty are beyond their economic reach. Or still more often because their minds are so firmly set on some other objective—such as haste in getting up anything that will sell—that they do not stop to consider whether the building will add to the attractiveness of the community or the reverse.

The *idea* of compulsory approval of building plans, required by covenant in the deed, has spread like wildfire among developers of large tracts, especially in pleasure resort communities. It has become almost a standard ingredient of the plans prepared under

the general recipe which I first cited. But its actual administration has led to extremely variable results, often of little real value. This weakness in administration is due to the fact that the approval of plans is often perfunctory, or is given by persons who may be thoroughly conscientious but who lack that combination of technical experience, trained artistic discrimination and level-headed common sense which is needed in this ticklish business. It is only in a comparatively few large developments that the seriousness of the job of approving plans for buildings has been faced and adequate means taken for dealing with it. In most cases where it has produced notably satisfactory results in maintaining and building up the attractiveness of the community it has been dealt with by the employment of thoroughly competent paid technical advisers, whose skilled advice has not only guided the approving authority representing the original landowner in the exercise of his arbitrary power of approval or disapproval of building plans, but has done something more than this. There are many matters of taste as to which compulsion would be unjustifiable and pernicious, but as to which competent criticism, discussion and advice are immensely educative. On such matters, the advice of these experts—in the form of helpful suggestions not of arbitrary compulsion—is brought systematically and authoritatively before designers and builders.

This kind of expert service, done well and seriously, is usually too much of a burden except for large developments under single control. It is a job that even skilled designers can learn to do well only by considerable experience. But by *joint action* it could perfectly well be made available for a number of developers of smaller units. And there seems to be no reason why it should not be available as an advisory service to all builders in a community (without the element of compulsion in refractory cases which is dependent on the vendor's retaining the right of approval of plans when he sells a lot).

Is it too much to expect that pleasure resort communities which have grown in the usual way, with diversity of land owner-

ship, shall in this respect take a leaf out of the book of the few great land companies that have built up well-planned resorts by the fiat of single ownership? Is it too much to expect that they shall have competent art commissions which, in addition to their function of approving and disapproving designs proposed for public structures, shall serve as purely advisory boards for examination of *all* building plans? With such a board functioning competently, would not many developers and vendors of real estate be persuaded to require approval of plans for buildings that are to be erected on the land they sell, to be given by themselves after getting the advice of such a board? How much might be accomplished by making such advice available to, though not compulsory upon, all builders?

To sum up these rambling remarks:

Communities which are largely pleasure resorts are in general more urgently in need of deliberate planning for the maintenance of their pleasurable qualities and avoidance of growing disadvantages than any other kind of community; because their pleasantness is with them a prime asset, and because in proportion as their pleasantness brings rapid growth and change it is in constant danger of destroying itself.

In such communities especially the Chambers of Commerce, and other citizens' organizations watchful of the general welfare, even if moved by strictly business considerations, should take to heart the above lesson, and supply the initiative and the constant "follow-up" pressure which is necessary for establishing, in that conservative and slow-moving thing, a city government, a really constructive forward-looking City Planning Service. There is no real magic in the name a City Plan, or in the mere existence of a paper Plan, howsoever good. The need is for a City Planning Service, ever watchful, advancing and correcting and improving its plans as the city grows, and with its gears meshed firmly with the executive departments of the city government and with the forward-looking citizens' organizations and forward-looking developers of real estate.

For finally, it is in such communities that there is the greatest need for establishing a cordial constructive interplay between the sort of planning and control that can properly be exercised by public authorities and such as can be exercised only through private initiative, especially that vesting in development companies as landowners. Neither type of planning control can get first-rate results alone. Neither the big development company which "goes it alone" and ignores or attempts to "put it over" on the city government and other owners of real estate, nor the high-handed City Plan Commission which antagonizes and tries to "put it over" on the subdividers can make a permanent success of a peasure resort. But by patient and mutually respectful co-operation they can together ensure the stability and continued increasing success of the community in a degree that has seldom been realized.

THE FLORIDA WATER FRONT

JUDGE JAMES F. GLENN, Tampa, Florida

Florida possesses close to one-fourth of the entire coast line of the United States and nearly as much as all of the rest of the states of the Atlantic Seaboard combined. When we further consider its great inlets, bays and estuaries as well as its lakes, the vast importance to Florida of its water front becomes more manifest. It is undoubtedly true that more than any other single feature except climate the water front has brought about the astounding development of the state within the past few years. It is the object of this paper to outline briefly the legal status of the water front.

We must look to the common law of England to secure a proper perspective. Under the common law the King was regarded in theory as the original source of all titles, but it is historically true that the King as sovereign had ceased to be the owner of substantially all of the land in England, both upland and foreshore, long prior to the Declaration of Independence, and the most that was then, or has been since, claimed in England is that *prima facie* the foreshore belonged to the King, which presumption could be rebutted by grant or charter or even by prescription or usage. Sir Matthew Hale wrote in the year 1667:

“Although it is true, that such shore may be *and commonly is* parcel of the manor adjacent, and so may be belonging to a subject, as shall be shown, yet *prima facie* it is the King’s.

Again he says:

“Touching the interest of propriety of the soyle of the land covered with salt water: this though *prima facie*, as is sayd before, belongs to the Kinge, yet is acquirable by a subject not only by charter, whereof there can be no doubt, but by usage, custom or prescription.”

The foregoing quotations are made from Lord Justice Hale, because it was the great weight of his authority which led to the adoption in England of the rule that the title to the foreshore is *prima facie* in the King; and for the purpose of accentuating the fact that even in his time no such claim was asserted on the part of the Crown as we find reiterated in many American decisions.

After the reign of Elizabeth, and during the reigns of the Stuarts, attempts were made to assert the doctrine for the purpose of raising revenue for the Crown, which undertook to make grants of the foreshore to individuals, who in turn sought to interfere thereunder with the existing rights of the adjoining proprietors. The controversies thus engendered became so acute, that one of the grounds of the Grand Remonstrance addressed to Charles I in 1641, immediately preceding the civil war, which cost him his crown and his head, complained of the attempt to take away the rights of his subjects by the King's assertion of title to the foreshore. And this, doubtless, explains why the earlier settlers in New England and in Virginia were so solicitous to have the matter settled, as they did, by Colonial Ordinances. Such an ordinance was adopted in Massachusetts in 1647, whereby it was declared that the title of the riparian owner should extend to low-water mark, if not beyond 100 rods, and this ordinance has been regarded as declaratory of the common law of New England, outside of Massachusetts. In Virginia, which then included some 400 miles of the Atlantic Seaboard, a similar ordinance was adopted in 1679, defining the riparian owner's boundary as low-water mark, and such was regarded to be the common law rule in other States.

Since the state legislature possesses all the powers of sovereignty exercised in England by the Crown and Parliament combined, a legislative grant carries an absolute title in fee simple to the foreshore or to the submerged lands under tide waters, free from any trust whatsoever, except rights reserved to Congress under the Commerce Clause of the Federal Constitution.

A correct conception is that the United States in its sovereign capacity (*not the State* in the absence of State Constitutional Pro-

vision) is in a sense the trustee of an inalienable trust to ensure the use of navigable waters of the State in the interests of commerce.

Florida became a State in 1845, and on its admission acquired title to all of the lands covered by navigable waters within the limits of the State, including the foreshore, which had heretofore been held by the United States in trust for the future State.

In 1856 the Legislature of Florida passed an act declaring among other things as follows:

(a) "It is for the benefit of commerce that wharves be built and warehouses erected for facilitating the landing and storage of goods.

(b) "The State being the proprietor of all submerged lands and water privileges, within its boundaries, which prevents the riparian owners from improving their water lots.

"Therefore

(a) "The State of Florida for the consideration above mentioned, divest themselves of all right, title and interest to all lands covered by water, lying in front of any tract of land owned by a citizen of the United States, or by the United States, for public purposes, lying upon any navigable stream, or bay of the sea, or harbor, as far as to the edge of the channel.

(b) "Hereby vest the full title to the same in and unto the riparian proprietors, giving them the full right and privilege to build wharves . . . and to fill up from the shore, bank of beach, as far as may be desired, not obstructing the channel . . . and upon lands so filled in to erect warehouses or other buildings. . . ."

The Act contained the following proviso:

"That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to release the title of the State of Florida, or any of its grantees, to any of the swamp or overflowed lands, within the limits of the same, but the grant herein contained shall be limited *to those persons and body corporate owning lands actually bounded by, and extending to low water mark, on such navigable streams, bays and harbors.*"

Within three years after the passage of this Act the Supreme Court of Florida held that the Act gave to riparian owners the State's title to the edge of the channel. In a case decided in 1881 the Court said:

“Anterior to this Act, as riparian proprietor, his title did not extend beyond high water mark; after this Act it extended to the channel. . . . The State had the absolute proprietary interest in the land, and could grant it to the then riparian owner.”

The Act recognized the same policy which prevailed over the greater part of the Atlantic Seaboard. By its language, it recognized that the riparian owner's title went to low water mark. Its effectiveness depended upon that proposition; and of necessity it excluded any rule of the common law to the contrary. We have already seen that there was only a presumption by the common law of title in the Crown to the foreshore, and that presumption was negatived in Florida by the passage of the Act of 1856. For more than half a century this Act, which was many times before the Supreme Court of Florida, was always recognized as effective. In 1908, for the first time, it was suggested that there were limits on the power of the Legislature to make disposition of tide-lands, and a series of decisions followed, which culminated in a case finally decided in 1918, in which the Court held in effect that, *as no one owned to low water mark on tide-water, no one whose land was bounded by tide-water could be a beneficiary under the Act of 1856.*

In 1921 a curative statute was adopted, which provided that it should be effective as of December 27, 1856, the substantial provisions of which are as follows:

“Section 1. Whereas, It is for the benefit of the State of Florida that water front property be improved and developed; and

“Whereas, the State being the proprietor of all submerged lands and water privileges within its boundaries, which prevents the riparian owners from improving their water lots; therefore

“The State of Florida, for the consideration above mentioned, subject to any inalienable trust under which the State holds said lands, divests itself of all right, title and interest to all lands covered by water lying in front of any tract of land owned by the United States or by any person, natural or artificial, or by any municipality, county or governmental corporation under the laws of Florida, lying upon any navigable stream or bay of the sea or harbor, as far as to the edge of the channel, and hereby vests the full title to the same, subject to said trust in and to the riparian

proprietors, giving them the full right and privilege to build wharves into streams or waters of the bay or harbor as far as may be necessary to affect the purposes described, and to fill up from the shore, bank or beach as far as may be desired, not obstructing the channel, but leaving full space for the requirements of commerce, and upon lands so filled in to erect warehouses, dwellings or other buildings and also the right to prevent encroachments of any other person upon all such submerged land in the direction of their lines continued to the channel by bill in chancery or at law, and to have and maintain action of trespass in any court of competent jurisdiction in the State, for any interference with such property, also confirming to the riparian proprietors all improvements which may have heretofore been made upon submerged lands.

“Provided, that the grant herein made shall apply to and affect only those submerged lands which have been, or may be hereafter, actually bulk-headed or filled in or permanently improved continuously from high water mark in the direction of the channel, or as near in the direction of the channel as practicable to equitably distribute the submerged lands, and shall in no wise affect such submerged lands until actually filled in or permanently improved.

“Sec. 2. Nothing in this article contained shall be so construed as to release the title of the State of Florida or any of its grantees to any of the swamp or overflowed lands within the limits of the same, but the grant herein contained shall be limited to those persons and bodies corporate owning lands *actually bounded by and extending to high water mark on such navigable streams, bays and harbors.*”

In certain directions a great advance is shown by contrasting the language of the Riparian Act of 1921 with the language of the Act of 1856. The earlier Act asserted that “It is for the benefit of *commerce* that wharves be built and warehouses erected for facilitating the handling and storage of goods.” The later asserted that “It is for the benefit of the *State of Florida* that water-front property be *improved* and *developed*.” The former Act gives the right on the filled land “to erect warehouses or other buildings”; the latter, “to erect warehouses, dwellings or other buildings.” The former Act contains a clause “confirming to the riparian proprietors all improvements which may have heretofore been made

upon submerged lands, *for the purposes within mentioned.*" The later Act leaves out the qualification underscored, thus confirming *all improvements*. The only beneficiaries of the former Act were citizens of the United States and the United States. Beneficiaries of the later Act are the United States or any person, natural or artificial, or municipality, county or governmental corporation. There is doubt if the former Act applied to any except riparian owners at the time of its passage. The later Act applies to all riparian owners. In short, it may be said that the later Act undertakes to divest the State of all the foreshore and land under navigable waters to the edge of the channel in favor of riparian proprietors, who exercise their right to fill in and reclaim such lands.

There is a very material qualification of the scope of this Act in the proviso to Section One, that the grant "shall in no wise affect such submerged lands until actually filled in or permanently improved." Presumably this leaves the grant subject to recall by the Legislature at any time before it has been acted upon, and there was an attempt in 1925 to recall it, which, however, failed.

It is to be noted that neither in the Act of 1856 nor in the Act of 1921 is there any allusion to *owners of land bounded by the open sea, whether the Atlantic Ocean or the Gulf of Mexico, and no attempt has ever been made to grant to them any rights of the character mentioned in the Riparian Acts*. The grant is confined to owners of land "lying upon any navigable stream or bay of the sea or harbor, as far as to the edge of the channel." This restriction has not always been observed, but it is clearly apparent from the terms of both Acts, and owners of lands fronting upon the open sea are clearly without any right to fill in and improve the submerged land in front of their property, or otherwise deal with the foreshore, except so far as they have rights by the common law.

Another provision in the Act of 1921 should be noted. Section six provides that "Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to apply to lakes, except tidewater lakes." It follows that the owners of property fronting on such lakes are also confined to their common law rights. In certain sections of the State this may prove

a great hardship, because the Supreme Court of Florida has discarded the common law rule as to private ownership of such bodies of inland water as incident to ownership of the upland. It has held in one case that an inland lake was a part of the navigable waters of the State, where it appeared from an agreed statement of facts upon which the case was decided that the water, except in four or five sink holes, did not average over two feet in depth at mean water; where it was grown up in grass, except in the sink holes, and its principal use was for grazing cattle; where it was commonly crossed by wagons and buggies, and could only be navigated at ordinary stage by a flat-bottomed boat drawing from three to six inches of water, and in fact was only navigated in fishing and shooting water fowl; where at times it became entirely dry, except in the sink holes so, that persons could walk dry-shod over the whole bed of the lake; and where during ordinary low water the lake receded to such an extent that corn was planted and grown on the bed of the lake to a considerable distance from the shore. The case was decided in 1909 and is one of the leading cases in the Court, declaring that such lands belong to the State in its sovereign capacity, and subject to the asserted inalienable trust in favor of the public.

In the case last mentioned, the syllabus, which under the Florida statute is prepared by the Judge delivering the opinion of the Court, states certain propositions, which have been reiterated in many cases since, and must be taken to express the views of the Court. They are as follows:

“1. Under the common law of England the Crown in its sovereign capacity held the title to the beds of navigable or tide waters, including the shore or the space between high and low water marks, in trust for the people of the realm who had rights of navigation, commerce, fishing, bathing and other easements allowed by law in the waters. This rule of the common law was applicable in the English colonies of America.

“2. After the Revolution resulting in the independence of the American States, title to the beds of all waters, navigable in fact, whether tide or fresh, was held by the States in which they were located, in trust for all the people of the States respectively.

"3. When the constitution of the United States became operative, the several States continued to hold the title to the beds of all waters within their respective borders that were navigable in fact without reference to the tides of the sea, not for purposes of disposition to individual ownerships, but such title was held in trust for all the people of the States respectively, for the uses afforded by the waters as allowed by the express or implied provisions of law, subject to the rights surrendered by the States under the Federal constitution.

"4. The right of the people of the States in the navigable waters and the lands thereunder, including the shore or space between ordinary high and low water marks, relate to navigation, commerce, fishing, bathing, and other easements allowed by law. These rights are designed to promote the general welfare and are subject to lawful regulation by the States, and such regulation is subordinate to the powers of Congress as to interstate commerce, navigation, post roads, etc., and to the constitutional guarantees of private property rights.

"5. The trust in which the title to the lands under navigable waters is held is governmental in its nature and cannot be wholly alienated by the States. For the purpose of enhancing the rights and interests of the whole people, the States may by appropriate means grant to individuals the title to limited portions of the lands under navigable waters, or may give limited privileges therein, but not so as to divert them from their proper uses for the public welfare, or so as to relieve the States respectively of the control and regulation of the uses afforded by the land and the waters, or so as to interfere with the lawful authority of Congress.

"6. New States, including Florida, admitted 'into the Union on equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatsoever,' have the same rights, prerogatives and duties with respect to the navigable waters and the lands thereunder within their borders as have the original thirteen States of the American Union. Among these prerogatives are the right and duty of the States to own and hold the lands under navigable waters for the benefit of the people, as such prerogatives are essential to the sovereignty, to the complete exercise of the police powers and to the welfare of the people of the new States as of the original States of the Union.

"11. Capacity for navigation, not usage for that purpose, determines the navigable character of waters with reference to the ownership and uses of the land covered by the water.

"12. Grants and conveyances of land bordering on navigable waters carry title in general to ordinary high water mark when a valid contrary intent does not appear. . . .

"13. Those who own land extending to ordinary high water mark of navigable waters are riparian holders who, by implication of law, and in addition to the rights of navigation, commerce, fishing, boating, etc., common to the public, have in general certain special rights in the use of the waters opposite their holdings, among them being the right of access from the water to the riparian land and perhaps other easements allowed by law. These special rights are easements incident to the riparian holdings and are property rights that may be regulated by law but may not be taken without just compensation and due process of law."

My individual opinion is that the propositions so expressed should be modified in accordance with the following propositions, which express my individual views, but which, it seems to me, are axiomatic:

AXIOM I

The courts can only look to the Constitution of the State and of the United States, and the statutes of the State, as the source of legal rules.

AXIOM II

The common law has force, by reason of its adoption by statute, and is subject to alteration or repeal by the Legislature.

AXIOM III

The State Legislature possesses the rights of both Crown and Parliament, in respect to all matters within the sphere of legislation.

AXIOM IV

All legislative power in a sense is held in trust for the benefit of the people of the State, but its exercise does not present a justiciable controversy, unless there is claimed to be a violation of some provision of the State or Federal Constitution.

AXIOM V

Tidal lands, including the foreshore, were originally held by the Crown, subject to public rights of navigation and the like, but

such rights could be divested by the joint action of Crown and Parliament.

AXIOM VI

Subject to the dominant right of Congress under the provision of the Federal Constitution, giving it authority to regulate commerce, the various States, having succeeded to the powers of Crown and Parliament, may make such dispositions of the tidal waters, including the foreshore, as the Legislature provides, unless there is some restraint in the State Constitution; subject only to the exception that a succeeding Legislature may not necessarily be bound by the action of a preceding one, if it can reasonably say that the action of the preceding Legislature was so wholly unreasonable as to violate public policy.

AXIOM VII

The courts are bound to give effect, if they can, to the expression of the legislative will, and have no power to inquire into the wisdom or reasonableness of legislation, so long as it is the sole or latest expression of the legislative will.

AXIOM VIII

Where an earlier Act of the Legislature is repealed by a subsequent Act, and rights are claimed under the earlier Act, which, it is asserted, were not subject to impairment, then a justiciable controversy is presented for settlement by the courts; and in its settlement the courts should regard the public policy as settled by the subsequent Act, unless some provision of the State or Federal Constitution would thereby be violated.

What has been said will demonstrate that the rights of owners of the Florida water front, except to the extent they have been exercised and acted upon by making improvements, rest upon no very secure foundation, unless it should be held by the Federal Courts that the Act of 1856, as interpreted by the Florida Courts for more than half a century, created contract rights which could not be impaired by subsequent legislation. On that subject I shall not venture to express an opinion now.

THE PLACE OF THE RAILROAD IN THE CITY PLAN

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, City Plan Engineer, St. Louis, Mo.

The modern city should operate as smoothly and efficiently as a complex machine. To build cities that so operate is a fundamental objective of city planning. The railroad must be considered. What is or should be the position of the railroad in the modern city? There are many considerations involved. It is not a question of saying that a particular set of tracks should go in this or that place, but rather of nicely adjusting the entire railroad plant-yards, main tracks, industrial spurs, freight and passenger terminals—to the structure of the city.

In small cities served by but one or two railroads there is ample room for all railroad facilities without conflict with the municipal structure. There is abundance of land at low cost for yards and terminals, for residence purposes or for industry, and no great volume of railroad or vehicular traffic. As the city increases in size, however, land becomes more and more expensive, room for residential and commercial expansion more restricted, the volume of railroad and vehicular traffic increases, and the number of railroads is multiplied. The problem of building and operating an efficient system of railroads is intimately tied in with the problem of building and operating the whole municipal structure, including streets, transit lines, recreation spaces and general zoning scheme.

Certain principles apply to the design of each of the elements of the city *plan*—streets, transit, railroads and parks. Each of these designs, however, is influenced by the *degree* or *volume* of growth. If cities are to be built upon a solid and sure foundation, there must be a fixed limit of volume of population as well as degree of its intensity or spread. There can be no final solution or plan where conditions are constantly changing. Unwillingness to accept this

obvious truth makes the present American city probably the most wasteful, uneconomic and unattractive of the creations of man. If this is an apparent digression from the subject under discussion let some one explain how any single element of the city plan—railroads included—can be so designed that it is anything more than a step in the dark—a mere expedient to meet a temporary emergency.

Fundamentally, therefore, to find the proper place for the railroad in the city plan it is first necessary to know how large the city will become in both population and area (in so far as this can be estimated or controlled) and secondly the general character of the city, i. e., whether largely industrial, residential or mercantile (jobbing center). Once information of this nature has been prepared, the extent and character of railroad plant can be determined and gradually woven into the fabric of the comprehensive city plan.

Cities and railroads have grown up more or less oblivious of their mutual interests. If the railroads have acted contrary to what may seem to be the public interest, certainly it cannot be claimed that cities have responded with full and convincing studies and plans of city growth. Without mutual understanding no great problems can be solved.

The railroad plan to be devised for any city is a distinctly individual problem. Each is concerned with a varying set of conditions. There is no uniform or ideal formula suited for universal use, even though there may be more or less agreement as to principles. Existing plant, number of railroads, topography, natural or artificial barriers, all influence the design to be followed. Methods of operation are also decidedly important considerations in design.

In 1920 an able committee of this conference studied the railroad problem at length and submitted an extensive set of recommendations upon the unification of railroad lines and service in cities (pages 56–59, Proceedings Twelfth National Conference on City Planning—Cincinnati).

No attempt will here be made to supplement this excellent report.

Unification of railroad lines and services, however, is not always or often immediately practicable or necessary in every city.

While this subject is susceptible of exhaustive treatment, an effort will be made, within the limits of time and space, to discuss the paramount objectives to be attained and principles involved at least in typical cities.

The subject will be considered from the standpoint of functional traffic movement.

Railroad traffic may be divided into two general classifications, i. e., freight and passenger.

FREIGHT TRAFFIC

Freight traffic constitutes the great bulk of railroad traffic. Because of its variety and volume it requires numerous and expensive tracks, yards and terminals. Rapidity of movement is the fundamental objective. Freight traffic is of three distinct types, i. e., (1) through freight, (2) carload freight for local delivery, and (3) less than carload (L. C. L.) or package freight. Let us consider each of these from the standpoint of their relation to the city plan.

Through Freight.—Through freight is composed of entire carloads coming from distant terminals to a given city but not destined for local delivery. This freight may continue directly through the city without stopping, or it may require a halt in its journey and an interchange to another railroad. The greater the number of railroads, the greater the volume of through freight to be interchanged between various railroads.

In a study of the terminal situation at St. Louis it was found that 85% of all freight entering the St. Louis district was through freight. This is an astonishing percentage and yet a large number of important cities would undoubtedly show a very large percentage of through freight. This is the inevitable result of our present national, commercial and industrial structure.

In a city where through freight constitutes a large percentage of business of the railroad terminals and thus becomes an obstacle to efficient operation of those terminals for local purposes, there

should be a separation of functions. This can be accomplished by a belt line for by-passing the through freight. The belt line need not be a complete circuit, but would connect all railroads approaching the city between which interchange of freight might take place. This belt line should be built well outside the limit of present and probably intensive urban growth.

There are several cities wherein belt lines have been constructed and are performing this character of service. The Chicago outer belt railroad is an example, although there are some nineteen (19) railroads performing this service in the Chicago District. In the St. Louis terminal study it was suggested that an outer belt line be completed by the extension and connection of certain existing tracks at an approximate radius of from 10 to 15 miles from the central business district. There are 26 railroads entering St. Louis. For the accommodation of through freight to be interchanged, it was suggested that six (6) outer classification yards be established along the belt line to facilitate the necessary interchange. This particular number of outer classification yards was suggested because of the location and volume of freight carried by certain of the larger railroads and because it was assumed that this arrangement would make possible the most efficient operation by permitting full train load deliveries from yard to yard.

The location of an outer belt line and classification yards such as here proposed involves a large investment and is indeed future planning on a large scale. Where undertaken, there should be study and agreement upon specific location by city, county and regional planning authorities in conjunction with railroad officials.

Carload Freight.—Carload freight constitutes a substantial percentage of local freight traffic. The principal objective to be considered in handling this class of traffic is minimum time between shipper (or consignee) and road haul.

In a small city where there are but one or two railroads, each delivering carload freight to local industries having spur tracks connected directly with such railroad, the question of time consumed between the industry and road haul is not of particular

moment, for there is but one freight yard through which the carload traffic must pass and there need be little loss of time between shipper (or consignee) and road haul.

In a large city, however, where there are many industries located on various railroads, each sending or receiving full carloads of freight daily, the amount of time consumed between the shipper's (or consignee's) door and road haul may be very great, particularly if there are not direct and simple interchange facilities.

To illustrate, a condition might be conceived where there are six railroads entering a city and a carload of freight from an industry located upon one might have to pass through the classification yards of two or more of the other five railroads for want of direct interchange facilities between the railroad on which the shipper is located and that upon which road haul takes place. This is an extreme condition, and yet in actual practice one which is not as extreme as it may appear. Instances have been found where several days are consumed before a carload shipment from a particular industry is actually found to be moving away from that city toward its ultimate destination.

The industrial opportunities of the community can be fully realized only when there are ample interchange facilities and sufficient local classification yard space. An inner belt line, particularly if operated by a single carrier, such as a terminal company, will reduce the number of classifications and speed-up movement. The St. Louis Terminal Railway Association is a railroad company owned jointly by the fourteen trunk line railroads entering the St. Louis district. While each railroad may maintain its own local classification yard, the Terminal Association connects with practically all railroads, handles the large percentage of interchange, maintains large local classification yards, operates freight stations, and serves freight stations of the several railroads as well as local industries on its own tracks. This is an effective but modified form of unification. The St. Louis Terminal Railway Association owns 360 miles of single track, owns and operates 7 classification yards and handled 3,700,000 car movements in 1925.

An interesting example of terminal company is the Wichita Terminal Association at Wichita, Kansas. This company was organized to facilitate the handling of cars to and from the industries located in the northern section of the city, from about Twelfth Street to the north city limits. The Association is made up of the Santa Fé, the Frisco, the Missouri Pacific, and the Rock Island Railroads. It possesses no right-of-way, but owns a considerable amount of track which touches the various industries and connects with each railroad of the Association.

As cities grow in size and land increases in value it becomes more and more difficult to secure additional railroad rights of way and yard room. The city plan should anticipate provision of adequate space for such purposes conveniently located and unhampered by too numerous street crossings. The zoning ordinance and major street plan should particularly provide for the expansion of railroad facilities. A comprehensive railroad plan involving among other things ultimate industrial expansion, location of local classification yards, and interchange facilities should be devised preferably by a joint committee, representative of the several railroads and the city.

L. C. L. (Less Than Car Load) or Package Freight.—L. C. L. (Less than Car Load) Freight constitutes the smallest percentage of volume of freight traffic, but usually consists of highly valuable shipments and is of immense importance to the commercial life of the city. The objective in handling this class of freight is minimum of handlings and reduced traveling time between shipper (or consignee) and road haul.

Detailed studies involving examination of several hundred thousand dray tickets in the railroad terminal studies in St. Louis and Memphis, indicated that 75 per cent of all L. C. L. freight originated within an approximate radius of one mile from the center of the city's principal business district. In St. Louis there were approximately 200,000 dray tickets, representing that number of individual L. C. L. shipments in one week of October, 1921. In Memphis there were approximately 100,000 dray tickets repre-

senting individual L. C. L. shipments for one week in October, 1923. These vast numbers indicate immense use of city streets. This is a particularly important consideration in city planning.

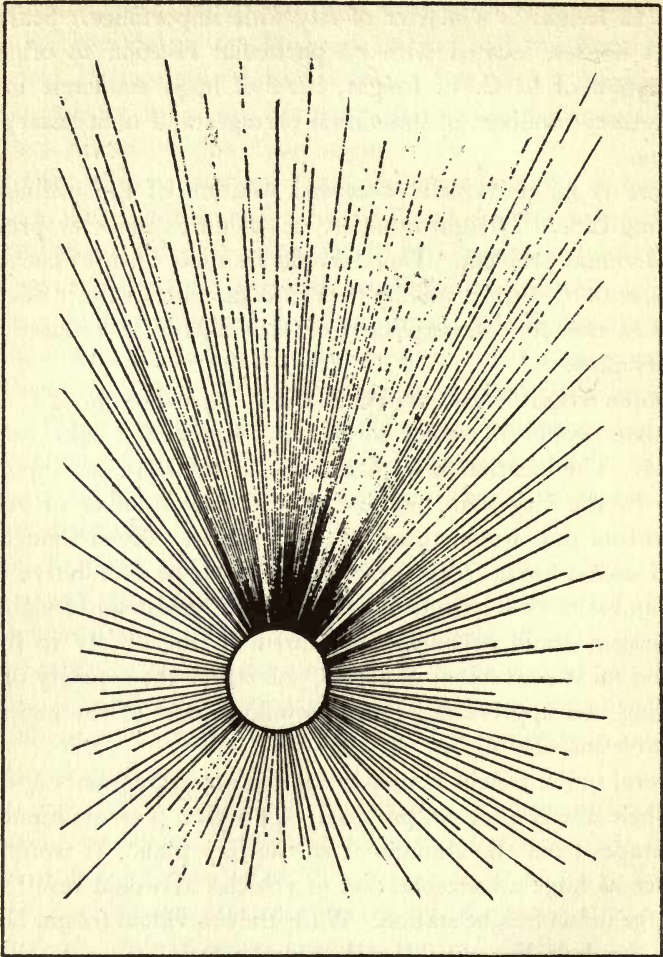
The location of the freight houses with respect to the origin of L. C. L. freight is a matter of city-wide importance. Scattered freight houses, located with no particular relation to origin or destination of L. C. L. freight, involve huge economic loss in unnecessary numbers of individual cartages and unnecessary loss of time.

There is no universally accepted solution of the problem of handling L. C. L. freight in cities. Each particular city presents an individual problem. There should be some form of concerted action, both by the city and by the railroads collectively, in effecting the most economic arrangement of terminals in accordance with the city plan.

A union freight house wherein all incoming and outgoing L. C. L. shipments would arrive for sorting and shipment might be considered. The location of such a terminal would be an important factor in the city plan, because of the huge number of vehicle movements that would there be concentrated. Even though the size of such a union freight station might not be prohibitive from the standpoint of economic and expeditious handling of freight, its advantages would probably be limited by the ability to find a location for it convenient of access, and where the capacity of surrounding and approaching streets would permit of the necessary concentration of vehicles.

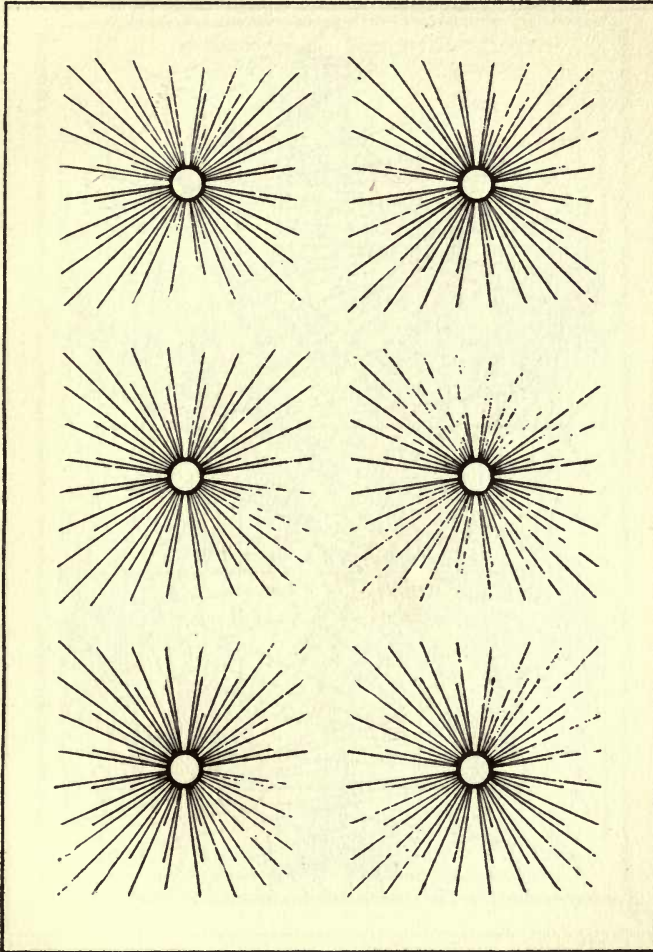
Several union freight houses located at strategic points upon an inner belt line is a second proposal. This plan presents numerous advantages from the standpoint of the city plan. It would not produce as huge a concentration of vehicles as would result from one large union freight station. While the individual freight houses along the belt line would each cause certain concentration of vehicle traffic, it would be considerably diffused and actually take place at non-congested points; rather drawing traffic away from the congested business district. This method is advantageous in

that it reduces vehicular traffic in business centers. It also reduces the total mileage and time consumed by individual cartages to individual railroad freight stations or to a union freight station.



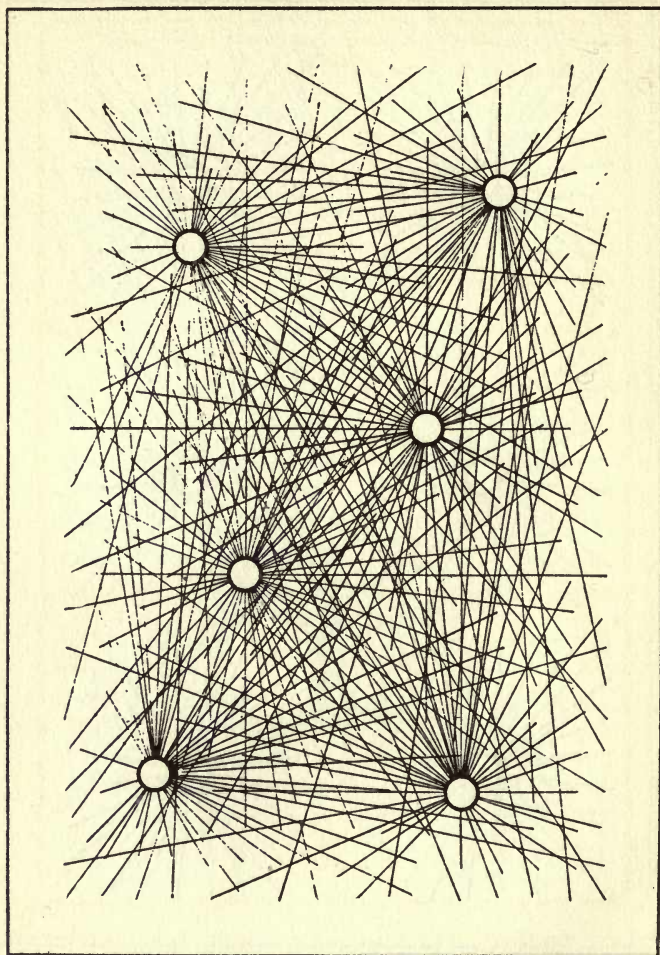
A further plan is the establishment of universal (union) off-track freight houses. This involves the establishment of a number

of freight houses so located as to serve conveniently large numbers of shippers with minimum of vehicle haul, and consequent time delay. At these universal houses freight is then sorted for delivery



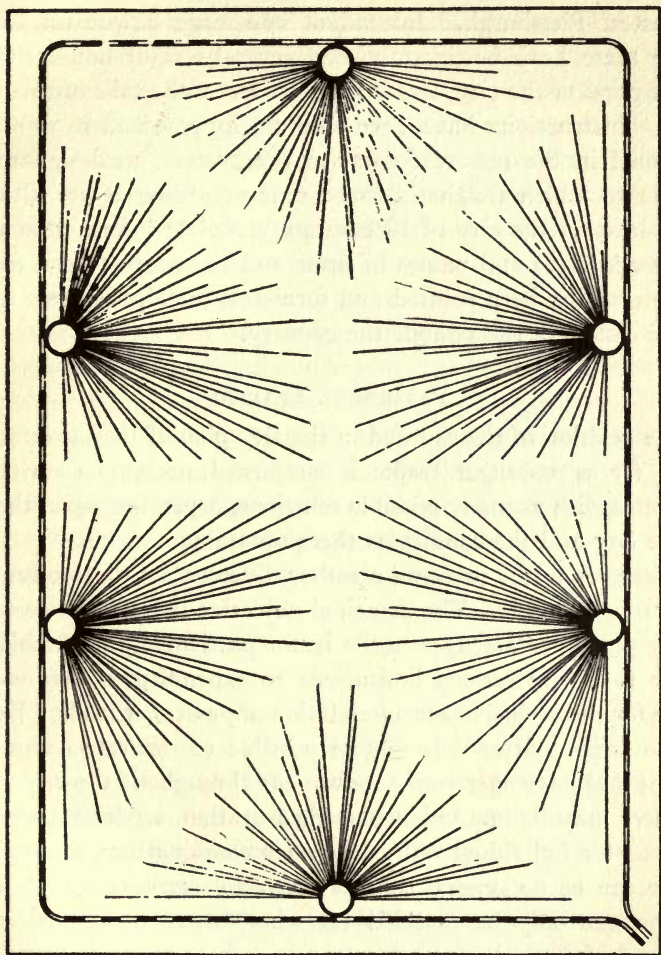
to individual railroads by large trucks operated by the company owning and conducting the universal freight houses.

A further plan is that known as store door delivery. This is a scheme of operation more than of design and planning. It implies reduction of individual vehicle movements and time delays by



the handling of all freight between store door and freight house by one company.

There are doubtless other methods of planning and of operation or combinations of such unknown to the writer. In Chicago, for instance, there is a series of underground freight tunnels connecting



shippers directly with railroad stations. It does not carry a large percentage of L. C. L. freight, partly because of its limited capacity.

It is doubtful if such a system could be designed economically that would effectively carry a large percentage of this class of traffic.

An interesting set of methods has been in operation several years by the Pennsylvania Railroad for the handling of L. C. L. freight in Pittsburgh. Instead of one large downtown freight house there have been established several freight houses in different parts of the city, located, of course, on the rails of this company. Instructions have been sent to shippers and to agents of this road in the remotest parts of the system, to designate the station to which freight is to be sent according to its ultimate disposition in the city of Pittsburgh, complete information as to street addresses and names of firms and the nearest local freight station having been printed and furnished to shippers and agents of the company throughout the country.

PASSENGER TRAFFIC

The position of the railroad in the city plan of the modern city, in so far as passenger traffic is concerned, presents a variety of problems with as many possible solutions, depending upon the size of the city and the conditions there obtaining.

Passenger traffic presents a rather different set of requirements from freight traffic. The principal objective is best service to the riding public. Passenger traffic is not particularly profitable and hence there are serious limitations to expenditures that can be made for the exclusive accommodation of passenger traffic. Except in the largest cities it is seldom possible to separate completely freight and passenger traffic movement throughout the city.

There may be one union passenger station, separate passenger stations for individual railroads or for combinations of railroads. There can be no general rule for universal application. A union station can only be justified (1) where there is a considerable volume of interchange of passengers between railroads, said passengers merely passing through the city as quickly as possible in their journey between points beyond such city; or (2) where the location of individual passenger stations is a considerable incon-

venience to a large number of local patrons. In a small city served by a limited number of railroads, only one or two of which do any considerable volume of passenger business, the problem of grade separation may make the creation of a union station advisable. Grade separation being most imperative in the central congested section of the city, a selection of the site of the union station should be determined by its accessibility from the city as a whole, as well as by its convenience to the business district and the hotels.

Indianapolis represents a typical procedure in handling passenger traffic. While the city was still small several railroads traversed the city at grade. The larger railroads ran east and west and were some distance apart. Interchange of passengers was not of sufficient volume to warrant the expense of a union station. Local convenience could not be said to justify a union station. As the city grew and railroad traffic increased, however, grade separation on each of the railroads became more and more necessary. Instead of each railroad attempting to separate grades on its own right of way it was simpler and cheaper to combine and separate grades upon a common right of way throughout the central portion of the city—incidentally making possible a union passenger station centrally located, convenient to the business district, hotels and transit lines.

The location of a union station in a city of considerable size should generally be close to the business district because of the usual concentration of transit facilities there, thus affording good accessibility to the station from all parts of the city. Where cities reach sufficient size to make access to a centrally located union station difficult because of traffic congestion or excessive distance, suburban passenger stations on individual railroads best solve this problem.

In the large metropolitan city, such as New York and Chicago, one union station becomes more or less inadvisable because of congestion and expense; two or more union stations more or less centrally located and directly connected for easy interchange of through-passengers, is the best solution.

St. Louis, unlike Indianapolis, is a terminal point. There are no through-passenger trains. As a consequence there has always been a vast volume of interchange traffic for which one union station has long served. Chicago, also a terminal point, has so many railroads and such a volume of business that a single union station would be unduly expensive and would cause great congestion. There are seven large stations serving from one to five railroads each. It is proposed to reduce the number of stations to five by further combination of roads. These stations are distributed about the perimeter of the business district. If connected directly by subway they would constitute a most convenient arrangement. The large volume of interchange between stations is now forced onto the streets of an already congested business district by use of taxis and buses.

In the larger cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland and others, outlying or suburban stations make it unnecessary for all the population of a great city to come to a large downtown station. This is of course decidedly advantageous.

Large volume suburban commuter traffic further complicates the passenger station problem in certain cities. Separate stations for this class of traffic quite close to the business district are often proposed. While advantageous in some cases, perhaps, the distribution of this class of traffic by subway as is done by the Hudson River tube system in New York is much more desirable.

MAIN LINE LOCATION AND GRADE SEPARATION

In the foregoing attempt to discuss the question of railroad location in relation to the city plan by means of traffic function only brief mention has been made of grade separation. Unfortunately, grade separation controversies too often are decided or compromised or continue as controversies without regard to the fundamentals of the city plan. It is true that most railroads located in advance of city growth and that most cities grew up without plan. Which came first, however, is of little more concern today than the proverbial question of priority of the hen or

the egg. The important question now is how the city and railroad can best get on together, each promoting the interest of the other and itself as well. Separation of streets and railroad must take place as the traffic upon each increases. This can be accomplished only by relocation of the railroad or by elevation or depression of the streets or railroad.

Is the railroad in the right location or should it be removed elsewhere? This is a proper question in any given case. If its traffic is largely "through," as distinguished from local traffic, can this not properly be diverted outside the city? If in a large city, it often can and should—in a small city probably not. Is the district now and will it continue to be predominantly residential or industrial? If residential, the railroad should be subordinated as much as possible. If industrial, there should be as little disturbance to industrial expansion as is possible. These are fundamental questions as distinguished from incidental questions of construction difficulties and cost.

The Indianapolis improvement previously referred to is an interesting case in point. Of several available rights of way that might possibly have been used, that one was chosen which gave least disturbance to residence districts, which was predominantly industrial, and the form of separation used caused least inconvenience to existing industries without seriously restricting future industrial expansion of the city.

However, not all cases are as clearly distinguished as might be desired. In Syracuse, New York, probably the most long-drawn-out grade separation or railroad relocation controversy in any American city, there seems never to have been a convincing demonstration of the future of the district in controversy. This the city plan or more specifically certain of its elements, such as streets, transit and zoning, should determine. The wisdom of relocation or of adjustment of railroad to its surroundings could then better be determined.

DISCUSSION

C. F. LOWETH, Chief Engineer, C. M. & St. P. Ry., Chicago, Ill.: When invited to present a paper on the subject of "The Place of the Railroad in the City Plan," the writer was pleased to respond, as his engineering experience, for many years, comprised municipal engineering and, in later years, as an officer of a railroad, embraced many problems in which the interrelation of the railroad and the municipality were present.

The railroad with which the writer is connected, while extending its lines throughout the west, laid out and controlled all new town sites along its new lines. These were selected with the view of their development into flourishing and attractive towns and cities. The problem was to choose a desirable site for which much discrimination was necessary. Then the town was laid out entirely on one side of the railroad, the business and industrial sections being adjacent, and the residence district beyond; station facilities were conveniently located and room was left for future growth of railroad and town. This plan has proved successful. Reference is made to this to show that some railroads, at least, have been pioneers in city planning.

From a large acquaintance with railroad managers and their problems the writer believes they are, for the most part, keenly alive to the fact that there is need for great care in the location of railroad facilities of all kinds in urban districts so as to avoid a conflict of interests, permit of reasonable growth and expansion, prevent congestion, and, so far as possible, eliminate the dangers and annoyances of railroad operation. Unfortunately the need of these things is not always recognized alike by the local authorities and railroad officials.

The railroad man's approach to the problems of city planning is somewhat different from that of the city planner, the municipal officer or the public-spirited citizen interested in city planning, in that the railroad officer has a more direct responsibility for the justification of expenditures for improvements. It is not possible nowadays for railway managers to obtain funds for improvements which cannot, at least in a large measure, be justified by the certainty of an immediate and adequate return. A railroad enterprise is a private venture which of recent years, from the standpoint of the individual security holder, is less and less an investment and ever more and more a speculation, with the result that there is

increasing difficulty in obtaining new capital for railroad improvements. The railway manager is, therefore, rarely able to obtain the funds for improvements which cannot be justified on the score of necessity or of immediate return in operating economies. It is probable that the financial aspect of city planning does not, as a rule, come home with as much emphasis to the city planner, city official, or private citizen interested in city planning, as it does to the railroad officer. If in what follows the money phase of city planning appears unduly stressed, it is for the reason that it so often appears to be lost sight of, or is lightly waived aside, but it is, nevertheless, a dominant factor which ultimately must be faced.

The writer understood that a railroad man's comments were desired on the paper to be presented to this conference by Mr. Harland Bartholomew, City Planning Engineer of St. Louis. However, the advance copy of this paper came to hand so late that there has not been time to discuss it at all adequately.

The writer finds himself in accord with some of the conclusions contained in Mr. Bartholomew's paper and with others he cannot agree. He agrees that the railroad is a fundamental element in a city plan; that its location has an influence upon the city's growth; that there is an interdependence between the railroad and the city which has not so far been as generally recognized as it should be; that there is need of a better mutual understanding; that each city presents an individual problem which should be separately studied, and for which no uniform formula applies; and that the formulation of a plan should follow an exhaustive scientific study of the problem.

The writer, however, does not agree with the statement contained in the paper that "the greatest problems confronting railroads today are those of terminal operation in cities." It is admitted that these problems are great and far-reaching, that there is need for a more prompt and less expensive handling of traffic through large cities, but there are many other problems entirely aside from any connection with city planning which are of equal or greater importance than terminal operations in cities.

The paper proceeds to discuss the "paramount objectives to be attained and principles involved" in the relationship of the railroads to the planning of a modern city. These paramount objectives are stated to be through freight traffic, local carload traffic, less than carload traffic and passenger traffic. These will be considered in the order given.

The paper comments on the situation at St. Louis, particularly that 85% of all freight entering that city is through freight. This does not seem surprising—it is equally true of many other cities, large and small. There are probably few cities, if any, where so large a proportionate volume of through traffic would result in the operating difficulties existing in St. Louis and vicinity. Here we have a railroad gateway for twenty-six railroads which extends in all directions, a complication and restriction of railroad development incident to a multiplication of state and municipal control, a large fan-shaped city and two large rivers. Several cities might be mentioned, larger and smaller than St. Louis, where proportionately larger volumes of through traffic are passed through with less interference and confusion, due to railroad development not having been as restricted as at St. Louis.

Based, largely, on this extreme illustration, this conclusion is drawn: "In a city where through freight constitutes a large percentage of business of the railroad terminals and becomes an obstacle to efficient operation of those terminals for local purposes there should be a separation of function." This separation of function is proposed to be made by a Belt Line "to be built well outside of the present and probable intensive urban growth." Then follows the admission that such a remedy in St. Louis would involve a large investment, as most certainly it would. Moreover, the construction of such a Belt Line would be but the beginning of a much larger investment, which would involve all of the railroads with which it connected. A Belt Line to function as here proposed, if carried to its logical and economical development, would necessitate the construction, by all of the connecting railroads, of new division freight and engine terminals outside the Belt Line. For the most part, these new terminals would be a duplication of existing facilities which would become superfluous and be wholly or partially abandoned. The aggregate cost of these new facilities to the connecting railroads would undoubtedly exceed that of the new Belt Line. Nor is this all, for in most cases the shortening of main line operating divisions would adversely affect trainmen and enginemen's schedules and many other operating elements so as to add largely to the cost of moving traffic to the Belt Line. The abandonment or removal of freight and engine terminals is always an expensive proposition; it disarranges and shortens the home lay-over of many railroad employees, and on this account is objected to by them and also by most other local interests. In a

number of states attempts have been made to effect legislation which would make it impossible to abandon or relocate railway terminals.

Where through traffic can be diverted over a belt line which is under the same control as that of the trunk line, the traffic may often be expedited, but if the belt line is operated by an independent organization from that of the trunk line, and is handling traffic for several railways, delays as well as additional transportation costs are inevitable. For these and other reasons which there is not time to mention, an outer belt line to take care of through freight traffic will involve prohibitive investment costs, large additional operating expenses, increased delays and other difficulties. The building of an outer belt line would run through suburban districts which ought to be preserved for other purposes and would tend to multiply railroad lines and so hamper and restrict city growth and development.

Coming now to the question of local carload freight: The paper lays down the rule that "the principal objective to be considered in handling this class of traffic is minimum time between shipper (or consignee) and road haul"; then follow three rather half-hearted suggestions as to how this could be accomplished, viz., the outer belt line, an inner belt line, and a joint terminal company.

Assuming for the present that these suggested remedies would accomplish the "principal objective" stated, of saving time (which they would not), it is not apparent how they can be related to the fundamental elements of a city plan. Doubtless, there may be found in all large cities instances where individual car movements are slow and involved, but this is true only of a negligible proportion of the whole. The cures proposed would certainly be worse than the disease, from the standpoints of shippers, railroads, and lastly, but quite important at this time, the city plan.

In the matter of so-called L. C. L. or package freight, the objective is again stated as saving time, plus the hauling on city streets. Let us consider the problem: A city of the first class of two hundred square miles, more or less; several thousand shippers or receivers of freight involving individual shipments aggregating daily up in the hundreds of thousands; these shipments to be classified and loaded in several thousand cars to be dispatched, daily, by from ten to twenty or more railroads, to several thousand destinations in all directions. The wonder is the job is done so well. The magnitude and complexity of the problem call for

much far-reaching experience to evolve a better method. Railroad men realize the present may not be the best and are giving to it the consideration of many experienced operators. The solution, when arrived at, must be made to fit in with the city plan, or at least do no violence to it; on the contrary, the city plan cannot settle this problem.

We come now to the consideration of passenger traffic. The statement is made that, "the question of a Union Passenger Station as distinguished from separate passenger stations for individual railroads is usually the one great public issue in so far as the city plan is concerned." And so it follows that a Union Passenger Station is frequently made the outstanding feature of a city plan. In most cases this is entirely unnecessary, may be detrimental, is oftentimes impracticable, and certain to involve great expense. However, a Union Passenger Station adds weight and apparent dignity to a city plan; it diverts attention from more practicable but probably more difficult problems. It has a strong appeal because the public is led to believe that a proper city plan is in large measure dependent upon a Union Station, and especially is it attractive in that the city is not expected to share its cost.

Again it is stated that, "a Union Station can be justified only—

- (1) where there is a considerable volume of interchange of passengers between railroads, said passengers merely passing through the city as quickly as possible between points beyond such city, or—
- (2) where the location of individual stations is a considerable inconvenience to a large number of local patrons."

The writer believes that neither of these considerations is fundamental. There are comparatively few railway connections where there is a considerable volume of interchange of passengers who are interested in transferring quickly from one railroad to another. Where passenger traffic is sufficiently large to have much interchange of this kind, the proportion of passengers who begin or end their journey at that station, or lay over for a portion of a day, is so much larger as to make the volume of the other type of passengers insignificant. There are few places where the volume of such interchange would be a material factor. Transferring from station to station is now both cheap and rapid, and furnishes a pleasant break in a tiresome rail journey. Union Stations in large cities are so large that transfers between trains in them is not quickly done or easy.

A passenger station "so located as to be of considerable inconvenience to a large number of local patrons" may or may not be an unfortunate situation; certainly, such a condition should have consideration, but it may well be that the cost of a more convenient location would be out of all proportion to the benefits, would result in a considerable dislocation of local interests, and restrict or distort the growth and development of the city. Passengers are but a small minority of the entire population, the convenience of which must be considered in the City Plan.

Union passenger stations should be considered for more practical reasons than those usually advanced in city planning projects. The abandonment of two or more passenger stations for a new union station involves an expense always very great and in many cases prohibitive. Sentiment and false and petty civic pride are too frequently the underlying reasons advanced for union station projects.

The writer does not agree with the conclusion advanced that, "A Union Station in a city of considerable size should generally be close to the business district." If so located, they will in time interfere with the normal growth of the business district. The city of Chicago is now endeavoring to push its south-side stations farther from the Loop District; Philadelphia is contributing a large sum to the plan of moving the Broad Street Station out of the congested center of the city to west of the Schuylkill River, and the new New York Central Station at Buffalo is to be located farther from the business district. Other similar instances in cities great and small might be mentioned. Surely in the light of experience at hand it would be most unwise to crowd a new station into the heart of a growing city.

Union Stations are not, generally speaking, a product of modern city planning, but are the result of early railroad development when the railroads were shorter, through car movements less, and the transferring of passengers was greater. Instances of the merging of several passenger stations into Union Stations are rare. It is well to note here that there are some so-called Union Stations which are union in name only and are not used by all railroads. The list of cities served by two or more passenger stations is much larger than of those having Union Stations. It is also worth noting that the first list includes those cities which have shown the largest increases in population and appear the more progressive. This fact may or may not have any connection with the question of Union Stations, but the coincidence is striking.

With union stations there would remain the need of retaining many outlying or local stations, the location of which would better serve many patrons than other locations would do; in fact, in many cases passengers would travel longer distances in going to union stations. In such cases the result would be more stations with multiplied confusion and expense. Existing stations, though small, may not as a rule be discontinued without the permission of state and city; this is seldom granted.

It has come within the writer's experience to contest the demand for a union passenger station in a small city of a population of about 30,000 which has not increased in thirty years, the cost of which would have exceeded \$3,500,000, to be divided between three railroads. In another case, in a slightly larger city, the two existing stations were ample in size, well located and fairly modern in conveniences; the meetings with the local committee were held in the City Hall, which was more than forty years old, a veritable fire-trap, with gas jets along the side walls and primitive toilet facilities which were antiquated and inadequate when installed at the time the building was erected. In neither of these cities had the authorities made any effort to carry out other quite minor and inexpensive details of the city plan. Other similar, though less extreme, instances might be mentioned.

It is a matter of common knowledge that steam railroads have lost a large volume of passenger traffic to the private automobile and bus lines. It is not apparent that anything they can properly do would enable them to recover any large part of that loss or stop its further inroads. In view of these dwindling revenues from passenger traffic there is no justification for increasing passenger terminals where existing ones are serving their purpose with reasonable satisfaction and without congestion.

The suggestions for union passenger and freight stations, belt railroads and union freight classification yards, intended for joint use by several railroads, fail to take into consideration several important factors.

They overlook the fact that these agencies result in a large division of responsibility. When a railroad turns its traffic over to a belt railroad, union freight station, common classification yard or other joint agency, it loses control of it. Shippers must look to the intermediate agencies to remedy delays and other complaints. A duplication of agencies for the performance of a certain job is certain to result in delays, increased expense and be otherwise

objectionable. Individual initiative has always been the main-spring of human progress. There is individual initiative in commercial and industrial enterprise, as a result of which has come the wonderful advancement of the present day.

Similar freedom for service is necessary for the railroads; they desire it and are willing to assume the responsibilities accompanying it. More and more the railroads are being deprived of individual responsibility for efficient and low cost service by a multitude of regulations and restrictions of all kinds, many of which are unnecessarily severe and conflicting. The railroads have nothing to sell the public other than service at prescribed rates; they would be glad to give passengers and shippers the best service possible, but this cannot be done when intermediary agencies are brought into the game. Federal legislation the last few years, effective and at present proposed, has been with a view of reducing and simplifying, not multiplying, railroad transportation agencies. All well-considered city plans will take these things into account.

The large number of grade crossings of streets and highways with railroad tracks is a problem of city planning and a matter of great concern to both municipalities and railways. This concern is in no wise lessened by reason of the exceedingly great cost of grade-crossing separation. It is certain that elimination of grade crossings by separations or relocations cannot be made a general remedy for avoiding the delays and dangers of grade crossings. It is roughly estimated that it would cost exceeding twelve billion dollars to separate all the grade crossings in this country.

The state of New York has recently authorized the issuing of about \$300,000,000 of bonds, to eliminate not the greater number of the grade crossings in the state, but only a comparatively few. These bonds are to be issued in small amounts through a long term of years and are to be used to meet the state's share of the cost of grade separation, and to advance funds under long term agreements to municipalities and railroads to enable them to finance their share of the cost of such improvements. It is admitted that the municipalities, as well as the railways, cannot undertake the financing of an increased amount of grade separation improvements without large aid in this form from the state. The State of New York is exceptional in its ability to finance an undertaking of this kind, as are also the majority of its municipalities and its railroads. Certainly, few if any other states with their cities and railroads could undertake any such plan.

It would be in error to assume that the grade-crossing problem principally concerned the cities or suburban districts where there is a maximum of traffic over the tracks and the highways, for there is an insistent demand on the part of State Railroad and Highway Commissions, counties and towns for grade separations and grade crossing protection in less congested districts. That there is some warrant for this is due to the fact that a great percentage of grade crossing accidents occur on outlying and rural grade crossings.

In view of these conditions, those interested in city planning can bring about larger immediate and worthwhile remedies for the dangers and delays incident to grade crossings by a greater co-operation with the railroads in providing crossing protection, in the removal of obstructions to view, such as signs, trees, etc., and the enforcement of such stop and other regulations as may be practicable. Even more effective would be the closing or vacation of unimportant or lightly used streets and roads crossing railroads. There are many such where no hardship would result. With the rapid moving auto and truck of today, a detour of a few blocks is of no moment, especially when safety of life is at stake. Experience shows that these less used crossings are likely to be the more dangerous. In several states recent legislation has made it possible for State Railroad Commissions to close highways where they crossed railroads unnecessarily, where the danger was great, or the highway traffic could be readily diverted.

Zoning is a matter of great interest to railroads. Their prosperity is, in a large degree, tied up with the industrial development of the districts through which they run. Industrial developments, for the most part, must be in proximity, if not adjacent, to the railroads. There appears to be too frequently a tendency to restrict the commercial and industrial development along railroads through cities. Railroads have been active in promoting the development and location of industries along their lines. Zoning has, in some cases, made this increasingly difficult, to the disadvantage of both the railroad and the city. There is evident a healthy sign of increasing attention to the attractiveness of industrial buildings. In a greater number than ever before is industry and large commercial enterprise being housed in attractive buildings, with a setting of shrubbery which makes them attractive and not out of keeping with fine residence districts which may be adjoining.

Co-operation between city planning officials and railways with

respect to zoning is highly desirable; to be efficient it should be before there is a commitment on the part of city authorities.

One large manufacturing city in the Middle West has recently committed itself to a plan of converting its water courses, all small, into parkways. Along several of these there are railroads, and more or less of the adjacent property is used for industrial purposes. If the plan is not abandoned, it seems certain that industrial development will be immediately checked, followed by a decline of such as now exists. The city will become the possessor of parkways along natural streams bordered by railways, and will in time have sacrificed large industrial possibilities when it might have created equally adequate and satisfactory parkways elsewhere.

The city plan looks toward an improvement in the attractiveness of the city. Here is an opportunity for greater co-operation between railroads and city and town authorities in making the right of way, station grounds, and structures of the railway more attractive; but this effort will be of little worth unless the authorities can bring about similar improvements in the vicinities of the railroads.

The attitude of the railroads to city planning is influenced by the financial contributions they may be called upon to bear. There is no shamefacedness in this admission. It is equally true of the citizens and of local industrial and commercial interests; but the railroads are not as well able to protect themselves against unreasonable and unfair demands; they are liable to various reprisals when they oppose local interests.

Municipal improvements are paid for generally by assessment according to benefits. This method is liable to error and abuse in which the larger corporations, particularly railroads, suffer. A recent Regional Planning Association report states that its parkways are to be paid for by assessments according to benefits; it then goes on to explain that these benefits will extend great distances and include many hundreds of property owners, but that the cost of collecting many small assessments would be prohibitive and the district assumed to be benefited would therefore be restricted. As railroads border several of these proposed parkways, it seems certain they will be expected to pay unduly. This will be the more unjust as the proximity of these improvements, as with many others, will be a liability in that they will call for other more or less incidental and expensive improvements. Assessments against residence property may be very large, approximating confiscation, and yet greatly enhance its value for other purposes.

The owner is therefore the gainer. But railroads can use their property for no other purpose nor can they move away. If the railroads are given equal consideration and fair treatment in this very practical and important matter of financial liability for city and regional improvements it will be found that they will fall in line with the plans of the authorities, at least equally with other local interests in so far as they may be able.

WM. D. HUDSON, Consulting Engineer, St. Louis, Mo.: It is the desire of every modern city to possess unexcelled railroad facilities and it is the particular purpose of railroads to enter and to serve efficiently every city that offers promise of revenue. The railroad and city sometimes differ as to the manner in which transportation shall be rendered, but both agree that each is indispensable to the other.

Differences in viewpoints of the city and railroad are almost invariably due to a misunderstanding of each other's functions and capabilities. The railroad continually seeks economy in operation. The city demands promptness, efficiency, and unobtrusiveness. As the community increases in size and importance, the cost of railroad operation rises; and the city feels more and more the railroad's restrictive influence, the need of better service, and more ornamental and modern buildings and equipment. If the path of the railroad through the city and the location of its facilities have been well chosen in the first place, the increased demands of traffic can be met by the railroad with reasonable economy and with little adverse comment or opposition by the public. If the original location has been ill advised, as is often the case, all sorts of complications arise when some radical revision in operating methods or location becomes necessary.

RAILROAD OCCUPANCY OF STREETS

One of the most prolific sources of future trouble is the occupancy of streets by railroads. In the early days this privilege was too freely given and in some cases the railroad's use of the streets is now almost as securely established as if they owned the property. In the beginning this situation was not looked upon with concern because both street and railroad traffic were slow moving and sporadic. However, when later such streets become the center of

high-class retail commercial districts, bitter controversies arise over the ultimate disposal of the railroad's tracks. Many examples may be cited where, if the railroad had purchased and used an independent right of way, even though it later become surrounded by business houses, its present problems of reconstruction would be greatly simplified. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad through Aurora, Ill., lay almost entirely on its own right of way and there was little actual opposition and apparently no regrets on the part of the city when this road elevated its tracks through the business district.

Inasmuch as the railroads are demanding, and with increased success, that the public assist in financing the correction of early errors in judgment, it is important that in planning the modern city the greatest attention be given to planning its railroads as well.

INADEQUATE WIDTH OF RIGHT OF WAY

Another frequently observed error in railroad planning is the failure to secure adequate width of right of way for main line track and a sufficient area of ground suitably placed for classification yards, freight and passenger stations, repair shops, and general offices.

The effect of insufficient width of right of way is eventually to restrict main line train movements, especially through industrial districts. The switching of industries is made complicated and costly if the main line track must be used very intensively for performing switching movements. It is a common occurrence for industries to locate themselves so close to the railroad that there is little room left for tracks either to serve themselves or other industries in the neighborhood. The result is that both the railroad and the industry are badly handicapped. Had the right of way been at least 100 feet wide in the first place, ample room would have been available, not only for independent switching leads but also for tracks on which to place freight cars destined to and from nearby industrial districts.

CLASSIFICATION YARDS

It is usually unavoidable and to be expected that classification yards and their accessories become obsolete and inadequate after a certain period of years, especially if located in an important city or one that is a division or breaking-up point for freight in a

healthily growing region. Originally such yards are located close in and convenient to other terminal yards, team tracks, freight stations, and passenger stations, the idea having been to obtain a compact layout with a minimum of lost motion. As business increases the tracks of the classification yard become too short for the greater train length and their group arrangement is no longer suited to the more diversified nature of the work the yard has to perform. It is always difficult and expensive to alter materially a classification yard, as one change, though very slight, may necessitate many others. For this reason it is customary and advisable to abandon the internal classification yard in favor of others newly constructed in outlying districts. The old yard is then, as a rule, devoted to handling cars of local delivery and origin, and for service in connection with freight stations and team yards. Sometimes all or part of it can be converted into a passenger coach yard or possibly a system shop yard if the place is suitably located. In planning or replanning a city it is necessary to take into account the possible abandonment of the internal classification yard and to select a new location that will not only fit in with the street and zoning plan of the city but will also take into account the railroad structure with particular reference to belt line operation, method of interchange if there are other railroads, cost and physical characteristics of the land and surroundings, and its adaptability to expansion. Needless to say, such an investigation must have the full co-operation of the railroads interested as they alone possess complete information concerning the proper function of the yard, depending as it does upon the yard's relative position to others perhaps several hundred miles distant.

TEAM TRACKS AND FREIGHT HOUSES

Team tracks and freight houses are fairly permanent as to location. Team tracks in cities of about 25,000 and upward may be found disposed in various sections of the city in close proximity to industrial centers, with one or possibly more well-constructed yards in the central district, usually close to the freight house itself. Freight houses are principally for the convenience of wholesale and retail establishments and are not prone to leave a favorable location near the commercial district for one more distant. Certain functions of a freight house, such as the transfer of L. C. L. freight, which has nothing at all to do with local business, may be carried on at a more remote point, for example, in a section of the

classification yard itself. But the freight house proper which receives and delivers less than carload freight belongs in the wholesale and within convenient reach of the retail district. Occasionally the city will build away from these facilities of the railroad and competition will force the railroad to a closer relationship so that an entirely new freight station is sometimes reconstructed closer to the business district. In zoning and in preparing the street plan of a city the close affinity of wholesale and retail establishments to the freight station is taken into account.

UNION FREIGHT STATIONS

Where multiple railroads occur, union freight stations are sometimes unwittingly demanded by the public. The fact that freight can be received or delivered at a single point is, of course, especially appealing to the merchant who is under the expense of trucking. However, unless the several railroads are non-competitive and supplementary in their routing, union freight stations cannot be a success, owing to the very complicated mechanism that is required to separate and classify the freight after it is brought into and passed through the house. If the several railroads are highly competitive, it is easy to imagine the confusion and inefficient service that would result with union freight station operation. Again, if a freight station were occupied by two or more railroads of widely varying standards of operation, it would be impractical to maintain satisfactory working conditions and there would be a constant tendency toward discrimination and continual demands for readjustments. Under some conditions, union freight stations may also cause serious street traffic congestion.

A fairly ideal situation as to arrangement and location of freight stations may be found at Memphis, Tennessee, where five railroads have their stations fronting on the same street and paralleling each other at intervals of from one to four blocks. Serving this freight station district are seven streets that extend directly to the wholesale and retail business district. Surrounding the stations is a well-developed light industrial district. About 65 per cent of all L. C. L. freight originates within a distance of one mile of the freight stations and 93 per cent within 1.3 miles. It is at once apparent that the location is well chosen and a study of the workings of the various freight stations indicates that their arrangement in such close proximity to each other affords all of the advantages of a union freight station with none of the latter's objectionable

features. Memphis is a city of about 175,000 population and as its growth increases, freight stations for local service will be required in other sections of the city, either on the tracks of the railroads or at isolated points without railroad service, where merchandise can be conveniently collected by trucks, classified and hauled by truck to the main stations for loading into cars. In this case these "off track" stations may well be operated jointly by all roads or as union freight stations, as the truck to truck movement is comparatively simple. The operation would in effect be an elaboration of the method of interchanging L. C. L. freight among railroads which is now largely by truck, at least in cities of moderate size.

Freight stations are permitted in light or heavy industrial zones as a rule, but excluded from residential and commercial and business districts, so that in general the city plan should take into consideration the future need of freight stations as indicated by the area assigned to the type of development to which they are one of the primary necessities.

PASSENGER STATIONS

The passenger station is often a controversial subject in the modern city. The public demands, and with considerable justice, something distinctive and at least semi-ornamental in architectural design, though seldom interesting itself in the interior arrangement or the manner of its operation. Wide differences of opinion are expressed as to location—if the location is to be changed, and in cities of about 100,000 population and even of greater size, the question of whether or not there should be a Union Passenger Station if there are two or more roads, often becomes a burning issue. Newspapers, clubs and associations take sides and there is a terrific battle of rhetoric and misapplied statistics. As a matter of fact, there is usually only one practicable solution to such problems which systematic and unprejudiced study will invariably bring out.

It is believed that the day of the purely ornamental passenger station is about set, and that the future station will be chiefly utilitarian in character but of a type of architecture commensurate, not with its surroundings, but with the best local practice as exemplified by other public and semi-public buildings. The city should probably provide the exterior setting, such as a plaza, if this is desired.

From the railroads' standpoint, the proper location of a pas-

senger station can be determined almost with mathematical exactness, as it is a function of their first cost and operating expense. Where competition exists, its effect is noticeable in station location, but depends in extent upon the amount and importance of competitive traffic.

Since the almost universal use of the taxicab and automobile, location is not of as much importance to the public as formerly. It is desirable to have passenger stations as close as possible to the retail business district without materially adding to street traffic congestion. There are two principal reasons for this—one that such a location best serves both the greatest proportion of the traveling public, and the merchants (who as a class are most concerned), and the other, that such a location assures the railroad of a return on their investment if their station design includes an office building. Many considerations of purely local importance may influence the location of passenger stations, but first cost and practicability of operation being about equal, that location nearest the central business district should be favored unless, of course, it carries with it attendant features especially detrimental to the welfare of the city or railroad.

UNION PASSENGER STATIONS

It very often devolves upon the planner of cities to investigate and pass upon the desirability and practical necessity of a Union Passenger Station.

Under certain conditions a Union Passenger Station may be unequivocally indorsed. In others the concentration of several railroads in one house, so to speak, may be detrimental both to the railroads' and the cities' interests. It is rare that in those cities whose population exceeds about 250,000 or 300,000, the public takes much part in the discussion or exhibits any special feeling on the subject. Of the 68 cities of the United States with a population of 100,000 or over (1920 census), there are only 18 that have what may be called bona fide union stations, that is, where all alien roads use the same facilities. Of this number there is only one (St. Louis, Mo.) with a population in excess of 500,000 that brings all of its railroads into one passenger terminal. In the class of cities with from 200,000 to 500,000 population there are six, and from 150,000 to 200,000, seven, and from 100,000 to 150,000, four that have union stations. There is no city over 800,000 population that has a single passenger terminal for all roads.

The popular agitation for union stations arises from various sources, among which are a genuine desire on the part of the people, particularly the merchants, for more adequate accommodations, the feeling that the railroad station is the gateway to the city and should present an impressive appearance to the traveler, the obvious economy of concentrating railroad traffic over a single pathway and performing the always more or less obnoxious switching operations in one district instead of several, the belief that one station instead of two or more will give one the choice of routes without necessitating a hurried trip by car or taxicab to the other station, and the convenience to the traveler who may wish to enter on one road and to depart by another. Occasionally, patent deficiencies of existing passenger facilities, their unkempt appearance, difficult accessibility, and hideous surroundings tend to concentrate the attention of the public upon the necessity for an ornamental type of station where all railroads may be reached with the minimum of travel. Sometimes the interest is of a selfish character in the mistaken belief that a union station in a given locality will give new life to it and increase its desirability for business purposes. Occasionally, and with reason, the union station idea and concentration of railroad traffic are included with that of grade separation and considered a necessary part of that work.

From the railroad's point of view the adoption of the union station idea is purely a defensive measure, a step not to be taken except under the pressure of economic necessity. In those cities where traffic is competitive the arrangement is never favored by the railroads and they resent the suggestion of one station, especially if their present facilities are adequate and efficiently operated. In the great cities it eventually becomes impracticable to operate as separate entities and there is gradually a cautious grouping of those railroads whose interests are least inimical to each other and where co-operation in the building of one terminal is the one thing that will permit them all to exist. Thus, in Chicago we have a total of seven stations, in one of which are seven railroads, in three others three each, one with three lines and two with one road each. Usually the specific objections of the railroads to union station or single terminal operations are, antipathy toward complicated joint agreements, high first cost with no return on the investment, increased operating cost, abandonment of railroad property without compensation, increased mileage, interference with industries,

disruption of existing operating methods, possible favoritism of ticket sellers and other employes, lack of interest of employes in individual roads, creation of unforeseen contingencies, inability to expand independently, and in case of weak roads, an undue share of the cost and upkeep of the new terminal, and loss of traffic through competition.

Where individual passenger stations are functioning satisfactorily, there is little or no inducement to the railroads for going into a joint station. Their increased annual cost is often considerable, made up as it usually is of the added expense of train control, the maintenance of enlarged buildings and rearranged accessories, acquisition of more expensive property for trackage, additional tracks to build and maintain, loss of rentals from concessions or income from special privileges enjoyed, and increased taxes.

From studies made in a number of cities it is concluded that for those of a population density up to about 200,000, where growth is fairly well stabilized and proceeding along logical lines, union stations are entirely desirable from the public's standpoint alone. In the case of cities in excess of 200,000 population but less than say 500,000, the strictest attention must be given to the effect upon street traffic conditions of the additional concentration that will occur with union station operation, the rate of growth of the city itself, the effect of new railroads, location of business and residential districts, and the need for increased railroad facilities in future years.

Where cities already contain as many as 500,000 people and growth is normal to rapid, union stations are of questionable benefit either to the railroad or the public except where there is a fairly large number of railroads which terminate there, as at St. Louis, for example. At the latter place there is no through service whatever and a union station is an operating necessity. A somewhat similar condition exists at Kansas City. At both of these places, however, the terminals are cumbersome, especially at Kansas City, where the passengers have an unduly long walk to get to their trains, admirable as the arrangement is in other respects. The St. Louis terminal has been and still is a model of convenience to the public, but is no longer modern with respect to its trackage and accessory equipment, and the remodeling of it is costing an immense sum of money.

Even if there are only three or four railroads serving a city of 500,000, it is not at all probable that it would be to its advantage

to have a single station. Only after a careful study not only of vehicular traffic, but that of surface and rapid transit lines, could any recommendation be safely made as to the advisability of union terminal construction.

For cities of greater population than 500,000 the union station verges upon impracticability both from the standpoint of the railroad and the city, and the best arrangement that can be devised is the group union station. The stations themselves should be in as close proximity to each other as is possible and consistent considering the track layout of the railroads and the street arrangement of the city. Chicago is the best example of a city much too large for a single union station, and the system that obtains there, with some changes now in the making, is probably the best that could be devised. New York, with its 15 passenger stations, is another example, although in this case the two centrally located stations accommodating four railroads each take at present the great bulk of the traffic.

In considering the union station, or indeed any passenger station, it should not be neglected to weigh the effect of regional population and growth, especially in rapidly developing localities. Greatly augmented population in satellite and suburban cities affect station requirements in the larger city which is their railroad center.

LOCATION OF RAILROADS IN CITIES

Railroads come to cities primarily by reason of the latter's industries, as it is from these they derive the greater part of their revenues. By far the major proportion of industries, especially those of the heavy type, prefer to have direct railroad or platform service. For this reason railroads entering the city almost invariably traverse the industrial district, a fact sometimes deplored, although there is seldom a satisfactory substitute route. In planning new cities, however, a privilege seldom available, some opportunity is provided for perpetuating a scenic route or at least one inoffensive to the eye, for trains in passenger service. The first essential of such a line is a right of way of sufficient width to provide for planting trees and foliage plants which will act as a shield behind which light industries can be located. Heavy industries should be segregated in a district of their own and provided with railroad service independent of main line operations. The location of such a district must be made with due consideration of the prevailing direction of the winds, the direction of growth of

residential districts, the street system, and accessibility to water terminals if there are such. Space for district classification yards if required or for local switching yards should be in the same general locality of the heavy industrial district, so that intra-city switching will be minimized. For such light industries as may of necessity build their plants along the main line, a fairly fixed standard of architecture should be insisted upon.

The greatest latitude may be permitted in the location of the passenger station and in its surroundings. A broad plaza or open space both to the front and rear will afford opportunity for agreeable landscaping effects, provide room for later expansion and reconstruction, and will aid the dispersion of street traffic. The railroads' right of way through the city should be sufficiently wide to accommodate other roads that may later enter, and it is well if the excess width can be retained as city property in order to insure its future use for such purpose.

Even in new planning such as this it is impossible to avoid the grade crossing nuisance, unless of course the topography is such as to afford natural channels which will automatically eliminate grade crossings. Where the terrain will not readily permit of the elimination of grade crossings by either depression or elevation of tracks, in planning the new city it is extremely essential that the street plan be worked out with the view of creating as few of these as possible, and those grade crossings that are created should be susceptible to elimination when the necessity arises. With this in mind, the construction of industrial plants or buildings of any sort should be controlled so that there will be little, if any, property damages if later the tracks are elevated or depressed.

By a careful study of the natural resources of a city and of the region surrounding it, and an analysis of the system structure of the railroads, fairly definite conclusions can be reached as to future railroad growth in a city. By retaining a liberal amount of property for strictly railroad purposes any city can insure its freedom from these evils that so persistently affect the modern city. Protective measures must of necessity devolve upon the city itself as the railroads have been extremely lax in this regard in the past and there is little reason to believe that they will act differently in the future.

UNIFICATION OF RAILROAD LINES IN CITIES

In a general way there is merit in the suggestion of unified control of railroad lines in cities, but when the principle is applied

to specific examples many instances are found where unification neither could nor should be applied. So much depends upon the size of the city, its type of structure, the number and importance of its railroads and their arrangement, the distribution of its industries and the existing facilities for serving them, that one cannot say offhand that the terminals of a given city should be unified.

Applied to railroads unification conveys the idea of a pooling of facilities, including track, yards, switches to industries, freight stations, team tracks, passenger stations, engine houses, coaling stations, turntables, shops, water treating plants, power-houses, and other accessory devices essential to terminal operation. One may as well advocate the pooling of interests of a block of city dwellers with the view of using the same kitchen, dining-room and bath-tub as to recommend that all of the railroads of a terminal city exist on a community basis. Therefore in speaking of unification it is well to define its limitations and observe wherein it can be applied.

Unification has no meaning to the city of a few thousand served by two or three railroads casually passing through it. Typical examples of cities where this principle can and is being applied to some extent are St. Louis, Chicago, Toledo, New York and New Orleans. There are many others. Operations in these cities are truly terminal operations involving the interchange among several great railroad systems of a vast number of cars daily. When we consider the average city, there are few indeed in which, broadly speaking, the principle of unification has a place. Out of some twenty cities in which the writer has made investigations, there are only four in which a recommendation for a common use to a limited extent of certain facilities could be made.

Belt lines jointly owned by all entering lines and operated independently may be considered a species of unified control that is very useful when conditions favor their adoption. The Toledo Terminal Railroad which encircles the city of Toledo with about thirty miles of main line track is a good example. It operates its own trains in interchange service and service to industries and permits the operation over it of trains of the several roads that connect to it. The stock of this road is owned by the nine railroads that make use of it.

The joint use of short stretches of track, particularly in congested cities and in the approaches thereto, is greatly to be desired

where sufficient capacity is available. An instance is Railroad Avenue, Memphis, Tenn., which is occupied by seven railroad tracks under four separate ownerships, each operating independently. If operated under unified control, the capacity would be much more than ample whereas at the time the observation was made congestion was very evident. The joint operation of parallel and separately owned tracks as a double track line occurs in even the smaller cities.

The common use of switch tracks to industries is not generally found practicable. In some congested industrial districts it is the practice, where service is by two railroads, to have each railroad perform all of the switching during alternate months. Or, as at Wichita, Kansas, a small terminal company is formed which performs the work for each company, the expense being pro rated according to the number of cars handled. In great industrial centers made up of huge plants which in themselves constitute industrial districts such as may be found in Pittsburgh, the internal switching is performed largely by industrial railroads, or switching lines which are for the most part owned and operated by the industries themselves. There would be nothing gained in the latter instance by unifying all of these small industrial units as their fields of operations are essentially independent and widely scattered.

In order to make all roads accessible to a shipper located on only one of them, it is customary for each railroad to perform the necessary switching service, the one getting the line haul absorbing the cost. If such an arrangement is not in effect it is ordinarily on account of greatly unbalanced traffic. Unification is not necessarily the most economical solution of this question.

The common use of team tracks and produce yards may in some instances be brought about, but no concrete examples come to mind where this has been successfully accomplished. A recommendation to that effect was made in the St. Louis Terminal Study.

Union freight stations were previously touched upon. As before stated, these are practicable under certain conditions as, for example, at St. Louis the C. & E. I. and C. R. I. & P. Railroads use the same freight house, and in Memphis the Illinois Central and the Cotton Belt conduct their less than carload business in the former's freight house. Doubtless there are many other instances, and as a rule it will be found that railroads so working

together serve different territory and are supplementary, so to speak, in their routing. In the large cities the business requires so great a floor space for a single company that unification would be out of the question.

The classification yard is the home of the railroad as well as its work shop. It is always of insufficient capacity, according to the yard masters. Properly constructed and operated it is a smoothly working machine of fascinating interest and wonderful efficiency. In the larger terminals many thousands of dollars are spent upon the construction of these yards and in the training of the men who operate them. It is made to fit the requirements of the individual railroad. The personality of the chief operating officer of the railroad is best reflected in the manner in which the classification yard performs its work. Needless to say the control of such an important element of the railroad cannot be delegated safely to others not entirely a part of the railroad itself, nor its use shared with alien lines.

So far as the accessory facilities are concerned, such as shops, round houses, and other appurtenances, there is little opportunity or necessity for their joint use even if adequate room in suitable locations could be found for their construction.

Summing up the foregoing we would say that in speaking of unification we mean the following:

Joint use of Passenger Stations under certain conditions.

Joint use of track where economically practicable.

Belt line operation for interchange purposes and service to industries, under unified control.

Joint operation of freight stations to a strictly limited extent.

Industrial switching by separate company, controlled by the railroads where practicable.

It is seldom that all of the above features of unification can be applied wholesale to any one situation but the employment of some of them is often justifiable and to be recommended.

MR. NOLEN: I would like to refer to some phases of the railroad problem that are supplementary to the discussion in the papers already given. They have to do with the smaller city—the city not primarily industrial, where the railroad problem is not so elaborate in its requirements, where it is more simple to make changes.

First, I have noted in my experience in Florida that the problem

of the railroad is distinctly a regional one. The railroads and the communities have not always appreciated this. There is involved more forecasting of future locations of railroad rights of way than the railroads usually indulge in. We were discussing the railroad extension problem beyond Sarasota, not so very long ago, and were surprised to find that although towns were springing up in this region, and city engineers and other officials were keenly interested in where the railroad was going, the railroads weren't thinking about the problem at all.

The relation of the railroad right of way to the waterfront, whether ocean, gulf, or river, is important. It is almost invariable that the railroad will parallel the waterfront in some fashion and in Florida the typical thing to do is to run very close to it—too close to get a town of reasonable size between the waterfront and the railroad. We have discussed this question in several places and have come to a conclusion, somewhat arbitrarily perhaps, that the distance from the waterfront should be about a mile and a half. This gives space for a substantial area between the railroad and the waterfront which can be used either for business or, if conditions permit, for a residential resort.

Nearly always the community needs a through highway paralleling the railroad between it and the waterfront. It has been suggested that this highway should be located from one-quarter to a half mile from the railroad on the waterfront side. This will give opportunity for a railroad area development and a trunk highway development. Of course, there would be other parallel ways, secondary in character.

The location of the railroad suggests the location of the station. People no longer expect to walk from the passenger station to their destination. The old stations were located with the idea that they must be central even in small communities, and people are still quite prejudiced against putting the railroad station too far away from the town center. I think that is due to a failure to realize the automobile age. Almost every one travels either in private car or taxi from the station, and a distance of a mile or two miles even is not too far to remove the station from a residential or business center. Certainly the railroad station should be more of a civic feature, more of an agreeable approach to the town, especially in the case of resort places. I don't know at the moment of a single station in Florida where you get an agreeable impression of the town upon arriving at the railroad station.

Another problem connected with the railroad station, whether it is a union station or merely a way station, is to plan it in connection with the street system, so the station will be a terminal, and there will be no through traffic.

The relation of the railroad tracks to the street system brings up two other important questions—first, whether it is a good thing to construct a parallel street immediately adjoining the railroad location, or whether to have one tier of lots back up on the railroad; whether we should use one design in developing industrial property and another in developing residential property. We are really concerned here with the general question of how to zone the belt that parallels the railroad on the assumption that it will not probably all be needed for industrial purposes. If you are to have residential property in the suburban territory traversed by the railroads, you may want to back your lots on the railroad or may prefer to build cheaper properties which will front on the railroads.

Within less than a week I sat down for a few moments with the president of an important railroad system in the eastern section of this country. He said that the railroads did not need particularly to consider city planning or city planners in the first working out of their railroad problem; that the thing for them to do was as railroad people to decide the location of tracks, the passenger and freight station location, and all of the railroad services; having determined these things to layout the town to fit in with the railroad's requirements. I believe that that is a seriously wrong point of view for anyone in high authority. Curiously enough, I think that he came to the view partly because he thought that railroads couldn't afford to pay city planners to advise them in these matters.

WHAT CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING CAN DO TOWARD THE SOLUTION OF THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM

COLONEL A. B. BARBER, Director, National Conference on Street and Highway Safety, Washington, D. C.

In order to make clear immediately my understanding of the relationship between traffic safety and the traffic problem in general, I may say that the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety has from the start recognized that safety of traffic requires adequate and well-arranged streets and highways and properly systematized traffic control. While extreme congestion may slow down traffic to such an extent as actually to reduce accidents in the congested area, there are two reasons why it requires attention as a measure of traffic safety. First, the economic losses involved are driving communities to seek prompt remedies and these should coordinate with the measures for traffic safety. Second, there are indications that the strain and fatigue resulting from driving in congestion is an underlying cause of many accidents which occur after the driver has left the congested district. For these reasons construction and engineering, city planning and zoning, and metropolitan traffic facilities have formed an important part in the extensive investigations which the Conference on Street and Highway Safety has carried on.

The result of these investigations, including those of eight committees during the year 1924, with a general session of the Conference in December of that year, and of six committees during the year 1925, leading up to the Second National Conference which was held in Washington last week, is a comprehensive program of proposed remedial measures. The Conference, after exhaustive consideration, adopted this program as a suitable and practical basis for action in dealing with the traffic problems. It is given in

the final report which is being printed and will be ready for distribution in a few days.

The program has been divided into eight parts and the various associations and groups interested in different portions of the program have pledged themselves to work in co-operation to have those portions of the program put into effect. The eight parts are: 1, traffic laws and regulations; 2, enforcement; 3, education; 4, statistics; 5, causes of accidents; 6, motor vehicle design construction and maintenance; 7, street and highway traffic facilities; and 8, elimination and protection of grade crossings. The interest of the city planner naturally lies mainly in the last two subjects mentioned and it is in dealing with the many difficult questions involved that city and regional planning can contribute greatly to the solution of the traffic problem.

When the Conference on Street and Highway Safety was organized in 1924, the City Planning and Zoning Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. F. A. Delano, at the outset of its work was impressed by the statements of several of its leading city planner members that there was crying need for the development of more definite knowledge on the subject before the committee. The result of the committee's work was a distinct contribution in the form of a report, with which you are doubtless familiar, giving valuable suggestions as to many city planning and zoning measures requiring attention in dealing with the traffic problem. The outstanding recommendations, however, were for further study by each community of the many questions involved in its traffic problems.

There have recently been many such studies and I have had opportunity to review a number of them. Some of these studies, such as that of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, have been directed deeply into the problem of securing basic data for comprehensive treatment. Others constitute complete city plans. Generally, however, such studies have been directed to remedying urgent traffic difficulties and in many cases the traffic engineering studies have been carried on with little attention to the

larger questions of city and regional planning with which they have necessarily so close a relationship.

It is not unnatural that with a new problem of such complexity there should be not only a lack of definitely accepted standards, but also a wide variation in opinion as to the direction in which relief should be sought. However, out of the recent studies and experience, some principles have been developed which seem to be gaining general acceptance.

Among these may be mentioned:

Provision of by-pass and belt thoroughfares around congested areas.

Classification of streets and increase in the capacity of major streets by improving, widening, boulevard-stop requirements, synchronized or co-ordinated movement of traffic, prohibition of parking during rush hours, and in some cases restrictions on the character of traffic or the hours for certain classes of traffic.

Co-ordination, and in some cases segregation of trolley and bus and other traffic, with re-routing where smoother flow will result, of the various classes of traffic on separate streets.

Grade separations when the volume of traffic and other conditions make it economically feasible.

Use of one-way streets when narrow streets carrying considerable traffic lie close together so as to be suitably paired.

The foregoing, it will be observed, are partly city planning measures and partly traffic control measures. While they are being extensively employed there are many points on which further experience will be necessary. The question of street widths alone is a sufficient example.

Other measures for traffic relief that are being tried involve the more difficult questions of the relation of traffic to the use of private property and thus far their application appears to have had a more tentative character. These measures include:

Regulation by zoning of the character and location of traffic originating centers of various types, manufacturing plants, retail centers, amusement places, etc.

Zoning restrictions on the height and bulk of buildings.

Parking restrictions, extending in some cases to practically complete prohibition of use of street space for parking vehicles in certain districts.

There is great need for development of better understanding with regard to these measures. Perhaps the best example is that of zoning for traffic purposes and its use in forcing decentralization. There is on one side a school of thought which holds that concentration has such advantages that it will inevitably continue on an ever-increasing scale and justify enormous developments of double track streets and highways. Another related view is that, while desirable concentration should be preserved, at the same time adequate light and air, together with a proper ratio of street space, should be secured by letting the buildings go up as high as they will under suitable restrictions of bulk to height or proper set-back requirements at specified heights. Another view holds that by strict limitation of building heights decentralization should be forced. A compromise view appears to be that such a policy should be followed in so far as concerns industrial establishments, wholesale and retail stores, apartments and dwelling houses, but that the advantages of concentration for the main offices of business concerns and professional men is so great as to justify a high degree of concentration and the provision of costly facilities.

There is similar uncertainty as to the policy that ought to be followed with regard to the control of parking of motor vehicles on the streets or the provision of other parking space. No plan yet developed appears satisfactory and this is certainly a problem which challenges the city planner.

Following the First National Conference on Street and Highway Safety city after city asked for advice as to the proper procedure for dealing with the traffic problem. Many of them asked for the names of traffic engineers capable of advising them. In view of this very general demand, it appeared desirable to outline, for the benefit of such communities, a program of suggestions as to the steps that ought to be taken. A committee was appointed by

Secretary Hoover to report on the subject of "Metropolitan Traffic Facilities." This committee at the outset had considerable doubts as to whether it could render a useful report on the subject assigned it, but as its studies progressed its members became more and more interested and enthusiastic until it is fair to say no committee of the recent Conference on Street and Highway Safety produced a more valuable report.

The Committee has urged that traffic planning be proceeded with by all communities concerned without necessarily awaiting the preparation of complete city plans. This is perhaps a reversal of the logical order of procedure. It is in a sense taking up details before the general plan has been worked out. There are, however, two reasons why in many localities this is actually necessary in the present circumstances, first, that in the greater part city planning is now dealing not with the laying out of new streets, but with the improvement, correction and extension of the plans of streets that have already been built and, second, that until our state of knowledge is advanced considerably and until the developments of these new agencies of transportation have reached a greater degree of stabilization much of the work will have to be tentative in character—cut and try in the process of remedying and rebuilding.

In view of this situation the Committee on Metropolitan Traffic Facilities endeavored to outline a practical program for meeting urgent needs. This program contemplates, first, a traffic survey to give the necessary physical and traffic data and, second, the establishment of a transit plan, a street and highway plan and a traffic control plan, together with a financial program to insure the means for carrying out the necessary improvements. Finally, the committee outlined the organization recommended for traffic planning in each city or metropolitan area. These recommendations were designed to co-ordinate the various branches of municipal governments concerned with traffic and traffic facilities, and to provide for systematic consideration and treatment of the problems involved. The recommendations provide for an official traffic planning commission which should include the following city

officials, or those whose position most nearly corresponds thereto: Chief of police, city engineer, engineer of the city plan commission, a representative of the public authority supervising city transit and transportation, chief of the city fire department, a member of the city council, the city official in charge of lighting, the city official in charge of streets and a representative of the city's legal department.

This traffic commission should have a regular staff in charge of a trained traffic engineer. In some cases as an alternative or preliminary arrangement an engineering staff provided through one of the existing departments or special consultants, may be utilized by the commission.

The duties of the traffic commission are to prepare a comprehensive traffic plan which presupposes adequate traffic surveys. The commission should prepare the traffic control plan and propose such changes in the transit plan or in the street and highway plan as may be necessary in the interest of traffic. In case no street and highway or transit plan exists, the traffic planning commission should develop such plans as far as necessary in the interest of traffic, pending the preparation of comprehensive plans by a city plan commission.

In addition to such an official traffic commission, the Committee on Metropolitan Traffic Facilities suggested that there should be an unofficial traffic committee to insure the interest and support of various representative organizations, including street railway companies, motor bus companies, trucking organizations, chambers of commerce, motor clubs, safety councils, merchants associations, and other interested groups. In some cases, this unofficial traffic committee may function as a committee of the chamber of commerce, the safety council, or other associations, while in other cases it may be better for the group to function as an independent committee representative of all affected organizations and interests, but not directly connected with any one of them.

If an official traffic commission is already in existence, the unofficial traffic committee will serve in an advisory capacity to the

official commission and as a connecting link between the official commission and the general public and commercial interests. It may require a budget and staff for its publicity and other educational work, but these services can in some cases be furnished by the organization or organizations sponsoring the committee.

If there is no official traffic commission, then the unofficial committee may temporarily have to perform the functions of both bodies.

In metropolitan areas it will be generally necessary to depend upon an enlargement of the unofficial traffic committee of the central city by adding proper representatives of important suburban communities, or in the case of two or more large cities in a single metropolitan area, to form a joint traffic committee from these cities and add thereto representatives of suburban communities. In some cases, however, an official metropolitan authority may be created to control physical growth, supervise public utility services and provide for proper traffic facilities within large population centers.

Such is the program of organization contemplated for dealing with our pressing traffic problem.

In a recent notable report on "Urban Aspects of Highway Finance," made to the Highway Research Board of the National Research Council, Professor Jacob Viner of the University of Chicago shows that the American people in recent years have been spending less than half as much annually on city street improvements as on rural highways, \$450,000,000 per annum for streets against \$1,000,000,000 for highways. Rural highway expenditures according to his report have increased in fifteen years by 300%, while expenditures for urban street facilities have only increased 50%. This he attributes to the greater relative increase of traffic on highways than on streets, to the fact that street systems were generally better prepared to meet the demands of motor traffic and to the fact that highway improvements involve relatively lower costs for land and for reconstruction of buildings. It occurs to me that there is perhaps another and more important reason, namely,

that the problems of city traffic facilities have been neglected while the rural highways have been receiving the most thorough attention. There has in recent years been an elaborate organization promoting the highway program. With the powerful support of the farm organizations and other interested groups federal aid has been secured and splendid progress made. Contrasted with this, I find significant a remark of Professor Viner to the effect that on city streets the adjustment to the increased volume of traffic has been made in a large degree by letting congestion develop and by restrictive legislation.

The result of this failure of our cities to meet the traffic problem more promptly with proper constructive measures has been an enormous economic waste due to congestion. The committee on Metropolitan Traffic Facilities of the Conference on State and Highway Safety has estimated this at more than \$2,000,000,000 per annum, that is more than four times the amount now being expended annually on street improvements. In view of this fact, it is not at all surprising that practically all of our cities are gravely concerned over their traffic conditions.

The Conference on Street and Highway Safety including as it did nearly one thousand delegates appointed by the Governors of forty-five states, by the Mayors of many of our cities and by leading commercial organizations and other interested groups, is committed to furthering progressive and consistent measures for the improvement of traffic facilities in every part of the country.

This is a branch of city and metropolitan planning. It is along these lines that the efforts of city planners can be brought to bear, both to secure the urgent improvements in traffic conditions and also through experience with these problems, and study of the results attained, lead to the development of a new series of recognized principles to be applied in laying out new cities and their surrounding territory and to serve as an ideal toward which efforts to improve our existing cities should be directed.

WHAT CITY PLANNING MEANS TO THE COMMUNITY

ALLEN D. ALBERT, Chairman, Jacksonville, Fla., Planning Commission

What a delightful occasion this is! We meet as guests of Kiwanis. How I should like to be a Kiwanian, if I couldn't be a Rotarian! It is a pleasure to assemble here with the officers of city government in Florida and the delegates to this Conference from other states.

We are a very enterprising State in many respects, but there is one respect in which we are the most enterprising State in the Union. We do not elect our city officials at all; we nominate them. And at the primaries we talk with great plainness about one another. Any man who can survive the Democratic primary in Florida has nothing to fear on the judgment day.

Another circumstance that makes the occasion memorable is that I have the opportunity to present my associates of this Conference to you perfectly plain and humble common people.

You can have no idea, as you look at them, but it is true, that these erudite, aloof, exalted, campus-looking personages who attend this Conference are after all nothing but human beings, and you members of the Conference would be very much reassured if you could see these other folk at the table as something better than your meal ticket. These men have vision like your own. Like you, they seek the opportunity to work it out practically, and they have come to Florida with the high enterprise of erecting here a great new commonwealth, founded upon the principles for which you, as city planners, are devoting your lives.

To me today falls the task of a broad interpretation of the whole City Planning enterprise, and not alone, I am reminded, for the sake of these laymen at the table. Years ago—yet in the light of

history just a few days ago—students were aware that the cities of the earth were rather an unhappy aggregate of accidents; they grew by chance; they developed such diseases as chance might entail; they accepted every problem as the inescapable product of forces and sought out a means of solving it after the problem had become serious.

Now one circumstance and now another moved men to inquire whether the problem might not have been caught nearer to its source. Thus, in an early conference, when the only planning that had been done in America, so far as I know, had been done by the distinguished father of a delegate to this Conference for the city of Hartford in Connecticut and by a French topographical engineer for the capital of the nation, years ago some one made the discovery that it had cost more to widen a single street three blocks, admitting users to Central Park in New York, than the entire park had cost to buy.

Later, men made other and corresponding discoveries.

In one of the more enterprising of the cities of Louisiana it was learned that the several sections of the trunk sewers did not meet and that there never had been developed a plan for the sewers of that city.

In another city, this one being in Michigan, a city known to every buyer of fine furniture, a group of men like you at this table set out to provide for the children of the city a playground so located that no child must cross more than five intervening streets to reach it, and a great wave of indignation caught up the Rotary and Kiwanis and Civitan and Optimists Clubs of Grand Rapids, as they asked one another, with something of impatience:

“Why didn’t we begin at this when we could have bought the land at a low price instead of waiting until we must pay the highest possible price?”

This little series of questions has had its composite and counterpart reproduction in every city of America. But for us in Florida fortune has been especially kind because these questions have been asked and in large part answered before we are confronted with

the need for fixing the dimensions, the directions, the character of the growth of our city.

Much that can be done in the planning of cities has always been done, and probably cannot be done in any manner essentially new, but that which was done can now be very much better done.

Mrs. Albert and I found in 1917, as I recall, 137 city plans in the United States. I conducted a correspondence with officers of the government in these 137 cities, asking for their plans, and was greatly interested to find that much of the discussion provoked by that correspondence had its echo this very morning in one of the conferences in this hotel. Since that day, I do not know how many plans have been made, but surely scores upon scores; probably hundreds upon hundreds.

This Conference and your meeting with us will have value mainly as it observes this principle: That the City Plan for the modern city is justified only as it works its way out practically. All the rest, dear friends, is Chautauqua and lyceum, general education, campus disputation. Indeed, I have attended conferences on City Planning which now and again seemed to me to be much nearer to the campus than to the market place.

The point I make is that you and I, in whatever relation we may stand toward a City Plan, must catch hold of this definite, practical measure of the value of the plan: the manner in which it works out.

It was a remarkable fact that of the 137 plans we investigated all were alive and vigorous and in prospect of fulfillment but 100. What do you think was wrong in these 100 cities? The inquiry became more and more interesting.

The process of building the modern American city plans would appear to have been about this: A little group of men and women, aroused to the opportunity to prevent the further development of problems and to solve problems already developed, had organized a City Planning Commission. I know of one in a city in Iowa which puts the last, final hall-mark of social exaltation upon its members; I know of another which is made up primarily of

Rotarians; I know of still another which is made up exclusively of bankers.

In any case, this little group organized a local Commission, and the local Commission then reached out and obtained a planner; the planner then reached for his square and compass and paint box, and drew a series of very beautiful pictures. I can find such pictures rolled up and faithfully stored away in Carnegie libraries in any state in the Union. Having done that much, it has usually occurred to somebody that the City Plan must be carried to the people of the city.

In a city of the middle West the first test of what then was called "A City Plan" came with a project to vote bonds at the polls for the building of very beautiful boulevards. A map was published, showing the proposed locations of the boulevards, and a committee of the Chamber of Commerce, which read in its personnel like a meeting of the Clearing House Association, set out to prevail upon the common people of Columbus to vote these boulevards into existence. It was at that moment that my services were sought, and I am bound to say, paid for, and as I looked this situation in the eye, I asked:

"What have you done about the Typographical Union, the Building Trades Council, the great body of the people?"

"Nothing."

"What do you mean to do?"

"Nothing."

We took down the map. We found that part of the boulevards which related to the great body of the people and then sent speakers through all the western section of that city to tell the typesetters, the carpenters, the plumbers, the small storekeepers, the small professional men and the like, what the boulevard system meant to them.

We were a month too late. That bond issue went to the polls and "died dead."

By way of contrast, let me set up another city. No one would describe Chicago as a supreme achievement in social esthetics.

Even I, with something of an appreciation of that phrase, would not call Chicago the Boca Raton of Illinois. Nor is Chicago conspicuous for the 100% co-operation of her voters. Of all the cities in the Union, Chicago would almost appear to be the first to develop a perfectly healthful independence of opinion. If you're not for Thompson, you're against him.

Nothing could be simpler. The people of Chicago, in plain English, have in my lifetime never united as a mass on any but one thing. Yet here is the Burnham and Bennett Plan, a plan of such broadness of scope as fairly to give pause to one's imagination, which has, in detail following upon detail, been submitted to the polls and never once has a single feature of that City Plan failed of an overwhelming majority at the hands of the people.

Whence arises this striking contrast of one mid-western city and another? The answer would appear to be transparently plain. It lies in the entire reversal of the traditional process by the latter city: that is to say, with Chicago as an illustration, an adequate City Plan in America begins with the interest of the people, reaches up to the creation of a Commission representing the people, and through the Commission then employs the planner, producing the plan as the product of interest on the part of all the people.

And do you think, as I lay down this suggestion of method, that I have soared away into somebody's wild dream of that which might be? As Mr. Bigger quoted the other day, "tempting the coy Millennium out of the roseate dawn and putting salt on its tail."

Far from it, for in this day when Regional Planning, the logical extension of the whole enterprise, is catching up one metropolitan area after another, Chicago and Cook and Lake and La Salle Counties in Illinois present a corresponding miracle for your inspection. Every little town in the area outlying Greater Chicago was brought into a partnership for Regional Planning and then the project, in the name of the little towns, of the satellites, was carried to the great town, the mother planet.

This difference in approach I believe to be almost vital, almost partaking of the breath of life itself, to the further development of City Planning in America.

A circumstance which interests us of Florida in particular is the realization that the greatest achievements in City Planning in Florida have not been at all a reflection of group demand. Indeed, the plan had appeared and very largely been worked out before there was any group to demand it at all. The great achievements in City Planning in Florida are reflections of single dominant personality.

Think for a minute of Coral Gables, of Boca Raton, of Pasadena, of San José, as illustrating the power of a single mind, when unrestricted by appeals to City Commissions and courts, to work out here a very remarkable demonstration of the new thing. Ah, that new thing thrills us all in Florida! It might have been a very old thing, but it is not; and it might have been a very exalted and spiritual thing, but it justifies itself without the far reach of such an appeal.

It is a commercial product. It is the money value of beauty. All that Florida is naturally, she has been for a million years. That which is new is the development of that which makes Florida into beauty.

Every dollar of difference in value between a lot in Coral Gables and a lot in any corresponding small city of southeast Georgia is to be accounted for upon the basis of the commercial value of beauty made known to the world. And our hope for our State is that this teaching which has been made so starlike in its clearness by single personalities, may not be beyond the other cities of the State operating as groups.

What do you think a City Planning Commission would seriously undertake to do? The day is past when in Jacksonville I can submit as the work of Mr. Knowles or Mr. Olmsted or Mr. Leavitt or Mr. Nolen, or any other of the outstanding planners, a project, and ask their approval. Questions are asked of our City Planning Commission every day in terms of use. Way back

in the minds of our people begins employment, then comes health, then recreation, then education, then the spiritual qualities of which men are accustomed to speak so little and think so much. We cannot plan, even in St. Petersburg, a city which exists primarily as a place of leisure.

May I say that this city, which honors us by making us its guests, affords to the student some of the most charming illustrations of right City Planning, of the right kind of effort to cure old mistakes, of faith in the future, of standards of right living and rich living? But not even here, nor in Boca Raton, nor in Fort Lauderdale, nor in any other of the communities of the State, is it possible to conceive a wholesome settlement of human beings on the theory that everybody who lives there can be rich.

In one of the most beautiful cities of California, a city which prospers through the plan drawn by Mr. Nolen, I had a very interesting discussion on that theory. One of the men at the table, a Rotarian, quizzed me a little, saying:

“Ours is a city of the rich.”

In reply, I asked: “You will not get angry at two or three questions?”

“Not at all.”

“How many are there in your family?”

“My wife, my married daughter, my son and myself. There are four.”

“How many servants have you in the house?”

“An upstairs maid, a downstairs maid, a butler, and a footman—four.”

“How many have you in the garden?”

“Three.”

“How many have you in the garage?”

“Three.”

The whole room broke into a laugh with sudden realization that even within the borders of his own home there were four who were well-to-do and ten who were poor.

It is part of God's great plan, apparently, that every community

of every kind on the earth shall be made up primarily of the poor. To you who are planners, old as the challenge may come, and to you who are representative of the well-to-do in one of the most beautiful of our Florida cities, I offer very humbly this observation: That unless the planning of our Florida communities be founded upon the objective of enriching life for the whole body of the people, it will fall apart essentially of its own weight.

When, furthermore, you begin to apply the measure of employment to the building of a City Plan, you are dealing in terms of the utmost practical value. I doubt greatly whether our old-fashioned reasoning about the growth of cities would longer hold true. We used to say they existed primarily as service stations. We might say now that they exist in equal part for the opportunity of serving their communities and making life rich for their own people. If, then, you begin to plan in terms of employment, the planner must combine the factory which serves the great area with the automobile repair shop which serves the immediate neighborhood.

What may come after employment? Years and years ago the Michigan Central Railroad asked us to make an inquiry into the wishes of 1,742 workmen who were to be picked up and transferred from Michigan City, Indiana, to Niles in Michigan. The railroad expected a certain amount of labor loss and asked us to do what we could to reduce the labor turnover consequent to this removal.

In every single case where there was a child of school age, the first concern of the railroad workman was for the educational opportunity to be open to his child—and if you and yours have interest in education, let me say to you that it is but a mere desire as compared with the positive passion for it to be found among the families of workmen in America.

In little Selma, Alabama, one day there arose at the back of the hall a workman, standing erect, to interrupt me with some such statement as this:

“I do not know you, sir, but I know the men on the platform with you, and I have got something I want to say to them as my

neighbors. I am a good workman. As long as there are railroads to be fixed, I can get a job. But I am an old man, and two kids have been given to me in the late years of my life. I am not going to live to see them through school, and if you men on that platform will give my wife the promise that you will see my boy and girl through the high school, I would rather have it than all the money in the Capital National Bank at Montgomery."

When, therefore, you build a City Plan and turn from the conditions of employment, you dare not forget the enormous concern of these people in advance provision of facilities of education, and we in Florida, may I say, have so much to do along that line.

These same Michigan City workmen were asked what interested them after education, and nine times out of ten they answered, "Something to do of a Saturday afternoon or a Sunday."

Some one said once that he believed in education that was practical; in reading, writing and arithmetic, and I asked him then if he believed that a tuberculous child who took a spelling prize was a legitimate product of civilization.

What is the thing that is practical?

I know of a printing press made in America, which uses an ink made in Cincinnati, printing a cloth woven out of cotton grown in Texas, under the hands of American workmen. It is a cretonne worth eighty-five cents a yard at wholesale.

I know of another press from the same shop, using the same ink, printing upon the same cloth, woven out of the same cotton in England, producing a cretonne which sells wholesale for three dollars and ninety cents a yard.

What is the difference of approximately three hundred and fifty per cent? The answer is very simple: Art! And art is not a "practical" matter.

No, nor is health a "practical" matter. Nothing is practical but the making of money and the fact of dying before you have time to enjoy it.

That philosophy died in 1880. We live in a wiser age, God be praised! We plan for employment and education and for health,

and thinking planning for health to be a fine opportunity for an investment rather than an extravagance, we plan in advance for the allotment of spaces where our children can play.

Mr. Nolen is authority for a declaration which I venture will stand analysis:

That if, in this favored city, in a favored state, where the advantages of sunshine are to be had three hundred and sixty-four and one-half days of every year, that if here in St. Petersburg all of the citizenry were to resolve tomorrow to take to themselves the advantages of joyous living, there would not be equipment or space enough for one-third of them to play.

Our social thinking has changed greatly in thirty years. My father wondered if he was quite justified in taking a vacation of two weeks in the summer time. I wonder if I am quite justified in serving notice upon two corporations that they must get all their work to my desk before three in the afternoon. My sons say that if they had father's job they could get it all done by one, and quit for the day. It is they who represent the trend of our social thinking, not I.

The summer vacation has become a commonplace. Following soon upon it comes the winter vacation. A shorter work-day is about to overtake us all, greatly to our advantage. Do you think that all this has no part in the striking truth that the life span expectant for the child of twelve has been increased by eight years in America since 1900?

Finally, those of you who are making City Plans will do well, it seems to me, to look up from your rules and drafting boards and tracing papers and blue prints every once in a while, yourselves to throw back your heads and fill your lungs, and dwell for a minute in the atmosphere of the people for whom you work.

We have come lately to understand in America the great value of indirect investment. My sons take the parts bought at a Ten Cent Store, put them together, and make a radio. After a little, by turning three vernier dials, they hear the strains of an orchestra, whereupon one of them, who is a polo player, a "slicker," a typical

young man product of his time, looks up from his book to remark, "Hello, the Tchaikowsky Fourth Symphony!"

We exhibited in Jacksonville lately an expanse of modern painting, and as I chose them, they were not too erratic, and there came group after group of school children to look upon these representations of beauty interpreted by the souls of painters. One after another of the children stopped to talk, expressing a quality of appreciation that was rare in America in the year 1900.

Here is a whole community disturbed over its youth, as though it were a new thing that each generation should be entirely dismayed by its successor. I have been greatly interested in a quotation that came to me lately from—of all sources—Petronius, and Petronius greatly laments the fact that the young people of that time are not willing to allow the bloom of health to show through their cheeks or natural color to adorn their brows, but must use paint upon their cheeks and lips and gold dust in their hair.

This generation of young people lives in a new time, essentially different from our time. We adapt ourselves to it with great difficulty. They are born into it and it has the quality of naturalness to them.

But I bring to you, as a sociologist, the interesting declaration that in point of physical health and solidity of education and moral decency, the present generation of post-adolescents now of high school age in America is far and away the finest in the history of the nation!

From them comes a curious outreaching which some of you as City Planners and some of you as business men and I as a student, all of us together, may recognize a little wistfully, a little humbly, I venture.

In one of our churches in Jacksonville last Sunday I saw forty-one young people present themselves for confirmation. The greater number were boys, not girls, and of the boys perhaps an even half were young men who had had college training. I cite it as proof of nothing but this: that the inherent reverence of American boys and girls is today as active as it ever has been, and that

if there prevail a general fear that the level of our spiritual life has dropped, the failure is much more largely in our generation than in theirs.

We are building; we are making the framework for the life of a new era. We have advantages which no people ever have had before. You and I as business men have the leadership of these men, as technicians. They and we, working together, can make the life of these American cities almost what we will.

God pity us if we dare take anything less than the highest of our ideals! Day after tomorrow our work will be done. Day after tomorrow a new generation will be met in conference of this character. Day after tomorrow, in God's mercy, employment, health, recreation, education, reverence will be the foundation stones of our community life. To you and me is given the high privilege of plotting part of the way up to the fulfillment of that great ideal. God grant it!

SELLING CITY PLANNING

CARL HUNT, Executive Vice-President, Orlando, Fla., Chamber of Commerce

I can't tell you how to sell the idea of City Planning, but I think I can, perhaps, outline what I might describe as an approach to the problem. I am not going to talk to you so much about advertising or publicity, but about personal presentation of the subject, because, as I have thought it over, while I realize that advertising and publicity, booklets, articles and even possibly some co-operative advertising, might be very beneficial in exploiting the idea, it is largely a job for personal contact, personal selling. In every community the problem of planning is different, and in every community the problem of selling, the problem of publicity, of getting the plan across and getting it adopted, is different, although the principles are the same in every community.

So you have a problem dividing itself something like this: What shall I tell? That is, what shall I tell about my business? How shall I get it across in what is said?

Then, whom shall I tell, both as relating to the type of community I am going to tell it in, and the people in the community to whom I am going to tell it?

Then, third, how shall I tell it effectively?

I know that when you go into a perfectly cold community, or a community almost cold, where you have perhaps one man who has interested himself in the subject and who has said to you, "We would like to have this in our community, won't you come and let us try to get it into effect?" it is quite a problem. It is quite a task to tell the story of so big a thing, a thing so new and difficult. Mr. Nolen said that you have been weak in your selling. I hardly think so, because you are selling about the most difficult thing imaginable, particularly in relation to smaller cities.

The larger city ought to adopt it more readily because the larger city is inhabited by people who are accustomed to the thought of specialization. As we all know, in a large city many men are specializing to a very high degree, but in the smaller city the average man in business is often attending to all of the operations of his business, and if you say to him that he needs to hire, let us say, an expert advertising man, he is not much impressed by the thought because he has always done the advertising and thinks he has done it pretty well. You are dealing with a different type in the smaller cities.

When you have the bigger cities organized and the sentiment is all right there—and I understand that to be the case—your next step must be into the smaller cities, so that I shall discuss this as if I were going into a city of about 50,000 inhabitants to try to get the idea across.

You know, you are at some disadvantage when you go into a new city, but not at as great a disadvantage as the people in the city think that you are.

I have had conversations in my own city of Orlando with people in the last few weeks in relation to city planning. We have that in hand there, and rather frequently I find people who are in the position of feeling, "Well, here we have got somebody from the outside. What does *he* know about it?" The same thing applies to a health survey that we have just had made. Some folks said, "Why bring somebody from the outside when we have plenty of people here in Orlando? We understand our situation; we are getting along all right. Why pay some one else to come in and make a health survey and show us what we are to do?"

Broadly and professionally speaking, each one of you is interested in having the city planning idea go across in every city, but individually you want to sell city planning, and you want to sell it with the idea of doing it with the greatest possible economy. So it seems to me that I would first think of choosing my communities, and the community that I would regard as my most natural and best prey would be that community which had been most active

in various movements for community betterment. If I had a list of five cities, I would say "These are the five I would like to go into, and they are in the same part of the United States, and I believe I will try to work up interest in those five cities," then I would make a choice of those five and, perhaps, eliminate one or two because I would make some inquiry to see in which one a campaign for a million dollars for a hospital or for a college, or five hundred thousand dollars for a Y. W. C. A. had gone over in record time. I would prefer the community which had adopted other somewhat similar things to my proposition; that is, relating to community betterment.

In the city of Orlando and the county about (the population is only about 45,000 people) we just succeeded, in six days, in putting across a campaign for \$804,000 for a Y. M. C. A. building. Within two weeks we will have another campaign for \$300,000 for Rollins College, which also will go across in record time. Some time ago we had a campaign for \$100,000 for the Chamber of Commerce, and it went across without any difficulty whatever.

That is the kind of community I am talking about, because that community will buy most quickly the thing you have to sell. If you can sell your proposition in communities that do have the habit of getting together, then the operation in those communities will pave the way and help sell your work to other nearby communities.

What will you tell people about City Planning? In other words, what are your talking points either in relation to advertising or publicity or personal contact—and it seems to me that personal contact is the thing because it is a job that calls for rather subtle work in many ways due to the opposition and the peculiarity of the sales problem.

First of all, in determining what to tell, we must instantly arrive at the conclusion that people buy not the thing itself but its usefulness; they buy the use of things. For example, a friend of mine up in Ohio, running a little store in a suburb of Cleveland, bought some play suits for children. He bought them and put

them in stock, and they didn't sell. He tried to get his sales girls to sell them and said, "You just offer them to the customers and they will buy them."

The girls did that, and the customers didn't buy them. He wanted to know why and went down on the floor and listened to the sales girls' presentation to the customers and found out why those play suits didn't sell. A number of women said they would be hard to launder. It never had occurred to him that people in that neighborhood were unable to get laundresses and had to do their own laundry work.

So he put a price on them and moved them and bought some that were easy to wash, in dark, fast colors, and he advertised them in that way. He had been advertising a play suit. Now he was advertising an easy wash-day along with the opportunity to cover little Willie's nakedness.

People buy things in relation to their usefulness.

Take the example of Jonteel talc: these folks a few years ago decided to put a talcum powder on the market and went into an advertising agency and said, "Here, we are going to put a talcum powder on the market and we want you to do the advertising for us." The agent asked, "Why do people buy talcum powder?"

The manufacturer asked how much it would cost to find out why people bought talcum powder, and the agency told him it would cost \$10,000. They put ten different girls in ten different cities, each in a department store, behind the counter handling talcum powder, and when a woman bought they would ask her, "Madam, why do you prefer Mavis?" or this, that or the other brand. "I am very much interested to know. I like Mavis myself," or she would make some such flattering remark as that.

Much to the surprise of the talcum powder company, a large majority of women were buying the particular kind they did because the can looked pretty on the dressing table. They had no preference other than that.

Then they wanted to know what odor was preferred by women. The president of the company or some official had approved a

certain odor for that talcum powder. When the president stuck his nose down into this particular little box, he said, "That's the one," and everybody in the plant said, "That's the one," and it was all agreed upon. But the agency said, "Let's find out."

They took three samples that had been under discussion and asked the chemist to put together several others, and they made a little tray and put them in boxes. When the girls behind the counter had an opportunity to speak to a customer, they would say, "Madam, we are trying to find out which odors ladies prefer. Will you kindly tell us which one you would select." After having done that, it developed that the odor which was chosen was not the president's choice, not the sales manager's choice, nor the chemist's choice, but it was one of the odors that had been just put together to have a variety for the test.

That particular talcum powder has found a big market because it was made to suit the person who was going to buy it. They found out what was the *use* interest of the customer.

Now I am coming to City Planning in a moment specifically, but in the meantime I would like to tell you another little story from my own experience, illustrating the same thing. About six years ago, I didn't like the automobile I was using. You know, nobody ever likes the automobile he uses; nobody ever thinks the service he is getting on his automobile is any good. He always cusses it to himself but always praises it to his friends. I didn't like it, so I concluded that the Nash had a model that just suited me; it looked good to me, looked like a good deal more money than it cost. So I went in to buy a Nash automobile.

I said to the salesman, "I'm about to buy a Nash automobile and I'm thinking about this particular type Nash automobile, and I want to ask you three questions about it."

He said, "All right," and started to talk to me.

I said, "Wait a minute. You're not answering my questions. You didn't give me a chance to ask them."

So I asked him about the gas consumption, the probable life of the car, and then I wanted some information about the service

they rendered, because the service on the car I had owned was perfectly rotten.

Then he began to tell me about a valve-in-head motor. I said, "Listen! I don't understand what you're talking about, because I don't know what the head is or what the valve is, but I do know what the motor is. If you will just be quiet a minute and let me ask you those questions one at a time, and answer them, I think I will be ready to buy one of your cars."

I started asking those questions, and he began talking about the valve-in-head motor again. I turned around and said, "Who is that man?"

"He is the head of the Service Department."

I said, "Excuse me a minute."

I walked over to him and said, "Your name?"

"My name is Crone."

"My name is Hunt. I am trying my best to buy a Nash automobile, and this man won't let me do it. I would like to ask you some questions."

I asked him about the gas consumption and the probable life of the car, and he answered me pretty well. Then I asked him about the service, and he said, "I am the head of the shop and I hesitate to brag about it."

I said, "Who can tell me about it?"

He said, "Here is Mr. Kelsey, the head of the Company."

I went over and asked him those three questions. I said, "How about gas mileage?"

He said, "You are supposed to get around 20, but you can't get it. If you spent about four times as much on service as you should, you might get it, but you will probably average around 16 or 18 miles."

That question was answered properly.

I said, "What total mileage is it good for?"

He said, "It depends upon how you take care of it."

I said, "Supposing I take care of it pretty well?"

He said, "It will rattle out 15,000 or 20,000 miles."

It was more than that and I knew it would be, but he answered my question conservatively and that pleased me.

Then I said, "How about the service?"

He said, "Of course, everybody says his service is the best. We have two types of customers: reasonable and unreasonable customers."

I asked him to give me a list of the last ten people who were in his shop, and told him I wanted to know what they thought about the service. He said, "Fifty per cent of them would praise us and fifty per cent would 'cuss' us. You are in business so you understand that."

He answered my three questions, and he answered them to suit me. He convinced me, among other things, that he was honest. I thought he would treat me fairly if I bought his car.

About five or six years ago a friend of mine in New York who was interested or working in City Planning, came to see me and I asked him, "What is City Zoning?" He proceeded to tell me in considerable detail how he worked; that he did this, that and the other, and he drew a little map of a city and showed me what he did. I didn't get very much of an impression from that; I wasn't sold on it, because when he got through I thought to myself, "Well, here is an interesting chap, full of technique, full of detail," like the salesman of the Southern Fertilizer Company who, when somebody said, "How does it happen, Bill, that you sell more fertilizer than any man in the whole force?" said, "Well, that's easy enough, because I'm so full of my subject."

This fellow was so full of his subject, his daily routine, that he told me how he operated. I got an impression about how hard he had to work, but I didn't want to learn to be a city planner, and he was giving me a brief education in city planning. Later I asked another man about city planning and he explained the immediate economies, the time and accident economies resulting from it. He explained the future economies of looking ahead and purchasing land that will be needed and seeing that streets are wide enough, and many things that need to be done in connection

with city planning. He showed me the advantage, from a beautification point of view, and when he got through he had showed me the usefulness of city planning—and that, as I said in the beginning, is important to remember, to keep in mind the fact that it is the *use* of the thing which people buy.

For example, if I am buying a chair for my own home, I would have to be sold on certain things in connection with it—its beauty, the fact that it is light and easy to move, and various things of that sort, relating to its use.

But if I am a representative of a factory and am trying to sell that chair to a dealer, I don't sell him these things at all. I am not selling him a chair—I am selling him a profit on the chair. I am selling him the idea that if he will buy those chairs they will be attractive enough to turn quickly, and he will make a profit. So I sell him the profit and not the chair.

You have a problem in connection with getting the idea of expertness across in the mind of the other fellow, in spite of definite opposition, and it is an easy thing to get into an argument with somebody about a thing that is perfectly strange to him. You know, we are down on things which we are not up on, and if we can keep away from arguments, that is most helpful.

I have handled salesmen nearly all my life, and I have often said to the fellows when they came in and said, "I told that old bird where he got off!" "Wait a minute!—Did you sell him?" "No!" I said, "I'm not hiring you to win arguments, I'm hiring you to make a sale!"

But it is possible to argue a man clear off the board by asking him questions.

In the city of Indianapolis, where I formerly lived, I used to do some work for a man who was appointed as a member of the Board of Public Works. The Street Railway Company was attacked by the city administration, which was one of those city administrations elected by being against everybody, and the Board of Works was going to have a hearing, and the city attorney was just full of energy and life and fire, and the Board of Works was a little bit

afraid of him. They thought the Board of Works was going to get licked for being fair to the traction company.

I said to my friend, "You let that lawyer make his speech, and when he gets through you ask specific questions. For example, you say to him, Now, you say that the cars are overcrowded. I wish you would tell me how many cars there are on the Irvington line.

He will say, I don't know.

Then you say, But you have been talking as if you did know. Will you tell me now how many passengers there are on the average in an Irvington car?

He will say, I don't know.

Then you say, I'm rather surprised, because you have been talking as if you did know.

Ask him the third time, Can you tell me how many passengers are on an Irvington car in the busiest part of the day? and pretty soon he will explode." He only had to ask him six questions, and he blew up and the meeting adjourned.

If you have to whip some one in a public meeting, there isn't anything in the world that is better than a series of questions which will lead him into a trap, because any series of questions to any man who knows less about the subject than you do will always lead him into a trap and into a place where he can't possibly answer.

You have a difficulty, of course, arising from this fact: If I should call together a meeting of twenty average people in the city of St. Petersburg and say, "Here, now, we have bought this ground for a park and must plant it; we must get a landscape expert to design it for us so we will know what to plant and where to plant," about nineteen of them would smile and think, "What's the use of getting an expert? I could do it myself."

They have to be educated away from that and I think I should do that in this way: I don't think I would try to illustrate the value of city planning and the idea of an outside expert as the first approach. You know, we can often approach a sales problem by reciting an identical example that is a perfectly parallel example.

For example, I think I should say, if I found opposition in somebody's mind, "Well, now, it is rather interesting the way we rear our children. We try to bring up a child with a certain balance of this, that and the other thing. We try to bring up a child to be an adult with certain characteristics; we want certain things in that child, and so what do we do? We employ a school teacher. But before we employ her, we send her to school and she learns how to teach. She becomes expert in teaching. Then we send the child to Sunday school, and there is another teacher who has been taught how to teach. In various ways, in rearing this child we bring about training by experts."

Anybody would agree with all of that. Nobody will oppose that idea. But if we are going to illustrate by a parallel case, then we have to get a parallel case so common that it will be agreed to by such a large majority of the people to whom we talk, that it will not be opposed by anybody. The parallel case must be so simple that everybody can understand it and so common that everybody will agree to it. Then we can make our comparison and jump them right into the proposition that a city has got to be built; it just can't grow up like Topsy. I would say, then, that a city too should have certain characteristics. It wishes to be beautiful and convenient and a healthful and safe place to live. It wants economies. It wants this, that and the other thing. And here I would say—I am a City Planner and have worked in many cities and it is highly probable that your city, in the hands of some one competent to do it, might be expected to grow into a well-balanced city, just like you hope that your child will have certain characteristics which are well balanced.

By that example, or any one of twenty or thirty others that you could readily think of, you could get the thought across without argument.

I think that the greatest salesman that America ever had was Benjamin Franklin.

You remember that Franklin established street lighting and street cleaning, and the University of Pennsylvania and the State

Militia, and some twenty-nine things that the world had never known before; things that Franklin not only thought of but he got them adopted in the city of Philadelphia, and you will remember that he didn't have the habit of positive speech. He used the interrogation point. And what a wonderful thing the interrogation point is in selling, because an assertion is anything but complimentary to the man to whom you are speaking. If I say to Mr. Nolen, "Well, this hotel stands on ground that was pumped in here," Mr. Nolen will probably instantly want to hear about it, and he will say to himself, "Does Carl Hunt know about it? Was it pumped?" or he may say, "Well, the darn fool ought to know that I know that." Or I might say to Mr. Nolen, "Where do you suppose they got this ground?" when I knew all the time how they got it, but I want him to be thinking about the fact that it was pumped in, and he would say to me, "Well, it was pumped in." By doing it that way, I have complimented him because I have gone to him for information.

Mrs. Hunt and I were in England and she wanted to buy a pair of shoes. The English store salespeople are far superior to the American salespeople, and largely because they know the value of the rising inflection. She looked at a pair of shoes and rather liked them and made some comment on them. The salesgirl hadn't yet got the sale across and she looked up at Mrs. Hunt and said, "Madam is an American lady, isn't she?"

My wife said, "Yes."

The girl looked up again and said, "I knew madam was an American lady." My wife made no comment; the little girl looked up again and said, "Does madam know how I knew she was an American lady? I knew she was an American lady because she has such beautiful feet!"

And I might say that the men are just as susceptible to flattery as the women.

Benjamin Franklin's idea about selling things, as he explains in his "Autobiography," was this: He almost never made a positive assertion, but he would say, "I find it generally held in the minds

of people around Philadelphia that such and such is the case," and the first time he ever mentioned it, it was just an out-and-out lie, because nobody in the world except Franklin had ever thought of it. Pretty soon he got a lot of people saying the same thing. The idea had already been adopted. So he organized that little club of some fifty men for the purpose of getting together to discuss the problems of Philadelphia. That wasn't the purpose of it. His purpose was to sell some ideas he had in mind. He sold his idea to the fellows in the club, and then each of them organized a similar club of younger men and in this way, Franklin's influence was extended until he could project his ideas into the minds of 400 or 500 people, and he made all of them feel like they were being consulted and that it was their idea.

In every community there are certain men in certain organizations who have a similar influence and when you sell them you have the whole town sold, because they will get the idea into the minds of others. Often, they believe it is their own idea and if so, that is better, because some of them seldom have an idea and when they believe they have one, they are mighty proud of it. They will parade it on every occasion.

I have found it a good plan in my own work not to attempt to get credit for an idea, because I have the feeling that it is so much more important to bring about the accomplishment of a thing than to get credit for it. If I have an idea about something that I think might be done, I pick out the man whose influence I think ought to be behind it, and I go and talk to him about it, not as if I came with a very definite plan, but I sort of consult him about it and then will develop, in the course of our conversation, the idea about how I think it should be done. Then I tell him, "You have given me some good ideas," even if he hasn't given me anything at all.

I will drop in to see him in about ten days, and I will say, "I came to see you about this plan that you suggested." It's his baby; it's his idea. He has forgotten where he got it. He thinks it's his, and he will work for it!

If I came back and said, "I told you about this ten days ago and explained to you the problem; why didn't you go to work on it?" he would get sore and I wouldn't be able to accomplish anything.

To whom shall I tell the story if I am trying to sell city planning? I would want to tell it to those people in the community who are doing things. I would want to pick them out on the basis of activity in civic matters. But first of all I would want to know what kind of persons in other communities have been interested in city planning; for example, does the Real Estate Board take an interest and why? When I know that about every important group I can go into a community and spend four or five weeks in organizing the idea of city planning, by getting the idea into people's minds, here, there and everywhere and the idea will soon be translated into effective action.

Sometimes we can ease a new idea into the minds of people and they will accept it without knowing that a stranger has appeared in their midst.

I feel that your ability to sell city planning depends not so much upon what you do as an individual, each one of you, but upon what the whole profession, everybody in the business, does. If every city planner is practical and does not put forth plans that the community can't possibly adopt, and if he takes the trouble, after the plan is made, to sell it thoroughly, the sales problem of all the rest becomes simpler. Your selling problem really only begins when you get your contract, because to make it effective and to help the profession you are in, you then have to sell your plan so thoroughly as to get it into complete usefulness.

I believe that if I were in this business, I would spend ten times as much energy, if need be, in getting my plan into use than in selling the idea in the first place, for there is no advertisement that is better than the recommendation of a satisfied client.

We are all sheep: we buy what the other fellow buys; we do what the other fellow does and think what the other fellow thinks. We want to follow some one. And that is just as true of cities as it is of individuals.

DISCUSSION

GEORGE BRIGGS, St. Petersburg: George Gallup, who has been for years an ardent apostle of city planning and better homes, expected to discuss this subject, but he has asked me to take his place.

The great opportunity to advance city planning, I believe, is in the enlisting of powerful influences which will sell the idea. To give you a concrete case: The New York Life Extension Institute is doing wonderful work. It probably has considerable to do with increasing the average length of life about ten years in a generation. Every one ought to see the advantage of that service and gladly use it, but we do not, most of us. Now, they are not in a position to go out and sell it to the world, but they enlisted a powerful organization that was in position to do it—the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. You see their advertisements in magazines, not selling the New York Life Extension service but selling the idea of paying the doctor to keep you well. The result is that an increasing number of their policyholders avail themselves of the privilege of going to the New York Life Extension Institute at the expense of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

City planning will increase the market for national manufacturers who sell structural material for building, for electrical supplies, and all of the materials in the building field. Most of those people are national advertisers.

George Gallup in his work along these lines has interested many of them. They have seen the advantages and they are willing to work. It would be a comparatively easy matter, I believe, for your national association, by personal contact along the lines that Mr. Hunt suggested, to bring to the attention of these national manufacturers just what it would mean to them to sell the idea of city planning through their advertising men who are skilled in doing the very things that Mr. Hunt outlined, through their sales managers and their sales force, concentrating especially in cities which are already interested.

In a greater degree than perhaps you may realize, city planning and better homes are linked together. That, in my opinion, is the strongest appeal that you can make to the public, to the cities as a whole, and it carries out the suggestion that Dr. Albert made in his talk of selling the whole city and getting the public opinion solidly behind you, because it contemplates enlarging and enriching

the lives of the whole community, so that your plan will not be impaired by city officials, or any others who for any reasons may have their scruples about it.

A country will be no better than its homes. They are the index of our ideals. That was the thing that caused people to go out in the great World War. That was the real thing that people fought for. When you say that a planned city is necessary in order that homes may be more beautiful, that schools and playgrounds may be adequate, that the environment of the home and the school may be right; when you make your appeal on that basis you have a better chance of getting the whole public with you.

I don't care how successful business men may be, how good they may be as officials, when it comes to city planning they are not in a position to do it. To try to carry out a city plan without a city planner is like trying to run a ship without a captain. But it is only by getting over to the public as a whole what city planning means in the way of better homes, what it means in the way of increased valuation, so that the bonds that perhaps may be issued to carry out these plans will be taken care of and retired by the increased revenues from taxation, even without raising the rate—only by getting these concrete facts before them will you be able to carry with you the city officials and all the interested parties. And the fear, which is the cause of most of the resistance, will be dissolved by the desire for the benefits.

The work that this organization has been doing for eighteen years, and the technical plans which you have worked out, you will be able to see realized.

G. GORDON WHITNALL, Los Angeles: I wonder if Mr. Hunt will give us some indication of the type of package in which we may wrap city planning in order that it may be given to the ladies, because I feel quite satisfied from limited experience that if you can sell a product to the ladies the men will have to accept it.

MR. HUNT: I would approach that by going out into a city where there has already been a considerable experience in city planning, and interview a sufficient number of leading women in order to find out the nature of their interest in city planning and what has sold it to them. For, after all, good salesmanship is based on definite investigation. Generally speaking, a woman would not buy public economy. She is interested in private economy. She would buy public safety and undoubtedly she would buy public

beauty. She would not so well understand public economy, because it is not her end of the household business.

RICHARD B. WATROUS, Providence, R. I.: City planning sometimes must be presented to a community in a more drastic manner than an advertising man would ever attempt to present his problem. It is a good deal like being converted—you must be first convicted of sin. It was my good fortune to be associated for eight years with a man who is one of the leading civic crusaders in this country and I believe that many of the cities which have since started city planning campaigns and established planning commissions have been prompted to do so by hearing his address on "A Crusade Against Ugliness." He always made it a point to get some pictures of the ugliest buildings in a community and when things were going smoothly he would suddenly throw these pictures on a screen and say, "Men and women, this is what you are tolerating!" I remember once in Trenton some of the audience was frantic because this speaker told them they had the ugliest waterfront in the entire United States. The first reaction was one of resentment—they roasted him in the newspapers the next day, but he stood by and a year from that time there had been considerable improvement in making that waterfront more attractive and in setting up a planning commission in the community.

JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Mass.: City planning is constantly on a new firing line. The problem is not to get communities to do something other communities have done, but to get a community to do something that has never been done. Mr. Hunt is right about the effectiveness of personal presentation, but the city planner is loath to try to sell his own wares and there is nobody who will sell them for him. Even if he knows the game and can play it successfully he dislikes and declines to do it. If he is a successful professional man, he does not have to do it.

And yet city planning ought to be sold to more and more communities. It lacks a selling organization.

MR. HUNT: If I had to tackle the job of being the first to get a community to do something that had never been done I would find the leaders in the town who had helped make it, no matter how poor the job they had done, and I would use flattery in order to win them to my purpose. I think city planning ought not to be sold by threat and through fear.

CITY PLANNING AS A SUBJECT FOR UNDER-GRADUATE COURSES IN COLLEGES

GEORGE B. ZUG, Department of Modern Art, Dartmouth College,
Hanover, N. H.

The last speaker said that few people have any clear conception of what city planning is all about. Your chairman has just said that city planners have no selling organization, that what they need is salesmen.

I am here to give you an answer, to indicate how to put city planning across. It is by means of college courses for undergraduates, who as future leaders of their communities will have great influence all over the country.

Professional courses in the graduate departments of universities are desirable and essential, but such courses do not reach a sufficient number of students. If college courses for undergraduates could be introduced into fifty or more colleges, a great number of men would thus go out into the world fitted to be chairmen of publicity committees, journalistic writers on city planning, and members of city planning commissions or advisory boards, men informed upon the subject and interested in promoting civic improvement.

In view of the fact that this important subject of the undergraduate course in city planning for colleges has, so far as I know, never been even mentioned in the publications of the National Conference on City Planning, it seems desirable to say a word in regard to its character and how it differs from other means of education and publicity.

The lectures in the college course on this subject should differ from those in a professional university course and from single lectures prepared for women's clubs, rotary clubs, and other civic

organizations, just as the whole idea of systematic education differs essentially from local publicity work.

The undergraduate course differs from the university professional course in being less technical and more popular. The lecturer ought to bring out the essentials of the whole subject in untechnical language and in a way to hold attention. He must present his subject in a way to arouse the student's interest. A course for the average citizen, as represented by the college undergraduate, should touch but lightly on certain subjects, which must be thoroughly handled in a professional course. For example, professional students should be taught many details about the methods of preparing social and physical surveys, the preparation of maps, and technique of zoning, land subdivision, and other matters, which are treated more generally for the average citizen.

In professional schools the custom is to give a variety of courses in different branches of the whole subject; in architecture, in horticulture, in landscape architecture, and in various kinds of engineering, but no comprehensive course. A student may take more than one of these specialized university courses without grasping the subject as a whole. These specialized courses, moreover, do not appeal to the students generally. What is here recommended, therefore, is a comprehensive course with a general appeal.

The lectures in a college course differ in several respects from those prepared for clubs. A lecture before a club is a single performance unrelated to others. The lecturer tries to pack all possible information into the one hour. There is no follow up. On the other hand, in a college course all the lectures form a logical sequence; one lecture follows from another while it prepares for those which are to come. A single lecture before a club may contain much information, but a large part of it is forgotten within twenty-four hours. In a college course, on the other hand, there is not only the sequence of lectures leading to a climax, but each main theme lends itself to required readings in substantial books, which readings are tested by quizzes or examinations. Moreover, all this may be strengthened by reports by members of the class. The course

should never be allowed to be a snap. A course which is too easy does not teach the students enough, and fails to win their respect. They must be taught to appreciate the difficulties of the subject.

These methods of logical and cumulative arrangement of topics, presented vividly and reinforced by frequent readings, quizzes, and individual reports, indicate some of the ways in which the college course differs from both club lectures and local publicity work. Furthermore, publicity schemes are usually in connection with local and temporary affairs, whereas a college course should deal with practice and principles of permanent importance. The various publicity methods employed by citizens' committees and commissions, as, for example, in Chicago, Pittsburgh and Dallas, have proved useful and effective. They are essential. But if, as we hope, the city planning movement is to progress, we should be thinking not only of publicity but also of systematic education, not for today, but for ten, fifteen, and twenty years to come.

In working for the introduction of undergraduate courses on city planning in American colleges it is important to consider which of the officials of the college it is best to approach first as being likely to be interested and influential, and above all to learn the character and the conditions of the curriculum.

Whether the students are to be freshmen, sophomores, juniors or seniors, depends partly upon the purpose of the course and partly on the attitude of administrative officers, but largely upon the details of the curriculum. In regard to the latter, the work of the first year, and usually that of the second year, is so completely occupied with required courses that practically no freshman and usually no sophomore would have available hours to take a course on city planning.

Other important considerations are in what department the course is to be given and the selection of the lecturer. The latter should be well informed upon the subject but should also be imbued with enthusiasm for imparting it to undergraduates. He further should have some knowledge and experience in the art of teaching college courses. It is not desirable for the lecturer in such a course

to be an outsider, even if he is a professional city planner. He should be a regular member of the faculty, who from his experience is prepared to cope with the pedagogical problem, which includes fitting the new subject into the curriculum.

In the case of colleges which show an interest in a city planning course but feel some hesitation, it might be an entering wedge to introduce as an experiment an extra curriculum course of eight or ten lectures, in hopes that by thus creating an interest in that the way might be prepared for a regular course in the curriculum for credit.

It is important, also, to consider carefully what is to be the grade of the course, whether it is to be elementary, intermediate, or advanced. It has frequently been suggested that a general course on city planning, if presented in a thorough manner, would necessarily be of distinctly advanced grade, preferably perhaps of graduate character. Theoretically that may be true, just as it is true of a comprehensive course on evolution or philosophy. In all these subjects the whole question hinges on the method and manner of presentation. If it is possible to present to freshmen in college, as is now done at several institutions, the subject of evolution, or important questions of the day in politics and economics, as in the course on Citizenship in Dartmouth College, it surely must be true that the same thing can be done for city planning.

It would, of course, be highly desirable for colleges to offer also a more advanced course for the study of special civic problems—a course or courses for which the survey course, already mentioned, would be the preparation. This is nothing revolutionary. It is only proposing for the subject of city planning what is being done in colleges for departments of the sciences and literatures. The customary thing is to offer a general survey course in each department, to be followed by more advanced and detailed courses in each subject. In city planning the first step may be to offer a short extra course by an outsider to arouse interest, in hopes of later introducing the comprehensive course in the regular curriculum. Only after that should more advanced courses be offered. The impor-

tant thing is first to reach as many students as possible through the general course.

In various departments of many colleges a limited number of lectures are given on subjects connected with law, economics, and sociology, which are connected with city planning. But the course which ought to be urged upon American colleges is not an incidental discussion of one phase of the subject. It is a comprehensive course dealing in the right proportion with all subjects that have to do with the physical city and in the light of the interests and the needs of future citizens. The subject, therefore, which I suggest should be introduced is not economics, not sociology, not the law, but the physical city, with only incidental discussion of the social and legal matters which are necessary fundamentals.

When I undertook to speak to the Conference on the subject, Undergraduate Courses on City Planning in Colleges, I had in mind to propose that the National Conference might form a committee to take steps looking toward the introduction of undergraduate courses in colleges. On more mature thought, however, I feel that the introduction of this brand-new subject into the curriculum of American colleges is such a personal matter that perhaps it could not be most successfully undertaken through an official committee. May it not be better only to emphasize to the members of the Conference the usefulness and the need of undergraduate courses in American colleges and urge that the individual members take occasion to recommend the introduction of such courses?

The Committee on Education of the American Institute of Architects has done splendid work by publication, by lectures, and by personal solicitation looking toward the increase of instruction in fine arts in American colleges. Without here discussing the method to be pursued, may I ask is it not possible for the National Conference to do something to increase the teaching of city planning? Cannot its members, as individuals, seek opportunity to urge on college presidents, college trustees, and college professors the need of the introduction into the curriculum of that subject

which is of interest to all, and which is closely connected with the life and welfare of our country, but which is, perhaps, the most neglected—the subject of the physical city?

This is my reply to pessimistic remarks about lack of organization: prepare salesmen and educate the American public by means of comprehensive courses for undergraduates in the regular curriculum of the American college.

A STATE PLAN FOR FLORIDA

MRS. ROBERT M. SEYMOUR, Miami, Florida

It may interest you to know that in 1911 I was a member of the Civic Committee, whose duty was to bring Mr. Nolen into St. Paul, Minnesota, to put through a city plan. The education we received at that time and the understanding of the relation of the city plan to democracy was one of the most helpful things that ever happened to the city. Later, in 1914, I was in Ireland at the time the war broke out and I had the opportunity of going through Professor Geddes' famous city planning exhibit in Dublin and took the occasion of seeing it many times under the leadership of Professor Geddes. I spent the rest of that summer until November at Liverpool and Edinburgh, studying city planning, its philosophy, rather, its relation to democracy: what we could do for people through these new social discoveries. I came home feeling that we in America had lost something; we had lost sight of the people. We were so individualized and we were working in such small groups that we had not thought of things in a large enough way. From that time until now my chief interest has been the study of city planning and community organization.

When I came to Florida it seemed to me a great laboratory for all these experiments. I made many excursions around the state, and in 1923 was appointed a state chairman in the Federation of Women's Clubs, to give a program on conservation. I went to New York City for research work and spent five months in the city. The outstanding memory I have was of a visit I made to the Russell Sage Foundation and a call upon Mr. Flavel Shurtleff. We talked about an hour and Mr. Shurtleff explained to me the Regional Plan of New York, the park system of New Jersey, and the co-operation that was bound to come between state legislatures and governors.

The whole thing was such a tremendous vision of the possibilities of co-operation that I knew, coming from the people, from the women of the clubs and the homes, that if the ideals I had heard in just personal talks could be spread about there would be no trouble whatever in putting through city planning in a large way.

When I came back I presented the first state plan for Florida to the Federation of Women's Clubs. It was received with great commendation because the ideas in it were largely those of Mr. Flavel Shurtleff, Mr. John Nolen and Professor Geddes, put together in a way that we could use them in Florida. It was published later on, a year ago, in the "Sociological Review" of London. I received a letter from the Secretary of the London City Committee saying it was the best plan up to date, and again I call your attention to the fact that it was the teaching of Mr. Nolen and Mr. Shurtleff and Professor Geddes, put together in a working plan.

So far as Florida is concerned, I call attention to this fact: You see, I am not a state official or a Chamber of Commerce person, nor do I represent any other organization, so I can tell you, from the standpoint of an outside person, how it appears to me. We have perhaps 1,500,000 people in the entire state. Florida is not a large state; it is still pioneering. It is one of the most remarkable states in the Union in its organization, and you who have taken a trip through St. Petersburg and around West Palm Beach haven't seen real Florida, which means the things which grow, the open, outdoor life, the fraternizing with winds and rains—our tropical rains—the knowing of the tropical spring, the knowing of our summers, of the marvelous and wondrous growth that we have in our native vines and trees and shrubs—things that you would have to go to Java, to Madagascar and Ceylon to see; we have them all growing, in Dade County and Monroe County especially. You would be amazed to see our countryside in the summer. Our counties, in the same way, have character, so that in the state plans of Florida my suggestion was that we use the county as a unit, that we take the county seat as the center of activities, and from that county seat radiate throughout the county the influence

toward landscape architecture and highway construction and city planning, so that the city and village, no matter how small the place might be, would begin to be interested in its own character, its background and its resources.

Again, when you look at Florida it is flat, of course; it cannot compare with California or Colorado or the Great Lakes or North Carolina or many other places in the matter of picturesqueness. It is a place that cries aloud for engineers and artists and landscape architects who will work together on the whole state, so that counties and cities may co-operate in order that the entire state can be considered a part of the plan and each part of the state have its own character.

It has only been within the last five years that people east of the Mississippi have discovered Florida, and they are going to come to Florida because they can live out-of-doors. It will be farms and parks and gardens and landscape architecture that will lead in the future. We are now in the manger, if I may use that word; we are in the activity and the enthusiasm of a new idea of building towns and subdivisions and things like that, much on the pattern of the other states, but we must have a state plan where all these cities think to the same end, where they are not rivals of one another. This is a county state, and you would be amazed to see how diverse the interesting things are in these different counties, when you actually study the county and the background and the soil, and the things that grow. In other words, we come to Professor Geddes' idea of the regional background.

Then as to a way of bringing it together: We have a Dixie Highway Association. The Dixie Highway is a network of roads all through the southeast and, as you know, the commerce of the country is involved; labor development and all industrial development will be in the southeast. There is going to be a tremendous activity. The South is waiting. The whole South has a traditional background which is lacking in every other part of the country. Consequently, we have chosen one great highway from Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, to Miami, to make it a road of remem-

brance to the soldiers of the World War, and we wish to have a comprehensive plan; we want it done by Dr. John Nolen; we want to have approaches to each town and village; we want exits to each town and village; we want memorial bridges; we want memorial groves. In fact, we want this low-lying meadow land, flat and monotonous land, lifted into beauty and magnificence and dignity and creativeness, by artists who will take this flat material and this background and this open air and out-of-door life. We are creating this great highway, so that the towns and villages will be like jewels on a necklace. We intend to work it out step by step on a plan that may take fifty years to achieve, but when it is finished, it will rival the old Tokaido Highway in Japan, or the great Portsmouth Road in England, or any of these magnificent highways and roads that you know of in the world. So that the aviator, looking down on trees and vines and shrubs and grasses, will see no rival, and the motorists will love to come because of the mysticism and strange charm of our Indian rivers that they are to pass, our canals that we are to build, and these cities you are to plan. It is a perfectly practical thing, and we intend to do that thing.

We need recognition; we need you to pass a resolution, or do something that will give recognition to such a plan, that you believe it is possible; that you believe it is sound; that you believe it is fine, and when we have that recognition then we can go to our men of wealth in our organizations and get support.

And, finally, may I say that women have something to do with these things. I think you possibly made a mistake in leaving women too much out of your conferences because women nowadays are going to decide where they shall live; they are going to decide which town they will bring their family into; they are going to decide what those children are going to do; they are going to decide whether they shall be horticulturists and botanists and scientific men and women, or whether they shall entirely go over into business and industrial life.

We are just beginning; we are just born; we are infants in this

thing, but we are very lively infants, and we intend to grow and expand, and we intend to take the finest, the most ideal, the most splendid thing from any home that any one of us has ever known. We intend to take that thing out into the community, into the county, into the state, as our work. It is not political work, it is artistic, scientific work, it is democratic work, and we believe in it. I for one am confident (when one reaches fifty years of age, one has the right to be confident) that we have to build a social order, we have to invent social discoveries and build out of the Declaration of Independence, which we are celebrating the signing of this year, and never cease to think of the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness.

THE PLACE OF THE EAST COAST IN A STATE PLAN FOR FLORIDA

G. GORDON WHITNALL, Director, Los Angeles Plan Commission

The first thing that impresses me about the work which I have already seen, and the greater work of which I have only heard, is that, taken individually, these many tremendous projects are without a parallel anywhere of which I have knowledge. Internally, each of them approaches, as nearly as is humanly possible, the state of perfection. I speak not in the finished sense but rather in the potentialities that have been made possible by reason of the basic plans that have been provided by you at the outset. I am speaking, however, of the individual projects, not of the composite.

The next impression that I get is that in the great composite development, which is the product of these many individual developments up and down both of your coasts, that degree of perfection is entirely lost sight of and is almost entirely ignored.

Of necessity, I must illustrate that point by relating experiences in the only place with which I have intimate contact, and that is my present home in Southern California; illustrating it probably with a view to making it possible for you at this time, from this very moment, to proceed to mend your ways, if it is proper to even suggest that, in order that you may not repeat the mistakes that we have so sadly permitted to occur.

In order to do this I must of necessity describe, just for the sake of a few who are not familiar with our terrain, the fact that in the Los Angeles district of Southern California, lying between the mountains and the sea, we have an area of approximately 800 to 1,000 square miles, the former area of which constitutes in fact one compact area, spoken of by us as the Greater Los Angeles District or the metropolitan area. Within this are some 40 odd separate municipalities, with almost an equal number of com-

munities which are not incorporated. This conglomeration of communities is scattered over the area much as the dinner plates upon a banquet table, there appearing between each of them—speaking of plates—the white table cloth which, in our case, is county territory intervening between the municipalities. The largest of the municipalities in this great metropolitan area is our own city of Los Angeles, covering a little over one-half of the total area, and it is in that community where we first undertook the task of planning.

We were progressing well with our planning work in Los Angeles when suddenly we realized that if the ideal were reached in the planning and the building of a community we would still be woefully lacking because the community was, after all, but a part of a larger whole. We must, to be successful, project the ambitions of the community and the plans for it into the area which constituted the future greater community. We realized, too, that in this outside area over which it was necessary to exercise a degree of control there were different political jurisdictions, each as independent as our own, each with its individual and justifiable ambitions. The problem was to bring them into common accord.

I am not going to relate now how that was accomplished, but suffice it to say that in our belief we have actually accomplished that thing, so that at this very moment the 40 odd incorporated municipalities and the county which intervenes, through the instrumentality of actual and official regional planning work, administered through a Commission, is today being planned quite intensively as though it were but one single political unit.

During the three weeks immediately preceding my leaving for this Conference we actually began the physical work of zoning the whole metropolitan area. So that I repeat the statement which I made in St. Petersburg: It is our ambition that by the time another year rolls by, we will have completed the zoning, so far as use is concerned, of the entire 800 square miles of a complete region in this country.

Much of that work is already done, because in the initial zoning

of the several separate cities, in those several which have already completed their work, we were fortunate in co-ordinating their work to the degree of having the standards employed, the methods exercised, identical in the case of all save one. So that when they shall ultimately be fit into the plan of the larger zoned area, they will actually fit. As, for instance, in the case of the city of Los Angeles, with its immediate neighbors, which are several, it would be impossible for a zoning technician to take the several zoning plats, lay them side by side upon a table, and tell, so far as the zoning is concerned, where one community began and where the other ended. They are as though one community at this moment, from a zoning standpoint. That we feel to be an accomplishment.

Jumping now back to the East Coast of Florida, I repeat that I have been impressed with a belief—that your ambitions have been wholly provincial from the standpoint of your individual communities or developments, and that you have a degree of jealousy one between the other as communities that has for the moment blinded yourselves to the unity of your purpose and your possible ambitions and your future as a whole. I feel, through the idealism that has been expressed by Mrs. Seymour, that you have as the germ of that ideal, in the form which must come to its fruition, the unifying of all the great activities up and down the length of this Coast. If we are to strike at the root of real regional planning, the first problem is not that of a technical survey of the physical things, but it is rather a survey of the spiritual, the social, and those great human things that make one great community so different from another, although they may all have exactly the same appearance; a survey of those things which make the possibilities of one community different from another, a survey of those social and commercial attributes that make for one community an industrial center as against another as a residential section.

We have already recognized that it is no longer necessary for one community, regardless of its size, to have all of the component parts that we used to consider necessary to make a community.

May I illustrate that by a very homely illustration, of particular interest to those who come from Detroit? Let me take the modern, well-known mechanism known as a Ford. Every Ford has four wheels; that is, when it leaves the factory; it has an engine—they call it that; a carburetor, a transmission, a steering gear, and all of the other smaller incidental details which it must have in every detail before it can operate as a complete, independent mechanism. Now, the only differences between a Ford and a Rolls-Royce are price, color scheme, size, and other conditions of refinement, but basically they are identical. So that if you are dealing with an automobile, you must of necessity have a complete automobile, regardless of the model or regardless of the price. But when it comes to municipalities, it seems that that is no longer necessary.

It is not necessary, in the case of communities, to have in each of them a carburetor and an engine and four wheels and a steering gear, and the other what-nots. One community may be composed wholly of an engine, and, if I may carry the simile to the extreme, another may consist wholly of upholstery. In other words, we may have communities which are essentially industrial, others which are essentially created for recreation, for comfort, for pleasure, and for those esthetic things which introduce the better things into life.

We have within our metropolitan district certain communities which have already accentuated these several characteristics—we have one in which there are not more than about thirty-five voters, although it covers many square miles, and the assessed valuation is tremendous, but it consists almost exclusively of very large industrial activities. That community, separate from Los Angeles, is surrounded on three sides by the city of Los Angeles. Whereas in the opposite direction we have two communities, Pasadena and Beverly Hills, which are almost exclusively residential cities. They are, in fact and in practice, the gigantic bedrooms of the metropolitan district of Los Angeles, and they are just as complete, even though they do lack those component parts that the average untrained person thinks are necessary to make a complete community.

I dwell upon that point, that I may the stronger emphasize what this one impression of mine is concerning the East Coast of Florida and its possibility of being incorporated in a state regional plan; that is the fact, that you have here certain assets which, even coming from Los Angeles, I will concede are exclusive to you, that are somewhat common to all of your component communities. I would not even be so bold as to suggest what all of those assets are, other than that they are essentially those things which appeal to people who have arrived at that state in life where they can appreciate the good.

You are not separate unto yourselves, for you, as I see it, are unto the whole Union what our Pasadena and our Beverly Hills, if you please, are to our metropolitan district. You have a special function to perform that in my humble opinion is to cater to a crying need of the whole country, cater to it with those things with which you are already so well endowed and thereby accentuate those characteristics which are solely yours; build on that and create your regional planning in such a way as to make possible the emphasis of those things which are essentially your own.

Then may Eastern Florida in fact become not yours, but all of ours—a place which even from California on occasion we may wish to come to in order that we may get those real fine things of life that God seems to have set the stage for right here. Our worry back there is that you may not take the fullest advantage of that; that you may possibly try to ape other communities in those things which I would greatly regret your succeeding in, because they are not for you any more than are your things for them.

This is an age of specialization, from industry to commerce, in society throughout, and your specialty is a peculiar thing that has never yet been defined. I am incapable of doing it. You who are residents here; you who are developers in Florida, are best able to define it, to isolate it, to put it under the microscope, to study it, and, having become familiar with it, then cultivate it, let it develop. Let Florida be essentially Florida. Then you will have no competition.

DISCUSSION

L. G. BIGGERS, Palm Beach: When we think of our East Coast we think not of a world center of money or of a world center of manufacturing, but rather a world center of art, culture, literature, and science. We are going to build it here and, frankly, as one of the citizens of the East Coast, I hope we will never see smokestacks and oil wells marring our landscape.

We have here, near the centers of population of the United States, near the centers of millions of people who have leisure, a place where they may come and study and enjoy those higher things of life which others so eloquently have told us of. We want to hold to the spiritual side of the development of this community. We want to remember that those are the real things of life. We want to build a city, probably with one million people in it, on these 250 miles of East Coast, warmed by the Gulf Stream in winter and cooled by the trade winds in summer. We want to feed these people from the ocean with their products, which are staples, and from the back country with their perishables. That is what we are planning to do, and we leave to the other sections of the United States the business of making things for us, and we hope to have enough money always to buy them.

MRS. SEYMOUR: A very valuable contribution from California experience is that the Los Angeles district is actually building toward a plan and with a program. Your men who are the experts in the planning profession are the ones to decide the details of the program. Then come the group organization, the chambers of commerce, women's clubs, luncheon clubs,—all those points of contact that are essential, and they all have their distinct personalities. Then comes democracy back of the officials and the civic groups. Today the people know nothing about planning. The weak point to me is that we lack a program, which can be interpreted year after year and offered to these groups and to the people until they understand what you mean by city planning and zoning. At present the majority of business men in the cities in Florida are afraid of zoning. They should be made to see that it is but one unit in the city plan.

The idea that Mr. Whitnall expressed, of making the county seat the big planning center, and then spreading the program to the surrounding communities until the whole county is planned,

is exactly the idea that we must work on in Florida, because of the individual character of each of our counties.

If we choose the most characteristic thing in all Florida I believe it will be our horticulture. We can grow things here commercially as Bulgaria grows roses for perfume. The whole of Dade County can be given over to the growing of palms; 1,500 varieties can be brought in from South America, grown here and sent to the whole world. The out-of-door life, the garden life, the garden city, the farm city are all great possibilities. The one thing that all of us can do is to begin at once a preliminary survey in the Chambers of Commerce and social clubs; observation groups can be sent out to discover what resources we have, what kind of a city we live in and what are the important characteristics to emphasize. Then, following the New England idea of the town meeting, we might have in our community the open forum devoted to the discussion of those things which build a city. We should bring in the experts to educate the democracy and the social groups and win support for a program which is to conceive and carry out a state plan for Florida.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

STATE LEGISLATION

Experience during the last year and discussions at the present Conference have emphasized, as never before, the fundamental importance of state enabling acts to effective city planning. Municipalities cannot avoid congestion, prevent misplaced streets, protect homes, provide safe and sufficient traffic facilities, and acquire adequate and permanent playgrounds without proper state legislation. We commend to the legislatures of the several states and to municipal officials and civic organizations interested in such legislation, the standard zoning enabling act prepared by the United States Department of Commerce, and the suggested model for a uniform vehicle code drafted by the Second National Conference on Street and Highway Safety. The adoption, under competent legal advice, of such legislation and of other needed enabling acts will make possible the more rational development of our cities and metropolitan regions and the saving to future generations of social and economic costs beyond all computation.

CO-OPERATION OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

We record our great satisfaction at the increasing attention given to city and regional planning problems by national organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, American Institute of Architects, American Society of Landscape Architects, American Civic Association, National Municipal League, American Society of Civil Engineers, American Road Builders' Association, American Society for Municipal Improvements, Playground and Recreation Association of America, National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, National Safety Council, and by the various state leagues of municipalities, and other

organizations, national, state and local. Especially do we welcome the growing spirit of co-operation of the realtors throughout the United States in the building of better cities, and we express the hope that much good may come from the studies now being made by the Joint Committee of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Conference on City Planning on Regulation of Land Subdivision. To this Joint Committee we suggest co-operation with the committee of the Bureau of Housing and Zoning of the United States Department of Commerce which is drafting a standard state enabling act for city planning.

SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON STREET AND HIGHWAY SAFETY

We call the special attention of all members of the Conference and of others interested in city and regional planning to the reports of the Second National Conference on Street and Highway Safety, held in Washington March 23-25, 1926, at the call of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, and we urge careful study of the recommendations contained in these reports, including the suggestions for city and regional traffic commissions and committees.

OUTDOOR ADVERTISING

Recognizing the importance of amenity in city and regional planning, and deploring the disfigurement of the community, so general in this country, due to outdoor advertising without proper regulations, the Conference approves of the policy of the National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising, and the efforts of leaders within the industry itself of restricting outdoor advertising to commercial neighborhoods, and commends the good work of these organizations, and their many affiliated societies, to that end.

CITY PLANNING COURSES IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Realizing that the destiny of community life of the future is dependent in large measure on the training in good citizenship of

the youth of today, we respectfully suggest the importance of city and regional planning as a subject for inclusion in the curricula of secondary schools and comprehensive courses of at least a semester for undergraduates in the colleges. Through this means many young men and women would be inspired and guided to an intelligent and active interest in civic affairs and community leadership. We believe also that the colleges and technical and professional schools could render service of great value to the cause of civic progress by offering special courses for students who may wish to qualify for city and regional planning activities as their life work.

THANKS

To our hosts, the St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce, and the Greater Palm Beach Chamber of Commerce, we express our hearty appreciation of the generous hospitality and the efficiency of the arrangements which have contributed so greatly to the success and enjoyment of the 1926 meeting of the National Conference on City Planning. For the many courtesies extended to us, our thanks are also due to the municipal officials and City Planning Commissions of St. Petersburg, West Palm Beach, and Palm Beach, to the local service clubs and civic organizations, and citizens, including especially Mrs. E. T. Stotesbury, for the privilege of visiting her home; to the Vinoy Park Hotel and the New Palm Beach Hotel, as well as to our own Conference officials, speakers and leaders of round-table discussions, whose co-operation has added greatly to the pleasure of our visit to Florida. To the press of the community we are greatly indebted for the liberal space devoted to our proceedings and for the intelligence with which the reports have been handled. We hope that the keen pleasure and great benefits which have come to the delegates from outside of the State will have their reflex in helping the rapidly growing cities of Florida to avoid the mistakes and profit by the city planning experiences of municipalities elsewhere.

CONFERENCE SERVICE FEES

It is recommended to the Board of Directors that the question of fees for municipal planning commissions and other similar municipal agencies be considered by the Board of Directors with the view to devising a graded fee based on population, for which fee the Conference would render a special service, by periodical bulletins or otherwise.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NINETEENTH CONFERENCE

OFFICERS

President JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge
Vice-President EDWARD M. BASSETT, New York
Secretary and Treasurer FLAVEL SHURTLEFF, New York

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Term Expires 1927

JOHN NOLEN, *President*, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass.
EDWARD M. BASSETT, *Vice-President*, 233 Broadway, New York City
GEORGE B. FORD, 15 Park Row, New York City
B. A. HALDEMAN, 31 South Front Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
ROBERT WHITTEN, 130 East 22d Street, New York City
T. GLENN PHILLIPS, 1201 Kresge Building, Detroit, Mich.
LAWRENCE VEILLER, 105 East 22d Street, New York City

Term Expires 1928

NOULAN CAUCHON, Ottawa, Canada
FREDERIC A. DELANO, 407 Hibbs Building, Washington, D. C.
JOHN IHLDER, U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C.
HENRY V. HUBBARD, Robinson Hall, Cambridge, Mass.
ROBERT JEMISON, JR., Birmingham, Ala.
NATHAN WILLIAM MACCHESNEY, 30 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
IRENAEUS SHULER, Keeline Building, Omaha, Neb.

Term Expires 1929

THOMAS ADAMS, 130 East 22d Street, New York City
HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM, 443 Fourth Avenue, New York City
HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, 317 N. 11th Street, St. Louis, Mo.
MORRIS KNOWLES, 507 Westinghouse Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
D. EVERETT WAID, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City
MAJOR U. S. GRANT, Director Public Buildings and Parks, Washington, D. C.
FRANK B. WILLIAMS, 55 West 44th Street, New York City

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

PROCEEDINGS

(Uniformly bound in cloth)

The contents, consisting of papers and discussions, are not here given in full

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCES OF 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1919, 1920, and 1924 are out of print.

DETROIT CONFERENCE. 1915. 302 pages . . . \$2.00

Best methods of land sub-division; Constitution and powers of a city planning authority; The engineering side of city planning; The architectural side of city planning.

CLEVELAND CONFERENCE. 1916. 275 pages . . \$2.00

The automobile and the city plan; The financial effect of good planning in land sub-division; State, city and town planning; Districting by municipal regulation.

KANSAS CITY CONFERENCE. 1917. 306 pages. \$2.15

Interurban passenger terminals; Street widening to meet traffic demands; Relation of traffic-ways to parks and boulevards; The treatment of water courses in the city plan; City planning in small towns; Constitutional limitations on city planning powers.

ST. LOUIS CONFERENCE. 1918. 168 pages . . . \$2.25

The zoning of residence sections; Industrial zoning in practice; Blighted districts in St. Louis; Industrial survey of St. Louis; City planning in allied countries during the war.

PITTSBURGH CONFERENCE. 1921. 200 pages . . \$2.25

City plan and living and working conditions; How zoning affects living conditions; Enforcement of a street plan; Getting action in city planning.

SPRINGFIELD CONFERENCE. 1922. 216 pages. \$2.25

Parks and playgrounds; The school building program an important part of the city plan; The fundamentals of transit planning for cities; The place of the beautiful in the city plan, some everyday examples.

BALTIMORE CONFERENCE. 1923. 221 pages . . . \$2.25

Regional and metropolitan planning; principles, methods, co-operation; Inter- and intra-urban transit and traffic as a regional planning problem; Regional zoning; Day and night storage and parking of motor vehicles.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE. 1925. 530 pages . . . \$3.00

Planning Problems of Town, City and Region. Papers and Discussions at the International City and Regional Planning Conference.

FLORIDA CONFERENCE. 1926. 218 pages \$2.50

New communities planned to meet new conditions; Combined zoning and planning control of undivided areas; The planning of pleasure resort communities; The place of the railroad in the city plan; Selling city planning.

BULLETINS

(Only those now in print are listed)

CLASSIFIED SELECTED LIST OF REFERENCES ON CITY PLANNING. Theodora Kimball. 1915 . . \$0.50

MUNICIPAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN CITY PLANNING AND PUBLISHED CITY PLAN REPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES. 1920. Theodora Kimball. Contains reports from 87 cities . . . \$0.40

ENFORCING THE CITY PLAN. 1921. F. B. Williams \$0.10

ENFORCING AN OFFICIAL PLAN FOR STREETS AS A POLICE POWER REGULATION. 1922 \$0.10

FUNDAMENTALS OF TRANSIT PLANNING FOR CITIES. 1922. D. L. Turner \$0.25

SCHOOL BUILDING PROGRAM AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE CITY PLAN. 1922. G. D. Strayer \$0.25

REGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING. 1923. G. B. Ford \$0.25

REGIONAL ZONING. 1923. Robert Whitten . . . \$0.25

IMPORTANCE OF CITIZENS' COMMITTEES IN SECURING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A CITY PLANNING PROGRAM. 1924. John Nolen \$0.25

