



Notes: Aerials of Cities

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Notes on aeriels of cities

1. Omaha, ca. 1960, facing east

a. Square grid pattern, square blocks of buildings, square people. Quintessential heartland, drab and plain and solid. Produced Warren Buffett the investment guru, but generally not the nursery of genius. (*+ what's he wn created?*)

b. No bridges visible; no city on Ia. side visible. Council Bluffs, a small city, is over there somewhere.

c. People are friendly, honest, and long-lived: there are compensations for drabness.

d. Foreground, much land vacant, for parking. Doubtless by demolishing prior buildings.

e. No new buildings. Style of building suggests 1920s and earlier. Probably looks newer, now, but not much. Depends on farming, r.r., and river: all in decline. (Is where U.P. crosses Mo. R.)

f. No parks visible. Parks are one indicator of civic life, spirit.

2. Raleigh

a. Plain southern city, above average in culture. Lots of red brick.

b. Grid layout, even though without public land survey system. Fayetteville Street, main drag n-s; Hillsborough, e-w, goes west past N.C. State Univ. Generates only modest l.v. at core. *Weak central tendency*

c. State Capitol in center, with coronet barely visible. Unpretentious, as Capitols go. Capitol and universities are much of the economic base, plus textiles and some high-tech industry.

d. Seeks to achieve gains of scale by linking with other mid-sized older cities in the "Poly-nucleated Piedmont Industrial Crescent," (PPIC), coupling advantages of small-city living with scale of massed populations. Shares airport with Durham. Invested megabucks in airport as a hub, has been left holding the bag. Used to share higher education funds with Chapel Hill, but logrolling has spread them much further.

✓ e. No parks, visible or otherwise. Used to maintain segregated parks, outside city, admission to organized groups only. Now has pleasant beltway style park, beloved by joggers.

f. Originally a fall-line city, but Neuse R. is no-account.

g. A low-key, easy place to live, if ambitions are limited.

3-1. Chicago, facing n. along State Street from n. fringe of The Loop. Chicago R. in foreground; most of The Loop is behind us. The Loop is named for its circle of elevated rails (The El).

✓ a. Many bridges across Chicago River; one for each street. It takes a high level of land prices to justify such investments in land-linking. (cf. Omaha)

Style of bridges: "basculer." They go up to admit tall ships. They split in the middle; counterweights at each end help each half rise easily. One is up, colored orange.

✓ The homely, utilitarian basculer is land-saving: it needs no vast approach areas such as taken up by suspension and other elevated bridges.

✓ Evenso, the cost of such bridges may exceed the benefits to navigation today. However, navigation has r.o.w., by grandfather custom. (Another cost used to be that city unions could win strikes by threatening to keep bridges raised. This hasn't happened, however, since 1937, so far as I know.)

✓ b. Good "tapering" of heights out from The Loop. Heavy resident population next to business: something L.A. has not begun to achieve. Twin Towers a visible symbol of this. They are inside Loop; each has business and parking below, condos above. Near n. side, dense pop., esp. along Lake Shore Drive, with parks and beaches to east, and Rush Street local-oriented retail behind them to west. Highest values are on Rush Street rather than Lake Shore Drive (just as State Street outvalues Michigan Avenue).

c. Photo apparently predates "Big John" (the John Hancock Building, once tallest in the world).

d. Wacker Drive on s. bank of Chicago River, is double-decked. From the lower deck, there are some tunnels running a short distance under The Loop.

e. New growth is north, along N. Michigan Ave. (east blocked by parks)

f. Note individuality of buildings: Tribune Tower, Wrigley Building (white sheathing), Medina Club, even N.U. Dental School

(downtown or McClintock Campus). Chicago takes its building faces seriously - we'll soon see cities that build mostly brutal cubes. The Playboy HQ Building is also on N. Michigan, not visible, but symptomatic of a free-spirited city, defying midwestern traditionalism and going with the flow.

g. Neighborhood e. of Mich. Ave., n. of Chicago R., is Streeterville, named for a Captain Streeter whose boat stuck on a sandbar there. As the sand built up around it, he declared independence from the U.S., to defeat the claim of riparians to the land he had "made." He lost, but got a settlement, and was a famous local character. All that land was originally under water - not much, but still it was water.

✓ h. Swankiest apartments and strata titles (condos) are near The Loop. Going north, Rogers Park is more middle class. Then comes Evanston, then the gold coast suburbs: Wilmette, Kenilworth, Winnetka, Glencoe, Highland Park, Ravinia, Lake Forest, ... then wealth tones down at plebeian Waukegan, and Gt. Lakes Naval Training Center.

✓ Commuter rail service by CNWRR, *like later freeways* and formerly by parallel electric line, The Chicago, North Shore, and Milwaukee R.R. (which also had a parallel line west of here, the Skokie Valley route, whose trains went up to 100 mph, way back in 1930!). Upon entering Chicago, The North Shore gave express service exclusively for suburbanites; proletarians used The El, with local stops. Executives commute to The Loop, or their factories. ✓ These rails are part of Chicago's highly developed mass transit system. Settlement scatters clear up to Wisconsin line.

✓ Lake Shore Drive becomes Sheridan¹ Road, the top address, with estates and mansions east to the Lake, and merely filthy rich on the west side, dropping rapidly to upper middle class within a block or two. Access to beaches and Lake is restricted.

✓ In the harsh climate, beach life is much less important than out here. Originally, entire Skokie Valley, extending N. Branch of Chicago R., was swampy, parallel to Lake shore, about 5 miles west. Now, extensive public drainage works have corrected that. As lakeshore suburbs age and obsolesce, much wealth is moving

¹Sheridan Road is named for the dashing Union cavalry officer who finally succeeded in neutralizing the formidable Confederate cavalry. Chicago was the big winner of the Civil War, and commemorates it with Lincoln and Grant Parks, the Sherman House, the Union League Club, etc. Chicago was an arsenal city, staging center, and rail hub during the war, and successfully reconverted to civilian life after it.

✓ west. Physical features endure, but neighborhood effects may be transitory, varying with age of buildings.²

✓ i. CBD of Chicago is unusually compact and centralized, in spite of endless horizons of suitable land. It has even expanded eastward into the Lake, owing to the supreme importance of central location. Its strong radial rail and electric systems date from early times, and Chicago's strength as a rail center. Commuting by water has never been a factor, as it is in Seattle, Vancouver, Hong Kong, and Sydney. It has no natural islands, like New York. Its centralization is manmade in a "stinking swamp," the meaning of Chicago in the Pottawotamie Indian language whence it comes. Its 100% location, State and Madison, was until quite recently the most valuable land in the U.S.A.; perhaps it still is, even though it is the third largest city, and New York is also quite centralized.

Urban economics as a discipline owes much to Chicago - some say too much, Chicago having become a model of what other cities should be.

j. A glimpse of green along lakefront is a bit of Chicago's good system of lakefront parks, with civic and cultural buildings.

3-2. Chicago, facing n.e., from s.w. of South Branch, Chicago River.

a. This is from the backside of The Loop, whose classy face is to the east. Loop is a mass of high buildings: city life in all three dimensions.

b. Again, buildings have individual character.

-- Chicago Opera House, aka "Insull's Armchair" from Samuel Insull, ill-starred utility magnate who built it in the 1920s before fleeing the country to escape creditors and the law.

✓ -- Merchandise Mart, largest private building in the world. It is built entirely on air rights over r.r. tracks.

✓ ²Sensing this competition from the start, old wealth along the lake grumbled about Federal aid to drain the Skokie swamps. Harold Ickes, FDR's Interior Secretary, came from Winnetka, and helped funnel Federal funds to convert the swamps into the scenic Skokie Lagoons, known critically as "Ickes' Frog Ponds." These and other interior lakes, both natural and artificial, offer effective competition to the sometimes forbidding shores, polluted waters, and stony beaches of L. Michigan.

-- Rail stations, w. of river. Decaying glory now, but still in service for commuters. Hub of vast network; also built over tracks.

c. LaSalle St., financial center of mid-America, is 3-4 blocks e. of river. Crowned by Board of Trade bldg. as southern finial, with statue of Ceres beaming down. Is to commodities what Wall St. is to securities.

d. Note bascule bridge at every e-w street. High land prices justify that, even though west of river is traditional skid row area, esp. W. Madison. Ironical, though not unusual, that one street goes from the highest to the lowest within a mile or two. State Street does the same, moving south.

This is more than irony. There is some cause and effect relationship. High land prices in one place stimulate speculative overpricing and holdouts nearby, which in turn retard development and renewal, lead to blight. *Shows + great universities*

e. Grid layout of Loop. Typical of midwest; not of Boston, as we'll see.

f. A few parking lots visible, but not many. Land is too dear. Surface parking on a large scale is a sign of cheap land. On a small scale, it is an interim use by speculators.

3-3. Chicago, facing e. from s.w. of Loop.

a. Eisenhower Xway, e-w, to west suburbs, which are closer in than gold coast northern suburbs. Goes under huge p.o. building, using 3rd dimension. In other places, Chicago has widened city streets by turning sidewalks into lanes. Then, for pedestrians, they condemn space on 1st floor of high-rise buildings, turn them into sidewalks. The stores lose very little, they still have their frontage, they just move it back a few feet. Sidewalks are now covered: shade in summer, cover from rain. *a superior practical alt. to pedestrian malls.*

b. Vast space taken by interchange with n-s Xway. This is off s.w. corner of Loop, its weakest corner. Xway came as afterthought, after basic patterns established, has accommodated to them, rather than shaping them. Routes a lot of auto and truck traffic around CBD, lowers congestion there. *by pass.*

c. Sears Tower, world's tallest building. Is inside s.w. corner of Loop, on cheapest land in Loop. Likewise, John Hancock Bldg. is n.e. of Loop, on cheaper land. These are signs of market imperfection. These buildings should be together, in best location. Again, this is typical of cities. Empire State Bldg.

in N.Y.C. is far from 100% location, at 34th St., n. of downtown and s. of uptown.

4. Phoenix, b&w, facing n.e. toward Camelback.

✓ a. Lowrise CBD, at Central (n-s) and Van Buren (e-w). Parallel to Van Buren are Washington and Jefferson, also main drags, such as they are. Thus, CBD is where three e-w arteries meet one n-s artery.

✓ b. Extreme scatter. Total auto dependency. Life here without an auto is 3rd class citizenship. City spreads out thin in all directions. Not surprisingly, this is the land of Charles Keating and his notorious Phoenician³ Hotel complex at the end of a long, expensive road.

✓ c. Such coherence as can be seen is linear, n-s, along Central Ave. Even along this line, high buildings are scattered. CBD dies e. of Central, even along Van Buren.

d. No public parks visible. One golf club seen in center.

e. Simple grid layout, over vast area: was once under public land survey system.

f. Area outlined in white is proposed "civic center." Otherwise, Phoenix is neither civic, nor has it a center worth mentioning. Civic spirit and central tendency both weak.

g. Main attraction is climate, bringing retirees. Capital comes from outside region. Also benefits from "free coinage of western Senators." With two Senators, gets its 2% of federal spending (masked by libertarian rhetoric of its people and Senators). The Central Arizona Project, bringing Colorado River water to Phoenix at California's expense, through a multi-billion \$ aqueduct built at Federal expense, is the kind of Federal largesse two Senators can buy a small state. Now they have the water, they won't even pay their small share of the total cost.

h. On such a basis, has also attracted some genuine industry. Can it survive? Stay tuned.

i. Central Ave. is a string of pearls with half the pearls missing. The mythical Phoenix rose from the ashes; Phoenix, AZ, never will. It is tolerable today only because new; it will not

³Even the name is phony. Phoenix is named for a mythical bird that rose from the ashes. It has nothing to do with historical Phoenicia.

renew itself as Sydney has (cf. 17-2, 17-3), but degenerate into a vast blighted area. Much of it already has.

5-1. Boston, facing e. along Charles R.

✓ a. "Taxachusetts" is high tax state, with its share of patronage and exploitive politics. Lacks rich farmland, minerals, virgin timber, fuel, etc. Bypassed by St. Lawrence routes to north, and Mohawk-Hudson route to west and south. Suffers from aging. Seems to survive anyway, judging from picture. Equilibrating mechanism is simple: land prices are lower. *Vast education industry*

b. Charles R. provides water recreation.

c. Waterfront parks - just a sliver showing, but is lovely, heavily used.

✓ d. World's largest college town. Colleges, dozens of them, are a major industry.

e. Storrow Drive, along Charles, *a bypass* a thoroughfare that is also scenic. No access for retailers. Land taken from the river, off to one side of strong residential area; nuisance effects offset by parkland, also taken from river.

f. Strip of green through residential area (Commonwealth Ave.) Concern for keeping crowded living areas livable. All streets have green. Likely locale for the bar in Cheers.

✓ g. Boston Common, large splotch of green in center. (Common? Commonwealth Ave.? New England tradition emphasizes common lands.) This park is probably too big for modern conditions, homelessness, and legal tolerance of anti-social behavior under color of civil liberties. Like Central Park in N.Y. and Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, it has become dominated by intimidating and repellant kinds of users.

✓ h. All the left side is filled land - hence "Back Bay." Shifting leads to occasional problems with underground pipes, but they get by. Street grid possible because of later artificial development. Elsewhere, Boston streets were laid out on cowpaths - tradition says the cows were drunk. This is more amusing than a problem: economic life survives it very well. It even benefits pedestrian-oriented business by slowing auto traffic to a crawl. ✓ The important thing is to have small, shallow blocks, with maximum frontage. *(In Sta. Barbara, done w. "Paseo's")*

✓ i. Note Mass. Turnpike (a regionalism) going underground, reemerging in upper right. There is also a tunnel to Logan Airport, underwater. N.Y. and Boston both use tunnels and

✓ subways a lot. From the upper right, Turnpike wraps around lower Boston, where it is called "The Distressway," perhaps the world's slowest through route.

✓ j. In distance is Logan Airport, reached via Callahan and Sumner Tunnels. Like San Francisco, Oakland, Sydney, and a few other airports, it is on filled land stolen from the fish.

k. To far right is Columbia campus of U. Mass. Boston, built over an old dump, which in turn was a landfill. They still have problems with escaping gas. In Mass. the educational tradition is private first, public second. JFK Memorial, in white marble, is there on campus, altho he went to Harvard.

✓ l. Tall buildings in foreground are the John Hancock, and the Prudential. That's one way insurance companies invest their loot. Like the Empire State Building, the Sears Tower, and Chicago's John Hancock, they are well away from the 100% location: again, a sign of market failure. Also, they cut special deals on tax relief - a sign of political failure. Note linear tendency of CBD moving west over Mass. Turnpike (and subway route, unseen).

m. State House dome visible straight ahead. Boston is one of the few large cities that is also its state's capitol.

n. Upper right are Roxbury and Dorchester. Residents are mostly poor and black; owners are mostly white, absentee, and not so poor. Roxbury harbors a strong separatist movement that would secede from Boston and create a new city, to be named Mandela, taxing the absentee owners. Stay tuned.

o. In the distance are beach communities on spits and sandbars.

5-2. Boston, facing n.e.

a. Mislabeled "Back Bay"?

b. Another view of growth along the e-w axis, this one from the south side.

✓ c. In foreground, world HQ of Christian Science Church, the "mother church." Founded by Bostonian Mary Baker Glover Eddy - how ironic that Church of England only now is ordaining its first female priests, and Catholic Church still isn't. People kept out of mainline career routes will innovate and create others. Female clerics go way back in New England: Anne Hutchinson raised a great stir, for good or evil, in the 17th Century. Adding to the irony the Mormons, arising from New Englanders transplanted to the Mohawk Valley, have reserved leadership for males. Adding

more irony, Boston has world-famous hospitals. Big cities are big enough to encompass many viewpoints. (I take no position on any of the religious organizations mentioned.)

Besides the mother church itself, there is the reflecting pool, open to public enjoyment. There is a tall, slender tower with church offices, reminiscent of the Crystal Cathedral offices in Garden Grove, CA. *or Mormon Temple in La Jolla.*

✓ d. Lower building with horizontal stripes is Copley Plaza, a new 3-d Mall in town. Transportation is by subway and escalators: a fabulous shopping resource, needing no parking lot.

✓ e. Bridge over the Charles - only one is seen. There are more upstream near Harvard, where river is narrower. On the whole, bridging the Charles is badly neglected, quite the opposite from Chicago. A sign of low land prices? Cambridge and MIT, across the Charles, are cut off.

f. Science Museum, Bunker Hill Monument, Old North Church, U.S.S. Constitution, are visible: a culture steeped in both science and tradition.

✓ g. Foreground, sharp division of old and new buildings. Renewal in Boston is everywhere partial, unlike Sydney.

h. Along about here, gay street life is overt. Gays presumably live nearby, probably in the older quarter. Gays, like some other minorities, often provide a buffer between the menacingly poor and the rich.

i. Note broad street disappearing into tunnel, center of picture. This is pure Boston (although San Francisco also has its Broadway tunnel).

j. Tank farm in distance. Cities need grubby stuff, too. Tank farms belong on cheap land, they need space around them for safety, but they also need waterside location, of which Boston has plenty. In Milwaukee they are too central; in Seattle, Victoria, and Melbourne, they are dangerously close together.

5-3. Boston overlooking Copley Plaza, facing n. to Cambridge.

✓ a. Cambridge side is badly sprawled along the river. Cambridge totally lacks the cohesiveness of Boston. Its two outstanding universities, like universities everywhere, turn their backs to their own city and provide little leadership, only absentee ownership. The Harvard Campus is fairly compact within itself, and Harvard Square has great ambience for both students and alums, but the rest of it is a strip development along Mass.

Ave., paralleled roughly by the broken strip seen along the river.

b. Sailing on the Charles. It is a tidal estuary, like most Atlantic coastal river mouths.

c. The Mass. Ave. bridge links Cambridge to Boston.

d. The Dunster House Cupola, and Soldiers' Field, in the distance, tell you where Harvard is, but not much more.

e. The barely perceptible slope in the background marks the edge of the Boston Basin. New, low-density suburbs up there (in historical towns like Concord, Lexington, and Lincoln) have noticeably longer winters.

5-4. Boston waterfront, facing west.

✓ a. Old wharves are converted to urban and tourist use. Much land is filled in, unlike Seattle waterfront with its steep slope. Long buildings, 4-6 stories high, on old wharves, were warehouses for goods in transit; now remodeled for shops, restaurants. Red building is Ted Rouse's famous Quincy (pronounced Quin-zee) Market, (probably retouched for effect).

Why remodeled instead of cleared and renewed? Probably to hold down assessment for property tax, which is high in Mass. Entire waterfront, and several blocks back of it, is remodeled instead of renewed.

✓ b. New high-rise buildings are stark cubes, lacking individuality of Chicago buildings. This may be another adaptation to high property tax rates. It is out of keeping with Bostonian reputation for culture. Beauty in a building makes the assessor think you're good for higher taxes: cf. the notorious case of the Seagrams Building in Manhattan, assessed 50% higher because it was beautiful. The only high building that tries to look interesting is the white tower: the Custom House, of all things!

c. Faneuil Hall, historic meeting house, in center.

d. Small park in center front.

e. The Distressway is outlined in green. With this, and the semi-circular Atlantic Ave., you can get around the tangle.

✓ f. This, the heart of Boston, is served by water, by the Distressway, and by the unseen subway system that converges here. The Boston subway is what makes all this density possible and workable. The subway system is laughably antique, yet somehow it

runs. The dominant presence of college students in their vigorous, athletic years holds down the crime rate.

g. The old heart of Boston is seriously underdeveloped compared with the western axis - see the Prudential Building in the background. The land market is slowly failing, thanks in part to heavy taxes on buildings. We have seen, however, the market failing much worse in Phoenix with hardly any property tax, so taxes are not the only problem.

6. Phoenix again, facing n.e. to Camelback.

a. Foreground, Coliseum and State Fairgrounds, on 80 acres. That is a lot of acres for a city park. Most state fairs are in small towns. This one shows dominance of cattlemen and their culture and attitudes. There's no place in this world for the person on foot, a worthless cast-off to the man on horseback.

b. High-rises are not even linear, but ^{scattered} points on a straight line.

7-1. From the ridiculous to the sublime, here is Seattle, facing s.w.

a. Seattle signatures: Rainier in background, space needle in foreground. Seattle's was the first space needle: it is an innovating city with strong civic spirit.

✓ b. Civic Center around Space Needle. Highly developed and used, a major civic asset. Has opera house, arena, Children's Museum, halls for public meetings, etc.

c. Monorail, an innovation in urban mass transit, connects monorail to center of CBD. Like Chicago's El, it discharges passengers on second level of a complex of stores. More than Chicago's El, however, blights the street it travels. Raises values at stations; lowers them in between, a mixed boon.

d. In background, white tower standing out is the L.C. Smith Building, modestly self-named for the old typewriter king who moved his fortune out west. For years, it was tallest building west of Chicago.

This shot must be 25 years old: today you can hardly see the Smith Tower from here, for all the new building. Also, there is no Kingdome in this shot: only the old King Street Station, western terminus of long northern transcontinental passenger rail lines, close to ferry terminals for transfers.

e. Grungy district between Civic Center and CBD. It remains grungy today. Parts of Seattle have grown vigorously; others lag badly.

✓ Generally, lacks good "taper," which Chicago has so well. There are few residences near downtown, except for the lower middle class, and the desperately poor. Development is unbalanced.

A partial exception is Queen Anne Hill, just under our snap, not seen.

✓ There is serious blight on slope between waterfront and the CBD. Also at south end, around old Pioneer Square, by the original "skid road" (where they skidded logs down to the water). By confusion, "skid road" is now "skid row" in most cities.

✓ Prosperity and extreme poverty cheek by jowl. Ironical, yes, but typical of big cities. The relationship is symbiotic, or at least parasitic. Tourists have to work through this to get from CBD down to Pike St. Market, and waterfront restaurants and attractions.

✓ f. CBD turns eastward, grows away from waterfront, choosing high ground in preference. There is flat, water level land to the south, but CBD grew here. Why?

It's a steep climb westward up Seattle's slope. Slopes are not to be dismissed lightly. A slight slope in San Francisco kept carriage trade down around Market Street and Union Square. Shoppers do not like to walk uphill. That left Grant Avenue for Chinese. Why is Seattle up so high? Why? People there love the water. Why did they climb uphill to escape it? Major mystery. It may have something to do with constant winter rainfall, and early, inadequate sewer system, polluting downhill areas.

✓ Leaps over freeway barrier (high values warrant overpasses, lacking elsewhere).

g. Piers near CBD are now used for amenities. Heavy industry is to the south; fishing fleet to the north, at Ballard.

h. Two large peripheral buildings stand out, partly because they are so rare. Generally, high-rise is contained within CBD.

i. Small oil tanks are in lower right, dangerously close together. This says land is not cheap here, at least not for this use. Tank farms should be farther out on cheaper land, to keep them apart.

✓ j. Inside the CBD, bus service is free. The landowners pay for it. I believe they took this on semi-voluntarily, by vote of

the owners of benefited properties, but need to research this. However it was done, the idea is like that of providing free elevator service in each building. The owners make up the cost in higher rents, and save the cost of collecting for each trip.

✓ k. There is an underground Seattle near Smith Tower. A century ago they raised the streets up about a story, leaving it to each landowner to adjust his building at his own expense. (Imagine the lawsuits if that were done today!)

7-2. Seattle, facing south, a few years later.

a. The Kingdome has been added, at south end.

b. There is major new building downtown, n.e. from and dwarfing Smith Tower, which now is hardly visible.

c. In foreground is bottom of Queen Anne Hill, showing signs of decaying gentility.

✓ d. This shot aims further to right, where we see major docks, with cranes for heavy loading, and lots of flat land. An ocean vessel is in view. Seattle is a major port, closer by water to Japan than any other mainland American port, but farther by rail to inland customers.

In this flat area there are few homes or amenities, and lots of near-vacant land. Middle-middle classes live in West Seattle, not shown, at higher elevation. What keeps people off this flat lowland?

✓ e. Note ferry heading west, from terminal near King Street. The Washington State Ferry System is excellent, serving many islands of Puget Sound, and the Olympic Peninsula, parts of Greater Seattle. The Princess Margarita of the B.C. Ferry System goes to Victoria. Thus, the water is used for internal as well as external circulation, plus fishing and recreation. There are also major naval bases, unlike Hong Kong, which doesn't try to be a naval power, and Vancouver, which lets Victoria have what little navy Canada supports.

f. In foreground, the oil tanks are gone; some condos or apartments are coming in. Overall, grungy area remains grungy. Seattle lacks good taper.

✓ g. To east, Lake Washington stands out, a magnet drawing the rich inland. What draws the rich also draws those who chase them: salesmen, fawners, social climbers, etc. Thus, much of a city is gradually drawn toward (but not all the way to) where they like to live.

the rich

h. Boeing Field visible, just right of middle, below right shoulder of Rainier. An aircraft mfr. uses lots of space. This seems appropriately far from the center, but not too far.

i. Sea-Tac Airport is farther away, to upper right. Seattle is perhaps the largest city that shares an airport with another, although Tacoma is strictly a poor relation.

7-3. Seattle, facing n.e.

a. Lake Union in center, is joined with Puget Sound through Chittenden Locks, at expense of U.S. taxpayers. I believe the uses are mainly recreational, although Lake Union is grittier than Lake Washington.

b. Queen Anne Hill to left. The foto flattens the hill, as fotos do.

✓ c. N-s Fwy bisects the city, consumes vast lands, divides neighborhoods. Overpasses are many where land price is high, but north of CBD the Fwy becomes a major barrier, or "Chinese Wall."

d. This is another older pic; reminds us how much CBD has changed in recent years.

8-1. Denver, facing n.w.

a. Unlike Phoenix, Denver has an incipient CBD. It has major problems, however.

✓ i. It is too scattered.

ii. It is totally isolated. There is no taper at all.

✓ It is surrounded by vast parking lots and blight, with no residences.

✓ b. No natural barriers hem it in, it is held together by synergy alone. This is, however, of great scarcity value in its region, which is generally an urban vacuum. 17th Street is the Wall St. of the mountain and plains states. Montana ranchers who can afford it fly in here for the theatre.

c. No subcenters are visible. Denver is a city of auto-oriented strip retailing.

d. Denver sprawl is somewhat contained by "the blue line," beyond which it will not deliver water. Water shortage is perhaps the only thing that saves many new western, auto-dominated cities from complete entropy and disintegration.

e. Like Boston, Denver is a large city that is also a Capitol.

f. Two grids join at an angle on the east edge of downtown Denver, as in San Francisco and Milwaukee. This seems to have little or no effect on urbanization. There are a few triangular buildings at the corners.

8-2. Denver, facing s.w.

a. Again, no tapering is visible, except for one building that appears to be a condo.

b. Industry is along the N. Platte river bottom.

✓ c. Overall impression: a city of little structure or definition, with strip after strip.

d. No parks visible, but Denver has a major park east of downtown.

e. Stapleton Field, east of city, is major air hub. Denver is risking megabucks building new airport to replace it, all in one stroke. There are cost overruns, some corruption, delays, and major problems with fancy new technology. Will it work? Will some airlines pull out? Is it too far out? Stay tuned: this could be high drama.

f. Denver has never achieved economic stability. Vacancies downtown now run high. It got overextended in the oil boom, although not in a major oil area. Colorado leaders have a reputation for eccentricity, egocentricity, provincialism, and extremism. It can be exciting, but expensive.

g. Colorado Springs, to the south, has just been taken to the cleaners by one Frank Aries, a rich land developer who got them to annex his lands, doubling or tripling the area of the City. He went bankrupt anyway, carrying some banks or S&Ls with him, like Charles Keating in Phoenix only without the criminal charges.

9. Milwaukee, facing n.e., ca. 1960.

✓ a. L. Michigan ahead, and Menominee Valley on the right, form a corner containing two sides of CBD. Milwaukee River, parallel to Lake shore, flows through center of CBD. City Hall is old building, resembling old ocean sailing ship, with green cap.

✓ b. Milwaukee R. is heavily bridged, linking east and west. Originally there were two cities that merged. Bridges are more the product of a narrow river and high civic spirit than they are of high land prices. Menominee Valley is seriously underbridged.

c. East-west Xway shown is a late-comer, ca. 1970. City patterns were set long before, and adaptation to new infrastructure is slow.

✓ d. N-s Xway dates from earlier, ca. 1965. When completed, it was one of the few decent crossings of the Menominee Valley, which has split north Milwaukee (German) from south Milwaukee (Polish). The south side, not shown, has its own smaller downtown (Mitchell St.). Polish ethnic solidarity and stability runs high. Other Slavic groups also favor the south side. Italians and Jews had their neighborhoods on the north side. ✓ Thus, downtown Milwaukee, even before suburban malls came, was weak for a city of its size. It was in one corner of its market, rather than at the center.

e. Compensating for the weak CBD, Milwaukee has strong neighborhoods, often centering on churches and family-oriented bars.

f. Overshadowed by Chicago in tertiary activities, Milwaukee's niche is industrial, with skilled blue-collar labor. It also serves Wisconsin, and uses Wisconsin products, e.g. hides for shoemaking. Wisconsin is a rock-solid, stable matrix. Unlike most states, its number of farmers has held up pretty well while numbers shrank nationwide. Many farmers move to Milwaukee to work in industry part-time, then go home.

g. Milwaukee's old patterns were badly shaken after 1950.

i. National tax policies turned against blue-collar labor.

ii. National urban renewal programs cleared out some old ethnic neighborhoods, e.g. the Italians of the "lower 3rd ward," just n. of City Hall in the picture. It replaced them with empty land; later with sterile blocks of oversized buildings.

iii. National Interstate Highway building put two beltways around the city, subsidizing decentralization.

iv. Suburbanites ganged up with farmers to overwhelm Milwaukee in State politics, bleed it for cross-subsidization of suburbs, e.g. by hooking onto its sewer and water systems.

v. Bias against German-Americans, the product of two bloody wars and hundreds of Hollywood epics, may have been a factor.

vi. Milwaukee City Government, formerly the cleanest and most progressive in the U.S.A., fell under the spell of Mayor Henry Maier, power-hungry, paranoid, and incompetent. Blaming outside enemies for everything, he did nothing constructive himself, for 20 years.

vii. Logrolling in Congress got capital spent to improve competing ports up and down the shore of Lake Michigan and Superior. There are more ports in Wisconsin than on the whole Pacific Coast.

h. Most buildings downtown date from the 1920s or earlier. Owing to the factors listed above, Milwaukee was coasting on its past. Land prices downtown were low. Vast areas in parking are the tip-off (not as extreme as Denver, but getting there).

i. Two of Milwaukee's several industrial districts are shown.

i. To left, where Milwaukee river is seen, are old tanneries, sausage makers (sorry, no breweries here).

ii. Menominee Valley, under and around Xway, has the grubby stuff: railyards, tank farms, Port of Milwaukee with heavy loading equipment, coal and salt in open storage, sewage treatment plant, waterworks, plus some clean, labor-intensive industry such as characterizes other districts.

j. There is some tapering, with some apartments and condos near-in. There is almost a wall of high-rises along the lake front for a few blocks.

"Apartment sprawl" is also evident. They crop up here and there. Apartments have to assemble land. The builders meet the "Ma Schultz" phenomenon: the widow who won't sell. They have to try assembling ten times for every time they succeed. Poor Ma Schultz also gets blamed for a lot of speculators who are getting in each others' way.

k. Lake Park visible along shore. Milwaukee County has the best park system in the U.S.A., probably.

l. In foreground are the huge city Library, covering a full block. Behind it is an arena, looking redder than it is. Kitty-corner from the Library is a tall YMCA, with excellent facilities open to the public. Milwaukee has a strong tradition of public facilities.

m. The green block across from the Y is the exclusive Milwaukee Club, a bastion of wealth and privacy in a civic-minded city.

n. The area shown is fully sewered. Upstream, new grading and poorly sewered suburbs muck up the rivers.

o. CBD has poor symmetry. Stretches west along spine of Wisconsin Ave., the main drag. It once headed north along 3rd Street, past the huge Schlitz Brewery, but 3rd Street died.

p. Overall, Milwaukee is a great national asset that is slowly going down the tubes.

10-1. Los Angeles, facing e. or e.s.e.

a. It's hard to figure just what you're looking at. L.A. is like that.

b. Looks like City Hall on the left, facing D. Chandler Pavilion. Row of high-rises has linear tendency, south along Figueroa, parallel to Harbor Fwy which is sunk and invisible here.

c. On lower right, Wilshire comes in from west, by Hilton Hotel.

d. There is some tapering in foreground, in spite of L.A.s reputation. Midrise office buildings; even some residences. Generally, though, L.A. CBD lacks residents other than the menacing poor, dies at night and is unpleasant in the day.

10-2. Los Angeles, facing west

a. The heart of L.A., west of downtown, is fairly compact. Linear Wilshire is an anomaly here, and is even well developed, as linear cities go.

b. Spacious hotel in foreground seems out of place here.

c. Parallel strip visible to north: probably Sunset Blvd., which is paralleled by Hollywood Blvd. farther north (and east of this shot). L.A. has lots of strips: strip zoning may be at fault. Even its CBD is quite linear, probably not due to zoning.

d. Several isolated pockets of high-rise are visible.

e. Far to the west are Century City, The Golden Mile, and Westwood Village. It used to be "17 suburbs in search of a city." Now it is a lot more than 17.

f. There are also a lot of strips or drags in search of a city. Wilshire is the biggest, but there are many more. Melrose, Hollywood, Sunset, Ventura, Pico, Olympia, La Cienaga, Vermont, Doheny, La Brea, Western, and dozens more.

10-3. "The Golden Mile." Strip development, high-class. (I may have to show this shot by hand.)

10-4. Los Angeles, facing n.

a. Harbor Fwy takes much land, divides city.

b. Convention Center in foreground, with 4,000 parking spaces: part of the high price of total auto-dependency.

c. Smog is apparent: another part of the price of auto-dependency.

d. 3 overpasses are visible over Harbor Freeway; some underpassing may occur in foreground, where it is elevated. Freeways are a greater divider of L.A. than the Chicago River is of Chicago, or even the Milwaukee River of Milwaukee.

e. This older shot predates building boom of the 'eighties, which left L.A. with high vacancy rate.

10-5. Los Angeles, facing e. from Century City

a. Wilshire strip goes clear to CBD, in background. L.A. is the most linear city of its size in the world.

b. Century City, which should be part of an integrated CBD, is way out here by itself. It was developed in the 1950s by ALCOA, on an old studio site.

c. Across Wilshire from Century City is the L.A. Country Club, on land worth \$100/sf, or \$4,356,000/acre. A country club takes about 200 acres. What kind of green fees would pay the interest on nearly \$1b? Is this the place for a golf course?

How do they pay the taxes? That part is easy: in California, golf courses are exempt (de facto) from property taxes.

10-6. Rancho Sta. Margarita subdivision, 1987.

a. Was this frozen in time when boom ended in 1989? Probably, but if not, lots of others were. Note dead-end of

unfinished, goldplated street. Note empty, graded lots. This is what half of suburban America looked like from 1927-50: stopped cold in mid-flight.

b. Note artificial lake: developmental use of supposedly scarce water, while median citizens are ordered to conserve, fix drips, drive dirty cars, shower less, etc. Here is a culture dominated by values of land developers.

c. Promotional snow scene, sales puffery. Snow falls on the Sta. Ana Mts. perhaps once in ten years, for a few hours. Cf. histories of sales puffery from previous booms.

d. Water tank visible - an ugly eyesore for a supposedly high-toned development.

e. Mansions on foothill have vast grounds, good views. Cf. subdivision houses crammed together at high density, surrounded by vacant land. At such densities, Orange County could have absorbed all the people now commuting from Moreno Valley, Temecula, etc. What were they waiting for?

f. Note school under construction. New subdivisions call for new infrastructure of all kinds, even while old is being abandoned and is underused.

10-7. Corona, facing w.n.w.

a. Here is a city as the gleam in the eye of a land seller.

b. Empty land, by-passed by 6-lane I-15 headed for Lake Elsinore, Railroad Canyon, Temecula, Murrieta, et al., far out.

c. Empty land also bypassed by flood control channel, parallel to I-15, and local service road.

d. I-15 is a barrier. Only one overpass visible. It cuts entire Temescal Valley in half.

e. Note flood channel ("master drain") passing under 91 Fwy, also. Flood control is area-sensitive, and expensive. County Flood Control District is independent of cities, so its costs are not counted among public infrastructure costs when cities consider approving new developments. Currently, County Flood Control is spending what looks like a million \$ to bail out Victoria Woods Subdivision along Victoria Ave. between Boundary Lane and Cross Streets, long after developer has taken his money and run.

11. Rockport, Mass.: multipurpose small town.

- a. N. of Gloucester; part of its metrop. area
- b. Evolved through five stages, all of which remain in harmony: fishing village; art colony; summer resort with pleasure craft; tourist trap; suburb of Gloucester, which is a distant suburb of Boston.
- c. Wall to wall houses on waterfront, yet remains a famous beauty spot. New Englanders have learned to inhabit without despoiling (New Hampshire lakes are an exception). Fishing shed at end of pier, center of harbor, is the most painted object in the world, they say.
- d. Highest rents are not on water, but on spinal street with boutiques.
- e. Pleasant, shaded tree-lined streets back from hot spot. No blighted transition zone apparent, such as surrounds business districts in many cities.
- f. These people are paying property taxes at high rates, which hold down values. This is in "Taxachusetts," one of the highest taxed states.

12. Anchorage: sprawl without ranchers.

- a. Far northern location does not guarantee that people will huddle together for warmth.
- b. Sprawl does not kill night life. Anchorage is a 24 hour city, partly thanks to long winter nights followed by very short summer nights.
- c. Highest rate of alcoholism in U.S.A. Something is lacking.
- d. Alaska ranks #1 in the U.S.A. in Federal spending per capita. Only with such largesse could it afford such an inefficient city as Anchorage. Cf. Albuquerque, below (New Mexico is #2).⁴ Alaska also has the bonanza of oil revenues from Prudhoe Bay.

13. Johannesburg, ca. 1965. Facing west - I think.

- a. The mining town that wouldn't die. Old mine slag in background (piles of white material). Mines closed; Johannesburg

⁴Riverside, The Press-Enterprise, 4 April 94, p. A-3.

remains, and thrives: it has become financial capital of the Republic of South Africa and all of southern Africa.

b. This is an awful shot taken with a pan lens, in their early days, trying to be dramatic. Angle is too low. I am sending for better aerial shot.

c. Shows thicket of high-rise buildings around r.r. station. Jo-burg is on the main r.r. line, and the station is still the center of things, its window on the world.

Note that the station is built over the tracks; so are some other buildings. Cape Town, on the other hand, makes no use of such "air space" at all.

d. Even in this bad foto, you can see the CBD is compact.

e. Today Jo-burg, like Sydney, is completely rebuilt. The modern De Beers (diamond syndicate) building sparkles like the Crystal Cathedral in Garden Grove, CA (except the De Beers site pays taxes, not on the building but on the site, at 4% of market). Rapid replacement of old buildings by new is a product of a property tax system that exempts buildings from the tax. I am sending for a modern shot, to show the change.

f. Jo-burg lacks the blue water of Sydney, with its aesthetic and transportation advantages. Jo-burg is at 5,000' elevation (like Denver), and pumps its water supply uphill (unlike Denver, which drinks from the Arapahoe Glacier in the Rockies above it).

Being an inland, dryland city, Jo-burg might have sprawled out like Albuquerque or Phoenix. Instead, it grew compact and vertical like Sydney-on-the-saltwater; moreso than Cape Town-on-the-saltwater. It might have a CBD surrounded by sterile parking lots, like Denver; instead, it has good taper.

g. Like Hong Kong, Jo-burg thrives in the face of grave political dangers. Challenge and response: sometimes a lot of insecurity is stimulating and actually promotes the kinds of public policies that promote growth and strength.

h. Unlike Cape Town, Jo-burg has no government offices. Cape Town is the legislative capitol; Pretoria the administrative capitol; and Bloemfontein the judicial capitol of the Republic of South Africa. Jo-burg has nothing going for it but its urban synergies. It is truly a bootstrap city, one of the most remarkable in the world.

14. Cape Town. Facing south toward Table Mountain. Here, humankind is messing up one of the world's greatest sites.

a. The natural setting is unrivalled. It is not just a beautiful harbor in a breathtaking setting, it is one of the very few harbors on the south African coast, which elsewhere rises steeply from the sea level.

b. Topography constrains the spread of downtown Cape Town, as you see. However, this is not enough to keep it from scattering out. It has a linear axis, perpendicular to the shore (which would be the natural axis), but even along its chosen axis it is spotty.

c. East of downtown is a vast, vacant area, over which the city has leapfrogged. South from there, at the base of the mountain, are three isolated high-rises.

d. No use is made of airspace over the r.r. tracks. Cf. Chicago and Jo-burg.

e. Rails dominate the water interface, and block most of the city from the water.

15-1. Vancouver, facing n.n.w.

a. The west end, between downtown and Stanley Park, is yuppie heaven, one of the world's great courtship markets. On its south edge are beaches facing English Bay. The thicket of high-rise apartments houses thousands of people. Fully half the people of B.C. live in greater Vancouver, even though B.C. overall is vaster than California, Oregon, and Washington State, all three together.

b. The highest land prices in the west end are not based on either water access or views, but retail commerce, along the three main drags of Davie, Robson, and Dunham Streets, forming a "U." These are interior, like State Street in Chicago, 5th Ave. in N.Y.C., Figueroa St. in L.A., Market St. in S.F., etc.

c. Robson Street, linking downtown with the West End, is noted for its German and Viennese shops and restaurants. The locals call it "Robsonstrasse." Great cities are almost always cosmopolitan, with key cultural contributions made by foreigners. Vancouver is becoming more and more Chinese. The original low-income Chinatown is east of the cbd. Now, wealthy Chinese from Hong Kong or Taiwan are buying up trophy properties and pushing up land prices in the best commercial and residential neighborhoods. Wealthy old settlers are now combining xenophobia, racism, and taxophobia, grumbling that immigrants are

raising their taxes. They used to be too poor ("welfare bums"); now they are too rich ("overpaying for homes, raising my tax valuation, forcing out real Canadians," etc.).

Another rich Chinese, of truly shady reputation, made a corrupt deal with the corrupt B.C. government of Bill Vander Zalm (now retired by the voters) and acquired the site of Vancouver's world fair, or "Expo," in the foreground with the rails visible. Thus far he has just sat on and blighted it.

d. Downtown Van, on the upper right of the pic, is on Burrard Inlet, with False Creek in the foreground. Although in the lower valley of the mighty Fraser River, this site is 20 miles or more north of the main river. The rails needed the Fraser Gorge and Valley to cross the Rockies, but once arrived here in the delta area they had a wider choice of sites, and chose here for some reason: it would be enlightening to find out why. There are cities there, too, like New Westminster, on high ground next to the river; there is Delta, on lower ground. It may just be that the original settlement, called "Gassy's" (now "Gastown," just east of the CBD) was there. Grist for a good research paper.

e. The CBD is fairly compact, although much less so than Sydney. Vancouver, like all western Canadian cities, went through a long period of exempting buildings from the property tax, from about 1910-30. During this period they grew fast, and quite compactly. Now they are coming more to resemble American cities, especially in the new outskirts; but the old centralized patterns linger on. Canadian cities generally survive better than American ones. Two reasons may be, a) Canada lacks a federally financed interstate expressway system; and b) Canadians do not own guns.

New extensions of the urbanized area are more linear. Most of these are not shown, but North and West Van, in the background stretching along the north shore of Burrard Inlet, give the idea.

f. The vast green peninsula, west of the west end, is Stanley Park. Lovely as it is, it forces settlement to pass beyond it, north of Burrard Inlet, to N. and W. Van, seen stretched out and hill-climbing in the background. There is a bridge, Lion's Gate, from Stanley Park to North Van. The Guinness family (Irish breweries) bought the land to the north just before the bridge was built, making a large fortune larger.

g. A log boom is visible in False Creek (foreground). Vancouver is the central log market where prices are set up the whole north coast. Sheltered between Vancouver Island and the mainland, the Straits of Georgia is one of the world's great log highways. Deep fjords cut into the mainland where stand vast

virgin forests. These fjords obstruct rail and highway transport, but substitute cheap water transport, and thousands of miles of coastline. Prices set in the Vancouver market are carried back to the source by "netbacking," i.e. deducting transport costs. Heinrich von Thuenen would have loved it: a perfect example of his theories of how rents are set by transport costs from the center.

h. Rail yards in the foreground indicate Vancouver is western terminus of Canada's two xcontinental rails, CP and CN. Other rail lines are out of sight on the northern side of downtown, but more subdued - unlike those that take over the waterfront in Cape Town. In Van, they don't spoil the whole north side's water access.⁵

i. Between the CBD and the rails is a blighted area that is overdue for renewal. As this nears the water it is the site of Expo, which was supposed to "jump start" its renewal. It didn't. The Provincial government sold (or gave?) the lot to a Hong Kong billionaire in one of the smellier sweetheart deals of the age.

Further east, out of the pic, is what used to be called in the U.S. a "working-class neighborhood." This one still is, and quite vital. Blue-collar workers live there, and vote for the N.D.P., a leftish party that runs third in Canada, but often first in B.C. (where its redistributive tendencies are capped by local particularism).

j. Boats in False Creek are moored very close together, indicating economy of space on the water. "Water lots," Canadians call them, and treat them just like upland lots.

k. The near bridge is "Granville Bridge," on Granville St. This is the major entrance to central Van from the north. There are no freeways: Canadians would not let them into town. Granville, and other surface streets, seem to handle the traffic quite well without much strain.

l. Underneath Granville Bridge is Granville Island. Once a gritty, grimy area, it still has an old cement plant. Otherwise, it has converted itself into a totally charming little tourist trap with a small hotel, boutiques, restaurants, a school for architects and planners, and what not. A model for what San Francisco's China Basin (Mission Bay) might become, except China Basin has higher natural potential, and slower pace of exploiting it.

⁵Van also has a 3rd rail line, B.C. Rail, going north. The Province owns and subsidizes it.

m. In background, a taste of the gorgeous Canadian Rockies, almost all of which are in B.C. Ski runs and trails here are within view of city offices. Rockies contain skiing, timber, water power, spas, and scenery.

Vancouver is "rich territory, where it is cheap to deliver and distribute power because customers are close together. It carries the rest of the Province on its back. B.C. Electric serves power to small isolated customers on the Yukon border for the same rates it charges in Central Van.

n. Behind us lies most of middle-class Van. Much of the city is drab and ordinary, without being blighted or slummy. It is highly livable for the median person. Zoning does not segregate functions, so there is much locally-oriented retailing serving mini-neighborhoods.

15-2. Vancouver, facing e. (Not made into a slide.)

16. Victoria, facing n.e.

a. Provincial Capitol. Much of its economic base is political. Capitol, with dome, in foreground.

b. Empress Hotel kitty-corner from Capitol. Heart of tourist trade - another big economic base. Victoria sells old English quaintness - more British than Britain in some ways. Double-decker London tour buses visible. In front of capitol is a commercial tourist trap, somewhat out of character.

Victoria is also Canada's favorite retirement spot. The Seattle-like climate is mildest in Canada - they call it the "banana belt."

c. Esplanade along waterfront, in front of Empress Hotel and Capitol. Delightful for strolling. Canadian cities do well by their public places. This one is not just a park, but integrated with international ferry terminal, just to left of shot.

Vast Beacon Hill Park (not shown), to right of shot, leads from here south to the foreshore, with breathtaking views south to the Olympics across the Straits of Juan de Fuca. Park is highly developed, used, and enjoyed, but without commercialism: access is free.

d. Note residences are near-in. High government officials may walk to work. Some drive: parking blight has now gotten a good start.

17-1. Sydney, ca. 1965, facing n.e. Pic is from ad placed by Otis Elevator Co. in Business Week.

a. Approaches to bridge occupy a vast area. Fortunately for Sydney, this is its only such bridge.

b. The waters shown are heavily used for internal circulation, with great ferry service. Ferry quays take up much less space, serve more people. Water also used for external circulation; naval base; recreation; and aesthetics.

c. Site of future Opera House is in upper right, here still a bare peninsula.

d. City is built right to the docks, unlike N.Y.C.

e. City appears to be a dense thicket of high-rise buildings, plain, but tough and efficient. The Otis Elevator ad says it contains 1800 of their elevators. (Japanese elevators are also very good.) As for the plain, tough look, stay tuned.

f. Two parks are visible. Australians, like Danes, Canadians, and many others, take their city parks more seriously than Americans are used to. These are a highly visible mark of civic spirit.

g. Road turning off bridge appears to cut off city from Circular Quay, the inlet left of the Opera House site. If so, this has now been corrected: electric trains now stop here.

18. A modern demolition: instant urban renewal in action. This one is here to show the process by which old Sydney of 1965 became modern Sydney. This one happens to be from Newark, and has its own story as well.

a. The ugly box being dropped here is Federal public housing. It could have been in Russia, from the looks, except in Russia they care more about aesthetics, and their neighborhoods have some stability.

b. The capital invested in buildings is not recovered when they are physically "consumed" by demo like this. The economic consumption of durable capital takes place by its use before demo, and only then if it returns cash flow > interest. These buildings never did that. They were originally capital-intensive housing, but the capital was totally lost. It depreciated slowly, but obsolesced fast.

What demolition accomplishes is to salvage and recycle the site under the old building.

c. Crime rates were high in these buildings. It is fashionable to attribute crime to high rise and high density, but Hong Kong has a murder rate about 5% that of Los Angeles; Singapore is equally low. It is fashionable to attribute high crime rates to public housing per se, but Canada has melded public with private housing with good success and low crime rates.

Federal public housing, much from the 1960s, was built with all the emphasis on physical durability and resistance to abuse; none on livability. Boxes like this were sociological disasters, and had to go.

Why disasters? No thought was given to what kind of society would develop here, what social controls would prevail. A large, expensive church is in the background, probably culturally divided from and irrelevant to the residents here.

This society was the product of adverse selection, from the start. These are the losers, the misfits, the failures, the abandoned and neglected. They were plucked from the matrices of the families and societies that created them and wanted to forget them, supplied with a lot of capital in the form of cold gray walls, bereft of all the caring, nurturing, salvaging, and leadership professions that are part of a complete society.

d. Inside these buildings, no windows look into the hallways and elevators. There is no chance for neighborhood surveillance, such as occurs naturally in normal neighborhoods. Inevitably, criminals took over these invisible spaces.

e. It takes more than demos to renew cities. A demo only helps when it is a prelude to rebuilding. Then, it is inspired by demand for the site. In a healthy market, demo is just a means to free up a site that is in demand. In the Newark case, demo was an end in itself, to be rid of an embarrassing failure. Federal "Urban Renewal" programs in the 1960s were even worse: every year they just added to their inventory (or "bank," in the euphemism of the times) of cleared, unredeveloped land.

For a healthy market, see next frame.

17-2. Sydney reborn, 1993, facing s.e.

Cities don't get much better than this.

a. Here is the product of hundreds of demos, like that seen in Newark, but with a big difference: they were inspired and followed by new construction. Much of the city has been renewed; its beauty speaks for itself

b. The city is compact in all three dimensions. Cf. Phoenix: it will not renew itself as Sydney has.

c. In the distance lies Botany Bay, where the visiting British navy first found shelter. The astute commanding officer found Botany Bay too exposed and kept looking until he found the present site of downtown Sydney. Military people develop a keen sense of location: seizing real estate is their business.

The present Sydney airport is on filled land in Botany Bay.

d. To the far left is Biondi Beach, with outstanding surf. Manley Beach, equally outstanding and a bit cleaner, is behind us.

e. The signature Sydney Opera House has been added since the first shot. It is only one of several outstanding public buildings, like the Maritime Museum next to Circular Quay. The Maritime Museum includes a very modern auditorium available for public hire: (it is where I spoke when in Sydney).

A vast public park lies behind the Opera House, right next to the central city. Unlike the L.A. Country Club (right next to Century City), this park is open to the public. Another park is in the distance. Great cities have civic buildings and public parks, because it takes civic spirit to make both great cities and great public places.

f. Sydney shows excellent "taper" as you move away from the center - in stark contrast to Denver. The locals claim there are no slums, and I saw none.

g. In the center is Circular Quay, where the great ferry system meets the great electric rail system, joined by modern escalators. Traveling this way, you feel as though you are supposed to be here, it was made for you, although carless still a first-class citizen.

h. To the rear of the CBD is some apartment sprawl. Even the best is far from perfect.

i. Sydney's higher-income neighborhoods are to the rear of the camera, unseen, at lower densities.

j. Sydney is a product of a local tax system that exempts buildings; property tax revenues come just from taxes on the land. It is quite a testimonial to the effects of such a tax system.

19. Albuquerque, facing e.n.e.

a. "Don't fence me in." Like Phoenix, this is a cowboy town with cowboy ideas. It looks as though planned and executed by people who hate cities and pedestrians; people to whom a city is a place to escape, and a pedestrian is a bum who can't afford a horse. 20 years ago I lectured with a team from The Brookings Institution, to civic groups in many cities, on urban synergy. Nowhere did I meet hostility except in Albuquerque. The slide suggests why.

b. Albuquerque is where Federal Highway #66 crosses the Rio Grande. Strip development, sucking off the Federally financed highway, runs endlessly e-w.

c. Like Phoenix, this is the city of a state with few people and two U.S. Senators who bring home the watermelon, like the Sandia⁶ Missile Base and, nearby, Los Alamos. New Mexico ranks #2 in the U.S.A. in Federal spending per capita (Alaska is #1). Only with such largesse could New Mexico afford such an inefficient city as Albuquerque.

d. Albuquerque and Sydney are both called "cities," but have little else in common. To understand the distinctiveness of each, contrast them with each other.

e. We read a lot about violent crime in large cities. Rural New Mexico and Arizona have higher violence rates than most large cities. Distribution of farmland here is less equal than in most American states. These are not healthy societies.

17-3. Sydney, facing w.

a. Many high-rise apartments in foreground, show Sydney's good taper. Taper means many people dwell in or near the center, mutually supporting each other.

b. I do not know if the spacing of the high-rises, and their mixture with low-rise buildings, is planned, or displays random "apartment sprawl," such as in Milwaukee.

c. The vast park east of and next to downtown, lovely as it is, forces the CBD southward (to our left), and northwards across the bridge, when otherwise it would expand more symmetrically, towards the camera. Like New York's Central Park, and Vancouver's Stanley Park, and San Francisco's Golden Gate and McLaren Parks, and Washington's Rock Creek Park, and Boston's Common, and Milwaukee's several county parks, and Los Angeles' Griffith Park, and Berkeley's Tilden Park and the vast watershed

⁶Sandia is Spanish for "watermelon." Sandia is a big one for Albuquerque.

lands east of it, and Cook County's Des Plaines River park, and several Melbourne parks, this one may be bigger than optimal. The bigger the park, the less edge it has per acre of ground, and the "edge effect" of parks (as of other urban land uses) may be their greatest benefit. The same acreage divided into more individual parks, or linearized (like the panhandle of Golden Gate Park, or lower Rock Creek Park), might give more benefit per acre.

d. The foreground streets appear unchoked with cars, parked or moving.

e. In the background are the Blue Mountains, whose scenic, deep canyons, colorful wildlife, "vertical swamps," and flammable eucalyptus forests do not show. Like Rockport, MA, little resort communities in these mountains are evolving into suburbs. Unlike Rockport, the Blue Mountains are served by the city's electric rail system. Their service must be cross-subsidized, the fares are so low. This weakens the basic city. Thus far it is able to bear it, but higher quality downtown service would be welcome.

f. The water serves as a park, too - especially for those who can afford boats. Nature here has maximized the "edge effect." This is a "drowned coastline," with dozens of deep inlets on either side of this, the Parramatta estuary.

20. Tacoma

a. There is Mt. Rainier in the background, just like Seattle. The similarity ends there.

b. Tacoma and Seattle were intense rivals for primacy in Puget Sound. Seattle won. Tacoma today looks simply despondent. Two morals follow.

i. The winner enjoyed increasing returns; the loser shows why cities fight so hard to avoid losing.

ii. Tacoma is sprawled. Maybe that is why it lost.

c. Tacoma has a good, flat lowland that Seattle lacks. It also has rail connections. It did not lose because lacking the necessary natural or other endogenous endowment.

d. Adding to its woes, Tacoma recently found that they never properly quieted the treaty claims of the local Indians (Snohomish?). This is unfortunate because, under the U.S. Constitution, Treaties take priority over any other law. It now seems that these Indians own a substantial chunk of Tacoma's docklands (just as the Agua Caliente band of Cahuilla Indians own

half of Palm Springs, and the Arizona Indian School owns hundreds of acres in east Phoenix).

21-1. Melbourne, from air, facing s.w.

a. Here is an older Australian beauty showing middle-aged spread. It makes quite a contrast with highly-centralized Sydney. The CBD is all scattered out, and not by its parks (of which it has several vast ones).

b. Melbourne is inland from the mouth of its river, where the rails meet the river. Like Jo-burg and Chicago, Melbourne is built around its r.r. stations.

c. Melbourne is to Sydney somewhat as Cape Town is to Jo-burg. That is, Sydney and Jo-burg tax land only, and exempt buildings; Melbourne and Cape Town tax buildings. The result is a real estate market in Sydney and Jo-burg that acts more the way theory says it should, putting the best land to its best use and stimulating frequent renewal.

d. On the far right is the low-rise Victoria Market, a stunningly successful and busy Melbourne institution. The City leases small stalls to merchants in meats (even kangaroo meat, which Aussies are just beginning to appreciate), cheeses, fish, poultry, sundries, clothing, tourist items, etc. Rarely will you see so many goods turn over so fast.

21-2. Melbourne, from ground level, facing n.w. across park.

a. It required the space of two fotos to show the full spread of the Melbourne CBD. That is not because it contains more floor space than Sydney, but because Melbourne is full of holes, and spread out twice as far as Sydney. From ground level you cannot see the holes, what catch your eye are the towers. Manhattan is the same story.

b. In foreground is South Melbourne, a separate municipal government. The antenna is part of its gorgeous new riverfront development, integrating a civic center, a river promenade with dining al fresco, and many shops. There is little new in old Melbourne, except for offices, so new development of the kind consumers wanted skipped over the river to South Melbourne.

South Melbourne's reward for its enterprise was to be annexed to Melbourne late in 1993. This is in the State of Victoria, where the State has that power.

c. Just north of the river is the old r.r. station, with its long, low red roof. Commuting by train is still a major

factor here, as in Chicago. Also as in Chicago, a new station is needed.

d. Cranes are visible, the sign of a fervid building boom going on when the picture was taken, ca. 1989. Now the boom has crashed, more or less in sync with ours, but their crash is more extreme. Melbourne offices are a drug on the market at 25 cents on the dollar. Bankruptcies are common; suicides much in the news, reminiscent of Wall Street, 1929.

Sprawl and the boom/bust cycle go together, as we have seen.

22. Hong Kong.

a. Here is the ultimate in urban Capitalism on leased land in the teeth of the dragon. Hong Kong has been a crown colony for over a century. All land belongs to the crown; buildings are separately owned, based on long-term land leases from the crown. In 1997 not just the government, but ownership of the land reverts to the People's Republic of China, a communist tyranny.

Libertarian dogma has it that such insecurity of land tenure would abort all building. The picture tells a different tale, a tale of challenge and response. Historically, insecurity seems to be stimulative; too much security lulls people into quiescence and slow decadence. Other insecure cities are Taipeh, Seoul, Jo-burg, Berlin, Chicago after its fire of 1871, San Francisco after its earthquake of 1906, Atlanta after General Sherman, Miami after various hurricanes, and Tokyo after many earthquakes.

b. The shot is a night-time time exposure - note streaking ships. Hence, the glow of city lights is exaggerated. Even so, this is a city alive at night, with the economy of 24-hour use of

infrastructure capital. "The mortgage goes to work every day," as the old song has it, and charges by the day, however little you use the capital, so you might as well use it all the time.

c. The water is used for both external and internal circulation: ocean vessels and ferries are both visible. Hong Kong has no navy, but is a major world shipping power, like Norway, Greece, and Japan. Presumably there is also recreational boating during daylight hours. There is also some houseboat living, not shown here, as in Portland, Oregon, Marin County, California, and elsewhere.

d. Dwelling places are close to workplaces, minimizing commute times. Markets are active, intense, even frantic: it's a pressure cooker.

e. Like most great cities, Hong Kong is polyglot. England has provided leadership, just as in London itself commercial and industrial leadership has been provided by Lombards, Hanseatics, French Huguenots, and others. England has even imported its royal families from France, Wales, Scotland, Holland, and Germany. Were it not for the roving eye of Welsh King Henry VIII, it would have had the Spanish Catherine of Aragon, as well.

Some American sailors believe now that Hong Kong Chinese are biased against them as occidentals. If Hong Kong does expel or repress its foreigners, it is a fair bet that it will lose its competitive edge. On the other hand, coolness toward foreign military personnel in uniform is not the same as generic xenophobia or racism, so let's not leap to conclusions. Hong Kong did not grow to be a great entrepot without learning to deal with the wide world.

e. The picture shows a forest of tall buildings over a vast area. With such densities, it is understandable why the domestic product of Hong Kong, a mere city-state, exceeds that of many nations with wide territories. It is one of the "4 tigers," economic marvels of postwar s.e. Asia (the other three are Singapore, Korea, and Taiwan). The mother of all tigers is Japan. All five of these polities combine individual enterprise with fairly heavy taxation of property (or, in Hong Kong's case, revenues from crown-owned land). For a state that tries to foster capital formation by taxing only consumption, try The Philippines.

It does more: it exports capital and acquires assets in the U.S.A. and Canada.

23. Tampa

a. Being new compensates for a lot of problems. The shot looks good, but inspection suggests Tampa will have trouble growing old gracefully.

b. Tampa is the 3rd largest city in Florida, but its center is tiny.

c. Little taper is evident.

d. Expensive bridges serve expressways that head off for the deep interior. Nothing visible could begin to pay for or justify these roads. Florida is the most sprawled state in the eastern U.S.A. About 10% of its vast area is "urbanized," but at very low densities. This is the pattern of sprawl that fostered the most extreme boom and bust cycle of the 1920s, the Florida Land Boom.

e. Today, Florida's cities are not mostly self-supporting in the productive sense: they are geriatric ghettos for folks on social security, and with other retirement income. In this sense, it is a continual drain on the rest of the nation.

f. Florida has severe social problems. It leads the nation in violent crimes per 100,000 population, and it leads Wisconsin 5 to 1 (Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Rates, 1991 World Almanac, p.848). That is the more significant considering its age distribution, which is short on the violence-prone youthful cohorts. Florida ranks 44th in voter turnout, to 4th for Wisconsin, even though Florida ranks first in share of population over age 65, the high-voting ages. Florida also leads Wisconsin in infant mortality rate, 12.8 to 9.5; divorce rate, 6.7 to 3.6; and prisoners per 100,000 people, 243 to 102. In a cultural factor like patents issued per million people, Wisconsin leads Florida 185 to 113. (Data from 1990 Statistical Abstract, pp. xii-xxi, 535; State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1986; Annual Reports, USDC, Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks; America Votes 19, Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1991.)

What's the bottom line? One is, you may infer a lot from close observation of the humble picture postcard. Little details may tell a lot. Cities are fascinating, highly varied, constantly rising and falling. The most important bottom line is that cities grow or decay in response to their own internal, endogenous civic leadership and vision. External destiny does not control them: the people there make or break themselves.