#### GOG - USP 125 The American City Spring 2017

#### Outline 2

These outlines are intended to give you a sense of the structure in the material – headings, some short explanations, and spellings of various proper names. They also expand on a few topics not discussed at length in class or in the readings. The outlines will be virtually unintelligible without the context of our classroom discussion. These are emphatically NOT comprehensive lecture notes.

**1. Native American Urbanism**

Primary urban civilizations of Meso-America and South America:

Maya, Aztec, Inca

Native American urban or quasi-urban settlements on US territory:

Pueblo/Anasazi settlements of the southwest:

Acoma Pueblo, NM, claims to be the oldest continuously

inhabited “city” in US

possible links to MesoAmerica through trade items such as turquoise

Cahokia and settlements of the Mississippian culture:

Temple Mound builders; maize agriculture, far ranging trade

stockade, woodhenge; Cahokia fl. around 1000 CE, deserted by 1600 CE

**2. European Forms Transferred and Transformed**

Look at CSB (pp. 3-10) on the different “urban styles” of European colonial powers.

We will be referring to geographer James Vance’s taxonomy of American “morphogenesis.” This is a good example of what we’ve been calling a “geohistorical” approach. It provides a useful template for talking about early colonial urbanism, although it is only a schematic. There are overlaps, exceptions, and omissions. The five types Vance proposes are presented in the Hartshorn reading (pp. 23-31). There are as follows:

medieval organic city

medieval bastide

Laws of the Indies towns

English Renaissance forms

* Francis Nicholson (1655-78) elites were good at anything time
* Made plan for annapolis, focal points gov’t church very baroque
* Open streets before circle makes it look bigger
* Create space in church
* He said us naval place, for noisy stinky business that he did not want in the city
* Williamsburg was capitol of Virginia, an axial (axis of authority) plan
* Dc was place
* South was supposed to pay for the north
* Jefferson very anti-urban
* Made city very elite, only brick n stone, nothing going on out there
* Ppl made fun of it
* Sen James MacMillan, MacMillan plan completed Hawthorne plan, height restriction plancha

speculators’ towns

* Rice, indigo,timber
* Charleston source of slavery
* Old exchange 1771, largest building center of slavery

*A. Pilgrims, Puritans, and the “City upon a Hill”*

The first towns in New England and the Hudson Valley usually fall into one of the first two of Vance’s types: organic and bastide. Hartshorn provides examples of each, and we will discuss the distinction in class.

* Mercantile and religious impulses expressed in covenants and charters

Plymouth Colony and Boston: Pilgrim/Puritan contrasts

*Mayflower Compact* of the Pilgrims (1620)

“… combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation …”

evolution in the expressed purpose of the settlements:

from the *Charter* of the Massachusetts Bay Company, 1629:

".... Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceablie, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderlie Conversation, maie wynn and incite the Natives of Country, to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which in our Royall Intention, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principall Ende of this Plantation.”

from the 1691 *Charter*:

William and Mary by the grace of God King and Queene of England Scotland France and Ireland …[grant] Lands Soiles Grounds Havens Ports Rivers Waters Fishings Mines and Mineralls as well Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mines and Mineralls Pretious Stones Quarries and all and singular other Comodities Jurisdiccons Rovalties Privileges Franchises … for the Planting Ruleing Ordering and Governing of New England in America and to their Successors and Assignes all that part of America lying and being in Breadth from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude ... Our Realme of England and for the greater Ease and Encouragement of Our Loveing Subjects Inhabiting our said Province or Territory of the Massachusetts Bay … Wee … Grant Establish and Ordaine that for ever hereafter there shall be a liberty of Conscience allowed in the Worshipp of God to all Christians (Except Papists)

* Theocratic government

A church (usually Congregational) was the nucleus, and many towns were actually the flock of a particular minister; there was a kind of democracy in the participation of the visible saints in church government, but in theory the Puritans were very strongly opposed to democracy. John Winthrop called it “the meanest and worst of all forms of government.” The meeting was the center of government; there was no separation of church and state, the congregation simply turned its attention to secular affairs.

* Rhetorical construction of a distinction between town and country

Contrast between “a city on a hill” and “desart wildernesse” peopled by “savages” waiting to be “tamed” by “saints”

From *We shall be as a City upon a Hill*, John Winthrop, 1630:

“We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us a praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, ‘may the Lord make it like that of New England.’ For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going.”

From Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* c. 1650:

Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hew.

Countervailing evidence of Indian agriculture, food storage and land management:

From *Mourt's Relation,* 1622:

“Upon the ninth of November … by break of the day we espied land which was deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And the appearance of it much comforted us, especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea ... all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut; the wood for the most part open and without underwood, fit either to go or ride in … We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year … also we found a great kettle which had been some ship's kettle and brought out of Europe. There was also a heap of sand … it was newly done, we might see how they had paddled it with their hands—which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn, and digged further and found a fine great new basket full of very fair corn of this year … We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle, and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us … if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn”

* Nostalgia and innovation in urban form

The first New England towns were not entrepreneurial market towns with “central-place” hinterlands. They expressed a nostalgic attachment to the English nucleated village before enclosure. Their embodied the same kind of rudimentary planning as in medieval English village. The preferred location was a stream, with accessible pasture. But part of the New England ideal was new and distinctly un-English: there were to be no gentry or landlords in the villages, and despite early communal arrangements of landholding, freehold tenure rather than tenancy was a live ideal from the first.

* Initial nucleation and subsequent dispersal

Nucleation forces:

defense

social control (moral surveillance, *Scarlet Letter)*

mandatory church-going to central meeting house

ergonomics of open field system

collective fencing, road building, use of common land

Subsequent centrifugal forces in landholding and settlement:

tension between the central community(=congregation) and *outlivers* evading social control and pioneering plentiful land on the margin; distance to church (meeting house) was the dominant spatial organizing principle of society, and the main rationale for road-building; pressure to found new congregations (transforming marginal to the central); upward mobility afforded by new church and town offices to be filled; corporate/collective ownership of land gives way to freehold title. There were two kinds of dispersion at work: formation of new settlements and congregations on the margin, and dispersal of individual farming families away from any kind of nucleation to live on individual holdings. Growing physical/military security diminished the need for defensive nucleation.

William Bradford in his *History of Plymouth Plantation* reveals the anxieties this dispersal prompted as early as the 1620s:

“For now as their stocks increased … there was no longer any holding them together, but now they must of necessitie goe to their great lots; they could not otherwise keep their katle; and having oxen growing, they must have land for plowing and tillage … By which means they were all scatered all over the bay, and the town in which they lived compactly until now, was left very thine, and in a short time allmost desolate … And this, I fear, will be the ruin of New England, at least of the Churches of God ther … ”

* “Organic” forms and bastides

For Vance, the organic forms are typified by Boston and Salem, MA. They grew up in an informal (though not haphazard) way in relation to water (the sea or rivers). The bastide form was more regular in layout. It is typified by Cambridge, MA and New Haven, CT. Pittsburgh, PA began as a military bastide.

Vance considers the bastide as the true prototype of US urbanism. It represents a mercantile and egalitarian layout which was “premediated” (i.e. planned and founded as a whole in a short period). Usually, although not always, a grid layout was the preferred form, which facilitated simple, predictable, and egalitarian subdivision into property lots, which were held in *freehold*, and which increasingly were developed *speculatively*. The first bastide towns were focused mainly on long distance trade (they were *entrepots* rather than *central places*). Both in Old and New World bastides houses were organized around a central square or open space. The highest status residents usually took the central locations, but North American layouts were less dominated by status and social hierarchy than European cities of the time. Imposing buildings on “focal” sites were usually few or none, and open spaces such as commons were strictly functional and not there for visual effect (contrast English Renaissance forms). In many early medieval towns in Europe the city wall represented an absolute boundary between two different modes of life: merchants inside, unfree agricultural workers outside. This was not true of all bastides, in either their European or North American forms. Typically urbanites would own “house lots” and “garden lots” in the city, and also farm land beyond the settlement. In bastides, Vance feels, the key social distinction was between citizens engaged in subsistence agriculture, and their fellow citizens who engaged in long-distance trade.

* New England legacy: “the Commons”

Scholars distinguish three modes of real property ownership in the Anglo legal tradition:

Common: An individual has a *right not to be excluded* from use of the land if the individual belongs to a defined and bounded *community*. Communal land ownership and use was widespread in medieval England, and it was also established briefly in some of the earliest New England settlements although it rapidly gave way to freehold ownership. We discussed Garrett Hardin’s “tragedy of the commons.”

Private (“freehold”): individual owners can exclude all others from all claims on the land (except when overridden by states as in “eminent domain” cases). This concept was formalized by John Locke (1632-1704) for whom “improvement” (agricultural labor and building) was an important element in a person’s right to ownership.

Public: the local state owns the land and regulates uses and resource appropriation.

The vision of freehold farm ownership was what brought many settlers to the New World. In some early New England settlements there was a compromise between freehold and communal systems, as the town government (congregation) allocated land to individual owners, according to need, family size, and status. However, outright freehold ownership rapidly became the norm in the territories that were to be the United States. After the Restoration in England (1660), there was more government concern for deeds, titles, and formal legal ownership, which spelled the end of many fuzzy, quasi-communal land-holding arrangements. It meant that for the first time there was a potential class distinction between members of the local congregation and actual local landowners. British philosopher/economist John Locke and American advocates of freehold (such as Thomas Jefferson), assumed that land would be occupied for a long time by its owner (e.g. the yeoman farmer envisioned in *agrarian republicanism*). This is an intrinsically egalitarian idea, since there is a limit to the size of a holding that one family can work. In fact *speculative* buying and selling of land for *profit*, based on *exchange value* rather than *use value* became the norm. The dichotomy of use and exchange value is an important one in modern urban theory.

Although the practice of common land use rapidly faded, New England towns frequently continued the English tradition of maintaining a collectively owned common area for cattle grazing and for other uses ranging from militia drills to public executions. For example both Boston and Cambridge, MA still have “commons.” In the early years they were subject to *encroachment* by private uses. Now they are publically owned open space. Later on we’ll explore some of the modern uses of the idea of communal use/ownership as it has been revived in covenanted, “gated,” and common interest developments.

* New England Symbolic Legacy

Joseph Wood suggests that the idea of highly nucleated early New England town obscures the reality of the variety of forms early settlements took, and also does not do justice to the speed with which dispersion occurs. He suggests that the subsequent development of trading centers in the late colonial and Federal periods created or recreated nucleation, and that it was these sites that were celebrated by writers and artists in subsequent times, developing a romantic ideal and a nostalgic half-true history for the New England town as a site of:

revolutionary resistance

covenanted community

cultural enlightenment

democratic self-government

We briefly noted the writing of Federalist theologian and Yale University president Timothy Dwight, and the work of artist Normal Rockwell.

*B. Dutch Urbanism in the Hudson Valley*

When Dutch came met Algonquan

East was Iroquois

Mohawk (part of Iroquois Confederacy) Keepeers of the East

# Feudal forms reproduced in New Netherland:

Dutch East India made Dutch West India

Albany: 1609 (Half Moon), 1624 (first settlement), Fort Orange

* Dutch didn’t get to far
* English came out in 1620 and got stuff done
* People get involved, people do not like it
* English took over, moved fort to top of hill, Traded w/ Mohawk in Albany
* Dean Snow made a megamall, Iroquois used it
* Mohawk fought Mohicans over access with Dutch, Mohawk won

Patroon system and feudal urban conflict

* Patroon – French for lord of the manor
* Feudal land owning, with private land
* Patroon ship was a piece of land for agriculture
* Conflict between Patroon Ship Fort Orange
* Patroon wanted ppl cut down forest, Fort Orange wanted to keep forest for beavers
* Peter Stuyvesant, said Albany be separate from Patroonship
* Albany was originally beaverwick
* Claverack, 1704 (a patroonship)
* Entail, write deeds w/ property after you died

In 1628 the Dutch developed the Patroon system - a stockholder agreed to plant a settlement of 50 people over 15 years of age in New Netherland within 4 years. Patroon system of land grants. Large land grants given to those who promise to settle 50 people. He would then be permitted to purchase a length of 16 miles (4 leagues) on either bank of indefinite depth. the patroon held the land as fief from the company and would exercise feudal political authority over tenants. Large land grants given to those who promise to settle 50 people. Generically they were called *colonies*. The Van Rensselaers were the patroons in the Albany area. Conflict soon developed between the patroonship and the trading post of the Dutch West India Company at Fort Orange. The colonie was basically agricultural – they wanted to clear forest. The company was interested only in furs (from animals living in the forest). The kinds of people the two systems attracted were very different – the company wanted adventurers and backwoodsmen, the colonie wanted solid farmers. In 1652 Pieter Stuyvesant (Governor of New Netherland) declared the fort settlement within one cannon shot independent of the patron, and later had a fence set up 600 paces on all sides. He set up a separate court for the settlement and the fort, which he then renamed Beverwyck.

Continuation of the feudal system after the Revolution

* Entail, write deeds w/ property after you died
* No one wanted dead people still controlling their land
* Van Rensslaer, didn’t want to give up land
* Alexander Hamiliton did something – these were rents, but ongoing payments, a lease
* Steph Van Rensselaer didn’t collect rent from poor people
* Descendants did, got the rent war 1840, New York shut down the process of dead people owning land
* Williamstown Van Renesslaer manor turend into a frathouse, then got crushed and replace by a dalmation I think

Various restrictions on inheritance that had preserved feudalism were abolished in New York State in the 1780s. Alexander Hamilton guided his relative Stephen van Rensselaer in his evasions the new laws, in a ploy that perpetuated feudalism and guarded against democracy (the “unsteadiness” and the “imprudence” of common people). Feudal rents were reconceptualized as incomplete sales to tenants, hedged with extremely strong restrictions on use. “The leases, drawn by Alexander Hamilton, Stephen’s property-minded brother-in-law, were a work of legal artistry. They skirted the state’s 1787 ban on feudal rents by making the deal not a rental but an ‘incomplete sale’ that forever remained incomplete” J. Persico

Children and disease:

* People eventually brought children, who had disease
* Mohawk went from 7000 to 2500

The influx of settlers associated with the Patroonship included many small Dutch children, and this was what was fatal to the Indians - young children are still infectious for measles, smallpox, mumps, etc. It seems that measles broke out in 1633, 34 and 35. As many as half the Indians in some communities died. In 1634 smallpox also reached the Mohawks. Late in 1634 the traders at Fort Orange noticed a real decline in business. It was because of a disastrous population collapse associated with smallpox. Dean Snow estimates that the Mohawk population fell from 7,700 to 2,800 in a few months.

Exclusiveness: “burgher right”:

* Diff btwn famers and serfs
* People got a great burgher right to hold any office
* Smaller right, got to be a citizen after you lived there for a while
* Politics and commerce, states gave right to monopoly, you have right to trade and no on else, get it by living in beaverwick

The town had exactly the same kind of concept of jealously guarded trading rights as the cities of medieval Europe. There was an institution of burgher-right. Most male inhabitants of the town had status of either great or small burgher right. Without burgher right one could not carry on trade in the city. *Great burgher right:* granted to ministers of the Dutch Church, military officers, and others who paid for the privilege. *Small burgher right:* people who "resided and kept fire and light" in the city -- i.e. maintained permanent residence, and paid a smaller fee.

Mercantilism

* Mercantalie mentality, every trade had a winner and a loser
* Ex: traded manhattan for a few trinkets dutch won Indians lose
* Modern banking, and credit did exist, money is what you keep under the bed, if your house burned down you lost your money
* Cash shortage, pelts, wampum

In documents of the early Dutch period they talk of:  *Heavy Money* - metal currency and beaver furs for big transactions and  *Light Money*  wampum (or sewant) and commodities which included grain. For buying grocercies.

Like the English colonies in New England, and indeed like all European colonial ventures up until the later Eighteenth Century, the Dutch colonial ventures were founded in the context of the politico-economic philosophy of mercantilism. This philosophy was gradually superseded by the development of “modern” or “liberal” economic thought in the years around 1800. Mercantilism saw trade and political expansion as inextricably linked; saw commerce as a tool of policy against rival states; took it for granted that the state should regulate all manner of economic activity and used charters to sponsor colonial ventures (e.g. the Dutch West India Company) and the granting of “monopolies” (e.g. burgher right) to regulate local economic activity. Mercantilism tended to see transactions as having winners and losers, as opposed to the modern idea that -- if the price is right -- transactions are mutually beneficial. Thus the fact (or more likely, the myth), that the Native Americans “sold” Manhattan to the Dutch for a few trade goods, would be seen as a transaction clearly “won” by the Dutch.

British takeover: 1664/1674

* Duke of York and Albany: captain
* They get along w/ Dutch
* English charter was just a copy of the Dutch charter

very liberal Articles of Capitulation confirmed “business as usual”

Albany, Dongan Charter of 1686

* They get along w/ Dutch

English charter was just a copy of the Dutch charter

* Slaves and African property owners, land owner
* Dinah Jackson owned land, day job cleaned church

urban form of early Albany

stockade; fort moved to top of State Street Hill

Albany Plan of Union 1754 and Native American “voice”

* First attempt at constitution
* French and Indian, Seven Years War
* Colonists wanted to defend against French, British gov’t said no
* Native American had last voice in Albany in 1754

Hercules and Dinnah Jackson

Other notes

* Federal Style- a variance of domanice of English (Geogian style)
* American Scientest Joel Henry- two coils put a current in one the other does the same
* In architect style, Timothy Dwight said English style same as French style
* Very first thing under 1686, English speaking city government had a slave whipped Hercules for something

*C. Urbanism in the Virginia Colony*

Jamestown, VA, 1607; first permanent English settlement in North America; first representative government in the New World, 1619.

As late as 1704 Robert Beverley wrote that the Virginians: "… have not any place of cohabitation among them that may reasonably bear the name of town." By roughly the same date there were about one hundred official municipalities in Massachusetts.

* In Mass. 100 towns none in Virginia

Thomas Jefferson *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1781

* Said Virginia had no cites
* Said to Robert Beverley, in the Northeast very few rivers that go to the interior
* In Virginia court house was in the middle of nowhere
* All important buildings were all over the place

“We have no townships. Our country being much intersected with navigable waters, and trade brought generally to our doors, instead of our being obliged to go in quest of it, had probably been one of the causes why we have no towns of any consequence” (see CSB p. 9 on ports and rivers in the north and south).

Some possible reasons:

* + - environmental determinism of rivers (Jefferson)
    - plantation already in place, got plantation owners who were mass producers
    - meetinghouse, no difference between people and congregation
    - South, were Anglican church was in a remote part
    - more advanced commercial vision of urbanism by chartering merchants: direct contracting, little need for urban entrepôts
    - size and self-sufficiency nature of non-urban plantation economy
    - lack of disposable income for commercial spending by slave and “headright” (indentured) populations
    - church (Anglican) and parish: not separatist, often rurally located
    - court and county had only intermittent sessions resulting in “isolated court house square compounds” (John Reps)
    - split of rural population into large landholders and marginal farmers or landless pioneers who moved inland
    - Town Acts (which generally failed); Fredericksburg, Alexandria

(one of the surveyors was George Washington)

* British said what, have citites
* Passed town acts didn’t work out
* George Washingtion Surveyor tried to make a city Alexandria , but it never worked out

*D. Renaissance-Baroque urbanism in America*

* Bringing Urban Style to America
* Baroque- autocratic regimes

Attempts to take up the threads of classical urban form (as codified, for example, by the Roman architect Vitruvius in *De Architectura).*

Baroque impulse for symmetry and order as opposed to the asymmetry and disorder (so-called) of the Gothic. Concerns to impose and create order, primarily visual order, in urban space. Related to new developments in the visual arts (e.g. ideas of perspective).

Characteristic traits:

* + - holistic ordering of whole urban space
    - axial and/or radial symmetry
    - use of grid plans without or without overlay of radials
    - creation of vistas, closure of vistas with focal buildings
    - articulation between the layout of buildings (fronts, backs, ceremonial entrances) and the street plan
    - emergence of new public spaces of civility: parks, museums, boulevards, promenades, plazas, squares
    - often the design pays little regard to the problems and possibilities of local topography

Baroque urbanism was associated with emergence of autocracy and the nation state, and the imprint on capital cities of absolute monarchs: Louis XIV (Versailles), Frederick Great (Potsdam), Peter the Great (St. Petersburg), Charles II (London). There are very strong subtexts of social control (e.g. Haussmann's wholesale redesign of Paris 1853-1870 under the Second Empire was driven by memories of 1848 and by the need for swift troop movements through the city). Baroque clichés were alive and well in the twentieth century (e.g. Hitler’s and Speer's grandiose plans for Berlin). But the baroque had earlier provided the urban vocabulary for capitals of democracies (L'Enfant's plan for Washington DC, 1791 and later the layout of Canberra, Australia). Think about the Empire State Plaza in Albany.

* Lot of American atchitects n intellectuals, went to schl in Paris
* 1848 series of revolutions in Europe
* Napoleon iii made himself emperor, second empire lived in exile
* Determined to bring back social order, gets haussman gave current paris in 1850, huge dislocation make paris clean get troops around
* Always tension btwn cities n gov’t
* 1870 france losin war w/ Prussia, revolution
* They built a church, poked fr civil war
* Hitler had better idea for cities after wwii
* Repressive autocratic formslaw

Three distinctive American forms of baroque urbanism may be distinguished (Vance/Hartshorn):

*Spanish Law of the Indies Towns* (promulgated by Philip II, 1573). The Law contained 148 ordinances, provided complete guidelines on urban form, and has been called "probably the most effective planning document in … history". The basic idea was a grid plan around a plaza with strong symbolic attention to defense and to Catholicism. Concerns for light, air, and public health. Earliest permanent European settlement in America: St. Augustine, FL, 1565. Three of the many variants were: *presidios* (military communities, e.g. San Diego, Monterey, Santa Barbara and San Francisco), *pueblos* (agricultural civilian communities, e.g. Los Angeles and San Jose) and *missions* (e.g. San Luis Obispo and Santa Cruz).

*English Renaissance Forms.* This style is the "aristocratic" version of colonial baroque, with wide monumental streets, vistas, and status distinctions. We looked at Williamsburg (VA) and Annapolis (MD), both developed in the first decade of the 1700’s by Governor Francis Nicholson. Charleston (NC) has a simpler grid, with many examples of “Charleston single” housing styles and little effort to close vistas with major buildings (the Old Exchange Building, 1771 is an exception).

Savannah (GA), developed by General Oglethorpe beginning in 1732, was more egalitarian and utopian, and its unique “cellular grid” is widely admired.

General Oglethorpe sailed with 114 colonists in 1732. Georgia was the last and poorest of British colonies in North America (carved out of Carolina). Objectives: strategic: bastion against Spanish Florida; domestic: prison reform and poor relief; mercantile: silk, hemp, flax, timber. Original rules of the Trustees: no rum, brandy, or spirits; no slavery; no Catholics; no lawyers.

In 1752 the Trustees surrendered the charter to the king and Georgia became a conventional colony and eventually a slave state. British occupying troops in the Revolution called it “a sickly hole in the woods.” For most of 18th century Savannah was a run-down village famous for its sandy streets. Fortunes changed with the cotton gin in 1793 (invented on a plantation not too far from Savannah). Then growth as port for cotton for English market. Heyday just before the Civil War. Ruling elite of cotton merchants. Never diversified with much commerce or manufacturing. Preservation, poverty, and surrender to Sherman in 1864. Savannah plan defined by:

Wards (600 feet N/S, 540-600 feet E/W), with central squares.

Tithing lots (60 foot frontage x 90 foot depth, assembled in 4’s or 5’s

into tithing blocks, of which there are 8 in a ward)

Trust blocks (60 x 180 feet, often not subdivided into lots,

of which there are 4 in a ward, reserved for public buildings).

John Reps’ “theory” C2+L2=S2.

American Baroque culminates in L'Enfant's design for Washington DC (1791). We also noted Thomas Jefferson’s health conscious design for Jeffersonville, (IN), 1802, Woodward’s improvement of the grid-radial idea in Detroit in 1807, and the McMillan Plan of 1901.

*Speculators' Towns*. More indigenous and more democratic, e.g. William Penn’s plan for Philadelphia, 1682. Quaker dominance. Rectangular grid with open squares (influenced by plans for London after the Great Fire of 1666.) Penn was very sensitive to public health and safety concerns: wide streets and squares as firebreaks. He ordered houses in Philadelphia to be placed in the middle of plots, “so that there may be ground on each side for gardens, or orchards, or fields, that it may be a green country town, which will never be burnt, and always be wholesome.” Designed in advance with future property sales in mind. Land was aggressively marketed and the new city aggressively boostered, providing the prototype for speculative development of urban land over the next two centuries. Philadelphia slowly “grew into” the 1682 plan. Simeon DeWitt’s 1794 plan for Albany was a speculative grid. We also noted the Patroon’s grid and Sheridan Hollow.

* Will Penn showed up
* After fire many people drew plans to rebuild London
* At the time parliament cut off the kings head
* Christopher Ren, by 1770’s everyone knew what city should look like
* St Paul Catherdral
* Puritans didn’t like Anglicans, used a stable Royal gov’t came back and kicked them out
* Nothing Greco- roman about rebuilding London
* Circles in grid (focal points)
* Greco – Roman grid planning was about bilaterial symmetry
* Renassiacne- Baroque architects too obsessed w/ grid forgot about geography

*E. Urban Trends in New England and the Northeast*

i. commercial expansion and urban growth

English “benign neglect” and the expansion

of colonial self-government (CSB p. 10-12)

problems in economic growth

economic philosophy of mercantilism

lack of cash, credit, and capital

lack of economic links among colonial centers

growing power of commercial sector: role of storekeepers

ii. “moral deregulation”

decline of moral surveillance

growing religious diversity

elite attracted to more liberal Anglicanism

role of charismatic preachers and the Great Awakening (about 1730)

iiii. growing distinction between public and private domains

emergence of norms of “civility” (dealing with strangers in public pace)

emergence of secular public spaces for (male, free) political and economic life, the press, and discourse in groggeries, taverns, coffee shops (CSB pp. 21-22); Tontine Coffeehouse and NY Stock Exchange; Habermas’ “bourgeois public sphere”

iv. social stratification in colonial times (CSB pp. 15-21)

elite: merchants, colonial officials, some lawyers

diverse “middling” class, skill crafts, retailers, innkeepers

unskilled free laborers

bound laborers (indentured servants or apprentices etc.), free blacks

slaves

status of women and African-Americans

revival of African self-consciousness 1730s to 1750s (CBS p. 22)

v. revolutionary tensions (CSB pp. 23-28)

the special status of Boston

women and African-Americans in the Revolution

vi. problems of urban growth:

public health, safety, fire prevention, poor-relief etc.

Boston as pioneer city in dealing with urban problems (CSB pp. 12-15)

progressive possibilities of New England traditions of city autonomy, tax-levying power, and communal welfare

problems of crime and disorder, fire, water, & school services,

and the beginning of uniformed police services in 1850s (e.g. CSB p. 43)

vii. social stratification in the early 19th century (CSB pp. 53-60)

concentration of wealth, growing income inequality; finer social stratification; decisive separation of middle class from working class; emergence of middle class as a self-conscious group; small retailers, salaried white collar workers, clerks, managers; classes intervening between workers and controllers of capital; more refined social stratification - commercial pursuits v. mechanical trades; emergence of middle class mores: rising incomes, expectations, living standards, aspirations for education and upward mobility; new consumer goods: e.g. carpets, pianos, teacups, books, magazines; tokens of “refinement” (Bushman)

viii. urban boosterism and speculative land development in the interior

(CSB pp. 37-38), competition between cities, Chicago St. Louis rivalry,

from rivers to canal and rail

**3. Tensions between the Urbanizing East and the Rural Interior**

i. Shays Rebellion (1786-87) (CSB p. 31)

Daniel Shays (1747? – 1825). US no longer in British mercantile system, but trade quickly resumed, and cash was leaving the country rapidly to buy European products and to pay war debt, which was very large. Farmers in western Massachusetts reacted to a weak economy, imprisonment for debt, cash-shortage, high costs of litigation, poll tax, high salaries of officials, and foreclosure of mortgages; rebellion speeded transition from the loose Articles of Confederation to the Constitution with its stronger Federal government; urban interests tended to support a national government; NYC threatened secession from NYS in the ratification struggle.

ii. The Whiskey Rebellion (1794)

Articles of Confederation forbade direct federal taxation on income and property but allowed indirect taxes (excise and import/export duties). Hamilton (Federalist) v. Jefferson (Antifederalist). Hamilton's excise tax on farm whiskey stills incenses farmers west of mountains (e.g. in Washington county, PA); organizes resistance 1791-1794. George Washington mobilizes militia and rides west; dispels rebels, ringleaders to trial, pardoned, but the Federalist point is made. In any case, the tax was soon repealed.

**4. Geographic Expansion and the Regional Structure of the American Urban System**

i. Political independence and the Constitution stimulated urbanization. Links between old colonial centers became necessary, whereas before Independence individual cities’ links to England had been at a premium. Capital became an internal national resource, with less “leakage” back to Europe. The functions of the new state and federal governments required new or expanded cities: Washington DC is the prime example. Westward movement of the frontier produced new frontier towns which matured into new central places.

ii. Theoretical idea: Vance’s Mercantile Model (Knox and McCarthy, pp. 51-52)

“home country” : endogenic spatial organization (central place theory) [see below]

“colony” : exogenic spatial organization (mercantile model) in stages:

a. exploration b. resource harvesting c. farm-based staples d. interior depots and external points of attachment e. economic maturity with central place infill

We looked at an application of this idea by Richard Schein in the “New Military Tract” of New York.

iii. Theoretical idea: Central Place Theory (Knox and McCarthy, pp. 55, 57-58)

threshold (T), range (T), competitive free entry

conditions on T and R for stable markets and for periodic markets

hierarchy: hamlets, villages, metowns, cities