EVERYDAY AMERICA

Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson

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spaces were as important as their exterior masses. Buildings were intended for actual clients, who held clear notions of what they wanted. Architects may have been creating dwellings in the International Style for the wealthy, but American housing developments reflected the average homeowner's desire for convenience and individuality. Americans chose houses that served to accommodate their families' needs as they defined them, rather than for their reflection of a utopian modernist vision.

Commercial buildings in mid-twentieth-century America had a new purpose, given the universality of automobile travel. Those that lined the strip promised to satisfy contemporary notions of pleasure to those who drove by at high speeds. Thus their extravagant shapes and neon signs were intended to attract attention and offer the delights of places far removed from home and work.

For Jackson, writing in the late 1950s, planners, including landscape architects, could learn nothing from practitioners of the International Style. Houses and corporate structures in the Modern mode failed to respond and interact with their neighbors. Buildings need to be planned in the context of the street, he insisted. Wary of any work coming from centralized, bureaucratic planning, Jackson asked for a reevaluation of the Old World city in all its messiness as an organism overflowing with complexity, intricacy, and abundance of life.

DENISE SCOTT BROWN

LEARNING FROM BRINCK

4

During the 1960s and 1970s, J.B. Jackson, Robert Venturi, and I were among a group of academics and professionals who had started to question some core values of the architecture and urban planning of the post–World War II era. Although "Brinck," as we knew him, seemed to dislike designers in print, he maintained friendly associations with many architects and planners, including Bob (then my colleague, later my partner) and me. Our friendship with Brinck, based on a shared interest in the everyday landscape, profoundly influenced our work and perhaps his too.

The parallels in our ideas became public in 1972 with the appearance of our book, *Learning from Las Vegas*, but our lives and his had intertwined earlier.[1] I can't remember when I first met Brinck; it was probably in 1963, at a faculty meeting at the Graduate School of Fine Arts of the University of Pennsylvania. Shortly thereafter, we met again at a planning conference. In 1964, I required students in my "Form, Forces, and Function" studio at Penn to read a book Jackson had recommended, Philip Wagner's *The*

Human Use of the Earth, which became a bible for me on landscape and culture.[2]

In 1965, I moved to California to study the urbanism of the Southwest, largely because colleagues at Penn's planning school had convinced me I could not afford to ignore it. For the spring term, I was a visiting professor at the College of Environmental Design at the University of California, Berkeley. Young and on my own, I felt at times I didn't know who I was or why I was teaching. Brinck helped me feel I must be someone worthwhile, because he invited me to dinner fairly regularly—as I think he did other single ladies. He was a charming host and dinner companion. We always discussed the cultural landscape and how it got to be the way it was.

In the summer of 1966, while teaching at UCLA, I toured New Mexico with two female relatives. Brinck grandly welcomed us to La Cienega and gave us a Brinck-cooked meal in his new house. I had seen the plans of the house at Berkeley and had asked, "Why are your windows so small when you have this wonderful view over the landscape?" He had replied, "I don't like picture windows. I want to feel sheltered in the house. I can go out on the terrace to see the view."[3] He added that the house was to be the most elegant version of the adobe architecture he had chosen, that he had selected a vernacular style but in its grandest form. Then he furnished it with his mother's French antiques. This was the diversity and dichotomy of Brinck. Similar contradictions enveloped his personal life, making him a warm and welcoming friend yet a jealous protector of his background and history. Wandering through the house, I found, on a bureau, a faded photograph of a dowager lady in a big hat. Brinck's mother? I did not ask.

Bob and I were married in 1967, and sometime thereafter I introduced him to Brinck. To define the intellectual landscape we three shared, I will survey several spheres of thought that have influenced Bob and me. Brinck's was one of them. He and we contributed to a pattern of ideas about the world that was evolving in fields ranging from psychiatry to economics, pushed by the civil rights and other social movements of the 1960s. A basic preoccupation in many fields was the increase of complexity in a mass society and the need for a reassessment of the types of planning, social and physical, that would be possible or desirable for that society. Although these themes emerged in parallel from a broad range of disciplines during the two decades after World War II, this was not an organized community or school of thought, but rather an interesting convergence of ideas and influences, one that has continued to reverberate into the 1990s and beyond. Its relevance, for us as for Brinck, had to do

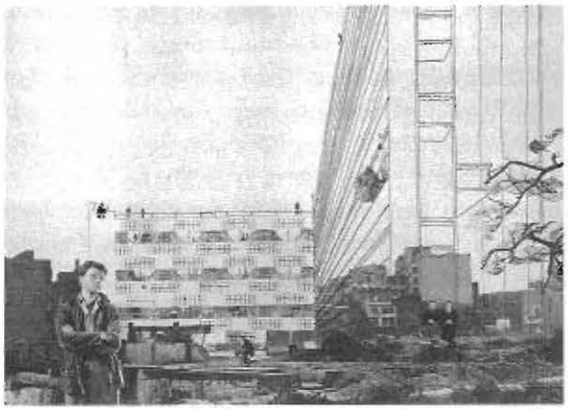
with the physical environment, urban and rural, and how it could be understood as a work of art and technology of a multicultural community and society. These lines of thought led us to a critique of the latter-day Modern architecture and urbanism of the 1950s and 1960s and to a search for socially concerned, culturally tuned approaches to design.

My engagement with multiple cultures started early. During my childhood in wartime South Africa, I was influenced by the views of several European refugees. My art teacher in Johannesburg said, "You will not be truly creative unless you are inspired by what is directly around you." At school, our textbooks were English, and England dominated the 1940s South African urban culture, yet this Dutch Jewish refugee told us, "Paint the life of Africans in the streets of Johannesburg." This dichotomy struck me strongly as a child. I became aware quite early that the "is" around me was African, but the "ought" in the textbooks was English, and whereas my grandmother felt this was entirely proper, I considered it ridiculous. It was epitomized in a film I saw of African children in French West Africa reciting lessons about "nos ancêtres, les Gaulois." This, I believe, was Brinck's dilemma too. Perhaps he faced the same need to confront several cultures in his early life.

In England in the 1950s, I discovered the Brutalists and Team 10, groups of young architects in England and Europe who were questioning received architectural values about urbanism and showing that the Corbusierian vision of the future city as skyscrapers rising from parkland did not jibe with the vital street life of the London East End (fig. 4.1). Here was a divergence between "is" and "ought" based on class and culture rather than on colonial dominance.[4]

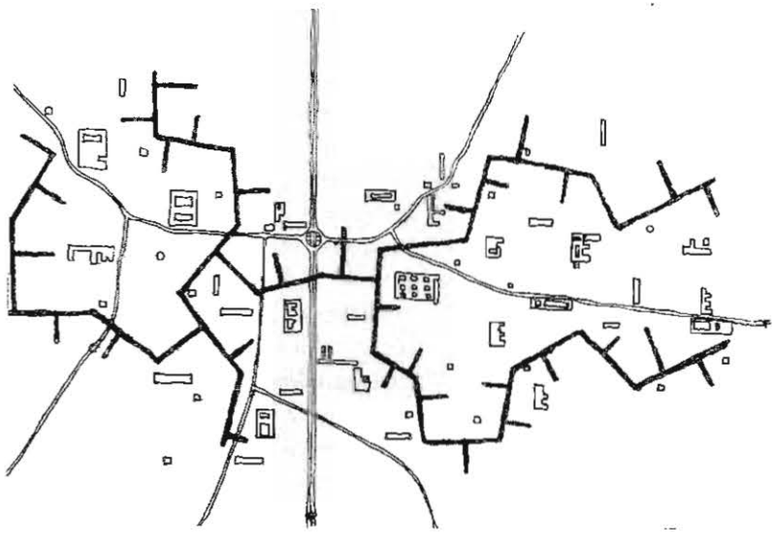
At the University of Pennsylvania in 1958, I found the urban sociologist Herbert Gans and his colleagues discussing the relation between "is" and "ought" in American city planning, pointing out that urban phenomena, such as commercial strips and suburban sprawl, decried by architects and planners could be considered desirable by others, and discussing the class basis of social and aesthetic value systems. In the late 1950s, as this group and another at Berkeley initiated the American social planning movement, they asked, "Can't you architects hold off your criticism of strips and sprawl just long enough to find out why people use them?"[5]

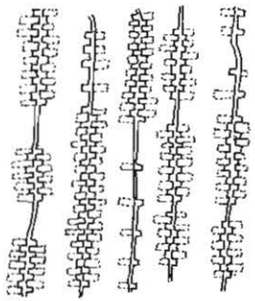
At the same time, in Penn's planning school, systems thinking—derived from the military and supported in the 1960s by President Kennedy's New Frontier and President Johnson's Great Society—was influencing urban engineers and social scientists. There was a growing interest in computers for their ability to handle complex urban information.



* Concerning the size and shape of community subdivision: it must first be recognized that in modern urban society there are no natural groupings above the level of the family. We must furthermore recognize that many recognizable social entities in existing settlements—say that of the street in a mining village—have been created by the built form. A valid social entity can result from architectural decisions. That is, decisions which include consideration of plastic organization—the shape of the community.

Figure 4.1. "Urban Reidentification" and "Close Houses." Diagrams from the "Team 10 Primer," *Architectural Design* 12 (December 1962): 592, 588. In these four sketches, Peter and Alison Smithson propose an alternative to Le Corbusier's vision of a city as skyscrapers set in parks. Here, housing is closely tied to streets, on the ground (*plan and detail opposite*) or in the air (*above; plan view below*). In each proposal, continuous linear forms wind across the land, to adapt to topography or to rebuild the unevenly distributed bombed sites and bypass remaining structures. The Smithsons' texts proclaim the social vision behind these examples of "active socioplastics" and "a new objectivity."





If you think back to the pioneer days of modern architecture you will see that the Hilberseimers and the Le Corbusiers and the Gropius's were producing Ideal Towns in the Renaissance sense, in the sense that their æsthetic was in fact the classical æsthetic, one of fixed formal organization. Now the attitude of Team 10 is that this is an unreal attitude towards towns, and we think that planning is a problem of going on, rather than starting with a clean sheet. We accept as a fixed fact that in any generation we can only do so much work, and we have to select the points at which our action can have the most significant effect on the total city structure, rather than try to envisage its complete reorganization, which is just wishful thinking. Our current æsthetic and ideological aims are not 'castles in the air' but rather a sort of new realism and new objectivity, a sort of radicalism about social and building matters; and (to stress again) a matter of acting in a given situation.
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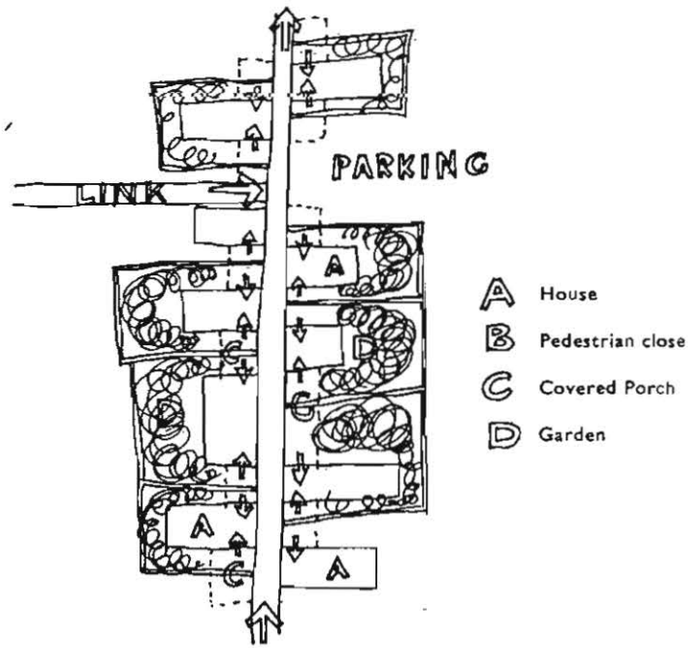

For me, how and why systems were distorted was as interesting as the systems themselves. I turned to nonlinear systems and concepts of organized complexity; the saying "Chaos is an order we have not yet discerned" resonated for me. So did the regional scientists' conceptions of the space economy as a mathematical gossamer spread across the landscape. "City physics"—a mix of math and fantasy as intriguing as a Paul Klee painting—was one way of discovering order within the "is" of the city, rather than imposing "oughts" from above. Studying Las Vegas was another.

A further influential encounter was with Charles Seeger, the ethnomusicologist, whom I met in 1963. At that time, Seeger was endeavoring to understand music (he said "musics") as a multicultural language of communication—doing for music what Brinck was doing for the cultural landscape and I was attempting to do for the city in my "Form, Forces, and Function" studio classes. Pop artists, too, helped define my view. Coming from the England of the Independent Group and the Brutalists, I thought the American Pop artists were latecomers, behind the architects.[6] Bob, from the East Coast and Rome, thought they were early. Another thread in the weave was my interest in architectural mannerism—breaking the rules, liking what's shocking—gained from studying historical Mannerist architecture in Italy and England (fig. 4.2).

Given our earlier experiences, Bob and I found we had much in common when we met on the faculty of the Penn School of Fine Arts in 1960. Our professional and academic collaboration dates from that time, when Bob was starting to write *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*—which, in this context, can be seen as a creative architect's response to some challenging mid-century conditions and thoughtways, not the "clarion call to Postmodernism" it is now considered to be.[7] Brinck, with his European schooling and love of motels and motorbikes, paralleled us. A similar mixture of influences and enthusiasms defined each of us, conditioning our views of the landscape and our roles in our professions.

So when, in 1965, I stopped in Las Vegas on my way to Berkeley, I was primed to analyze and understand an urban phenomenon intellectually—as an urban planner, social planner, and functionalist architect skeptical of the norms of my field. But on the Strip, my first reaction was an artist's shiver. All those bright and garish signs jostling one another in the brilliant sunshine—did I hate them or love them? I did both. The strength of the emotion was clear, its exact nature puzzling. After my move to UCLA, in August 1965, I set about studying Los Angeles urbanism intensely. In late 1966, I invited Bob to lecture to my students and to visit Las Vegas

Figure 4.2. Michelangelo, Porta Pia, Rome, c. 1561. This gateway through the Roman wall is an ultimate example of Mannerist architecture, breaking the rules of Classical architecture. The central doorway appears to be not one but several different portals superimposed on one another. Above it is a Baroque broken pediment and above that a further piece of arched pediment. Medieval crenelations are included at the cornice line. The scale difference is vast between the central doorway, suited to a monumental entrance, and the windows on either side, which belong in a (somewhat grand) palazzo. These contradictions and juxtapositions produce a building that is both monumental and playful—the essence of Mannerism.

with me. Brinck had come to UCLA to lecture too, arriving, as he often did, by motorbike. Most of my visiting colleagues were happy to stay at my beach cottage in Ocean Park, but Brinck checked in at a 6 Dollar motel before he arrived. Whenever I see a Motel 6, I think of Brinck.

In the late 1960s, when Bob and I wrote the first chapters of *Learning from Las Vegas* and, with Steven Izenour, planned our research studio on the architecture and signs of the Strip, we incorporated ideas we had derived from study, travel, reading, and working as students and young architects. However, we had not read J.B. Jackson's "Other-Directed Houses."[8] When we discovered this great article, predating our work by more than a decade, we wrote to tell him, "Years before we wrote, you wrote, and you wrote better." He was graciously magnanimous and pleased that we liked what he had written. In 1972, Brinck reviewed *Learning from Las Vegas*, but I have not seen the review listed in the best scholarly bibliography of his writings.[9]

And he left me out of the review completely. Bob wrote to him, "You of all people—you know Denise and what she has done. Why?" Brinck apologized and said he didn't know why he did it. But I know why: in the

cultural context of the time, as a woman in architecture and planning, I was marginal. I still am. But in some ways, Brinck was marginal too.

This marginality was among the many things Jackson and I shared. When Brinck wrote about "the other," was he also describing himself? There may have been an early component to his marginality: As a child, Brinck had been expensively schooled but in other ways deprived. Perhaps he had formed conflicting allegiances—with the distant parents who paid for his education, and with the paid caregivers who nurtured him day by day. That state of mind—feeling not quite part of several cultures, and maintaining several, even conflicting, loyalties—is what I have called "inner diversity."[10] It is an old dilemma. It was important in my African-Jewish childhood and youth and in Bob's growing up as an Italian-American Quaker. But it has a longer history. When Jesus said, "Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and unto God what is God's," he was, I believe, quoting a rabbi. Jews feel the pull between wanting to be part of a community that is global and yet being loyal to the land they live in.

The answer, for me, to feeling caught in such cross-cultural crossfires, is that it's a wonderful problem; we should not hope to solve it but should live with it, using its tension to foster creativity in our work. This, I think, is what Brinck did. The skewed view—the view from a marginal position—can produce useful insights and an unusual vision. Conflict between cultures can lie at the root of artistic creativity. Like Brinck, Bob and I could learn from Las Vegas, perhaps because, like him, we were marginal to our society in many respects.

Other cross-axes we shared with Brinck include a spanning between disciplines: our range is from iconography to regional science; Brinck's was so broad I cannot map it. We shared, as well, a spanning between Europe and the United States. Brinck spoke French, but his French, he claimed, was not particularly useful to him, because it was a child's version. "When children play," he said, "they use strange tenses; they say, 'You be doing such and such.'"

Brinck was an easterner who rode a motorbike across the Southwest. He was a friend and advisor to the working people around him at La Cienega, but he was no pal. His writing reverberates with the tensions between aesthetics and function, the practical and the ornamental, the enjoyment of surface and the excavation of history. He commingled professional and scholarly approaches to learning. I myself am a practitioner, not an academic, and an educator in a profession—two professions. As such, I use scholarly learning for purposes different from those of its academic purveyors—to *do* things. Bob and I are hit-and-run, sometime academics,

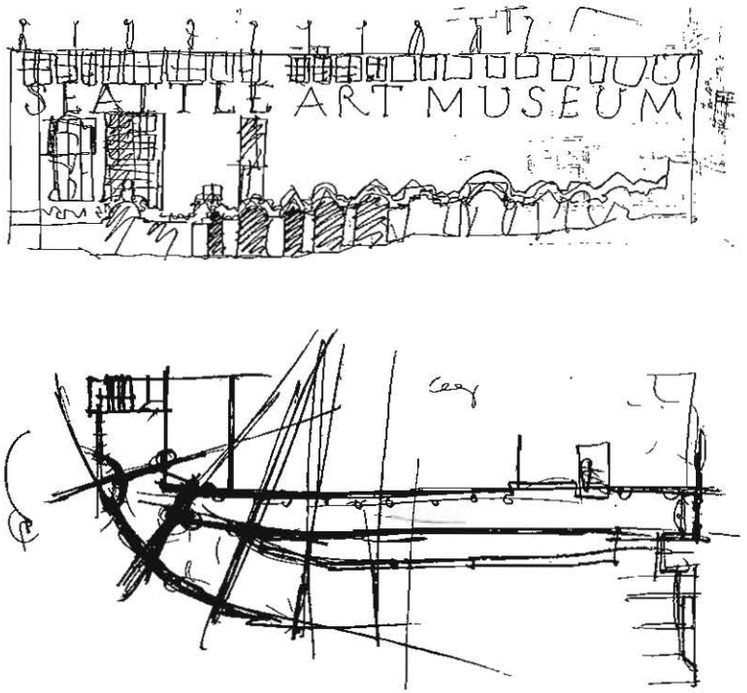

Figure 4.3. Seattle Art Museum, 1986–91. Sketches by Robert Venturi from *Venturi Scott Brown: Maniera del Moderno*, ed. Carolina Vaccaro (Bari, Italy: Editori Laterza, 2000), p. 20.

sojourners and wanderers across our own intellectual and artistic diaspora. I think Brinck was the same.

Because Bob and I are busy in practice, the writing we do is tense, like a letter from the front lines. So are the drawings we make to communicate with ourselves on the way to a design (figs. 4.3 and 4.4). Brinck drew beautifully. Some of his sketches were made literally within enemy territory, while reconnoitering for an advancing army. Drawn in danger, in less than a minute, the tension in their taut lines is palpable (fig. 4.5). And *Landscape*, too, has the passion and urgency of a little magazine at the firing line in the politics and arts of the cultural landscape.

Yet, in that Brinck was a scholar, he diverged from us. A scholar on a motorbike is not us. That's more like T.E. Lawrence, another luminous, marginal character.[11]

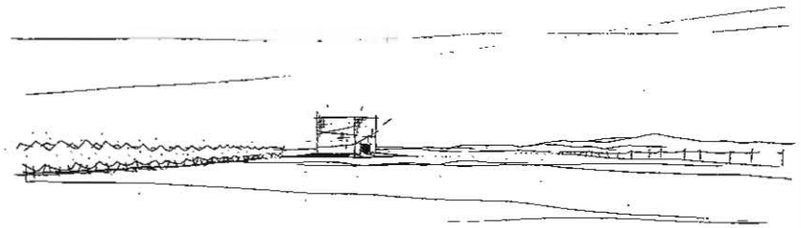

Figure 4.4. California City, Mojave Desert. Sketch by Robert Venturi of a proposed geometric city hall building, 1970. The structure was to be a cube of gold mirrored glass, reflecting the desert heat away from the building.

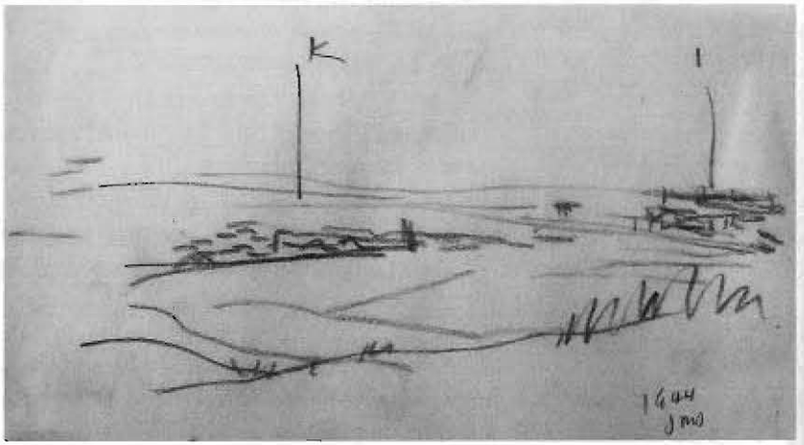

Figure 4.5. J.B. Jackson, reconnaissance sketch of two towns on the European front, 1944. From J.B. Jackson, *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time: An Exhibition of Drawings by John Brinckerhoff Jackson*, catalog prepared by Eleanor M. McPeck with Tracy Calvan and Jessica Ingber (New York: The Municipal Art Society, 1996).

How did we use what we learned from (and with) Brinck? I think we feel his influence most strongly when, as designers, we face a difficult "is"—some hard-to-like given of culture or function—and accept it for, inter alia, aesthetic reasons: because, by sideswiping accepted norms, it skews our view and thereby freshens our eye.

But although we have shared and responded to Brinck's liberating vision, we have diverged from his focus as well. Our reassessment of the everyday landscape has had one further consequence for us: it returned us to the art of architecture, but with an altered view. We learned many lessons from Las Vegas. One of the most important for us artistically was to reassess symbolism and the use of representation and decoration in architecture and urban design. Here the influence was not primarily Brinck's, except where the symbolism related to popular culture. This was the case with a hotel and spa we designed for the Nikko Kirifuri Resort, in central Japan, where we installed a depiction of a Japanese village main street to serve as the lobby.[12] It contained flattened, colored, and illuminated representations of store windows, signs, banners, decorations, street furniture, and a utility wire–scape (fig. 4.6). These elements of the cultural landscape created a setting that was part main street, part museum, part fairy tale. As outsiders in Japan, trying to respond artistically yet respectfully to an enchanting but unfamiliar environment, we needed, and got, a great deal of help in understanding cultural symbols and finding appropriate ways to interpret them.

We have had similar experiences in Europe and the United States, although rarely as directly related to the everyday landscape as at Nikko. The institutional architecture we usually are hired to design limits our opportunity to employ elements of popular culture and the everyday environment symbolically and artistically. When we try, some critics call our work vulgar and ugly and accuse us of slumming—of not really respecting people and of lacking social concern, although social concern was part of what brought us to Las Vegas. All this is difficult for us, and of course we're out of fashion now that the Modernists are back. But they're Neomodernists; we may in fact be the last Modernists. The Neomodernists are no longer ardent functionalists (we still are), and they naively think they can escape symbolism by ignoring it. We feel that to ignore symbolism is merely to become subject to it unconsciously. We continue to place our trust in conventional building, appropriately derived from the cultural landscape—in buildings that look like buildings; that are shelter, not sculpture; that accept social mandates and face difficult problems squarely, yet welcome relevant symbolism and decoration, now perhaps electronic,

Figure 4.6. "Village Street," Hotel Mielparque, Nikko Kirifuri Resort, Nikko, Japan, 1997. Architecture: Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates.

applied (sparingly) up front. Perhaps this is what architects can learn from Brinck *and* from us.

Brinck was full of strength. His intellectually elegant, artistically driven, emotionally complex human spirit was housed in a lovable, Puck-like persona. The last time we spoke, he said: "You have to change your life when you retire. If you continue trying to do what you have been doing, you'll die young." So he found work on a construction site, where he was employed in cleaning up after the other workers, and he joined an

African American church congregation and told me he was black. I didn't ask why, and he did not respond to my suggestion that many Americans may be part African. He was full of mysteries.

On his last visit (was it in 1980? I can't remember) Brinck had dinner at our house. Our mischievous small son and our housekeeper and cook, a sturdy lady from Trinidad, were there. A letter from Brinck followed, saying, "It was a special visit for me—being in a house with an active little boy, a patient mother in the dining room and a warmhearted cook in the kitchen." It was the nearest to a personal cry I had ever heard from Brinck. "What does he want?" I thought. "What does he need from me?" I wrote a letter, saying, "I think your mother would be very happy with the life you have made for yourself." He did not reply.

Brinck was an artist. He was a lucky artist who found his sources early—found what he wanted to be an artist about. To link his many talents and hold his life together, he cleaved to one major inspiration: the cultural landscape—mainly the landscape of the poor, as it lies down upon the Earth.

4. SCOTT BROWN, "LEARNING FROM BRINCK"

1. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972; rev. ed., Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977).

2. Philip L. Wagner, *The Human Use of the Earth* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960).

3. Throughout this essay, quotations from conversations and letters are based on my recollections and are not necessarily verbatim.

4. Denise Scott Brown, "Learning from Brutalism," in *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 1990).

5. Not surprisingly, Gans was one of the social scientists published in Jackson's journal. See Herbert J. Gans, "Suburbs and Planners," *Landscape* 11, no. 1 (autumn, 1961): pp. 23–24.

6. Denise Scott Brown, "A Worm's Eye View of Recent Architectural History," *Architectural Record* (February 1984): 69–81, and "Between Three Stools: A Personal View of Urban Design Practice and Pedagogy," in *Education for Urban Design* (Purchase, N.Y.: Institute for Urban Design, 1982), pp. 132–72. Denise Scott Brown, "Urban Concepts," *Architectural Design* profile no. 60, *Architectural Design* 60, no. 1–2 (January–February 1990); dist. London: Academy Editions, 1990; dist. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

7. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "J.B. Jackson and the Discovery of the American Landscape," in J.B. Jackson, *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): p. xxv. Bob's view was mannerist, rather than what later was called Postmodernist. He felt that mid-twentieth-century societal complexities had upended prevailing architectural philosophies and that they called for the breaking of architectural rules, which had become too simple or too simply ideological for the urban and social conditions of the time. Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art and Graham Foundation, 1966).

8. J.B. Jackson, "Other-Directed Houses," *Landscape* 6, no. 2 (winter 1956–57): 29–35; reprinted in Jackson, *Landscape in Sight*, pp. 184–97. In the same book, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz writes, in discussing "Other-Directed Houses": "Jackson's witty delineation of the characteristics of strip architecture predated *Learning from Las Vegas* . . . by sixteen years" (p. xxv; she makes a similar observation in chapter 3, note 19 of this book). The heart of what would become *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972) first appeared in Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, "A Significance for A&P Parking Lots, or Learning from Las Vegas," *Architectural Forum* 128, no. 2 (March 1968): 37–43 ff. Although Horowitz's chronology needs amending, in light of this 1968 publication, her essay augmented my understanding and jogged my memory as I worked on my assessments and remembrances of Brinck.

9. J.B. Jackson, "An Architect Learns from Las Vegas," *Harvard Independent*, November 30, 1972. That best bibliography appears in Jackson, *Landscape in Sight*.

10. Denise Scott Brown, "The Power of Inner Diversity," *Proceedings of the AIA Diversity Conference Building Bridges: Diversity Connections* (Washington, D.C.: AIA, 1995), pp. 4–6; reprinted in *AIArchitect* (May 1996): 22.

11. As in the film *Lawrence of Arabia*, or as Lawrence himself wrote in *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935).

12. Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi, "Hotel Mielparque Resort Complex: Nikko Kirifuri, Japan, 1992–1997," in *Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates: Buildings and Projects, 1986–1998*, ed. Stanislaus von Moos (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1999): pp. 270–79.

5. DAVIS, "THE AMERICAN HIGHWAY LANDSCAPE"

1. Gilmore Clarke, "Modern Motor Ways," *Architectural Record* (December 1933): 430; Clarke, "The Mount Vernon Memorial Highway," *Landscape Architecture* 22 (April 1932): 179; Jay Downer, "How Westchester Treats Its Roadsides," in *American Civic Annual, 1930* (Washington, D.C.: American Civic Association, 1930), 165–66.

2. Mumford complained about the automobile's impact in many of his books and in articles, such as "Townless Highways for the Motorist," *Harper's Monthly*, August 1931, pp. 347–56; "The Roaring Traffic's Boom," a three-part series in the *New Yorker*, March 19, April 2, and April 16, 1955, and "The Highway and the City," *Architectural Record* 123 (April 1958): 179–86. Blake railed about the American landscape in *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of the American Landscape* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964). Keats satirized suburbs in *The Crack in the Picture Window* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956) and condemned automobile culture in *The Insolent Chariots* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1958).

3. Jackson noted: "As late as 1965 I was booed and hissed at conferences when I mentioned the topic and dared to show slides" (letter, Jackson to the author, March 3, 1993).

4. Jackson was not the first to call attention to the social complexity and visual appeal of the modern roadside landscape. One of the earliest sympathetic appraisals of the new American roadside was James Agee's article "The Great American Roadside," *Fortune*, April 1934, 53–63, 172–77. Agee portrayed the new roadside landscape as a hotbed of creativity and small-time entrepreneurism, as well as a vibrant, if somewhat tawdry, social environment. Walker Evans and the Farm Security Administration and photographers for Standard Oil of New Jersey were also entranced by the automobile's impact on the American landscape. Like Jackson, they recognized the highway's rapidly growing role as a recreational and economic space and were drawn to the visual pyrotechnics and kinesthetic exuberance of roadside commercial architecture.

Jackson's views were even more directly foreshadowed by two articles in publications he was known to favor. An article by Volnay Hurd in the May 5,