The Roots of the New Urbanism: John Nolen's Garden City Ethic

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The New Urbanism has invigorated city planning history by invoking the tradition of American civic design to solve the conundrum of suburban sprawl. Studies have documented the similarities between the works of pioneer planner John Nolen and Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, but the ethic connecting past and present remains vague. This research presents the origins of the garden city ethic John Nolen introduced to the United States and its potential to foster a sustainable planning system capable of enlivening American civic culture.

Keywords: Garden city, Florida city planning, John Nolen, New Urbanism, suburban sprawl.

The New Urbanism has invigorated city planning history with relevance by invoking the tradition of American civic design to solve the conundrum of contemporary suburban sprawl.[1] Even those most critical of the New Urbanism cannot deny the saliency of their agenda given the problems they seek to address: "disinvestments in central cities, the spread of placeless sprawl, increasing separation by race and income, environmental deterioration, loss of agricultural lands and wilderness, and the erosion of society's built heritage as one interrelated community-building challenge."[2] As suburban growth has increasingly "become a pejorative"[3] in state and local elections, the New Urbanism has moved from novelty to policy. The challenge city planning historians face is not only to place the New Urbanism in context but, as Lewis Mumford wrote, "to bring to the foreground those things that have been left out of the current scheme of life and thought."[4]

The plan by architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) for Seaside, Florida, revived the art of traditional town planning. Their plan, James Kunstler wrote, "was a modified neoclassical grid straight out of the tradition of John Nolen (1869-1937)."[5] Studies document the similarities between the plans of Nolen and DPZ,[6] but the ethical connection between Nolen's past plans and the present work of New Urbanists remains vague. "The New Urbanism strives for a kind of utopian social idea," William Fulton wrote,[7] laying claim to a vision of the "good life" Mumford traced to

JOURNAL OF PLANNING HISTORY, Vol. 1 No. 2, May 2002 99-123

Aristotle.[8] Central to the movement is spurring a "cultural shift" to rediscover civic life and to restore the vitality, if not grandeur, of the public realm.[9] Building "honorable places" in sterile suburbia and designing towns that venerate the *civitas* peppers New Urbanist writings and rhetoric. Suburban sprawl, in their view, not only degrades the land but also numbs the soul because it relegates the human environment to the dimensions of machines and to the lure of consumerism.[10] Terms such as "sellscape," meaning areas segregated by market segments, are how New Urbanists depict current development practices. Lining commercial "sellscapes" along arterial corridors and building residential subdivisions to market segments not only isolates land uses, it also creates, Fulton and Peter Calthorpe write, "a landscape of isolated people."[11]

A healthy dose of civic republicanism infuses the New Urbanist lexicon in which citizens, in contrast to consumers, exist to do good rather than to purchase goods. A privatized suburban landscape of malls and gated subdivisions may sell, but it is unbalanced, lacking a civic presence and a sense of civic virtue. The ethic limiting personal interests for a common good is civic virtue. It not only separates citizen from consumer, but for New Urbanists, it distinguishes civilization from barbarism. The decline of the public realm and civic institutions are barometers of a civic life that begs the "difficult question," New Urbanist Kunstler wrote, "do we have the will to be civilized?"[12]

Given their strong appeals to the sanctity of civic life and the public realm and their evangelical zeal, it is no wonder that some critics write off the movement as a cult.[13] Yet this invocation of faith also links New Urbanists to their planning forebears. At the height of his career, John Nolen considered himself more missionary than planner.[14] Like the New Urbanists, his planning vision focused on a civic ideal that he pushed with equal verve. In 1919, he fathomed that for civic art to integrate the urban landscape, citizens needed a new aesthetic akin to what he termed medieval faith.[15] Nolen's own faith, however, never wavered, and in the 1920s, he completed his most accomplished work.

While the New Urbanists have revived Nolen's planning principles, they use history primarily to score polemical points.[16] If Kunstler, Calthorpe, and DPZ have not bothered to cultivate primary documents and historiographies, they have disclosed through their historical allusions an ethical vision offering both design technique and hope. The task remains for the historian to determine the origins of that vision and to extract from the past the plans and lessons that can improve development practices. This study examines the evolution of John Nolen's planning vision and the garden city ethic he introduced to the United States.

Like other Progressive reformers of his era, Nolen looked to Europe for models to mold the relentless urbanization defining modern life into a more efficient and livable form. His efforts to plan a new urban civilization in America made him a catalyst of "an intellectual shift" that Progressives gen-

erated to solve problems that stood beyond the pale of any one nation. Nolen's synergetic relationship with Raymond Unwin, England's preeminent garden city planner, typified the "Atlantic Crossings" that, Daniel Rogers wrote, produced "a world mart of useful and intensely interesting experiments."[17] Uncovering the details of these experiments will not only unlock a door to the past but, it is hoped, move the planning profession and the New Urbanist inclinations toward a sustainable vision capable of renewing American civic culture.

In Search of the Civic Ideal

John Nolen's public life paralleled a seismic shift as the nation's economy accelerated into consumerism and Victorian mores fell to the vicissitudes of modernist culture.[18] Nolen spent his career responding to this shift, designing urban forms that channeled modernity's mercurial changes into, what he considered, a higher stage of civilization. Nolen's work still resonates because he integrated European and American design traditions to create a balanced and ethical planning system. Moreover, the New Urbanism's revival of Nolen coincides with a reappraisal of Progressive reform by historians. "To a handful of historians willing to take a fresh look," Christine Stansell wrote, "their ideas about broadening the provision of public services, their faith in the creative powers of the American citizenry, and their savvy in using electoral politics seem impressive and instructive."[19] Nolen's planning vision was part of this Progressive tradition and offers a great deal to the planning ethos but only if gleaned through the underpinnings of a life dedicated to the civic ideal.

Nolen's life held a Horatio Alger quality. Hard work, empathy for the less fortunate, and continuous education drove him to the pinnacle of the planning profession. Born in central Philadelphia in 1869, Nolen barely knew his father, who died before his second birthday. At nine, John escaped the edge of poverty when his mother enrolled him at the Girard College, a school for fatherless boys. He received rigorous training in the duties of citizenship and was educated in both the liberal and vocational arts. He also gained an appreciation for daily outdoor exercise and an interest in the natural world. In 1884, Nolen graduated first in his class, and his commencement address revealed the skills of a gifted speaker. After working seven years, Nolen secured the funds to enter the University of Pennsylvania.[20]

A determined student, Nolen majored in economics and public administration, backed by a broad study of philosophy and history. Simon N. Patten, the Wharton School's professor of political economy, captivated Nolen. Patten believed that America's economic transformation provided the opportunity to greatly enhance public life. He advocated the provision of municipal art, parks, lectures, and concerts to provide a civic balance in the creation of a prosperous, industrial republic. Like other Patten students

Herbert Croly, Walter Weyl, and Rexford G. Tugwell, Nolen went into the world confident that the nation's rising affluence offered the historical opportunity to create an enlightened civilization through the cooperative efforts of the public and private sectors.[21]

Among Patten's stalwart students, Nolen pursued a unique calling. Employed as a gardener on Stephen Girard's estate to pay his Penn tuition, the young Nolen became enamored with landscape design. During summer breaks, Nolen served as the superintendent of Ponterora Park, a Catskill Mountain resort. This work indulged his love of nature and served as a testing ground for nascent skills in design and management.[22]

After graduating with distinction from the University of Pennsylvania in 1893, Nolen spent a decade as the executive secretary of the Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Associated with Penn, this experiment in adult higher education allowed Nolen to advance urban culture while honing his intellect and public speaking skills. He administered a lecture series that brought leading figures to address a range of issues. Nolen participated as a moderator and devil's advocate on topics that included socialism, evolution, heredity and environment, conservation, and race. This wide-ranging intellectual foray intensified Nolen's desire to live the "fullest civic life," and in 1895, he dedicated himself to "work for the city . . . with a confidence born of faith."[23]

Nolen's vague desire to "work for the city" took form after three European tours between 1896 and 1902. On the Continent, he found the physical form for his civic ideal. Urban dwellers not only enjoyed easy access to parks and preserves but they also encountered some of humanity's most inspiring works. Switzerland and Germany especially intrigued him, the former because the landscape's stunning features were translated into a quality urban aesthetic, while Germany's land use controls and experiments in urban forestry were innovative applications of municipal powers. After returning from a year abroad, in 1903, Nolen left the Extension service and entered the first class of landscape architecture at Harvard University.[24]

At Harvard, Nolen learned the art of landscape architecture as practiced by Frederick Law Olmsted Sr.[25] The landscape architect must guide landscape "modification," he wrote in his class notes, around natural "limitations." This task was "almost impossible for one man to handle"; it required, he continued, "cooperation between the landscape architect and the architect."[26] Studying under Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., a spokesman for the embryonic city planning profession, Nolen poured his time into mastering the design and administrative methods for ordering the urban environment's complex elements. By graduation in 1905, Nolen, the top student in his class, concluded planning held the key to unified civic design. From this point, historian John Hancock wrote, "city planning was almost a religion with him."[27]

Nolen's religious devotion to improving municipal life was not uncommon for America's first generation of middle-class, college graduates. If Dar-

win had decimated the mystical religion of Nolen's cohort, they compensated by working to make a heaven on earth. Yet the Progressive reformers were more pragmatic than utopian, as they tried to steer between the entrenched Right and the radical Left. In comparison to the rigid social Darwinism of the Gilded Age, Progressives embraced "environmentalism,"[28] the belief that skilled professionals could design environments to improve the human situation. The evolution of civil society depended not only on individual character but also on the quality of the environment in which one lived. Progressives were unified in the belief that humans were more good than evil and that they possessed the moral and intellectual abilities to build healthy communities and bring order to the chaotic city.[29] The evolution of "civilization is just this constant effort to introduce plan," Walter Lippmann concluded, "into the jungles of disordered growth."[30]

Nolen's Planning Philosophy

Although Nolen's European travels influenced his planning vision, he advocated a uniquely American design perspective that lay on a continuum between Thomas Jefferson's "nature aesthetic"[31] and Frederick Law Olmsted Sr.'s "romantic environmentalism."[32] All three were united in their belief that a benevolent nature delineated lines of beauty for any design. In a 1906 speech, Nolen stated that "nature antedates all the arts and sciences, and without a knowledge of nature, the history and development of man is incomprehensible." In a democratic nation founded on the "laws of Nature," Olmsted Sr. set a precedent, Nolen contended, by keeping "an open eye to the wonder and beauty of unspoiled nature." Rather than remake the landscape from "whole cloth," Olmsted "accepted the preexisting conditions and made those conditions the basis of his design."[33] Nolen's theory of city planning would evolve from this, but his design technique remained wedded to the Olmsted ideal.

What separated Nolen from the worlds of Jefferson and Olmsted Sr. was his acceptance of the city. The product of an urban environment, Nolen never viewed the city as the incubator of "mobs" and "degeneracy"[34] as did Jefferson, or as the producer of "unnatural men"[35] as did Olmsted. In concert with his mentor Olmsted Jr., Nolen also moved beyond the world of Olmsted Sr. by viewing the city as an evolving, organic entity that needed comprehensive planning. Both pushed planning as the means to foster a new public interest in creating comprehensive plans for the city and its periphery.[36] To accomplish this task, Nolen and a cohort of Progressive reformers broke from their democratic forebears and redefined basic American ideals.

Since the founding of the republic, happiness had always been associated with property and its attendant rights. Nolen believed "the essentials of modern life" required that happiness constitute the right to a healthy and

balanced communal life.[37] In the nation's most enduring cultural myth, civic virtue resided in Jefferson's yeoman farmer, who crafted a new Eden out of the American wilderness.[38] Nolen recast civic virtue, the catalyst for happiness, in urban terms. City planning, he argued, offered the means to transplant "civic virtue" from the agrarian heartland into "the productive action progressive cities must make."[39]

In the decade before World War I, Nolen worked tirelessly to promote city planning. By 1909, Nolen, at thirty-five, had found his niche as an evangelist for his fledgling profession. That year, the first National City Planning Conference was held in Washington, D.C., and Nolen presented the keynote address, "What Is Needed in American City Planning?"[40] to a wide-ranging group of reformers.[41]

Nolen mixed idealism and technical knowledge to present planning as the means to take the raw material of the American city and fashion a new order of urban life. "Our cities," Nolen reported, "are lacking in almost all of those essentials of convenience, comfort, orderliness, and appropriate beauty that characterize the cities of other nations." Americans were blessed with "political rights," but their cities lacked "forms of beauty and pleasure which feed and refresh the soul as bread does the body." He held up European cities with their opportunities for recreation and the enjoyment of art as a gauge. While critics could argue that history precluded replicating Europe's architectural wonders in the United States, Americans held an unparalleled opportunity to express civic traditions and incorporate the wide beauty of the natural landscape.

First, however, citizens could no longer afford to equate progress, Nolen argued, "to the mere increase in population and wealth." Denuding the landscape for quick profits obliterated natural features and produced "a monotony," Nolen stated, that "haunts one like a nightmare." To escape a formless future, he recommended framing a vision of the ideal city by designing plans that "echo more closely . . . the physical situation and topography." Building to this pattern would produce individuality in cities and, Nolen argued, a "wider democracy of recreation." Planning also provided the means to wed the American trait of individualism to the public realm. "Our interest in human life is distinctly personal" and, he ascertained, "so is it in towns and cities." Unfortunately, in the United States, urban residents found it difficult "to express themselves and their ideas." To rectify this inertia, Nolen presented planning as a means to help citizens enunciate "a love and pride in local traditions and local ideals." Once ideals were cast, civic art and landscape architecture could express "local aspirations." Whether in green squares, plazas, or parks, city dwellers encountering civic virtue's physical form would not only escape the drudgery of industrial life, they would also enjoy the benefits of their collective work.

Building a new urban civilization to match the nation's unsurpassed prosperity required, Nolen stressed, "a wiser husbanding of our aesthetic, human and natural resources." Planning could ensure the "timely investing

(not spending) of public money" to provide "improvements which we all now desire, but which we think we cannot afford." Yet new legislation and the "conservative investment of capital" was not enough. Reciting Simon Patten's lesson, "American towns and cities need," Nolen asserted, "united and hearty cooperation on the part of various public authorities and private individuals."[42]

Over the next decade, Nolen tirelessly promoted the themes he enunciated in the Washington address, and by 1919, he had risen to the top of his profession. He had edited two books, written two others, published more than fifty articles and plans, and presided over the nation's largest planning firm. Nolen's blend of environmentalism, civic vigor, and business acumen gave his work an innovative yet pragmatic bent.[43] Despite his success, the failure of local governments to implement plans led him to question if Americans had the "imagination" and the "civic sentiment" to initiate the "concrete work of city planning."[44]

In 1921, Nolen concluded that replanning the American city was a hopeless task. The nation's cities were "cursed," he wrote, "with nearly insolvable social and political problems."[45] To complicate matters, planners seemed more intent on drawing up zoning ordinances that secured mediocrity rather than crafting new urban designs for the nation with more than half its population classified as urban. After this revelation in the 1920 census, Nolen shifted his practice to place more emphasis on planning new garden city communities.[46] In this endeavor, Nolen owed much to Englishman Raymond Unwin, the town planner of the first garden city.[47]

Garden City Theorist and Practitioner

From their first meeting in 1911, Nolen and Unwin became fast friends. Close in age and interests, these two pioneer planners corresponded regularly for twenty-five years, exchanging social views, planning expertise, and their visions of a new civilization. They also developed a close personal relationship, their families enjoyed vacations together, and as their children grew into young adults, they would visit their "foster families" in England and America.

Both men rose to the pinnacle of their profession, holding the presidency of their respective national planning associations. In 1931, Nolen replaced his close friend as president of the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, a post Unwin had occupied since 1928 when he succeeded garden city theorist Ebenezer Howard. Their rapport never ended. Nolen's last letter, written on his deathbed, went to Unwin.[48]

Unwin's plans for Letchworth Garden City (1903) and Hampstead Garden Suburb (1909) greatly influenced Nolen. Unwin advocated building clusters of garden cities connected by rail as an alternative to the "huge aggregation of units ever spreading further and further from the original

center."[49] For Unwin, a disciple of Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement, planning allowed local governments to allocate land for the various components of a city in accordance with the characteristics of the land. The garden city concept rested on the faith that planners could break down the complexities and pathologies of urban life by designing communities around natural forms and at a "human scale" (not greater than twelve units per acre). In contrast to the rectangular monotony of the traditional "checkerboard plan," Unwin placed neighborhoods along natural contours, and he grouped residences, often in garden apartments, on the land most suited for development. This allowed him to set aside more fragile lands for agriculture, recreation, or common open space. A greenbelt surrounded each city, providing a boundary of agricultural and recreational lands.[50]

Nolen blended the work of Olmsted Sr. and Unwin to produce his most complete presentation of the American garden suburb, Mariemont, Ohio.[51] On 23 April 1923, philanthropist Mary Emery broke ground for Mariemont, a 420-acre site located ten miles east of downtown Cincinnati on a plateau overlooking the Little Miami River. Emery had employed Nolen to create a "National Exemplar," utilizing "modern city planning techniques to produce local happiness."[52] Nolen's interpretation of Jefferson's ideal was not an "experiment in social organization," but as Emery directed, an effort to create "the best housing and community conditions possible . . . for the benefit of wage earners of different economic grades."[53]

Like Hampstead and Letchworth, Mariemont integrated a formal town center with suburban neighborhoods following topographical lines. Traditional English architecture defined Mariemont's town center, striking a close parallel to Letchworth. Nolen's rendition of the garden city, however, incorporated a more comprehensive park system than either Letchworth or Hampstead. If this produced a more "green" garden city, Mariemont lacked the urbanism Unwin created in his design. This difference resulted in part from each practitioner's training (Nolen was a landscape architect, Unwin a civil engineer) and their employer's demands.[54]

One of the most pleasant walks in any American community is along the parkway connecting Mariemont's town center to a scenic vista overlooking the Little Miami River. The shaded green corridor provides a gentle transition from civic buildings to Tudor revival apartments, to duplexes and single-family homes incorporating various interpretations of English architecture. If Mariemont failed as a model for affordable housing, Nolen's careful integration of apartments and homes still yielded an important lesson for planners struggling with segregated land uses.

Within fifteen minutes from leaving Town Hall, one encounters the parkway's terminus: the Concourse, a half-moon, green jewel encapsulating a picturesque view of the surrounding landscape. A stone pergola with a timber trellis marks the park edge, providing framed overviews of the Little Miami. On a fall day, the autumn blaze stretching over the river valley resembles an early Thomas Cole painting. Of course, this should come as no

surprise. Designing parks to encapsulate picturesque views tied Nolen to the genius of Frederick Law Olmsted Sr. What separated these two landscape architects was Nolen's desire to design a state of interconnected garden cities.

John Nolen's Florida Planning Laboratory

After his initial success with Mariemont, Nolen found a site to test his designs on a grand scale: Florida. A burgeoning land boom had turned this "last frontier," Nolen wrote, into "a great laboratory of town and city building."[55] In 1922, he contracted with St. Petersburg to create Florida's first comprehensive plan. The city, he found, occupied a "site blessed by a benevolent Nature" and possessing "the same characteristics as that of southern France.[56] After signing the contract, Nolen wrote an associate, "This seems to be an opportunity to do rather more than we have ever been given the chance to do before."[57]

In St. Petersburg, Nolen held a much wider canvas than in Mariemont. While the Ohio site presented an excellent rendition of the garden city suburb, in St. Petersburg, Nolen envisioned a true garden city. In March 1923, Nolen completed an ambitious plan to imbue this "resort city" of fifteen thousand with a "form and flavor unlike that of other places." The plan marked Nolen's most comprehensive adaptation of garden city principles in America. A greenbelt of preserves and parks encircled the lower third (forty-five square miles) of the Pinellas Peninsula, setting the city's natural boundaries and creating a lure for tourists. He also presented plans to improve traffic connections and establish a civic center. Mixed-use neighborhood centers were clustered to prevent the unsightly spread of commercial uses and traffic problems along city thoroughfares. A system of parkways united the city, providing pedestrian access, in white and black neighborhoods, to parks and local neighborhood centers with "store groups, churches, and public buildings" (see Figure 1).

Nolen refused to incorporate racial zoning in his plan.[58] Instead, he concentrated government's police powers on the "adequate control of private development." He proposed a series of land use controls to ensure that development followed the efficient outlay of public facilities rather than the outline of speculative desires in the hinterlands. Without these regulations, Nolen was hardly sanguine about the city's future. "It has been said and with reason," he wrote, "that man is the only animal who desecrates the surroundings of his own habitation."[59]

In the midst of the great Florida land boom, the desire to make quick profits outweighed any lofty notion of city building. Moreover, the idea of investing public funds to improve the squalid conditions in "the colored section" found little sentiment in a place where an editor, who led the charge against planning, advocated replacing black laborers (17 percent of the population)

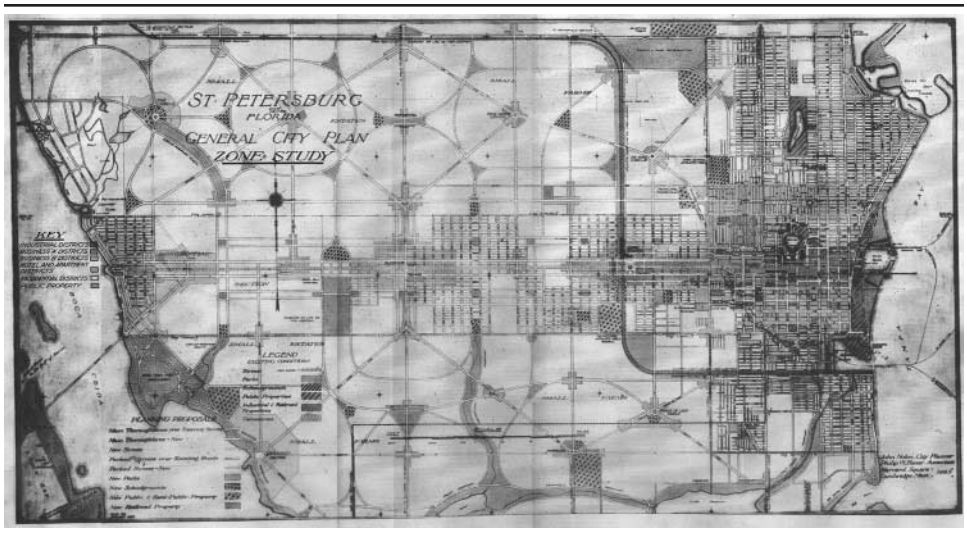

Figure 1: Nolen's St. Petersburg Plan
Note: In his plan, parkways linked white and black neighborhoods to parks and local neighborhood centers planned for store groups, churches, and public buildings.
Source: Courtesy of Rare Manuscript Collection, Cornell University.

with immigrants from the "agricultural sections of England."[60] Racism in St. Petersburg was as virulent as anywhere in the South. In 1920, Florida had the highest lynching rate relative to its population in the nation.[61] In St. Petersburg, African Americans suffered lynching in 1905, 1914, and 1926.[62] In 1919, after the Florida justice system failed to secure convictions in the lynching of two African Americans, Dr. William A. Byrd, a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People official, claimed the "Anglo-Saxon ability to rule the South has been tested and found an ignominious failure. Civilization in Florida has broken down."[63] Given the state of affairs in Florida, it is hardly surprising that Nolen's vision of an enlightened, modern city received only 13 percent of the vote in referendum.[64]

The St. Petersburg experience disheartened Nolen, but he remained optimistic. His firm worked on fifty-four projects in Florida during the 1920s, and in 1925 he found in "Venice an opportunity better . . . than any other in Florida to apply the most advanced and most practical ideas of regional planning."[65] Nolen planned Venice for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), a labor union looking to capitalize on the land boom and the resort trade. The BLE, however, was also investing for the long term. BLE officials wanted a regional center for agriculture and light industry, "a place where the ordinary man could have a chance to get all that the rich have ever been able to get out of Florida."

"Nature led the way," and the plan, Nolen wrote, "followed her way."[66] Greenbelts protected important natural features, and parkways extended from the hinterlands into Venice's downtown (see Figure 2). A greenbelt bounded the town to the east and south, while Venice Bay marked the

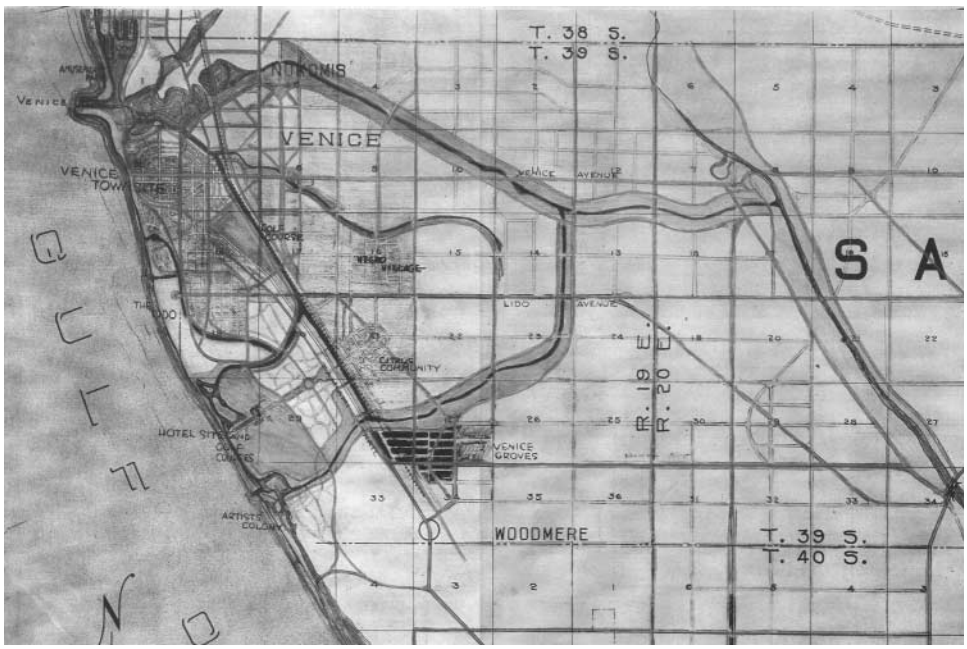

Figure 2: Venice Regional Plan
Note: In the Venice regional plan, greenbelts protected natural features while parkways extended from the hinterlands into downtown. Note the parkway connecting to "Negro Village."
Source: Courtesy of Rare Manuscript Collection, Cornell University.

northern edge and the Gulf of Mexico lay to the west. Nolen paid special attention to the town's gulf front location. A linear park ran along the waterfront, with an amphitheater and beachfront park lying at the terminus of Venice Parkway, which connected the beach to the civic center (see Figure 3).

The civic center's grouping of parks and public buildings offered a view of the Gulf and marked the western edge of the commercial core. From this point east, Venice Parkway narrowed to Venice Avenue, which ran the center of a three-block commercial core between the civic center and Rialto Avenue. The civic center not only defined the town center but also stood midway between the commercial core and Venice's most sublime natural feature: the Gulf of Mexico.

In Venice, Nolen effectively balanced his design between two transcendental ideals: civic virtue and nature. From city hall, one could view the palette of nature while surrounded by the physical form of the civic spirit. An ideal site for contemplation, a vision of nature was always at hand, but it never remained the same, shifting with the tides and the seasons.

Two diagonal avenues defined the neighborhoods lying between the Gulf and the civic center. School sites and the commercial center provided focal points for the neighborhoods in the eastern half of the town. Common greens and playgrounds were provided in each neighborhood, while a

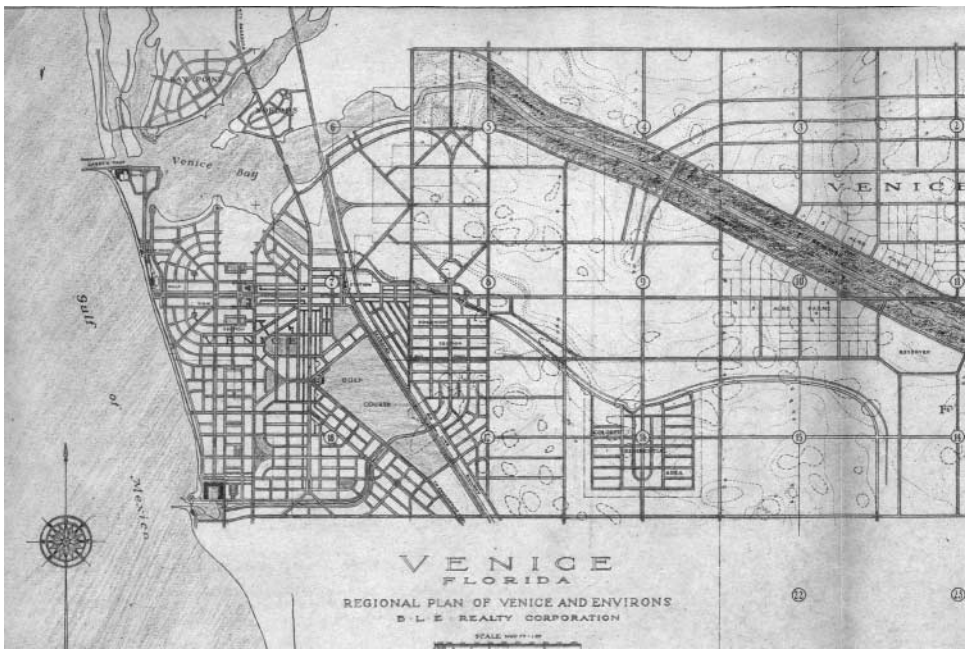

Figure 3: Regional Plan of Venice and Environs
Note: A linear park bounded the Venice town center and the Gulf of Mexico. A beachfront park terminated Venice Parkway, the connection to the civic center.
Source: Courtesy of Rare Manuscript Collection, Cornell University.

wedge-shaped golf course buffered the eastern section of town from the railway and industrial uses.

The railroad ran along the town's eastern edge, its intersection with Venice Avenue creating an industrial hub. A working-class district was planned for the Edgewood District, lying just east of the railroad. Nolen employed a simple grid to create inexpensive lots. Although the railroad separated this neighborhood from the rest of the town, residents had easy access to the jobs envisioned in the industrial center.

Nolen also placed Harlem Village (a name Nolen believed "acceptable to colored people"[67]) east of the railway, surrounding it with "white farms." Segregation was a staple of southern life, and if Nolen failed to directly fight the southern caste system, he remained adamant that African Americans receive the benefits of good planning.[68] In Venice, he followed the same model he used in St. Petersburg, connecting African American neighborhoods to the larger community via parkways. In cities separated by race, interconnected parkways offered the hope of uniting diverse people through "nature" and, Nolen wrote, to "the brotherhood of man."[69]

Nolen designed Venice's Harlem Village with the advantages allocated to other districts. He centered the village on a civic green, framed by shops, the Walter Page School, and a ten-acre park. The site included a formal park adjacent to the green, a playfield, and a bathhouse on the shore of a two-

acre lake. Sites for four churches, three playgrounds, and tree-lined streets were also planned on the same grid pattern as the Edgewood District.

The BLE invested heavily, spending $15 million on infrastructure, before the land boom crashed in 1927. Nolen's plan remained a guiding vision, although the BLE deemed Harlem Village impractical and a waste of money. Today, Venice stands as the most complete example of the garden city in Florida. Neighborhoods segregated by class and cost were connected by parkways and linked to the civic center. Combining the lines of nature with a civic orientation, Venice offered, Nolen wrote, "an inspiration to those who would make this world a better place to live."[70]

At the 1926 National City Planning Conference, held in St. Petersburg, Nolen featured Venice in his presidential address, titled "New Communities to Meet New Conditions." More than any other state, Nolen believed, Florida needed "a state plan" to "regulate reasonably" the location of future towns and cities. Nolen envisioned a state of interconnected garden cities based on Venice's regional and town plan.[71] Although Nolen's agenda never moved beyond the conference, his vision drew admirers.

A year later in Washington, D.C., the young urbanist Lewis Mumford gave the keynote address to the same conference, proclaiming, "At least one planner realizes where the path of intelligent and humane achievement will lead during the next generation." Both Mumford and Nolen advocated regional planning and the new town as the means to channel urbanization into a higher level of civilization. They also saw planning as an art form that revealed mankind's highest aspirations. "City design" could only "succeed," Mumford remarked in his conclusion, "when the city planner tries to fathom and express . . . what the best life possible is."[72]

At the same time Mumford was addressing the nation's planners, Florida's real estate market was imploding. The state's economy soon collapsed, almost bankrupting Nolen's firm. Although he recouped some losses, the Great Depression further curtailed Nolen's practice, leaving him with a skeleton staff and struggling to find contracts.[73] Nolen taught planning courses at Harvard and MIT to makes ends meet, and a steady regimen on the lecture circuit made him the senior voice of American city planning.[74] The task of designing a new generation of model plans, however, fell to past associates Justin Hartzog and Hale Walker.

Both younger men worked with Clarence Stein in the Resettlement Administration, producing town plans for two of the three Greenbelt communities.[75] In this New Deal experiment, Hartzog directed the planning of Greenhills, Ohio, and Walker performed the same task for Greenbelt, Maryland.[76] The two made nature a central focus of design, but they jettisoned their mentor's integration of formal town centers and suburban neighborhoods. The informal layouts Hartzog and Walker produced catered more to the automobile and were founded on Stein's belief that social organization, not civic art, offered the best means to create community identity.[77]

When Nolen died in 1937, civil engineering and social science had replaced landscape architecture as the basis of planning.[78] This shift moved planners to see their profession as a science rather than an art. In 1943, a planning consultant hired by St. Petersburg dismissed Nolen's work as the "the optimistic opinion of what the ideal city should be." Instead of designing utopian forms, Bartholomew and Associates planned a more "efficient physical structure" based on a "thorough analysis of the facts." The plan provided guidance for traffic engineers but failed to recognize the economic value of "beauty and nature," according to the chairman of the city planning commission.[79] In 1976, a series of ecological disasters forced St. Petersburg officials to adopt a more environmentally based plan that paralleled Nolen's.

In 1977, the city council of Venice dedicated a memorial to John Nolen. The city "built in close conformance with" Nolen's plan had, the resolution read, "developed into one of the most beautiful cites of its size in the Nation."[80] The Nolen memorial was placed in the art sculpture area, where Venice Parkway intersected city hall. The only memorial to an American city planner rests, fittingly enough, at a place planned for the contemplation of nature and the potential of the civic spirit.

The most fitting memorial to Nolen, perhaps, came from Raymond Unwin. In a handwritten note rushed from his New York hotel to Nolen's deathbed near Boston, Unwin offered his friend

> this consolation—beyond what is true of most—that you have lived your life to some purpose: The value of your work in the pioneer period of planning over here is recognized and is most highly appreciated in England. . . . I cannot tell you how much I have valued your help, your experience, and above all your personal friendship. . . . I wish there were something more than this poor letter I could do to help you, and in some little way to repay the many kindnesses I have had from you![81]

Unveiling the Old Urbanism: The Nolen Connection

John Nolen sought to unify citizens by connecting them to civic ideals, nature, and ultimately public responsibility. While he struggled to see his work reach fruition, his plans are now appreciated for their balance and crafted dimensions. As Philip Langdon wrote, the tradition Nolen established is summed up "in a single word": "connection."[82] Linking citizens to the public realm unites Nolen and the New Urbanists. Where they differ, Andres Duany contended, is Nolen "did not have strong codes." His plans were exemplary, but he "counted on the competence of architects to behave in an urbanistically responsible way, which was a good bet in the twenties, but the odds had changed by the fifties." In today's market, Duany "assumes the incompetence or ill will of the designers and codes accordingly."[83]

Architectural and urban codes are not the only differences between Nolen and the New Urbanists. A landscape architect, Nolen saw planning as the means to preserve natural features and create a setting for architecture.[84] New Urbanist town plans, drawn primarily by architects, concentrate more on architecture and building "a human habitat of enduring and memorable character."[85] The secondary importance New Urbanists place on integrating their projects into natural systems separates them from landscape architects and conservation planners, who tend to see urbanism as a less important issue.[86] Landscape architects Cynthia Girling and Kenneth Helphand recommend that the "careful attention" New Urbanists give to "the design of the facade and street" carry over to planning transitions in the natural landscape.[87]

At the same time, environmentalists desperately need a sense of urbanism, "an environmental ethic," William Cronon contended, "that will tell us as much about using nature as about not using it."[88] The environmental crisis, like suburban sprawl, is not only a challenge to preserve wilderness but also to create a livable, aesthetically enriched human habitat that connects citizens to nature and the civic realm.[89] Aldo Leopold set an ideal for environmentalists with the "land ethic," challenging *Homo sapiens* to move from "conqueror of the land community to plain member and citizen."[90] Yet after sixty years, Charles Little wrote, "rarely does the concept of the land ethic, with its sense of caution and deferred reward, enter into the process of deciding how we use the land, deciding what kind of buildings we may place upon it."[91]

The New Urbanism lays claim to a planning tradition that environmentalists need, but the nexus has yet to appear.[92] Yet a model exists. Nolen focused his design on the civic realm, but he also extended interconnected systems of green far beyond urban centers. With the rise of the budding greenway movement, Nolen's garden city vision could unite environmentalists and New Urbanists. Both greenway enthusiasts and New Urbanists stress connection and lionize the work of early planners.[93] Integrating greenways and traditional town planning could produce a regional design concentrating development within or around interconnected systems of natural lands. This would yield a more sustainable urban form, especially in regard to maintaining high-quality water resources. At the same time, greenways, by increasing opportunities for direct contact with nature, help foster an environmental ethic that has been the function of either formal education or activism.[94]

A system of greenways is central to one of the nation's most important New Urbanist projects, the redevelopment of the Orlando Naval Training Center. The 1,100-acre infill site, three miles from downtown, housed eleven thousand Navy personnel, and 87 percent of trips made were on foot or using mass transit. In a city where residents make more than 90 percent of their trips by auto, city officials and surrounding neighborhoods wanted an alternative to the typical suburban design. The Orlando City Council set

parameters for a New Urbanist project and opened the project to consultants. In the ensuing competition, Orlando Partners, a group of local consultants, prevailed in a "close and contentious vote" over separate teams headed by Duany and Calthorpe.[95] The winning plan contained the most park land and presented a regional vision that resembled Nolen's Venice plan. Central to their sustainable development strategy, Orlando Partners designed a 100-year regional park system of interconnected greenways radiating from the development site into the surrounding metropolitan area. The plan tied into the Wekiva Loop, a regional greenway-trail system plan to connect metropolitan Orlando with two nature preserves: the Wekiva GeoPark and the Econlockhatchee Greenway. Winter Springs, a suburb of twenty-five thousand located north of Orlando and between the two preserves, also prepared a model greenway–New Urbanist Project.

The Cross-Seminole Trail, designed to connect the Wekiva and Econlockhatchee preserves, was the catalyst for the Winter Springs Town Center. The trail will run through a 240-acre site in the heart of Winter Springs. Once the Wekiva Loop is completed, seventy thousand trail users are expected to pass through the site each month, creating an element of urbanism that could promote a more traditional design. In 1998, the city council hired Dover-Kohl, a New Urbanist planning firm, and Michael Design Associates, a greenway design group, to create a traditional town center on the site.

The plan set the town center within a series of interconnected parks, natural areas, and trails (Figure 4). In contrast to surrounding developments, where parks are relegated to low quality, "left-over" land, sensitive upland habitat was preserved and linked to wetlands on either side of the site. Development was concentrated on a degraded pasture in a pedestrian-oriented design. Neighborhood shopping, parks, and civic buildings were placed within a ten-minute walk of residences. The plan provided the basis for a grant, which garnered $4.98 million from Preservation 2000 (Florida's natural lands acquisition program), to purchase the proposed greenspace system. Usually such grants are allocated for land lying within large natural systems, but the granting agency felt the Winter Springs Town Center provided a model for the state. "The plan," the Florida Department of Environmental Protection contended, "is based on traditional town planning principles such as more compact urban form designed to the human scale—the pedestrian rather than the auto."[96]

The proposed Town Center is in stark contrast to the conglomeration of subdivisions and strip centers that make up Winter Springs. As the *Orlando Sentinel* reported,

> The city's vision for a traditional town center could have been painted by Norman Rockwell: walking trails wind through a hickory grove, townhouses sit along tree-lined streets, and a new spacious town square, complete with fountains and a concert pavilion attract residents and visitors alike. A hotel and small conference center over look Magnolia Square, named for the Magnolia trees that stand in adjacent conservation

Figure 4: Winter Springs Town Center
Note: The Winter Springs Town Center's New Urbanist design enfolds a system of parks and trails, which connect to a metropolitan greenway system.

> areas [see Figure 5]. New stores and restaurants hug the streets, leaving most parking behind the shops.[97]

The Navy Base project, Baldwin Park, broke ground in 2001, and the Winter Springs Town Center followed suit in January 2002.[98] These model projects offer a more sustainable form than the suburban landscape blanketing one of the nation's most sprawl-threatened cities.[99] While sustainability is multifaceted, it hinges on using resources in a more efficient manner. Protecting sensitive habitats and offering a mix of transportation modes is the first step. The obvious question is whether Floridians will choose to live closer together with less private space and more public amenities and connections. The outlook for this shift is hardly sanguine. The increasing popularity of gated communities reveals that, at least in part, historic prejudice and fanciful myths can color living preference as much as any notion of community.

A full-page advertisement for Keene's Pointe, a gated Orlando subdivision, reveals a marketing strategy for those seeking escape to a mythical past. "Never before has there been a Central Florida Community compara-

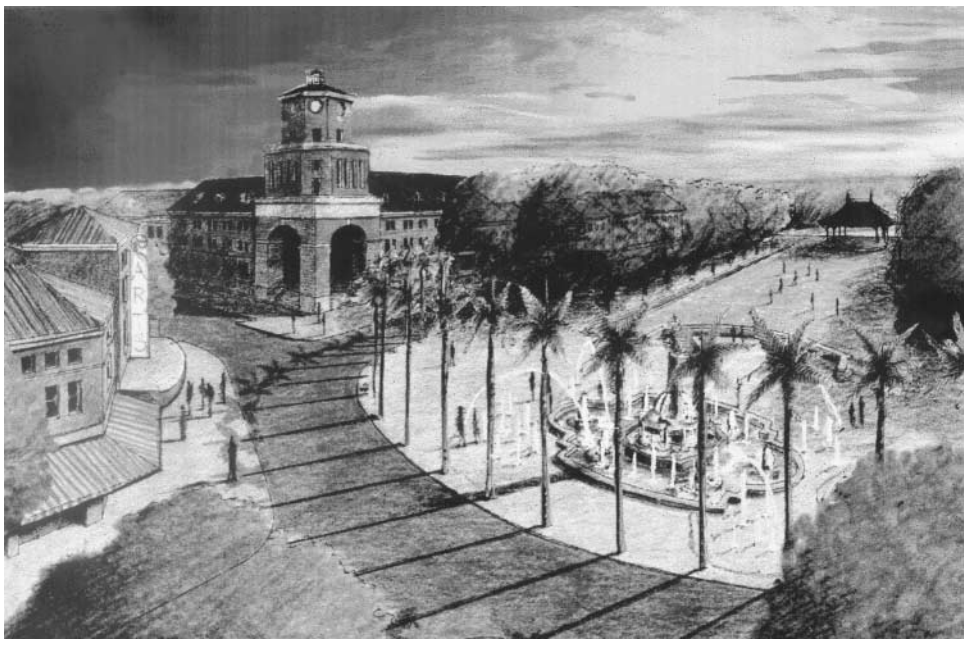

Figure 5: Magnolia Square, Focal Point of the Winter Springs Town Center and Park System

ble to Keene's Pointe," the *Orlando Sentinel* advertisement announced, "a setting created expressly for those who have a passion for Florida's natural beauty and their own sense of heritage, privacy, community." The rendition of the Jack Nicklaus "Signature Golf Course" leads one to wonder if any natural beauty remains, but there is little question as to the supposed heritage of those aspiring to this "secluded gated enclave." The pictured home, bereft of Florida vernacular style or native landscape, mimics an Old Virginia estate. The image's significance is furthered by the promise of a "premier address for those who dream of capturing—or recapturing—the grandeur of southern living, the way it was meant to be."[100] The notion of an attempt to recapture the South "the way it was meant to be" may only be a sales pitch, but it also reflects a growing system of "spatial apartheid"[101] that is defining the landscape of Florida and the nation.

In the eighty years since John Nolen presented his first garden city plan in Florida, his assertion that "man is the only animal who desecrates . . . his own habitation" is painfully obvious. Yet this is not the most troubling point. With inner cities ghettoized and gated subdivisions proliferating, the promise of the good life revolves ever more tightly around flights of escapism and instant individual gratification.[102] Losing a sense of a greater community is not just about building walls to keep others out; it is what is walled within. Alexis de Tocqueville argued that once a free people isolate themselves from others to "incessantly . . . glut their lives" with "petty and paltry

pleasures," the bonds of democracy dissolve. This demise is marked by the individual, he wrote, who even when close to fellow citizens

> does not see them; he touches them, but he does not feel them; he exists only in himself and for himself alone; and if his kindred still remain to him, he may be said at any rate to have lost his country.[103]

Yet there is room for optimism. The genius of African American culture has always been extolling whatever degree of freedom existed to move toward the ideals of American democracy. Nolen's vision of a "brotherhood of man," however hindered by the prejudices of that day, rested on the democratic ideal that immortalized Lincoln and King. The progression of civil rights from Lincoln to King offers hope, and after a century, the garden city still inspires visions of a more efficient, just, and sustainable society. Nolen's garden city ethic impelled citizens to take up the mantle of civic virtue and plan within the limits of nature. Love of life and love of nature struck a common chord for Nolen. "This is no superficial part of the movement," he stated in 1912. "It arises from the unerring instinct for self-preservation."[104] From this elemental instinct, Nolen crafted plans connecting citizens and bonding them to the preservation of life. For an earlier generation, the garden city ethic constituted a burden, but as James Baldwin wrote in *The Fire Next Time*, "We are capable of bearing a great burden, once we discover the burden is reality."[105] In St. Petersburg, fires sparked by riot and drought shattered long-held assumptions, forging both a new reality and burden.

On 24 October 1996, St. Petersburg fell into chaos when police shot and killed an unarmed 18-year-old African American during a routine traffic stop. By the time the National Guard restored order, damages had topped $5 million and residents faced some unpleasant truths. "A lot of people are saying things are well and good here in St. Pete," George Milburn, an official from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, stated. "If it was so good and well in St. Pete, why does this town continue to burn?"[106] Two years later, a record drought set Florida aflame and St. Petersburg moved ahead, with other Tampa Bay cities, to build the largest desalination plant outside of Saudi Arabia. In a region that receives fifty-five inches of rain a year this may seem odd, but Tampa Bay's sprawling development pattern had moved beyond the bounds of nature.[107] Facing new limits and old prejudices, a coalition of neighborhoods pushed the city to plan a more sustainable and civil future. The response, *St. Petersburg Vision 2020*, employed Nolen's past plan to offer new hope.

St. Petersburg Vision 2020 is New Urbanist in scope.[108] What an earlier generation of planners defined as traffic corridors are projected as a system of boulevards mixing traffic and pedestrians within a system of linear green. Boulevards provide the spine for building a new body of mixed commercial, residential, and public uses within a human scale environment. Of course,

this is hardly new: it merely replicates Nolen's 1923 plan. A proposal that perhaps best reflects the city's new planning vision also grew out of Nolen's work. The primarily white Roser Park neighborhood proposed expanding the Brooker Creek Greenway (a parkway in Nolen's plan) to link with a historic African American neighborhood, bordering Tropicana Field (the major league baseball stadium). While hardly revolutionary, creating this link illustrates the simple elements of civility and livability that planning can procure. If Nolen failed to directly attack Jim Crow in the 1920s, his desire to ameliorate injustice still provides direction.

The New Urbanists have resurrected Nolen's vision, and their architectural and planning acumen celebrates a rich tradition. Additional historical studies are needed to translate past visions into future solutions, but, just as in Nolen's day, the ability of a free people to create a better civic life remains as much a question of the spirit as of bricks and mortar. Can we muster the faith to believe, like Nolen, "that we could raise the whole plane and standard of the common life, physical, mental and aesthetic . . . by good planning?"[109]

Notes

1. The New Urbanists, a coalition of mostly architects, planners, and urban designers, have been most vociferous in critiquing suburban sprawl and providing an alternative form based on traditional town-planning principles. Among New Urbanists, James Kunstler combines ardent, if sometimes bombastic, criticism with visionary proposals. James Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); idem, *Home from Nowhere: Remaking Our Everyday World for the 21st Century* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). A less polemic yet equally vigorous presentation of the New Urbanism is found in Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *The Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point, 2000). A good introduction to New Urbanist projects is found in Peter Katz, *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), and a general introduction to the New Urbanism is found in Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000). The first generation of New Urbanist design principles are presented in Peter Calthorpe, *Ecology, Community and the American Dream* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993) and Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, *Towns and Town-Making Principles*, ed. Alex Kreiger with William Lennertz (New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

2. Preamble, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, v-vi.

3. T. Egan, "Squeezing Sprawl," *New York Times*, 15 November 1998.

4. Lewis Mumford, *The Golden Day* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), 282.

5. Kunstler, *Geography of Nowhere*, 254-55. The Florida roots of the New Urbanism are examined in Florida Humanities Council, *Forum* 20 (summer 1997), 1-63.

6. In the early 1990s, Duany told audiences that to understand what he was doing, they should study Nolen's plans. S. Sutro and R. Bednar, "The Roots of Neotraditionalism: The Planned Communities of John Nolen" (paper presented at the conference of American City and Regional Planning History, Richmond, VA, 19 November 1991). On the relationship between Nolen's plans and New Urbanist projects, see John L. Hancock, "John Nolen: New Towns in Florida," *New Towns* 1 (fall 1991): 68-87; William Fulton, *The New Urbanism: Hype or Hope for American Communities?* (Cambridge, MA : Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1996); Philip Langdon, *A Better Place to Live: Reshaping the American Suburb* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); Kenneth I. Helphand and Cynthia L. Girling, *Yard, Street, Park: The Design of Suburban Open Space* (Chicago: APA Press, 1994).

7. Fulton, *The New Urbanism*, 7.

8. Although not New Urbanist per se, Daniel Kemmis's vision of the good life and the good citizen informs the New Urbanist debate and is often sited in their literature. See Daniel Kemmis, *The Good City*

and the Good Life: Renewing the Sense of the City (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1995); Florida Humanities Council, *Forum*. On the relationship between Aristotle and the good life, see Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938), 496.

9. Congress for the New Urbanism, *Charter of the New Urbanism*, 3.

10. Any speech by James Kunstler or Andres Duany is full of New Urbanist rhetorical flourish on the need to build a more civic-centered society. The most in-depth analysis of the relationship between civic republicanism and the New Urbanism is found in Kunstler, *Home from Nowhere*, 15-57.

11. Peter Calthorpe and William Fulton, *The Regional City: Planning for the End of Sprawl* (Washington, DC: Island, 2001), 4. Traffic planner Walter Kulash coined the term *sellscape* in Langdon, *A Better Place to Live*, 36.

12. Kunstler, *Home from Nowhere*, 34.

13. The early evangelical zeal of the New Urbanism is captured in R. Knack, "Repent, Ye Sinners, Repent," *Planning* 44 (August 1989): 4-9. Critics of the New Urbanism state their case in S. H. Kaplan, "The Holy Grid: A Skeptics View," *Planning* 56 (November 1990): 10-11; I. Audirac and A. Shermyen, "Neotraditionalism and Return to the Town Life: Postmodern Placebo or Remedy for Metropolitan Malaise?" *Planning Perspectives* 19 (1994); A. L. Huxable, *The Unreal America: Architecture and Illusion* (New York: New Press, 1997); T. Martinson, *American Dreamscape, The Pursuit of Happiness in Postwar America* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2000).

14. T. Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 219.

15. John Nolen, *New Ideals in the Planning of Villages, Towns, and Cities* (New York: American City Bureau, 1919), 136.

16. David Schuyler provides an excellent review of early New Urbanist literature from a historian's perspective in "The New Urbanism and the Modern Metropolis," *Urban History* 14 (fall 1997): 345-58.

17. Daniel T. Rogers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in the Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 4.

18. The term *modernist* is multifaceted in American intellectual life. This research utilizes the notion of modernism developed by Daniel Joseph Signal in *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 3-6. While Victorians established innocence and purity as a primary goal, the modernist looked at questions of human nature and the workings of society within a "matrix of modernist culture." Signal presented the development of this matrix in stages and defined it as a commitment to rationality and pushing Western civilization to "alter its angle of vision" and develop a "new aesthetic sensibility" reflecting a modern "understanding social life." It is safe to say that Nolen would qualify as an early modern under Signal's definition. Moreover, Nolen helped establish the "modernist landscape" that Robert Fishman presented in "The American Planning Tradition: An Introduction and Interpretation," in *The American Planning Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000), 11-12.

19. Christine Stansell, "Details, Details," *New Republic* 534 (10 December 2001): 29.

20. John L. Hancock, "John Nolen: The Background of a Pioneer Planner," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 26 (1960): 303-12

21. Ibid., 303-4; Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 228-30.

22. F. B. Burgraff, "John Nolen," in *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, ed. Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karsin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 264-65.

23. Hancock, "John Nolen: The Background of a Pioneer Planner," 305.

24. Ibid., 306-7.

25. An excellent analysis of the Olmsted design ideal is found in David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: the Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1986). The best visual presentation of Olmsted's plans is found in Charles Beveridge and Paul Rocheleau, *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape* (New York: Universe, 1995).

26. John Nolen, "Notes Landscape Architecture Second Term," Harvard University, June 1904, Box 38, Nolen Papers (NP). Special Collections, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY. Nolen also learned to follow the Olmsted model when the natural landscape was lost to "the purposes of life." As in the case of Central Park, Nolen stated in a speech, Olmsted revealed how to best "replace it with some other appropriate beauty." John Nolen, "Beauty of Unspoiled Nature," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 23 February 1906.

27. Hancock, "John Nolen: The Background of a Pioneer Planner," 305.

28. Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 72-73.

29. Martin J. Schiesl, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1880-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); George Edwin Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960).

30. Walter Lippman, *Drift and Mastery* (New York: Henry Holt, 1917), 269.

31. Charles A. Miller, *Jefferson and Nature: An Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1988), 102-4.

32. Albert Fein, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition* (New York: Braziller, 1972), 68; A. W. Spirn, "Constructing Nature: The Legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: Norton, 1996), 40.

33. John Nolen, "Landscape Architecture in Its Relation to Town Improvement." Box 7, 1906 Folder, NP; John Nolen, "Beauty of Unspoiled Nature."

34. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 125.

35. William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1990), 20, 80-87.

36. J. A. Peterson, "Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.: Visionary and Professional," in *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City*, ed. Mary Corbin Sies and Christopher Silver (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 47.

37. John Nolen, "Points Way to City Beautiful," Box 7, 1912 Folder, (NP).

38. Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 124-25.

39. Nolen, "Points Way to City Beautiful." Also see John P. Diggins, *The Lost Soul of American Politics: Virtue, Self-Interest and the Foundation of American Liberalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 17.

40. John Nolen, "What Is Needed in American City Planning?" *Senate Documents* 49 (422), 61st Congress, 2nd Session, (Washington, DC), 1910.

41. M. Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 96.

42. Nolen, "What Is Needed in American City Planning?"

43. John L. Hancock, *John Nolen: A Bibliographic Record of Achievement* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967).

44. John Hancock, "John Nolen and the American City Planning Movement" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania University), 234.

45. J. A. Glass, "John Nolen and the Planning of New Towns," (master's thesis, Cornell University, 1984), 3.

46. Nolen to Patrick Geddes, 17 January 1923, Box 76, NP. Nolen had embarked on garden city planning before 1920, with Kingsport, Tennessee, being his most important and visible project. But as Nolen wrote to Patrick Geddes (shortly before completing his plan for St. Petersburg, Florida), he was exploring "a much more hopeful character in the way of planning new communities."

47. An interesting perspective of the garden city is presented in "Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 64 (spring 1998): 125-32. For an overview of the garden city, see Steven V. Ward, ed. *The Garden City: Past, Present, and Future* (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), and Buder, *Visionaries and Planners*.

48. See Unwin File, Box 8, NP.

49. Raymond Unwin, "The Overgrown City," *Survey*, 15 October 1922, 85-86.

50. Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Act of Designing Cities and Suburbs* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1909). Also see Walter L. Creese, *The Legacy of Raymond Unwin: A Human Pattern for Living* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967), and Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden City and Town Planner* (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1992).

51. Millard F. Rogers Jr. provided an excellent account of how Nolen utilized the English garden city as a model for Mariemont in *John Nolen and Mariemont: Building a New Town in Ohio* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). Nolen also gave tribute to the English garden city as a model for his work in *New Towns for Old* (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1927).

52. Mariemont Plan, Map Drawer R, NP.

53. Emery, quoted in Millard F. Rogers Jr., *John Nolen and Mariemont*, 72.

54. For an analysis of the evolution of Unwin's career and his design work at Letchworth and Hampstead, see Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin*.

55. John Nolen, "City Planning in Florida." Box 99, NP.

56. John Nolen, *St. Petersburg Today, St. Petersburg Tomorrow* (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1922), 11, Box 99, NP.

57. Nolen to Frank Williams, 22 March 1922, Box 99, NP.

58. Nolen was not in favor of racial zoning. He had been embroiled in a debacle in Palm Beach in early 1923 in which the desire to establish racial zoning, he found out, was the sole reason for his hiring. Nolen to William to Straub, 24 January 1923, Box 75, NP. Also see Christopher Silver, "John Nolen: Planner for the New South," *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 15 (spring 1996): 80-81.

59. All quoted material from Nolen, *St. Petersburg Today, St. Petersburg Tomorrow*.

60. *St. Petersburg Independent*, 23 July 1923.

61. J. E. Davis, "Whitewash in Florida: The Lynching of Jesse James Payne and Its Aftermath," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 78 (1990): 277-80. Also see Walter T. Howard, *Lynchings: Extralegal Violence in Florida during the 1930s* (Sellingsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1995).

62. Michael D'Orso, *Like Judgment Day: The Ruin and Redemption of a Town Called Rosewood* (New York: Boulevard, 1996); *Tampa Tribune*, 11 May 1926; *Florida Lynchings and Extralegal Violence, 1920-1940*, administration files, Film 6, Part 7, series A, reel 8, papers of the NAACP files (microfilm edition).

63. *Baltimore Daily Herald*, 19 April 1919.

64. R. Bruce Stephenson, *Visions of Eden: Environmentalism, Urban Planning and City Building in St. Petersburg, Florida, 1900-1995* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), 70-80.

65. Nolen to H. A. Paddock, 5 May 1926, Box 37, NP.

66. *Venice News*, June 1927. A good overview of Nolen's work in Venice is found in J. S. Matthews, *Venice: Journey for Horse and Chaise* (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1989), 225-64.

67. Nolen to George Webb, 23 June 1927, Box 37, NP.

68. Nolen designed segregated communities provided equality entered the equation. When hired to design the new town of Kingsport, Tennessee, Nolen protested his clients' demands for the construction of a "Negro Village." He eventually relented, but he tried to ameliorate some of the caste system's harsh standards. In laying out the new town of Kingsport, Tennessee, in 1916, Nolen tried to ameliorate the substandard living conditions endemic to African American neighborhoods. Nolen's patrons wanted to locate a "Negro Village" next to an industrial area. Instead, he designed a pleasant, landscaped neighborhood on a slight rise away from the factories. A stand of oaks and a winding creek protected the site from industrial encroachment. The concept was dismissed because, Nolen was told, "it is bad to give the colored people such a fine piece of land." In Kingsport, the African American neighborhood was relegated to a blighted site next to a dye plant. Hancock, "John Nolen and the American City Planning Movement," 466. On Nolen's work in Kingsport, see Margaret Ripley Wolf, *Kingsport, Tennessee: A Planned American City*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1987), 51-53.

69. Nolen, *New Towns for Old*, 110.

70. Nolen, *Venice News*, June 1927; Glass, "John Nolen and the Planning of New Towns," 404; M. Zimny, "Venice: The Gulf Coast City Began with . . . a Plan," *Florida Trend* 31 (2001), 6-11.

71. John Nolen, "New Communities to Meet New Conditions," *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Conference on City Planning* (Washington, DC: American Institute of City Planning [AICP], 1926), 5-16.

72. Lewis Mumford, "The Next Twenty Years in City Planning," *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Conference on City Planning* (Washington, DC: AICP, 1927), 43, 58

73. Millard F. Rogers Jr., *John Nolen and Mariemont*, 196-97. Nolen's attempts to retrieve payments from Florida employers are documented in Florida city files in the NP. In St. Petersburg and Venice, he received approximately 75 percent of the fees he contracted. See Venice Files Box 37 and St. Petersburg Files Box 99

74. Hancock, "John Nolen and the American City Planning Movement," 605-7.

75. Joseph L. Arnold, *New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Towns Program, 1935-1954* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971).

76. For a review of Greenhills, see chap. 1 in Zane L. Miller, *Suburb: Neighborhood and Community in Forest Park, Ohio, 1935-1971* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991). For Greenbelt, see Cathy D. Knepper, *Greenbelt, Maryland: A Living Legacy of the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

77. William Fulton, "The Garden Suburb and the New Urbanism," (paper presented at the conference on American City and Regional Planning History, Washington, DC, 19 November 1999), 14.

78. D. A. Krueckeberg, ed., "Introduction to the American Planner," in *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections* (New York: Methuen, 1983), 22-23.

79. Stephenson, *Visions of Eden*, 107-16.

80. City of Venice, "A Memorial to John Nolen" (1977), Box 37, NP.

81. Raymond Unwin to John Nolen, 2 February 1937, Box 8, NP.

82. Langdon, *A Better Place to Live*, 123.

83. Duany, quoted in D. Mohney and K. Easterling, *Seaside: Making a New Town in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1990), 87.

84. Nolen, "City Planning in Florida."

85. James Kunstler quoted on back cover of Katz, *The New Urbanism*.

86. Randall Arendt, *Crossroads, Hamlet, Village, Town: Design Characteristics of Traditional Neighborhoods, Old and New* (Chicago: APA Press, 1999), 2; Thomas L. Daniels, *When City and Country Collide: Managing Growth in the Metropolitan Fringe* (Washington, DC: Island, 1999), 94-95.

87. Helphand and Girling, *Yard, Street, Park*, 193, 210.

88. William Cronon, ed., "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: Norton, 1996), 85.

89. John Miller, *Egotopia: Narcissism and the New American Landscape* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 143.

90. Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1949), 204, 224-25.

91. Charles Little, *Hope for the Land* (Rutgers, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 12.

92. Calthorpe (with Fulton) gives credence to the concept of integrating greenways and wilderness corridors into regional planning systems. Yet in his plan for the Orlando Navy Base, he failed to incorporate these ideas while a competing team did. Duany is currently presenting the Transect as a means to integrate different levels of urbanism into the regional landscape. This theoretical concept offers important promise in bridging the fields of ecology and urban design in an interesting paradigm.

93. Charles Little, *Greenways for America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 7-25.

94. Daniel S. Smith, "An Overview of Greenways," in *The Ecology of Greenways*, ed. Daniel S. Smith and Paul Cawood Hellmund (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 16.

95. D. Tracy, "On Hold in Orlando," *Planning* 65 (January 1999): 4-7.

96. Press release, Florida Department of Environmental Protection, 10 October 2000.

97. Will Wellons, "Town Center Captures Eye of Winter Springs," *Orlando Sentinel*, 29 March 1998.

98. R. Perez, "Winter Springs to Break Ground on Focal Point for Community," *Orlando Sentinel*, 18 January 2002.

99. Orlando is considered the most sprawl-threatened city of its size in the nation according to the Sierra Club. See Sierra Club, *America's Most Sprawl Threatened Cities* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1999).

100. *Orlando Sentinel*, 13 November 1999.

101. Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York: Vintage, 1998), 362. A *Los Angeles Times* analysis of the 2000 census revealed that African Americans remain the most segregated group in the nation's top twenty-five metropolitan areas (including Orlando). *Los Angeles Times*, 5 July 2001. On racial segregation in housing and residential patterns, see Robert D. Bullard, J. Eugene Grigsby III, and Charles Lee, *Residential Apartheid: The American Legacy* (Los Angeles: Center for African American Studies, 1994). Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk contended that gated subdivisions create a self-perpetuating system of segregation. They argued that it is difficult for children growing up in these homogeneous environments to develop empathy and concern for the world beyond the walls. At the same time, the poor isolated in the city cannot identify with the concerns of the middle class. Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck, *Suburban Nation*, 45-46. For an analysis of the move toward gated communities across the Sun Belt, see Edward James Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder in *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1997). A good case study on the relationship between urban sprawl and racial and economic disparity is found in Robert D. Bullard, Glenn S. Johnson, and Angel O. Torres, eds., *Sprawl City: Race, Politics, and Planning in Atlanta* (Washington, DC: Island, 2000).

102. Drug use in the inner city and conspicuous displays of consumption both qualify as means of escape and self-gratification. The proliferation of the inner-city drug trade makes it difficult to separate the drug culture, and its criminality, from underclass poverty. Moreover, with this criminal element so thoroughly entrenched, especially among the youth, the rule of civil law is severely weakened. Even though the majority of inner-city residents are not involved in criminal activity, within the social context of their lives, there is a deep alienation from social institutions, especially the law enforcement system. At the same time, the lure of media images and the consumer mentality compel the most desperate residents to pursue the drug trade. Elijah Anderson, *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the*

Moral Life of the Inner City (New York: Norton, 1999), 1-10, 112. James Kunstler argued that the source of rage in the inner city is due to isolation and distorting media images.

> The only place they see the other America is on television, and then through a wildly distorting lens that stimulates the most narcissistic, nihilistic consumer fantasies. Since the poor, by definition, can't participate fully in consumer culture, the predictable result is rage. (Kunstler, *Home from Nowhere*, 54)

Dolores Hayden argued for "a more balanced body of scholarship in the study of urban landscape as a response to this kind of polemic." She failed, however, to address the cause of disruptions, such as the racial disturbances in St. Petersburg in 1996, which result from an urban landscape that is unbalanced. Dolores Hayden, "Urban Landscape History: The Sense of Place and the Politics of Place," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 111-33 at 114. This theme of unbalanced urban environment and rioting is discussed in M. Cottle, "Boomerang," *New Republic* 503 (7 May 2001): 26-33.

103. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. R. D. Heffner (New York: The New American Library, 1956), 303.

104. Nolen, "Points Way to City Beautiful."

105. James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dial Press, 1963), 105.

106. Florida Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights (USCRC), *Race Relations in St. Petersburg, Florida* (Washington, DC: USCRC, 1997), 29. A summary of the riot and its aftermath is found in *St. Petersburg Times*, 14 November 1996.

107. A second desalination plant in also under consideration. *St. Petersburg Times*, 12 June 2001.

108. St. Petersburg Development Services Department, *St. Pete Vision 2020* (St. Petersburg: n.p., 2002).

109. Nolen, *New Towns for Old*, 157.

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