1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Baldwin Hills Village

Other Name/Site Number: Village Green

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior January 3, 2001.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 5300 Rodeo Road Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Los Angeles Vicinity: N/A

State: California County: Los Angeles County Code: 037 Zip Code: 90016

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private: X	Building(s):
Public-Local:	District: X
Public-State:	Site:
Public-Federal:	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	97	buildings	0
sites	1	sites	0
structures	64	structures	28
objects	0	objects	0
Total	162	Total	28

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 97

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:
X Entered in the National Register
__ Determined eligible for the National Register
__ Determined not eligible for the National Register
__ Removed from the National Register
__ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Domestic Sub: Multiple Dwelling

Current: Domestic Sub: Multiple Dwelling

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Modern Movement

MATERIALS:
Foundation: Reinforced Concrete
Walls: Stucco/Wood/Brick Veneer
Roof: Built-up Tar and gravel

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearances

SUMMARY

Baldwin Hills Village, now known as The Village Green, is a middle-income residential community located on a 64-acre site along the south-west edge of the city of Los Angeles. Reginald Johnson (1882–1952), prominent Los Angeles architect, in association with the firm of Lewis Wilson, Edwin Merrill, and Robert Alexander, was the project architect, while Clarence Stein (1882–1975), already a noted author, planner, and architect, was prominently credited as consulting architect. The site plan is considered the best and most fully developed example of Clarence Stein's "Radburn Idea" of neighborhood community planning. The buildings and the site plan are largely unchanged and constitute one of the finest examples of progressive idealism directed toward providing high quality urban housing.

Design work on what was to become Baldwin Hills Village formally began in the late 1930s. The original name for the project was Thousand Gardens, and the architects initially proposed a 224-acre site. This was soon reduced to 100 acres with a density of 10 homes per acre. The final size of the project was 64 acres with 629 residences.

Construction on Baldwin Hills Village was begun in February 1941 and continued through December 1942. The cost of the project was approximately $3.3 million. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's new Federal Housing Administration provided critical financing by insuring $2.6 million worth of mortgages. The local contracting firm of Marks-Charde began the work but was replaced by the Herb Baruch Construction Company after the beginning of World War II.

CONTRIBUTING AND NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Contributing resources in the Baldwin Hills Village National Historic District include the following elements:

1. The site plan
2. Ninety-four residential buildings (numbers 1 to 92 with 44a and 54a)
3. One remodeled clubhouse building that has been converted into two residences (number 94)
4. One building for administration and community activities (number 93)
5. One maintenance building (number 97)
6. Sixty-four garage structures

Non-contributing resources include:

1. Twenty-eight garage structures (21 were modified, 7 are later additions)
   See site map (Figure #1) for non-contributing (new, modified or reconstructed) garages.

HISTORIC INTEGRITY

For more than half a century, Baldwin Hills Village has maintained a surprisingly high degree of historic integrity. A comparison of an aerial photograph taken in the mid-1940s (Photo #1) with one taken in 1998 (Photo #2) shows that the site plan remains virtually unchanged.[1] These photographs show the locations of the buildings and the basic landscape configuration with its extensive open spaces and walkways. In addition, a

[1] The 1940s aerial view is from Reginald Johnson's photograph album located at the Huntington Library at San Marino, California. The 1998 aerial view is from I. K. Curtis Services of Burbank, California.

comparison of ground-level photographs taken in the 1940s with similar photographs taken recently also shows that the architecture remains virtually unchanged (Photos #'s 3-9).[2]

However, while the majority of the buildings are unchanged, some modifications have been made. There has been a progressive expansion of garage and parking areas at the expense of other less-valued facilities such as the tennis courts, badminton areas, and clothesline areas. The six "tot lots" or small children's play areas have all been removed, replaced in four cases with garages or parking areas. In the 1950s, clothesline areas were reduced because of the introduction of clothes dryers. Garbage collection areas in the parking courts were introduced to accommodate large bins.

Both the original clubhouse and the administration buildings are not in their original configurations. The early drawings describe what became the clubhouse as a community building and nursery school, but by 1944 it was established as the community clubhouse. Early photos show it as consisting of a large central hall used for games and group activities with other small rooms at the sides. It is possible that the building was converted to other uses as early as 1954,[3] but anecdotal recollections maintain that it was converted into two living units between 1972 and 1978. At present, the majority of the interior partitions are not original; none of the existing fireplaces is original. The footprint of the building has been modified by the enclosure of one-half of the atrium on the south side to give one unit an extra room, and the enclosure of another part of the atrium on the north side to provide two new dining rooms. The large round wading pool on the south side was changed into a planter soon after 1944.

The original (and current) administration building has also been modified. Two small patios on the north side have been roofed over and converted into interior space. What was originally the resident manager's apartment is now the reception area and the manager's office. The central hall, which was the rental office, is now part of the community clubhouse, as is the original manager's office, the maintenance garage, and some other offices. The maintenance garage door, as well as many other doors and windows throughout the building have been re-worked and replaced with aluminum storefront doors and windows.

The original maintenance sheds remain, though other sheds and structures have been added and the incinerator removed. The location of these buildings is the same as that shown on the original site plan of 1940 for the maintenance building.

Some significant damage to the community occurred during the Baldwin Hills flood of 1963, but Robert Alexander, one of the original architects, supervised the repairs and the historic integrity of the site was preserved. Aerial photographs of the flood show the extent of the damage (Photos #11 and #12). These photographs reveal that the force of the flood waters damaged and collapsed portions of the exterior walls of two of the residential buildings, and damaged or destroyed at least seven garage structures.[4] The residential buildings were rebuilt in their original configurations with all the architectural details of rebuilt elements kept as designed in the 1940s.[5] Thirteen garage buildings were modified to increase the number of parking stalls. The site plan was unchanged. The integrity of the three central greens and the general configurations of the garden courts and all the walkways was maintained. A comparison of an aerial photograph taken in the early 1940s with one taken in 1998 shows this continuity. The location of the 97 residential buildings and the garage

[2] For comparison, see enclosed photographs listed in the appendix. Early photographs are from the Reginald Johnson's "Baldwin Hills Photograph Album" at the Huntington Library; Clarence Stein's *Toward New Towns for America* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1951), 188-216; and Catherine Bauer's, "Description and Appraisal…Baldwin Hills Village," *Pencil Points* (September 1944): 46-60.

[3] 1954 blueprint of the Village Green clubhouse located in the Village Green Homeowners Administration Office.

[4] Photographs in the Village Green Homeowners Association's "The Baldwin Hills Flood—December 14, 1963."

[5] Interview with Sara Cina on August 17, 1999.

buildings was unchanged. The two playgrounds adjacent of the original club and all six "tot lots" had been eliminated years before the flood.[6]

In 1972, Baldwin Hills Village was converted from rental units to condominiums and renamed the Village Green. The developers gave prospective owners many choices of fixtures and details for modernizing kitchen and bathrooms. In the bathrooms, most pedestal lavatories were replaced with new sinks and cabinets. In the kitchens, the stainless-steel sinks and counters were generally replaced and vinyl flooring was installed over the original linoleum.

The greatest changes to the landscaping were also made after the Baldwin Hills flood. Robert Alexander oversaw this work. Landscape architect Merrill Winans was in charge of redesign and reconstruction of the landscaping. The general configuration was retained and the large-scale elements of the original design were kept, but the type and variety of plantings was greatly increased.[7] The plantings became much denser, and large shrubs were planted close to the buildings. Some of the garden courts were given an individual character through the plantings. A greater variety of flowering plants were introduced, and some small garden areas and formal features were removed. However, the architectonic rows of paired trees, usually sycamore and olive, remained in the plan.

SITE PLAN

The site plan is one of the most significant assets of Baldwin Hills Village. It successfully demonstrates Clarence Stein's ideal of complete separation of automobile and pedestrian traffic, while providing a calm oasis of greenery in an urban area. The site is approximately 64 acres and is a rough rectangle running about 3200 feet in the east-west direction by about 800 feet in the north-south direction. In plan, the site is developed in accordance with beaux-arts planning principles with a major axis and minor sub-axes. The central focus of the plan is an 800 foot semi-oval central green. The original administration and clubhouse buildings lay on the site's main north-south axis, which opens out onto this central green before continuing across the site and becoming one garden court. The central green is linked to smaller greens to the east and west by rows of paired sycamore trees that operate powerfully as an architectural element. Other open areas, or garden courts, open out onto the main greens. All the original green areas are unchanged in concept and disposition and are contributing resources. They are the armatures of the Baldwin Hills Village pedestrian circulation, both as drawn in plan and as experienced on foot.

By their locations and relationships to other elements, the residential buildings of the Baldwin Hills Village define the boundary between the pedestrian circulation of the greens and the automobile circulation of the city streets and parking courts. The 17 garage courts generally alternate with the garden courts around the site perimeter. Robert Alexander described this interlocking relationship as a Greek fret pattern.[8] The genius of the plan consists in the way the garage courts penetrate into cul-de-sacs lined with the residential buildings, which in turn face onto the pedestrian-oriented garden courts.

Each court was designed for an average of 36 residences along with a cluster of garage buildings and common facilities for laundry and clothes drying. The laundry rooms and a service toilet were typically attached to the ends of garage structures and occupied the modular size of a garage stall. Of the original 17 of these facilities, 15 are unchanged, while two have been rebuilt. All but four of the adjacent clothesline areas have been

[6] Photographs of the community before the Baldwin Hills flood can be found in Stein's *New Towns For America* (188-214*),* the Robert E. Alexander Collection at Cornell University; Ithaca, New York, and Reginald Johnson's "Baldwin Hills Village Photographs" at the Huntington Library at San Marino, California.

[7] Overview site map is a current one used while another map is one that was drawn before 1960.

[8] This was related by Robert Alexander during his visit to The Village Green in May 1990.

modified, typically changed into garbage collection areas. All the garage spaces were originally carports in simple flat-roofed post-and-beam structures with 1″x 8″ wood siding. Wood garage doors were added for security within a few years by the original architects. There were originally tennis courts, badminton courts, and landscaped areas on the east and west sides of the administration building.[9] These have also been removed and replaced by five additional garage structures. Where space has allowed in the garage courts, infill garage spaces have been built.[10] There were originally 85 garage structures providing parking for residents. Uncovered parking was also provided in each garage court as well as along the perimeter of the site on the city streets. All the original perimeter parking has been maintained.

Minor modifications have been made to the project's service facilities. During the 1950s, with the introduction of electric clothes dryers, the clothes line areas were reduced. Garbage collection areas were added to allow for large collection bins, while wet garbage collection areas at each unit have been removed.[11]

ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of the buildings of Baldwin Hills Village is clear, simple, and unpretentious. The buildings, designed as a harmonious unit, are painted in neutral colors and constructed in standard Southern California frame and plaster. The long two-story façades, with strong horizontal lines at the eaves and balconies, along with the low hipped and gable roofs create a quiet and uncomplicated domestic architecture. The style is a simplified modernist version of common building types that Lewis Mumford described as "robust vernacular." The sides of the buildings facing the public greens are generally unchanged except for the installation of sliding glass doors in some one-story end units, and the installation of some metal security screen doors in place of original wood screen doors. After the 1963 flood, the patio sides of some units were modified by the replacement of the wood door and some steel casement windows with large aluminum sliding doors. These changes were made under the supervision of Robert Alexander. The original trellises built onto the buildings to screen entrances remain. The building plans are generally unchanged since construction.

All residences are in multi-family buildings of one-and two-story construction. Each two-level unit has its own distinct entry with the front facing a garden court or interior green. Typically, living rooms and master bedrooms also face the greens. However, second floor flats are entered from the garage court side. Now every unit has its own semi-private entrance garden or patio on the garage side. These are enclosed with either painted wood fences or serpentine brick walls. The painted wood fences are original to the design, and within a few years of first occupancy, the serpentine walls were added by the original architects to provide private areas for the apartment flats as well as many two-level units that did not originally have fully enclosed patios.

Originally, Baldwin Hills Village consisted of 94 residential buildings, 85 garage structures, and 3 non-residential buildings. During World War II, 3 residential units near the circle by the clubhouse were converted to special uses. One unit at the west end of the circle was used as a market and coffee shop on the first floor, while the second floor housed beauty and barber shops. These facilities were provided when the War Production Board blocked construction of a shopping center located on the eastern side of the site. Two other units in the circle were made into a nursery school under the provisions of the Lantham Act. This allowed some

[9] A February 15, 1960 memo from J.R. Gonagle, manager, stated that the tennis courts located in front of Rodeo Road were removed. Document located at the Village Green Homeowners Administrative Office.

[10] Refer to Figure #1. This map indicates where the infills are and what garages were added.

[11] April 27, 199 interview with Sara Cina, who has been a resident since 1946. Description of garbage collection is also found in Catherine Bauer, "Description and Appraisal…Baldwin Hills Village," *Pencil Points* (September 1994) 55.

mothers to work in war-related industries. The nursery school units also had full playground facilities located in the triangular-shaped lawn areas on either side of the original clubhouse.[12]

As mentioned before, the present administration building originally housed the manager's office on the east side with the maintenance department on the west side. The present foyer was a reception area for rental activities with a service counter and telephone switchboard. The foyer originally had a mural painted by the noted artist, Rico Lebrun, on its south wall above the door. This mural had been covered with paint and plastered over. Its existence had been forgotten, but as a result of research for this National Historic Landmark application, it has been rediscovered. An assessment of the feasibility of its restoration is underway.

The 94 original residential buildings are historically intact and are contributing resources. There are nine one-story cottages, all consisting of three one-bedroom units. The 85 other buildings are all two-story, or two-story with one-story end pieces. These end pieces are either single units or one-story parts of three-bedroom townhouses. The two-story portions of the buildings contain either townhouse units occupying both floors, or apartment flats one above the other. There are many variations with regard to individual unit plans, with balconies, dining rooms, and fireplaces being the common variables. The units are put together to make up eight different residential building types along with the remodeled clubhouse. These building types are usually symmetrical in both plan and elevation.

Type 1: One-story with three one-bedroom units. These are called cottage units. Three units per building. Nine total: buildings 1, 44, 46, 48, 54, 56, 58, 93(now 44a), and 94 (now 54a).

Type 2: Two pairs of one- or two-bedroom apartment flats one above the other joined on one side to a single two-bedroom townhouse. Five units per building. Fourteen total: 6, 7, 9, 21, 23, 35, 38, 65, 67, 69, 75, 77, 78, and 80. This is the only asymmetrical building plan type. Five units per building.

Type 3: Two-story with two two-bedroom townhouses flanked by two pairs of stacked one- or two-bedroom flats. Six units per building. Thirteen total: 3, 4, 10, 14, 30, 37, 39, 64, 68, 73, 76, 79, and 82.

Type 4: Two-story with four pairs of one- or two-bedroom units one above the other. Eight units per building. Six total: 19, 20, 24, 25, 34, 90.

Type 5: Two-story "portal" building with four pairs of one- or two-bedroom flats one above the other. These are variations on building type four. An opening or "portal" at the mid-point of the building at ground level provides access to a garden court from the street. Eight units per building. Four total: buildings 11, 33, 63, and 86.

Type 6: 14 total, eight units per building. Two-story with four one- or two-bedroom apartment flats one above another flanked by two pairs of two-bedroom townhouses. Eight units per building. Fourteen total: buildings 12, 15, 17, 22, 29, 32, 43, 49, 53, 59, 70, 85, 89, and 91.

Type 7: Two-story with four two-bedroom townhouses and a three-bedroom townhouse on each end. Six units per building. Nineteen total: buildings 2, 13, 16, 28, 31, 40, 41, 42, 45, 47, 50, 55, 57, 60, 61, 62, 71, 84, and 92.

Type 8: 14 total, ten units per building. Two-story with eight one- or two-bedroom units above each other flanked by one-story units. Ten units per building. Fifteen total: buildings 5, 8, 18, 22, 26, 36, 51, 52, 66, 72, 74, 81, 83, 87, and 88.

[12] Bauer, "Description and Appraisal…Baldwin Hills Village," 49.

Type 9: Two units in the building. One story with two three-bedroom units. This is the renovated clubhouse. One building: building 95.

Each building type may be found in any part of Baldwin Hills Village except for types 1 and 9 (type nine is the remodeled clubhouse). Type 1 buildings are grouped at the west end of the site except for one single example located at the east end of the long axis of the central greens.

While the compass orientation of building types is not fixed, the buildings are generally oriented in either an east-west or north-south direction. Some buildings are oriented off the cardinal axes. This happens at the corners of the site, and at the circle. No building at the Baldwin Hills Village is isolated from its neighbors. All the buildings act together to define both the garden courts and the garage courts. The buildings can be regarded almost as a membrane at the boundary of the pedestrian and automobile circulation systems.

Although the building types are randomly placed, there are many examples of symmetrical placement for architectural effect. These pairings contribute to the large-scale symmetries of the site plan. They introduce a formal quality that is not always apparent at ground level, particularly because of the varied landscaping and building siting. However, it is very apparent in an aerial or plan view.

The construction methods at Baldwin Hills Village were fairly standard for the region. As Catherine Bauer stated in her description in 1944:

> Construction is of standard Southern California frame and plaster, except that nine percent of the apartments have reinforced brick walls. All buildings rest on two slabs of concrete with membrane waterproofing between. Second floors, when different apartment units are on top of each other, are of floating construction for noise isolation. A few minor cracks have developed on the outside [walls]…. Windows are steel casements with two or three horizontal panes and are simple and quite large if not particularly dramatic. Permanent screens and venetian blinds are included. Heat is furnished by gas-fired forced-warm air, unit heaters. Many units have wood-burning fireplaces. Ground-story floors are oak finish.[13]

Decks or balconies are included in many of the units and these, along with the patio fences, show up as painted surfaces in early photos. The upper half of building type seven is sheathed with painted wood siding. A photo from 1944 indicates that the interiors of the patios may have been left unpainted redwood. Units without fenced patios were provided with serpentine brick walls for enclosure in the 1940s and early 1950s. The serpentine brick walls have always been unpainted, while the brick parts of residential buildings have always been painted. The buildings were originally painted with a variety of earth tones and pastel colors. The current colors are similar.

The roofing for the typical building is built-up tar and gravel on plywood sheathing. There are no gutters or drain pipes, runoff simply drips from the roofs. The typical sloping roof has a pitch of 2 ½ in 12, with a slight break at the line of the overhang. The one-story end parts of the three-bedroom townhouses of type 2 are flat roofed, as are parts of the administration building and former clubhouse building. Generally, the eves are built with an overhang of 2 ½ feet. The resulting shadow line emphasizes the horizontal lines of the two-story buildings. Other building types have varying overhangs, but they are generous and give a strong shadow line to the forms. The type 1 buildings look the most like a single-family house of all the buildings; the end gables are anchored by an off-center brick chimney, and the central front door is sheltered by a cantilevered roof. There

[13] Bauer, "Description and Appraisal…Baldwin Hills Village," 55.

are ingenious screen dividers built of reinforcing steel or wood slats between adjacent entries, and various types of screens and trellises are provided for all the building types.

The patios are generally not covered, though the original concept allowed for awnings. Some awnings have been installed and it is an approved modification. As stated before, another common modification has been the installation of large aluminum sliding glass doors in the dining areas of some units on the patio side. These typically replace a wood door and a series of casement windows. Robert Alexander supervised this change.

The interiors of typical Baldwin Hills Village units are simple with comfortable rectangular rooms and generous built-in closets. The sizes of the units vary from about 700 square feet for the smallest one-bedroom unit, to 1,200 square feet for the two-story townhouses, to approximately 1,600 square feet for the three-bedroom townhouse. The basic unit configurations are as follows: a three-bedroom townhouse with two baths; a two-bedroom townhouse with either one or 1 ½ baths; a two-bedroom unit with one bath and dining room; a two-bedroom unit with one bath and a dining alcove; a one-bedroom unit with one bath and a dining room; a one-bedroom unit with one bath and a dining alcove. The ceilings are approximately eight feet high. Exterior doors are either solid-paneled wood or half-paneled with glass lights above. Interior doors are solid paneled wood. All the doors are fitted with brass hardware. Most wall surfaces are three-coat plaster on gypsum lath, but 1″ x 8″ vertical ship-lapped wood is also used for visual variety. Oak parquet flooring is used on the first floors, and 2 ¼″ oak strip flooring is used upstairs. Door and window moldings are simple 1″ half round fir. Kitchen floors were linoleum while bathroom floors were 1 5/8″ unglazed tile. Bathroom walls and tub surrounds typically have a tile wainscoting to a height of 48 inches. Bathroom lavatories were originally pedestal-type. Most kitchens were remodeled when the property became condominiums in 1972, but some retain their stainless-steel sinks and counters, and their plywood cabinets. All three-bedroom units and end bungalows have brick fireplaces; some one-and two-bedroom units also have fireplaces.

GARAGE AND LAUNDRY AREAS

The garage structures are all simple flat-roofed buildings with walls of either 1″ x 8″ tongue-and-grove wood siding or frame-and-stucco. The wood siding is original (occurs on contributing resources) while the stucco occurs on rebuilt or added structures. The structural module for the framing is approximately 9′-3″ wide by 20′-0″ deep. Buildings occur in varying multiples of the width and in one or two multiples of the depth. The end walls of the garages typically have a built-in storage cabinet above the height of a car hood. The garage doors now match the wood siding.

Of the original 17 laundry rooms, 15 are still part of their original garage structures and are thus part of contributing resources. Two are part of rebuilt garage structures but are still in their original locations. All laundry rooms had one stucco wall on their long dimension that faced a cul-de-sac drying yard. The drying yards have typically been changed to garbage collection areas, with the paths of access changed also. Only four drying yards remain in the location and shape shown on the architectural site plans. These features show the attention to detail that the architects gave to the planning.

LANDSCAPE

Landscape architect Fred Barlow laid out the original plantings at Baldwin Hills Village in collaboration with the architects. Fred Barlow had worked with Katherine Bashford who was the landscape architect for many of Reginald Johnson’s projects. Another landscape architect, Fred Edmondson, also worked with Robert Alexander in the general design of the walkways and landscape massing.

The original landscape plan was strong and simple and it complemented the building architecture. Large ivy beds in front of the residential buildings functioned as a design element that separated the simple buildings from

the large open spaces. Architectonic elements were also repeated in rows of hedges defining several of the open areas. With regard to the ivy, Robert Alexander stated:

> We avoided the customary "base planting" used to soften buildings and submitted ground cover, such as ivy, in the minimum twenty-foot-wide area between paths and buildings. The texture was a relief from broad panels of lawn, and the ivy tended to climb the walls, especially on the north side, merging the buildings into the land.[14]

The main walkways were bordered by rows of trees, particularly sycamores and olive trees. These rows complimented the formal beaux-arts aspects of the plan. These plantings were also thought of as recalling the early California landscape.

Trees were planned to form "ceilings" over residential courts, or to separate large open areas or to reproduce an early California scene in some cases.[15]

Adding to this effect was the use of decomposed granite in small formal gardens and in the extensive system of walkways.

After sustaining much damage from the flood of 1963, the landscaping was reworked by landscape architect Merrill Winans. The basic framework of the design was kept intact, though conceptual changes were made. The bias against base planting around the buildings was reversed and many types of large plants were introduced up to and along the buildings. Overall, the result is a design that is visually more complex and less architectonic in conception. Some of the formal gardens were replaced with grass lawns.[16] The broad plantings of ivy were thought to attract rodents and were replaced by grass and various shrubs. Decomposed granite walks were replaced by concrete walks because pebbles proved to be a nuisance to women wearing open-toed shoes.

The current landscape is enhanced by the wonderful variety of mature specimen trees, which are exceptional for their numbers, size, and variety of species. The great rows of sycamore and olive trees, now mature, still screen and define spaces as envisioned by the original planning. A wide variety of well-maintained flowering shrubs now blend with extensive areas of lawn to soften and accent the spaces around paths and buildings creating a place of remarkable calm and beauty.[17]

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[14] Ibid., 8.

[15] Robert Alexander, "Baldwin Hills Village," 1977, unpublished paper found in the Robert E. Alexander Collection at the Carl A. Koch Library, Cornell University at Ithaca, NY, p. 7.

[16] Compare aerial photograph taken in the 1940s (photo #1) and also site map for landscape changes.

[17] This description was written by architect Robert Nicolais. Text sources include: unpublished landscape description written on June 1998 for the National Historic Landmark application by Shirley Kerins, Village Green horticulturist; Robert E. Alexander's "Baldwin Hills Village," unpublished paper located at the Robert E Alexander Collection, Ithaca, New York: Rare Manuscript Collection, Carl A. Koch Library, Cornell University, 1977; Robert Alexander's *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility,* interview (July to October 1986) by Marlene L. Laskey, *Los Angeles: Oral History Program of the University of California, Los Angeles*, CA, vol. I, 1989; and Catherine Bauer's "Description and Appraisal…Baldwin Hills Village," *Pencil Points* (September 1944): 46-60. It also includes photographs from the Reginald Johnson's "Baldwin Hills Photograph Album" at the Huntington Library and those from Clarence Stein's *Toward New Towns for America* (Cambridge: M.I.T.,1951), 188-216. Also, the Baldwin Hills Village blueprints, located at the Village Green Homeowners Administrative Office, were consulted.

BLDG. NO.	BLDG. TYPE
1	T-1
2	T-7
3	T-3
4	T-3
5	T-8
6	T-2
7	T-2
8	T-8
9	T-2
10	T-3
11	T-5
12	T-6
13	T-7
14	T-3
15	T-6
16	T-7
17	T-6
18	T-8
19	T-4
20	T-4
21	T-2
22	T-8
23	T-2
24	T-4
25	T-4
26	T-8
27	T-6
28	T-7
29	T-6
30	T-3
31	T-7
32	T-6
33	T-5
34	T-4
35	T-2
36	T-8
37	T-3
38	T-2
39	T-3
40	T-7
41	T-7
42	T-7
43	T-6
44	T-1
45	T-7
46	T-1
47	T-7
48	T-1
49	T-6

BLDG. NO.	BLDG. TYPE
50	T-7
51	T-8
52	T-8
53	T-6
54	T-1
55	T-7
56	T-1
57	T-7
58	T-1
59	T-6
60	T-7
61	T-7
62	T-7
63	T-5
64	T-3
65	T-2
66	T-8
67	T-2
68	T-3
69	T-2
70	T-6
71	T-7
72	T-8
73	T-3
74	T-8
75	T-2
76	T-3
77	T-2
78	T-2
79	T-3
80	T-2
81	T-8
82	T-3
83	T-8
84	T-7
85	T-6
86	T-5
87	T-8
88	T-8
89	T-6
90	T-4
91	T-6
92	T-7
93 NOW 44A	T-1
94 NOW 54A	T-1
95	T-9 (COMMUNITY)
96	ADMINISTRATION
97	SERVICE

GARAGE LIST USING ORIGINAL GARAGE BUILDING NUMBERS (1940)—COUNT OF STALLS IS FROM ORIGINAL PLANS

CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

COURT #/BLDG. #	GARAGE STALLS	# OF	LAUNDRY	MODIFIED
1	101	5		
	102	5		
	103	7	Yes	
	104	10		
2	201	5		
	202	10		
	203	5		
	204	7	Yes	
	205	10		
3	301	5		
	302	10		
	303	5		
4	402	10		
	403	6		
	404	6		
	405	6		
	406	5		
	407	5	Yes	
5	501	6		
	502	10		
	503	6		
7	701	5		
	702	10		
	703	5		
	706	5		
	707	3	Yes	
8	801	5		
	802	5		
9	901	5		
	902	6		
	903	9	Yes	
10	1002	7		
	1003	7	Yes	
	1004	10		
11	1101	5		
	1102	6		
	1103	9	Yes	
12	1201	5		
	1202	5		
	1203	7	Yes	
	1204	10		
13	1301	5		
	1302	10		
	1303	5		
	1304	7	Yes	
	1305	10		
14	1401	10		
	1402	20		
	1403	7	Yes	
	1404	16		

COURT #/BLDG. #	GARAGE STALLS	# OF	LAUNDRY	MODIFIED
	1405	7		
15	1501	8		
	1502	16		
	1503	7	Yes	
	1504	20		
	1505	10		
16	1601	5		
	1602	5		
	1603	10		
	1604	3	Yes	
	1605	7		
17	1701	6		
	1702	9	Yes	
	1703	10		

NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

COURT #/BLDG. #	GARAGE STALLS	# OF	LAUNDRY	MODIFIED
304	5			Drying-yard filled
305	5			between 304 and 305.
306	8		Yes	Added to on north.
401	6			Rebuilt like original.
504	5		Yes	Rebuilt with drying-yard
505	5			between 504 and 505 filled.
506	6			Rebuilt with drying-yard
507	6			between 506 and 507 filled.
601	5			Rebuilt.
602	10			Rebuilt.
603	5			Rebuilt.
604	8		Yes	Rebuilt.
605	5			Rebuilt.
606	5			Rebuilt.
704	6			Infill between 704
705	6			and 705.
803	7		Yes	Added to on north.
804	10			Added to on north.
904	10			Added to on north-east.
1001	7			Rebuilt
1104	10			Added to on south-east.
Court 14, new structure #4.				
Court 14A, new structure #1.				
Court 14A, new structure #2.				
Court 15, new structure #5.				
Court 15A, new structure #1.				
Court 15A, new structure #2.				
Court 15A, new structure #3.				

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B__ C X D__

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B__ C__ D X E__ F__ G__

NHL Criteria: 1, 4

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places
4.Community and Neighborhood
III. Expressing Cultural Values
5. Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Urban Design

Areas of Significance: Community Planning and Development
Landscape Architecture
Architecture

Period(s) of Significance: 1935–1942

Significant Dates: 1940; 1942

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Clarence Stein (Consulting Architect)
Reginald D. Johnson; Lewis Wilson; Edwin Merrill; and Robert Alexander

Historic Contexts: XVI: Architecture
W: Regional and Urban Planning

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

SUMMARY

The idea for Baldwin Hills Village (now known as Village Green) originated when prominent Los Angeles architect Reginald Johnson (1882–1952), in the early 1930s, decided to create a new type of community. The intent was to provide affordable housing to help the nation recover from the devastation of the Great Depression. Eventually, this project became possible because of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's progressive housing policies that included government financing. This was a means to rebuild the nation socially and economically. Johnson worked in association with Lewis Wilson, Edwin Merrill, and Robert Alexander to design and construct this community from 1935 to 1942.

The Los Angeles architects made a critical decision that had already ensured the success of this project when they decided to hire Clarence Stein (1882–1975) during 1938 as consulting architect. Stein, a noted architect and town planner, was influential in shaping the philosophical and design parameters of Baldwin Hills Village.

Before he became its consulting architect, Stein was at the forefront in developing an innovative approach in the area of community housing for several decades. During the 1920s, Stein and his colleagues of the influential Regional Planning Association of America worked on solving the growing problems caused by the crowded and socially troubled urban areas. These conditions were intensified during the late 1800s because of the impact of the American Industrial Revolution. Subsequently, the efforts of these individuals made a significant impact on President Roosevelt's progressive housing policies.

Stein's involvement helped the Los Angeles architects in developing a philosophical concept for the design of Baldwin Hills Village. Its philosophical framework can be traced to Englishman Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928) who directly influenced Stein's thinking. Howard proposed an ideal community (called the Garden City) that would be planned specifically to meet the humanistic needs of its inhabitants. This is in contrast to the various economic self-interests that dictated the haphazard and unhealthy growth of the urban areas during the early part of the Industrial Revolution.

The Los Angeles architects also benefited from Stein and his colleagues' efforts during the 1920s and early 1930s in designing and developing a series of remarkable Garden Cities located on the East Coast. The most famous is Radburn in Radburn, New Jersey (1928–1933); it was the first modern community whose design incorporated the role of the automobile. The Los Angeles architects, who themselves were also highly educated and experienced in their fields, studied these sites. They incorporated many of the Garden City architectural and site planning concepts into their community plan. The result was the sophisticated and elegant beaux-arts design of Baldwin Hills Village.

Clarence Stein in his classic work *Toward New Towns for America* (1951) considered Baldwin Hills Village as an important step in the evolution of building better communities. He evaluated Baldwin Hills Village as the culmination of his Garden City ideas in America and considered it to be more advanced conceptually than Radburn, particularly in its separation of pedestrian and automobile traffic. Numerous prestigious awards have acknowledged Baldwin Hills Village's superior community design, such as that from the New York Museum of Modern Art (1945) and the American Institute of Architects (1972). A large number of students and professionals (both nationally and internationally) in architecture, urban planning, and landscape architecture have visited this site, and continue to do so, in order to seek guidelines for building better and more viable communities in our modern technological society.

Baldwin Hills Village Meets the Following National Historic Landmark Criteria:

Criterion l:

a. The site plan of Baldwin Hills Village provides a design alternative to the physical and social problems of the urban communities. These problems were the result of the Industrial Revolution during the l800s and early l900s in America.

b. Baldwin Hills Village (along with Stein's other Garden Cities) reflects the influence of the Progressive movement (l893 to l917) in solving the social and political problems caused by the American Industrial Revolution. It offered solutions (such as the planned community) based on cooperation and individual rights rather than the unregulated competition of large business interests.

c. Baldwin Hills Village was also built in response to the Great Depression of the 1930s and the need for more affordable housing. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's progressive housing program provided the funding for this site's construction. This was part of his administration's strategy in helping the nation recover economically by stimulating housing construction.

d. Baldwin Hills Village represents a partial solution to the negative effect of technology, specifically the automobile, on the community's physical structure and the personal welfare of its residents.

Criterion 4:

a. Baldwin Hills Village represents the work of individuals in solving the physical and social problems of cities through new ways of planning and designing the community environment. Its design follows the social philosophy of Ebenezer Howard (the international Garden City movement) and the architectural concepts of Clarence Stein and his colleagues of the Regional Planning Association of America. This included scientifically incorporating such ideas as reducing population density, designing open spaces for recreation and community activities, providing well-designed affordable housing, encouraging positive social interaction, and incorporating new technologies (such as the automobile) without compromising the quality of life for a community. Baldwin Hills Village and Stein's other Garden Cities represent the first group of American communities to be built during modern times based on both scientific and humanistic principles.

b. Baldwin Hills Village exhibits, chronologically, the most advanced expression of community design by Clarence Stein and the proponents of the Garden City movement in America. This site's outstanding achievement includes the design of an innovative pedestrian and vehicular circulation system without compromising the physical and social structure of the community. Its elegant site design follows the European-influenced beaux-arts tradition of major and secondary axes, balanced symmetrical elements, controlled vistas, and close integration between buildings and landscaped open areas.

BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE

The idea for Baldwin Hills Village originated during the early 1930s when prominent Los Angeles architect Reginald Johnson decided to create a new community for affordable housing to help the nation recover from the devastation of the Great Depression. Clarence Stein, noted architect and town planner, was influential in shaping the philosophical and design parameters of this project. He was hired as a consultant in 1938 after numerous discussions that began in the early 1930s. On the East Coast, Stein had already completed the Garden Cities of Sunnyside (1923–1928), Radburn (1928–1933), and Chatham Village (1929–1932 and 1935) with Henry Wright. He also independently designed Phipps Garden Apartments (1930 and 1935) and Hillside

Homes (1932–1935). In 1935, Reginald Johnson with his associates Lewis Wilson, Edwin Merrill, and Robert Alexander began a five-year period in designing this community and then two years in its construction. It was completed in 1942 as the nation entered World War II.

Baldwin Hills Village was an outgrowth of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's massive economic and social reforms during the 1930s when the nation was suffering from the devastating effects of the Great Depression. Roosevelt's progressive idealism supported the concept of the Garden City community that Stein and the founding architects wanted to create on the West Coast. This included a self-sufficient community noted for its central planning, affordable housing, and an active community social life. In large measure, Baldwin Hills Village became possible because its critical financing was provided by Roosevelt's National Housing Act of 1934. The purpose of this legislation was to provide adequate housing and also to vitalize the economy through housing construction during the Depression years.

Before the Baldwin Hills project, lead architect Reginald Johnson (1882–1952) had already achieved an outstanding reputation as a residential architect. Having started his own practice in 1911, Johnson was at the height of his career in the 1920s and 1930s. He was best known for his elegant mansions in Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and Montecito. Johnson derived his sophisticated architectural designs from the European models following the famed beaux-arts philosophy. His design approach was influenced by his studies in Paris and subsequent training at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1910), which was then the nation's first and premier school of architecture.

Johnson was a versatile and masterful architect. In addition to luxurious residences, he was also involved in designing moderate priced housing. For instance, in 1931 Johnson won a gold medal in a national competition for designing the best small house; he traveled to Washington D.C. and received the award from President Herbert Hoover. During his long and prolific career, Johnson also designed a wide range of sophisticated public and commercial buildings in Southern California. Other projects included technologically-oriented buildings such as the George E. Hale Library and Observatory (1924) that has been designated as a National Historic Landmark. Thus, Johnson (with the other founding architects) was eminently qualified to conceptualize a more sophisticated interpretation of Clarence Stein's famous community of Radburn. This site is noted as the first modern community whose design incorporated successfully the automobile, which was then a relatively new technology.[1]

The turning point in Reginald Johnson's life occurred during the Great Depression when he was at the height of his profession. Johnson was greatly disturbed by the deep human suffering that resulted from the collapse of the nation's economic system. He came to the conclusion that the majority of his life's work (domestic architecture for a wealthy clientele) was not fulfilling, and he made a radical commitment at mid-life to begin another career that involved designing innovative affordable housing for the general population. In his search for a new type of architecture, Johnson read widely and traveled extensively through Europe and the eastern part of the United States.[2] Eventually, his search ended when he met Clarence Stein in the early 1930s. By then, Stein had completed Sunnyside, Radburn, and Chatham Village with Henry Wright and also Phipps Gardens Apartment I. Robert Alexander stated:

[1] Alison Clark has written the seminal study on Reginald Johnson in the form of an article "Reginald D. Johnson, Regionalism and Recognition." This is found in a book that served as the catalogue for *Johnson, Kaufmann, and Coate—Partners in the California Style*, Joseph N. Newland, editor (Claremont, CA: Scripps College, 1992) of an art exhibit organized by Scripps College in 1992. It also contains four pages listing publications by Reginald Johnson and his work. An additional ten pages list chronologically all of the buildings Johnson designed. Another excellent source concerning Reginald Johnson is an article written by Robert Alexander for the February 1953 issue of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*.

[2] Author's interview with Constance Crown, daughter of Reginald Johnson, July l996, at Santa Barbara, California.

> Then Reg Johnson took a trip east to re-visit New England village greens and to see what was being developed under the multi-family housing branch of the F.H.A. He visited Chatham Village, Sunnyside Gardens, and Radburn, met Clarence Stein, co-architect of all three, and returned convinced that Clarence could help us as consulting architect.[3]

Later he commented:

> Johnson made a trip to the East Coast and came back with glowing tales of various things he had seen along the lines of what we were talking about. And also he had met with Clarence Stein and wanted to know if we would go along with having Stein as our consulting architect, which we agreed to do.[4]

From that contact with Clarence Stein and his Garden Cities, Reginald Johnson was provided a conceptual framework for designing affordable housing projects. As a result, Johnson in 1939 designed Rancho San Pedro, a public housing project for the City of Los Angeles. In 1941 (the same period when Baldwin Hills Village was being constructed), he was the lead architect for Harbor Hills, a Los Angeles County public housing project in San Pedro, California. Clarence Stein also served as the consulting architect for this project.[5]

The substantial design phase of Baldwin Hills Village began when Robert Alexander (1907–1992), Reginald Johnson's youngest associate, became involved. At the request of Stein, Alexander went back east to study large-scale affordable housing projects.

> I had gone back East in the summer of '37 or '38, ostensibly for a two-week vacation. I stayed there for a full year, gaining experience not only in the design and layout of apartments, but looking around the East at the time and maturing my idea of breaking away from what I called copycat architecture.[6]

During his yearlong stay on the East Coast, Alexander very likely visited all of Stein's sites (Hillside and Greenbelt were then finished) and was exposed to major design concepts that he and the other senior architects incorporated into the Baldwin Hills Village design. One evidence is the close similarity in the architectural style of the Greenbelt garages to those at Baldwin Hills Village.[7]

Alexander was then thirty years old with an architectural degree from Cornell University, one of the most prestigious architectural schools in the nation. Like Stein and Johnson, he received his training in the beaux-arts tradition and completed his architectural education (although brief) in Europe. Alexander, similar to Stein, was impressed with the work of social thinkers Ebenezer Howard and Edward Bellamy, and supported a new approach to solving the social and economic ills of society. Influenced by the immense social problems and suffering of the Great Depression, Alexander made a life-long commitment to designing and building housing

[3] Robert E. Alexander, "Baldwin Hills," 1977, Robert E. Alexander Collection, Ithaca, New York: Rare Manuscripts Collection, Carl A. Koch Library, Cornell University, 4-5.

[4] Robert E. Alexander, *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility,* oral history conducted by Marlene L. Laskey, July to October l986, (Los Angeles: Oral History Program of the University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), vol. I, 93.

[5] Information about Reginald Johnson found in Clark's "Reginald D. Johnson, Regionalism and Recognition." Information about Clarence Stein is from his resume located at the AIA Library in Washington D.C.

[6] Alexander, *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility*, 100.

[7] Author's 1996 site visitation at Greenbelt, Maryland.

that would benefit society. Baldwin Hills Village was the beginning of his forty-year career that was distinguished by a wide span of design projects in affordable housing, city planning, and public buildings.[8]

During the design phase, several of the architects were involved in selecting the site for the new community. Clarence Stein stated that the land for the Baldwin Hills Village site was among a group of properties selected by him in l935 when he was surveying different land tracts to explore the feasibility of building new communities in Southern California.[9] He was shown this land by Joshua Marks, who was a local contractor. The land belonged to the family of Elias Jackson "Lucky" Baldwin (l828–1908) who was a prominent businessman and land speculator in Southern California. Among his extensive land holdings was the La Cienega Ranch (1,500 acres), which previously had been a Spanish land grant.[10] This land was used for sheep grazing, and later a portion of it served as a temporary housing site for the athletes of the 1932 Olympics.[11]

Robert Alexander stated that Reginald Johnson and Lewis Wilson decided on the location of Baldwin Hills Village when they were shown the site by Joshua Marks after the initial site near Exposition Boulevard was found to be inadequate.[12] Marks was instrumental in bringing together Baldwin Hills Village architects and Ray Kinsley, who was the manager of the Baldwin family estate. Subsequently, Ray Kinsley became very interested in the Baldwin Hills Village project because it had the possibility of being a good investment that would generate a needed cash flow for the Baldwin estate. During the Depression, Anita Baldwin (daughter and heir of "Lucky" Baldwin) was short of cash but rich in real estate, thus forcing her during those years to sell numerous holdings.

At the beginning of the design phase in the mid-1930s, the founding architects experimented with several ideas. However, Robert Alexander in his oral history described how the schematic design of Baldwin Hills Village plan came about:

> Well, I don't know exactly how that happened, but I know that Lou Wilson had developed a plan that looked just like a bunch of cigars taken out of a box. It had no central focus; it was just a rigid assembly of these building blocks. On one occasion, I think over a weekend, Lou Wilson arrived Monday morning with a suggestion for a layout that did have focus. I don't know whether he personally devised this thing or what happened, but it was a refreshing change. The main thing that it had was at the center of the plan facing Rodeo Drive (*sic* Road) there was a proposed office or rental building, an office building and a semicircular arrangement of short blocks of apartments. And behind that, at the center of the plan, was a nursery school. The buildings were arranged in a Greek fret pattern, that is, two long buildings perpendicular to the adjoining road and a building at the end of those, perpendicular to them and parallel to the road, making a U-shape into which you could drive and park your car in parking sheds. And then that U-shape connected to another U-shape with a building parallel to the road, forming a U facing the interior of the scheme, which would become a park. So that they're developed in this fret pattern, a series of openings facing the road where you would drive in and park your car in carports, alternating with a series of U-forms facing the interior park. And in the development of

[8] Information about Robert E. Alexander's career can be found in his two-volume oral history *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility*. Alexander's special contributions to city planning and architecture are summarized by his colleagues Robert Kennard, Adolfo Mirrales, Julius Shulman, Kurt W. Meyer, and Elaine K. Sewell Jones in the memorial article "Robert Alexander Remembered," *L.A. Architect*, Los Angeles, California (February 1993): 7.

[9] Clarence Stein, *Toward New Towns for America* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1957), 190.

[10] Los Angeles State and County Arboretum, "The Baldwin Legacy," *Historic Santa Anita—The Development of the Land* (Acadia, Ca: Department of Arboretum and Botanic Gardens, no date), 24.

[11] Alexander, "Baldwin Hills," 2-3.

[12] Alexander, *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility,* 89.

this scheme there were to be three major parks with smaller residential-type parks flowing into them.[13]

Founding architects Lewis Wilson (1900–?) and Edwin Merrill (1890–1964) played critical roles in the creation of Baldwin Hills Village even though historical records do not indicate that they were as heavily involved in the design process as Johnson and Alexander. Lewis Wilson was described as "the managing architect" and the businessman of the architectural team, while Edwin Merrill was technologically oriented and "wrote specifications and made fiscal and code guidelines."[14] Highly experienced in their profession, they brought special expertise to the project that translated the design concepts into actual form. Several complex management and technical challenges occurred during the construction of Baldwin Hills Village. One of the most important was the creation of floating foundations in order to make it possible for buildings to be constructed on soil that was peat in composition. Other challenges included the use of mass production techniques to construct the buildings (innovative for that era) and the use of new types of sewer pipes to connect the homes.[15]

Lewis Wilson worked through the 1930s and early 1940s on several affordable housing projects sponsored by the Los Angeles County Housing Authority and the Los Angeles City Housing Authority.[16] He was also active in working on passing affordable housing legislation and served on several housing committees in Los Angeles and nationally.[17] Wilson's letters in the Stein archives indicate a close friendship with Clarence Stein. Edwin Merrill, trained at M.I.T., had several decades of architectural experience that included a wide variety of residential and commercial projects. The largest in terms of commission was large-scale housing and slum clearance.[18]

It is very likely that the four architects were involved together in all major phases of the design and creation of this community. Alexander, in his 1990 visit to Baldwin Hills Village, stated that all the architects made an important contribution to the project. This is confirmed by Stein: "It is impossible to divide credit for Baldwin Hills Village among its architects."[19]

As consulting architect to the project, Stein's theoretical framework for the Garden City and the role of the automobile was critical in the design of Baldwin Hills Village. In 1938, Stein began his work on Baldwin Hills

[13] Ibid., 103-104.

[14] Alexander describes Wilson and Merrill in *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility*, 70-71. In Spring 1992, he was more precise when asked by the author. This was Alexander's reply (which is found on p. 13 of Baldwin Hills Village's National Register application): "As the project progressed, the four architects divided their areas of responsibility: Lewis Wilson was the managing architect; Edwin Merrill wrote specifications and made fiscal and code guidelines; Reginald Johnson set design standards and served as design critic; and Robert Alexander designed the project (buildings and land) and supervised the plans' production." Author is Dorothy Fue Wong. In his account of Baldwin Hills Village in *Toward New Towns for America*, Stein listed the architects according to their level of contribution: Johnson, Wilson, Merrill, and Alexander. This same order is listed in the AIA Twenty-five Year Award.

[15] Unknown, "Foundation Problem at 'Thousand Gardens' Solved by Unique and Economical Method." Four-page published article found in the Alexander Collection at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York by architect Robert Nicolais. Written approximately 1941.

[16] "Wilson, Merrill, and Alexander—Complete Architectural and Engineering Services (during a partnership from 1936 to 1942)", #3087 in Box 107, Robert Alexander Collection located at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

[17] Elizabeth B. Mock, ed., *Built in the U.S.A.,* 1932–44 (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 123.

[18] Information on Edwin Merrill can be found in "Wilson, Merrill, and Alexander—Complete Architectural and Engineering Services (during a partnership from 1936 to 1942)" and also in Elizabeth B. Mock, ed., *Built in the U.S.A.,* 1932–44, 120.

[19] Stein, *Toward New Towns For America*, 208.

Village.[20] His role is clearly defined in an October 21, 1938 contract signed by Reginald Johnson and Eugene Lewis Wilson:

> You are to aid in the preparation of preliminary sketches and to assist in connection with the preliminary application for mortgage insurance under Section 207 of the National Housing Act. You are also to advise us in regard to the type of houses, site plan, road layout, community organization and other features of the housing project on which we may require your advice. You will criticize drawings and financial setups when required by us, and when requested you will act as our eastern representative in connection with conferences with the Federal Housing Administration regarding this project.[21]

In terms of design, Stein's three Baldwin Hills Village blueprints in his archives at Cornell University demonstrate that he actively participated in the conception of this site.[22] The most important blueprint, which he signed, is reproduced in his book *Toward New Towns in America* (Figure #12). This work is a module consisting of a cul-de-sac and two garden courts. It is similar to the blueprint for Radburn's Burnham Place (Figure #13) that contains detached private homes rather than apartments. This particular Village Green blueprint shows the clustering of major elements that are present in Stein's eastern Garden Cities, such as residences, parking area, tot yard, and a common laundry with a trash area. However, Stein in this blueprint was able to design these Garden City elements into a more tightly integrated unit and thus was able to create a more functional living space. Another of Stein's Village Green blueprints (unsigned) is very much in the spirit of his beaux-arts design for his first town located in Tyrone, New Mexico (Figure #11). Both contained the special semi-circle at the central top location with the Baldwin Hills Village's figure being inverted.

Another historical source that demonstrates Stein's active participation in the design of Baldwin Hills Village is the 25-page description in his book *Toward New Towns in America*. This narration demonstrates a very intimate knowledge of both the design and construction of Baldwin Hills Village. Stein explains the design evolution of this community from previous Garden Cities and evaluates design limitations at Baldwin Hills Village. These limitations included the need for more bungalows and elimination of the separate second-floor units in favor of a townhouse layout.

Robert Alexander described two developments that substantially influenced the design of Baldwin Hills Village. The first was the participation of Frederick W. Edmondson (1914–1989), a Cornell friend of Alexander. Edmondson received his training from the Cornell School of Architecture, which at that time had the most outstanding department in the nation for landscape architecture. Edmondson had just won the prestigious Prix de Rome and traveled to Mexico as part of the award. At the suggestion of Alexander, he came to Los Angeles and helped with the Baldwin Hills Village project. Alexander related:

> Also, I met Fred Edmondson at the station and the very next morning I had him working at the office. He worked with me ten days and ten evenings on specific paths and shrubbery and tree massing that changed the whole aspect of the thing and made it graceful and livable. A lot of the

[20] Kermit C. Parsons, *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), p.382 (letter to John et al. on June 27, 1938); p.383 (letter to Aline Stein on September 21, 1938), p.389 (letter to Reginald Johnson on November 3, 1939).

[21] This contract document can be found in the Stein archives at Cornell University Library, Division of Rare Manuscript Collection, Carl A. Kroch Library, Ithaca, New York, #5600 Box, file 2. Other contract versions are dated April 5, 1938 and April 11, 1944. The latest discussed additional financial enumeration. This included stock in the Rancho Cienega Properties, Inc. (investment company formed by Anita Baldwin with the architects and other investors).

[22] These maps are located in map case k-15. Documents listed in Stein's archives can be found in *Clarence Stein Collection, 1905–1974* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Rare Manuscript Collections, University Library, 1975), accession #3600.

> things, or some of the things that were proposed and were at first built, have been eliminated since, but in any event, that was really a great contribution that he made.[23]

The second significant influence was the Federal Housing Administration, which helped finance the construction of Baldwin Hills Village. Because of the FHA's guidelines, the founding architects decided to build apartments instead of detached homes as planned. The FHA also made an impact on the scope of the project. Robert Alexander stated:

> So, as a result of working with the FHA and finding out about their experience on these places in the East, we turned our attention to reducing the size of the development to one half of the originally contemplated size and reserving the rest for an expansion, if it proved successful. Then we narrowed it down to one hundred acres, let's see, about twenty acres of which in the final plan was reserved as what you might call a protective barrier or protective strip of land around the village over which we would continue to have control, but which was undesignated as far as use goes. The thought was that eventually Baldwin Hills Village would be duplicated or doubled in size by developing the portion to the south, up to the hills.[24]

In addition, the FHA also changed the architects' plans by requiring that the rear of the homes were to face the garages rather than the front of the homes. Also, it eliminated over two hundred park benches.

The critical financing (80 percent) for Baldwin Hills Village was made possible by the federal government, which at that time during the Depression years was the only single source that could finance such a large project. This fortuitous circumstance was made possible by the National Housing Act of 1934. Its intent was to provide low cost and affordable housing that was in short supply and also to revitalize the national economy by providing needed jobs for the unemployed. This legislation created the Federal Housing Authority whose purpose was to make low cost loans for mortgages to homes and rental housing projects following certain guidelines. "Although a private enterprise, Baldwin Hills Village required public financing to start and actually used more public money than many public housing projects."[25]

The cost for the construction of Baldwin Hills Village was $3,312,800. The Federal Housing Administration was willing to insure the mortgage of $2,600,000 at four percent for 28 years. The remaining $712,800 came from $241,800 in cash from various investors; $241,000 in services of the builder and architects; and $230,000 in land controlled by the Baldwin estate.[26]

After the long design phase of five years, the construction of Baldwin Hills Village began in l941 and ended in l942. The contractor was Herb Baruch Construction Company. It replaced the firm of Marks-Charde who began the work. Robert Alexander mentioned the construction strategy that added to the design unity of the site:

> The entire project was built in one continuous operation, not in phases. We started at one end, I believe the La Brea end, and worked westward.[27]

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[23] Alexander, *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility,* 105-106.

[24] Ibid., 92.

[25] Elaine D. Engst and H. Thomas Hickerson, *Urban America: Documenting the Planners (*Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1958), 29.

[26] This document (August 11, 1939) is located in the Robert E. Alexander Archives at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York in the "Baldwin Hills File." It also states that the project was owned by the Anita M. Baldwin Estate and Associates, under the name of Rancho Cienega Properties, Inc., a California Corporation organized to own and operate "Baldwin Hills Village."

[27] Robert Alexander, *Village Green History,* oral history conducted on August 8, l989 by author at Berkeley, California, 14.

While construction continued, the first tenants moved into Baldwin Hills Village during December l941.

The Baldwin Hills Village architects continued to work on the design after it was built. These modifications were based on comments from the residents. For example, the original carports were converted into garages because gasoline was siphoned out of the cars during the war years when it was rationed. Also, special patios were installed for the upstairs units because everyone wanted a private patio. The pathways with decomposed granite were replaced by concrete because pebbles slipped into the womens' open-toed shoes. These modifications were well thought out because all four architects lived at Baldwin Hills Village for a period of time and had first hand knowledge of the design and construction limitations that were to be corrected. Robert Alexander stated that he lived nine years at Baldwin Hills Village.

However, most important to the founding architects was the social and humanistic environment created by their community design based on the Garden City principles. The architects conducted interviews of the residents on this subject in order to create a better environment for the residents. They themselves were involved in organizing social activities for the community and were also active in the social life of the community. Robert Alexander described the clubhouse (which also included a nursery) as a "beehive" of activity. This was particularly true during the war years when civilian transportation was limited, and the residents confined their social activities within the community. Records indicate that Reginald Johnson and Robert Alexander were on the first governing boards.[28]

Three events occurred during the period of 1944 to 1945 (two years after construction) that helped Baldwin Hills Village to gain national prominence. First, the New York Museum of Modern Art selected Baldwin Hills Village as one of twelve well-designed communities to be included in a special exhibition called: "Looking at Your Neighborhood" that was held from March 29 to June 25, 1944. Later this exhibition traveled nationally from 1944 to 1949, and gave national exposure to the outstanding design of this community.[29] The second event was in 1945 when the Museum of Modern Art selected Baldwin Hills Village as one of forty-seven outstanding examples in contemporary architecture for an exhibition called "Built in the U.S.A. 1932–44."[30]

The third event was the publication of two articles written about Baldwin Hills Village for the September 1944 issue of *Pencil Points,* a national architectural journal. The authors were Lewis Mumford, noted architectural historian and critic, and Catherine Bauer, leading housing expert. Mumford and Bauer described Baldwin Hills Village as an outstanding example of well-designed, contemporary housing. Stein documented the reaction to these articles in one of his letters to founding architect Lewis Wilson on December 28, 1994:

> The Baldwin Hills publication of *Pencil Point* has created a lot of discussion here in the East. It's really the outstanding example in the country, anyhow, as far as organization and grouping of buildings around [a] superblock goes.[31]

From these beginnings, Baldwin Hills became a well-known model for contemporary community planning and was later featured in several textbooks for students in architecture, landscape architecture, and urban planning during succeeding decades. Two other events continue to support Baldwin Hills Village's national prominence. One was the publication of Stein's *Toward New Towns for America* (1951) in which the final chapter was about

[28] Document located in Robert E. Alexander Archives at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York in the Baldwin Hills file. Also, in Robert Alexander, "Reginald Davis Johnson, FAIA: 1882–1952, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* (February 1953): 81-85.

[29] Author's telephoned interview with Archivist Michele Harvey at the Museum of Modern Art, New York City on August 12, 1999.

[30] The New York Museum of Modern Art published a book with the same title to accompany the exhibit. The editor was Elizabeth B. Mock.

[31] Kermit C. Parsons, ed. *The Writings of Clarence C. Stein* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 458.

this community. He wrote that Baldwin Hills Village was the most advanced expression of the Radburn Idea, and thus the most sophisticated of his Garden Cities in terms of community design. This book became a classic in community planning. Another honor was presented by the American Institute of Architects in 1972 when it awarded Baldwin Hills Village the prestigious Twenty-Five Years Award. This is given to an outstanding architectural work that is at least twenty-five years old. Previous recipients were Rockefeller Center (1969), Crow Island School (1970), and Taliesen West (1971).

After Baldwin Hills Village was built, it changed ownership several times. The original Rancho Cienega Properties, Inc. (under Anita Baldwin, the founding architects, and other investors) was sold in l949 to the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company of Boston. Stein stated that it was sold at a price "sufficiently above the original cost to more than repay all equity and interest for eight years."[32] However, the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company of Boston did not share the founding architects' idealistic vision of a Garden City. Instead of a community, it wanted to establish Baldwin Hills Village as an exclusive apartment complex that was in keeping with others of that era in the 1950s and most of the 1960s. No attempts were made to bring the community together. The original clubhouse, the heart and soul of the founding architects' site plan, was off limits to the residents, and were used by the New England Mutual life Insurance Company as business offices. The tenants were carefully selected from a long waiting list according to criteria including professional background, income, ethnicity, and religion. It was also required for all tenants to be childless.[33]

Later the property was sold to Baldwin M. Baldwin, son of Anita Baldwin in the early l960s. Some community activities were introduced.[34] On December l4, l963, the nearby Baldwin Hills Dam broke and the flood damaged part of the community. Baldwin M. Baldwin asked Robert Alexander to help with the reconstruction of the site. Alexander stated:

> …when Baldwin Hills was almost wiped out by a flood when the dam to a reservoir burst above it, it wiped out a few of the apartments but didn't destroy the village as a whole. But I was quite apprehensive that the owner, who by then was Baldwin M. Baldwin, would change everything for the worse. Instead of which, he was able to do some things we were not able to do under the FHA and under available technology at that time. For instance, we had a patio for every apartment that had a ground floor, and the aluminum glass door had not been developed at that time. After the flood a lot of these went in where they should have been in the first place.[35]

Under the supervision of Robert Alexander (during an approximately two-year period), the historic integrity of the buildings and the site was kept intact.[36]

Merrill W. Winans (1907–1994) was hired as the landscape architect to reconstruct and repair the landscape after the Baldwin Hills flood.[37] Winans was educated in the beaux-arts tradition at the Atelier de Beaux Arts Institute of Los Angeles and worked several years as an architect for Reginald Johnson before establishing his own landscape design business. He restored the Baldwin Hills Village landscape (1964–1965), with some changes, following the philosophy and design of Fred Barlow and Katherine Bashford, who were the initial landscape architects. The changes were a simplification of some of the small gardens (see item E), removal of the ivy beds, and the introduction of a variety of plantings. The original work was largely done by Fred Barlow,

[32] Stein, *Toward New Towns for America,* 190.

[33] February 2, 2000 interview with Sara Cina, resident of Village Green since 1946. Robert Alexander in *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility* discussed New England Mutual's policy of excluding children (page 113) and then his eviction from Baldwin Hills Village by this company (pages 121 and 122) because he was considered "some kind of troublemaker."

[34] February 2, 2000 interview with Sara Cina.

[35] Alexander, *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility*, 107.

[36] For more details refer to Robert Nicolais' description in this application.

[37] Elsie M. (Mrs. Merrill) Winans in a three-page letter to author concerning the career of Merrill Winans, January 10, 1999.

who was then a junior partner of Katherine Bashford (who retired in 1941). Bashford was Reginald Johnson's favorite landscape architect and did the landscaping for several of his mansions and the Harbor Hills project.[38]

In l971, Baldwin M. Baldwin died, and his estate sold Baldwin Hills Village to Donald H. Albrecht and William S. Lund.[39] On December 4, l973, an announcement was made that Baldwin Hills Village was to be taken over by Terramics (a real estate development company) who were to convert it into condominiums. Later, on May l0, l977, Terramics transferred ownership to Ray Watt Construction Company, which took over developing Baldwin Hills Village as condominiums. These condominiums were sold in phases with the final sales held in l978.[40] The developers in the final phase converted the original clubhouse into two residences after using these facilities as business offices. The original administration building was converted into a smaller community center with a business office. During this period, the name of the community was changed to "Village Green." Currently, Baldwin Hills Village is a condominium complex organized under a homeowners association and governed by a Board of Directors composed of residents.

In May 1990 when he was eighty-three years old, Robert Alexander returned to Baldwin Hills Village. He was to help the community with reconstructing the history of the community for the preparation of the National Register application (which was submitted in 1992) and to advise on future historic preservation plans. He remarked on the high integrity of the physical site after a fifty-year period. However, his greatest interest continued to be the social and humanistic results of the community envisioned by him and the founding architects.[41] He was in favor of the community that now was governed by its residents who are condominium owners and have joint ownership of the common property. This is a far departure from when Alexander lived here in the late 1940s when the original residents rented property that was strictly controlled by an insurance company and had no voice in its management. As a long-time social activist, Robert Alexander was deeply impressed that the community now attracted residents with a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds and religious beliefs. This is in sharp contrast to its beginnings when this site was a restricted community in terms of race and religion because of the early practices and restricted covenants of both the FHA[42] and the general management. Finally, Robert Alexander commented how grateful he was that children are now an integrated part of the community as he and the founding architects had intended when they designed Baldwin Hills Village. From the early 1950s, children were excluded from living here. This was successfully challenged by a Village Green resident in a landmark state Supreme Court ruling in 1983.[43] Robert Alexander concluded: "Everything is for the better, as far as I'm concerned."[44]

Thus, Clarence Stein and the founding architects' noble vision of a Garden City continues to persist through six decades of social changes and temporary setbacks. This site's high historic integrity and its vibrant community life are a testimony to these architects' original intent.

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[38] Clarke, "Reginald D. Johnson, Regionalism and Recognition," 25.

[39] Village Green Historical Records located at Baldwin Hills Village Homeowners Association, December 20, l971 memo from the management to residents.

[40] Village Green Owners' Association, "Ray A. Watt Buys Out Terramics Here," *Grassroots*, (May l977): 1.

[41] Robert Alexander held several conversations with the author (Dorothy Fue Wong) about the Village Green during his one week stay at the Village Green during the first week of May 1990.

[42] This has been cited by two sources: Peter Medoff and Holly Sklar in *Streets of Hope—The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood* (Boston: North End Press, 1994), 15; and Eugenie Ladner Birch in "Radburn and the American Planning Movement the Persistence of an Idea," *Introduction to Planning History in the United States*, ed. Donald A. Krusckeberg, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University), 133.

[43] *O'Connor v. Village Green Owners Ass. 33 Cal. 3d 790 (1983)*. This California ruling continues to exert powerful influence in protecting the rights of children in condominium communities.

[44] Noel Millea, "Robert Alexander Returns to Baldwin Hills," *L.A. Architect* (June 1990): 5.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

Baldwin Hills Village is a product of three profound movements, both technological and social, in human history that first took place in Great Britain and the United States. These are the Industrial Revolution (beginning in the early 1700s to the mid-1900s); new social and political philosophies (and institutions) that resulted from the Industrial Revolution; and the invention of the automobile in the late 1800s with mass production in the early 1900s. Baldwin Hills Village, designed and built in the mid-1930s and the early 1940s, is an effort to overcome the past mistakes and experiences of over two hundred years that have impacted negatively the human community in a technological age. The founding architects and Clarence Stein sought to design and build a new humanistic environment (through site planning, architecture, and landscape architecture) to improve the quality of life for the modern individual in an impersonal industrial society.

Origins From Great Britain

The creation of Baldwin Hills Village was strongly influenced by two important events. The first event was the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain that began during the early 1700s, and later spread to American society, transforming the physical structure of its communities. The second event was the work of Ebenezer Howard and his colleagues during the late 1800s and early 1900s in solving the deep social problems caused by this revolution. Howard offered a blueprint of an ideal humanistic community for this new modern industrial society. This served as the foundation for the conception and design of Baldwin Hills Village.

Early Industrial Revolution

During the early 1700s, Great Britain initiated a series of remarkable discoveries and inventions that led to the Industrial Revolution. It was able to harness its abundant natural resources of water, coal, and iron ore to develop machines that utilized steam as a reliable source of energy. This technological innovation, the steam engine, was a major breakthrough. For the first time in human history, machines could inexpensively produce a large volume and variety of goods in a short time that would ordinarily take years and great expense for human labor to accomplish. With this advantage, Great Britain gained world dominance in manufacturing, particularly in textiles and shipbuilding. To support this technology, it developed an economic system (capitalism) that emphasized competition and profits in order to create a growing market for the goods that were produced. To maintain its economic momentum, Great Britain expanded politically by establishing overseas colonies to supply its factories with raw materials and also to develop markets for its manufactured goods. Thus, this small insular nation was propelled into a major political and economic world power whose dominance extended over two hundred years.[45]

These intense industrial and economic activities transformed British society that was formerly characterized by small villages and open countryside. In the span of over a hundred years, the majority of the population shifted into dense urban manufacturing areas where economic opportunities were abundant. The Industrial Revolution, moreover, had eliminated many labor-intensive jobs of the agrarian economy. By the early 1800s, the majority of the people lived in urban communities, and Great Britain became essentially an industrial society. The old agrarian economy of small cooperative units and bartering was now replaced by a new economy that was large and impersonal in its competition for profits.

[45] An excellent survey on the history of technology and also the Industrial Revolution is presented by Robert Argus Buchanan (see bibliography). Argus is a Reader in the History of Technology and also Director of the Centre for the History of Technology, Science, and Society at the University of Bath, England.

The Early Industrial Revolution's Negative Impact

Great Britain, however, paid a great social price beginning in the mid-l700s and the entire 1800s for these technological and economic advances. First, the radical shift in society eventually created a large urban population of disenfranchised workers living in abject poverty. Under the new economic system, these workers and their families were inhumanely exploited to increase the profit margins of the industrialists and financiers. It also created a greater disparity of wealth between the social classes and caused serious social problems. Second, the uncontrolled growth of the urban centers produced a community terrain that was ugly and haphazard. Competing self-interests dictated the appearance of the community environment. In addition, the dense urban environment perpetuated social problems that affected negatively the whole of society. No central plans were designed to provide community space for the workers and their families to rest, play, and renew themselves psychologically.

During the first half of the l800s (after a century of the Industrial Revolution), there was a growing realization in Britain that the laissez-faire policy, in which economic interests operated without control, was detrimental to the future welfare of society. In less stable countries, critics, such as philosopher Karl Marx (author of *Das Kapital* and the *Communist Manifesto*) and later the revolutionary Russian Vladimir Lenin, advocated the replacement of the existing government and social order by socialism as a solution to the problems of industrial society. However, in Britain these conditions were major topics of long peaceful public debates. This led to two types of proposals that would improve the plight of the workers and the urban environment. The first was the social activism and legislation that eventually reshaped the British government dramatically in the late 1800s and early 1900s. The second was the plans and strategies for designing and creating a radically new urban environment using a systematic or "scientific" approach that eventually influenced British housing after World War II.[46] These scientific utopias sought to produce an ideal society, through town planning, that was politically and economically equitable. The major proponents of this approach were the Frenchman Charles Fourier (1772–1837), the Englishmen Robert Owen (1771–1858), and Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928).[47] Fourier is the father of French socialism and Owen is recognized as the founder of socialism in England. Both inspired the building of communes in Europe and America during the early and middle 1800s. However, the most influential with regards to community planning was Ebenezer Howard, who founded the Garden City movement and later exerted a major influence on Clarence Stein.

Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement

Ebenezer Howard, during the late 1800s and early 1900s, devoted most of his life to finding ways to create and promote humanistic communities. He wanted to build communities that would eliminate the Industrial Revolution's political and economic inequities in order for the individual to live up to his full potential. Howard lived in a historical period when a growing English middle class felt a humanistic obligation to improve society. These individuals possessed an enormous optimism for they believed that the problems of society could be solved satisfactorily through reason and good intentions. They viewed society as a "machine" that could be invented and adjusted by using the scientific method. Therefore, the same method that produced phenomenal successes in the physical world could also be applied successfully to human affairs. Following this particular perspective, Howard believed that the defective industrial society could be replaced by a series of rationally designed communities that would preserve and nurture a high quality of life for the individual. These communities would be based on cooperation and collective ownership.

[46] Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, l982), 82-86.

[47] Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped—Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1991), 199-204.

A turning point in Howard's thinking occurred when he read *Looking Backward,* a novel by the American Edward Bellamy. It described a utopian society in the year 2000 in which capitalism has been eliminated and society's inequities had disappeared because this ideal community was based on cooperation and centralized planning that eliminated unemployment and poverty.

Inspired by Bellamy's work, Ebenezer Howard in 1898 completed his major book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow.* It described a plan for a model community of about 30,000 persons (25 families to one acre) where there would be a balance between individual initiative and a social order that was centrally controlled. This cooperative community, based on agriculture and small businesses, would eliminate the injustices of capitalism because all property would be held in common by the community. The initial financing of the community was to be vested in a management company led by a board of directors. Eventually, the rents collected from residents would be used to buy out the initial investors, and thus all property would be held in common. Net proceeds were to be used in improving the community. Thus, capitalism's negative effects, such as disparity of wealth and financial exploitation by a small minority, would be eliminated.

Howard drew diagrams to describe the physical structure of this ideal community called the Garden City. This included the best of the country (open spaces and gardens) and the advantages of the city (intellectually stimulating activities and opportunities). The basic unit would be the family home with a surrounding garden. The next important unit would be neighborhoods; each would have a school that would provide a meeting place and a library for the residents. A common area encouraging social interaction and mutual cooperation would be a central park designed for leisure with a shopping area called "The Crystal Palace." Another common area would contain major public buildings devoted to the community's philanthropic and cultural activities. Open spaces would be further defined by an agricultural belt of 5,000 acres surrounding the l,000-acre community. This green belt would provide income for the agricultural workers and also prevent the urban sprawl that was characteristic of other existing cities. Surplus population was to be transferred to sister communities, which were also each designed for 30,000 people.

By l903, Ebenezer Howard was able to gain sufficient political and financial support to begin the construction of Letchworth, the first Garden City. Raymond Unwin (later famous as the architect of the Garden Cities in Britain) and Barry Parker were commissioned to design Letchworth. By l910, Letchworth was declared a success because of its ability to attract residents to its unusual hospitable environment and to sustain itself financially. In l919, Howard (when he was 70) began work on the second Garden City of Welwyn. He lived there until his death in l928. During his lifetime, Howard also established the Garden City Association to promote his ideas. This eventually became international in scope. Howard's Garden City movement continues to flourish strongly into the 1990s in many parts of the world.[48]

Ebenezer Howard's Contribution to Baldwin Hills Village

Howard made an invaluable contribution to Baldwin Hills Village, and also to Clarence Stein's other Garden Cities, by providing a very sound philosophical foundation for a planned community that would preserve an individual's quality of life in an industrial society. These guiding ideas produced a flexible design framework that could be interpreted by Stein and other architects in different physical environments to create new communities based on humanistic principles. This approach is in contrast to the haphazard growth of the traditional urban environment governed by competing self-interests whose dominant interests were profits

[48] Stephen V. Ward, ed., *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future* (New York and London: E & FN Spon, 1992), 1. The American Planning Association celebrated the 100-year anniversary of Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* with two journals that highlighted Howard's contribution. These are *Planning* (June 1998) and *Journal of the American Planning Association* (Spring 1998). Also available is a taped session of the American Planning Association conference held in Boston during April 1998 (Are Garden Cities Still Relevant?).

rather than decent living and working conditions for the people. Without Howard's work, Baldwin Hills Village would not have come about, for the Garden City's principles were the basic conceptual structure for its community design.

Baldwin Hills Village's design contains the following philosophical concepts developed by Ebenezer Howard. First, Howard supported decentralization of the urban core to avoid the problems of human density. He proposed creating "satellite" or nearby new communities whose population size would be controlled. A perimeter would be established to ensure that growth be limited. Baldwin Hills Village was built as a separate community away from the center of Los Angeles and in a bean field. Its growth was limited by two factors. The design includes only ten families per one acre, and also its perimeter was formed by its superblock's boundaries.

Second, Howard proposed that the new community must have ample space to create a more humanistic environment similar to that in the countryside. He felt that people have an entitlement to space just like air and water in order to thrive. These spaces would largely be communal or owned by the community to prevent the economic disparity of the existing society. However, small gardens attached to homes would be private. Baldwin Hills Village is noted for landscaped open areas of parks and walkways that give it a feeling of being in the country. The community jointly owns these areas. Each of the 627 units has its own private garden.

Third, Howard proposed communal facilities for recreation, shopping, education, and governance. At Baldwin Hills Village, the open areas are used by the entire community for recreational purposes and the clubhouse (which is also communal in ownership) is used for recreation and administration by the community. During Baldwin Hills Village's early history, a shopping center was added next to the community, and founding architect Robert Alexander designed the nearby elementary school.

Fourth and fifth, Howard proposed that houses be grouped into neighborhoods to foster closer social interactions. This has been accomplished at Baldwin Hills Village with housing units grouped into seventeen sections or "courts." Representatives from the courts help with the social and administrative functions of the community. In addition, Howard proposed a new way of financing affordable housing rather than by the private ownership of a property. The proceeds would go into administering and improving the community. Originally Baldwin Hills Village was privately owned and consisted of rental units, and then in 1973 it became a condominium. Except for airspace within each unit (which is privately owned), all property is owned by the community with monthly assessments of its members going into a general fund for its upkeep.

In his plan for a humane community, Howard actually synthesized 150 years of British philosophical thought and a nation's painful experiences with the Industrial Revolution. Clarence Stein stated:

> Much of the philosophy and experiences in housing and city building from which Henry Wright and I and the rest of us started had its roots in English experience and thinking.[49]

Early American Origins

Clarence Stein was strongly influenced by British thought as he and his colleagues created a series of Garden Cities across the nation. However, Stein was deeply rooted in the American experiences of the late 1800's and early 1900's when this nation surpassed Great Britain as the world leader in the Industrial Revolution. During this historical period, Stein and his colleagues were committed to developing a new community architecture that would be an alternative to the unhealthy urban environment caused by the rapid unplanned industrialization of America. The Progressive Movement (1890-1914) and its social ideals shaped Stein's architectural concept of

[49] Clarence Stein, *Toward New Towns for America* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1957), foreword to the revised edition.

the planned community as a viable solution to the industrial city's social inequity and haphazard growth in America. During the 1930s, Stein was provided an unusual opportunity to design and build his major Garden Cities. For that decade was politically influenced by the progressive reforms of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and thus was sympathetic to Stein's Garden City concepts. In addition, the American Industrial Revolution's new technological discoveries and inventions, particularly the automobile, influenced Stein's efforts in creating a humanistic community environment for the modern age.

Thus, Baldwin Hills Village, the last and most sophisticated of Stein's Garden Cities in America, reflects fully the humanistic ideals of progressivism in its community design. This site also incorporates successfully the role of the automobile, and in this regard is an extension of the pioneering work done a decade earlier at Radburn, which is important in American community planning.

Clarence Stein and the Garden City Movement

As a young man, Stein went to England when the second Garden City of Welwyn (1918) was being built. He was searching for new ways to design viable communities, and the most innovative community housing projects were being designed in England. Previously, Stein had built the new town of Tyrone, New Mexico while working for prominent architect Bertram G. Goodhue as head designer from 1911 to 1918. While in England, Stein met with Ebenezer Howard and toured the two Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn. He quickly became a convert to the Garden City movement. Later Stein became more formally involved in the Garden City movement; in 1924, he became Vice-President of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation, and then during 1925–1937 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. In mid-life, Stein again acknowledged the influence of Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin by returning to England and writing his major work *Toward New Towns in America* (1951) at Wyldes, which was the former home of Unwin.

Stein left Goodhue's office in 1919 and began an independent practice with a focus on building new communities. Working in the same capacity as Raymond Unwin in Britain, he adapted the architecture of Ebenezer Howard's ideal Garden City to the American environment. During his long career of fifty years, Stein was involved with teams of progressive professionals in building several major innovative communities as architect, town planner, administrator, or consultant. In the East, these included Sunnyside Gardens in Long Island City, New York (l924), Radburn at Radburn, New Jersey (l929), Chatham Village located at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1932), Hillside Homes in the Bronx, New York (1935), Phipps Garden Apartments in Long Island City, New York (1935), and Greenbelt at Greenbelt, Maryland (1935–l938). In the West, Baldwin Hills Village (1935–1942) was Stein's only major Garden City project. In addition to these seven major projects, Stein was involved as a town planner or consultant for eleven other planned communities that were located in the East coast, mid-West, West coast, and later British Columbia.

At the height of his career, Stein became consulting architect to Baldwin Hills Village. After the completion of Baldwin Hills Village (and four government housing projects in 1941), Stein had no more opportunities to build new communities in America. The social, political, and economic climate (particularly after World War II) changed; and was unsympathetic to the Garden Cities envisioned by Stein. First, communal-type projects were controversial and highly suspect during the anti-communistic political climate of the late 1940s and the 1950s. Also, the United States Congress at this period was not willing to be a landlord for large public housing projects and was in the process of transferring its ownership of Greenbelt to private investors. Finally, the American consumers (many returning home after World War II) preferred private home ownership rather than community ownership of property, which was a feature of the Garden City. Because of generous low interest rates, veterans were financially able to purchase homes following the popular Levitt Town model that consisted of a detached house with a private lot.

During the 1940s, Stein went to England and wrote about his experiences in building the Garden Cities in America. Excerpts first appeared in an English journal and then they expanded into a book that was published in 1951. The final chapter contained a lengthy description of Baldwin Hills Village that Stein evaluated as the most advanced expression of the Garden Cities in America. This book, *Toward New Towns for America,* has since become a standard text for those in city planning, both nationally and internationally. When Stein was 69 years old, he had another opportunity to build a Garden City community whose features were more advanced than those in America. This was at Kitimat, British Columbia (1951–1960) which was designed for workers of the Aluminium Company of Canada.[50]

Stein played a major role in various professional groups that promoted Garden City ideals and strategies in community planning. The most notable was his leadership of the Regional Planning Association (1923–1933) whose members exerted a powerful influence in modern American planning in public housing, open spaces, and the future of the American City. The members included Lewis Mumford, Catherine Bauer, Charles Whitaker, Benton MacKaye, Alexander Bing, and Henry Wright.[51]

Also, Stein was the first chairman of the newly formed Committee on Community Planning of the American Institute of Architects and thus provided leadership in the acceptance of city planning as an important endeavor in the architectural profession. Relating to government service, Stein in 1919 first served as the secretary of the New York Housing Committee formed by Governor Al Smith to solve New York City's postwar housing problems. The Committee concluded that housing problems were essentially associated with certain practices in society.[52] Later Stein served as Chairman of the Commission on Housing and Regional Planning for the State of New York (1923–1926) that proposed new ways of financing affordable housing under government sponsorship and thus limiting private land speculation. Stein's participation was invaluable because of his ability to work within the political system and to bridge "… the gap between theoretical planning and public policy-making."[53] Later, the concepts proposed by Stein and his colleagues influenced the 1929–1930 *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs*, a landmark publication of the modern city planning movement. This document recommended comprehensive planning based on social science research and advocated the concepts of neighborhood units, public financing, and a sound economic base for the cities.[54]

Lewis Mumford evaluated Stein's chairmanship on the Commission and also his important influence on President Roosevelt's progressive approach toward housing:

> Without Clarence Stein's initiative, New York State's constructive leadership in publicly aided state housing in the late nineteen-twenties would not have come about; and without this leadership, the Roosevelt administration would not, in all probability, have been able to evolve the comprehensive national housing policy that it actually embarked on with such readiness.[55]

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[50] Information about Stein is taken from his resume, "Resume of Clarence Stein," which was written about 1951 and consisted of 4 pages. It is located at the library of the American Institute of Architects in Washington D.C. An outstanding and comprehensive survey of Stein's life and work was written by Kermit C. Parsons entitled *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

[51] Kermit C. Parsons, "Collaborative Genius—The Regional Planning Association of America," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60 (Autumn 1994): 462.

[52] Daniel Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 41.

[53] Ibid., 46.

[54] William Goodman and Eric C. Freund, eds., *Principles and Practice of Urban Planning* (Washington, D.C.: International City Managers' Association, 1968), 25.

[55] Lewis Mumford, "Introduction to Clarence Stein," *Toward New Towns for America* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1957), 14.

Stein played an important role in shaping the Roosevelt Administration's approach toward community housing through his close involvement with the design of the Greenbelt Towns. Kermit C. Parsons stated:

> The Greenbelt Towns experiment, one of Roosevelt's most radical efforts to involve the federal government in urban community development, was part of his multimillion dollar effort to create employment. Stein had a determining influence on the physical form of the Greenbelt Towns, especially Greenbelt, Maryland.[56]

These Greenbelt Towns, incorporating many of Stein and his colleagues' Garden City concepts, eventually influenced the design of many private and public New Towns of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Reston, Columbia, The Woodlands, Irvine, Westlake Village, and Valencia.[57]

Stein is regarded as the chief proponent of the Garden City Movement in America. Previously, many Americans were interested in Ebenezer Howard's movement. In fact, the first American to be involved was W. D. P. Bliss who in 1905 visited Letchworth and met with officials of the British Garden City Association.[58] Several Garden Cities were constructed during 1910-1916; the most famous was New York City's Forest Hills Gardens built in 1912.[59]

However, Stein stood out from his contemporaries and those interested in "new towns" for several reasons. The first was his sensitive understanding of how the existing social and economic structure of society contributed to housing problems. This understanding also involved the impact that technology (principally the automobile) had on society and thus housing. The second was Stein's ability to work within the existing mainstream institutions (such as the government on all levels) to introduce fundamental changes. The third was Stein's unusual ability to attract talented colleagues (such as those involved in the Regional Planning Association) and to motivate these individuals as a team to accomplish the difficult task of conceptualizing and building a new type of community. Finally, Stein stood out because he was a gifted architect who received, at that particular historic time, the best possible architectural education in the United States and Europe that enabled him to design a new type of community with innovative open spaces.

Communities Before the Garden City Movement

From a historic perspective, the Garden City Movement represents a high point in the development of viable and humanistic communities in America. For the first time in history, a scientific-based and controlled architectural design was formulated to build communities that would preserve the quality of life for the individual in an urban society and also encourage social, political, and economic equity. Stein intended to create a new theoretical basis for community planning that would alleviate the alienation and economic disparity of the traditional urban environment.

Colonial: In contrast to Stein's approach, the motivating force for the creation and growth of early urban communities, from the colonial towns in the 1500s to the industrial cities of the 1800s and early 1900s, was largely economic expediency based on competing self-interests. For instance, during the colonial period (1600s to 1776) communities were planned and built to advance the economic and political interests of the major European powers. The Spanish established communities in California, Florida, and the Southwest. The French built trading posts along the Mississippi, while the Dutch and the English organized seaports along the eastern

[56] Kermit C. Parsons, *The Writings of Clarence S. Stein, Architect of the Planned Community*, 178.
[57] William Fulton, "Clarence Stein's Vision," *Planning* 64 (June 1998): 8.
[58] Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners—The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 105.
[59] Ibid., 161.

coast.[60] These planned communities reflected the same basic design elements as their European counterparts.[61] No consideration in the planning was given to the social and personal issues that would benefit the individual living in a community.

After the American Revolution: Economic expediency (in contrast to the Garden City's planned approach) was again evident after the American Revolution. The widespread practice of land speculation produced a haphazard configuration of the urban areas. What was best for the individual and the future of the community was not important. Also, the colonial concept of the planned community disappeared. In their analysis of the post-Revolution communities, Goodman and Freund stated: "Ironically, the American Revolution, a boon to so many other aspects of American life, adversely affected the continued development of urban planning."[62] This situation was further reinforced by the early city governments' lack of political power in controlling the community environment and also the anti-urban philosophy of early rural America. The result was less than satisfactory. Goodman and Freund further stated: "From the beginning of the nineteenth century, towns were laid out as if the gridiron pattern had been received from on high. Little regard was given to the topography, and the reservation of open spaces was rarely considered."[63] Social problems, involving large numbers of the poor, were commonly found in these crowded environments like the urban centers in Great Britain.

After the Civil War: After the Civil War in the second half of the 1800s, the United States evolved into a modern industrial nation and became a world leader in the Industrial Revolution. As in Great Britain's Industrial Revolution, the predominant rural population shifted to the urban areas because of the need for workers and greater economic opportunities. By 1920, the census stated that the majority of Americans lived in cities.[64] Adding to this problem of urban density was one of the largest influxes of refugees (the majority from Europe) in United States history.

As in previous times, competing self-interest based on profits continued to dictate the haphazard and uncontrolled growth of the urban environment. The concept of urban planning was nonexistent. The results were notorious housing projects that physically were unsafe because they led to the rapid spread of fire and disease. The serious social problems found in these ghettos were similar to the ones in Great Britain. They included fragmentation of the family; the exploitation of the workers, especially children and women; an environment that bred criminals; the lack of educational opportunities; and the denial of political power. These conditions eventually affected the safety and welfare of the total community. As in Great Britain, individuals emerged who were committed to solving the physical and social problems of the urban poor and the new industrialized communities.

Progressive Era: Starting approximately in 1890, these socially committed individuals were organized nationally under the Progressive movement. Through various means they actively worked for the improvement of the urban areas and the welfare of those living in poverty. They also sought to control the greed and ruthlessness of business interests, such as speculators and monopolies, that resulted in a sharp disparity between the rich and the poor in American society. An 1892 estimate indicated that "…one-eighth of the people of the

[60] Howard P. Chudacoff and Judith E. Smith, *The Evolution of American Urban Society* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988), 1-8.

[61] Excellent comparison of European urban design elements and their transfer to colonial America is found in John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 1-114.

[62] Goodman and Freund, 13.

[63] Ibid., 15.

[64] Chudacoff and Smith, 207.

country owned seven-eighths of the property."[65] Thus, the Progressive agenda supported an industrial society where each individual is entitled to certain basic political, social, and economic rights and benefits.

As in Great Britain, these committed individuals took two different approaches that would result in a more humane and socially equitable society. One group believed in changing the political system through public education and legislation. These included President Theodore Roosevelt, social reformer Jane Addams, and writers Jacob Riis, Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Frank Norris, and Upton Sinclair. Another group was committed to redesigning the physical structure of the community in order to ensure an environment that would be beneficial to the needs and aspirations of its residents. Those following this philosophy of the planned community included the City Beautiful movement and then later Clarence Stein and his colleagues in the Garden City movement.

The City Beautiful movement had its beginnings at the Chicago Exposition of 1898, the first major landmark in modern American City planning. This exposition demonstrated that congested cities could be improved through well-designed civic centers containing landscaped open spaces. One of its leaders was landscape architect Frederick Olmsted, who was a pioneer in the use of public parks both to relieve the congestion of urban areas and also to provide open areas for the recreational and social activities of its residents. From the Chicago Fair, the City Beautiful movement developed into a national concern, but it had a limited focus because it had no interest in solving the social problems of the cities.[66]

The Progressive Influence on the Garden City Movement

The Progressive movement had a profound effect on Stein and his colleagues in designing a new type of community. Beginning in the decade of the 1920s and ending in 1942, they proceeded to design and create totally self-contained communities (Garden Cities) that reflected the Progressive collective experience and its social agenda. The agenda included the elimination of the social, economic, and political problems of the cities caused by the early Industrial Revolution in America; the creation of a humane modern society; and the subsequent improvement in the quality of life for the individual in an industrial urban environment. Stein and his colleagues' strategy was to adopt Ebenezer Howard's philosophical framework of the Garden City (whose ideals were similar to Progressivism) and to develop a new scientific community architecture based on the American experience. Thus, their work and social concerns went beyond the City Beautiful's concept of an aesthetic planned environment that was focused only on the city's civic centers.

Stein's Progressive Background: Throughout his life, Stein was deeply influenced by the Progressive ideals. These ideals were central to his life's work of designing and building humanistic modern communities. Born in 1882, Stein lived his most formative years (late 1800s to early 1900s) during the height of the Progressive movement in New York City, which suffered the most severe effects of the Industrial Revolution. His prosperous middle-class parents provided an environment that was sympathetic to Progressive ideals. They raised him with a religious upbringing that included a sense of social responsibility. They also enrolled Stein as a young child during an eight-year period in the Ethical Culture Society's Workingman's School where he was exposed to the problems of the city and Progressive reforms. Felix Adler, the founder of the school, was a colleague of journalist and social reformer Jacob Riis.[67] One of Stein's teachers was John Lovejoy Elliott, a leader in the Progressive movement in New York City. According to scholar Kermit C. Parson, the foundation for Stein's professional career was formed during this impressionable period. For Stein's "...visual imagination,

[65] Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Growth of the American Republic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 272.

[66] Chudacoff and Smith, 197.

[67] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., "Introduction to Jacob A. Riis," *How the Other Half Lives* by Jacob A. Riis (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1970), xiii.

sense of social responsibility, and intellect were stimulated and shaped by the tenets of Felix Adler's innovation school."[68] During the height of the Progressive era in America (1890–1914), Stein remained in New York City and completed his undergraduate degree in architecture at Columbia University before leaving for the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. When Stein later established his independent practice in his early thirties, he decided to specialize in community architecture, which reflected a strong Progressive concern for decent housing.

Stein's conceptualization of a new American community architecture can be demonstrated in the work of two individuals who played a major part in the Progressive experience. The first is journalist Jacob Riis (1849–1914) who documented the tenements of New York City during Stein's formative years. Riis also gave recommendations for improved urban housing, and Stein's work reflected many of these ideas. The second is social reformer Jane Addams (1860–1935) who provided a center (Hull House) where the urban poor in Chicago could come and build a better community through education and various social experiences. Similar to Addams, Stein believed that building a strong social life of the community was a critical component in the creation of the Garden City.

Jacob Riis's Influence: Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* (1896) was an invaluable social document that influenced the nation and made a strong impact on the Progressive thinking of President Theodore Roosevelt. It exposed the brutal living conditions of New York City tenements, which contained the highest density in the United States and the world. Various estimates state that there were 386 people living per square acre in the New York City tenements.[69] In fact, old London had 175,000 people per square mile compared to the New York tenements' 330,000 per square mile.[70]

Riis called these crowded conditions "deathtraps" because disease and fire could spread rapidly, and the area had the highest crime rate in the city. Riis gave several examples of inhuman living quarters with many that lacked ventilation and light. One diagram depicted an 1863 tenement for twelve families. Each floor had 25 rooms with only 12 that had windows. The living room of each unit measured 10 by 12 feet and each bedroom was 6 ½ by 7 feet.[71] After a long workday, families also used these rooms as sweatshops; they sewed garments from the factories in order to make ends meet. Riis also described the common bath and kitchen shared by several families for each flat. The connecting hallways of these tenements were crowded with either vagrants or makeshift sweatshops. Riis concluded that the high density and poor living conditions were due to landlords and speculators whose intent was to make a profit at any cost.

Riis also described the social costs of living in these tenements. He especially emphasized the impact that it had on children, who had the highest mortality rate in the city. The majority lacked schooling and supervision. They had no place to play except for the streets and thus were exposed to the criminal elements and physical danger of the city. Many children also were forced to work in factories, as no child labor laws existed at that time.

At the conclusion of *How the Other Half Lives* Riis offered suggestions on how tenement housing could be improved. He described apartments that were well designed and well managed and yet still made a good profit for their investors. Riis pointed out that these apartments made a visible improvement on the quality of life for its residents and also the community.

Stein's Interpretation: Riis's descriptions of the tenements offer an insight to the basic architectural elements that Stein continually used and refined in designing the Garden Cities. The first was control of density at the

[68] Kermit C. Parsons, "Clarence Stein and the Greenbelt Towns: Settling for Less," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 58 (Spring l990): 165.
[69] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., xvii.
[70] Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1970), 71.
[71] Ibid., 11.

design stage to prevent future human congestion as in the tenements. Another basic element was the design of open common spaces (which tenement speculators considered to be wasted economic resources). These open spaces provided recreational and social activities for its residents that would both strengthen the social life of the community and enrich the personal life of the individual. Also, the open spaces provided additional light and ventilation to the housing units. Related architectural elements also introduced by Stein were central indoor facilities for community activities. This is a contrast to the tenements where its residents worked long brutal hours both in the factories and at their homes; community recreation was irrelevant to their experience. In addition, an important element was the design of spacious interiors with ample windows and lighting in every room. In contrast to the tenements, the interiors were also designed for privacy with each unit having its own bath and kitchen. Many of these units also contained individual rear and front entrances and a patio or small plot of private land. Other basic elements that Stein took a great length of time in designing were facilities for children, such as playgrounds, nurseries, schools, and garage areas with built-in safety measures. This is in contrast to the tenements where children used the streets for social and recreational activities. Like Riis, Stein wrote in detail about financing to demonstrate analytically that proper housing can be built and maintained just as economically as poor housing and with better results for society.

Jane Addams' Influence: Stein's community architecture also reflected other contributors to the Progressive collective experience. One of the most influential was social reformer Jane Addams who advanced Progressive programs nationally over four decades (1890s to 1930s). Like both British and American reformers of that historical period, Addams believed that conditions for the individual, particularly those in the slums, can come about only when the community or society is improved first. Like Riis, she supported decent housing. These precepts reinforced Stein's belief that good community architecture (representing a well-designed society) will create for the individual a good life of self-development and leisure in a technological age.[72]

Jane Addams also advanced the concept of a community center by establishing Hull House where people of the community could be educated, discuss political issues, resolve community problems, and enrich life through sports, music, and art. The strategy would help residents to build a strong social community through a supportive environment. Like Riis and many of the Progressives, Addams gave a high priority to children and their welfare. Children's programs were an important part of Hull House. Also, Addams and her colleagues were among the first to work nationally for fair child labor laws for the many children who were forced to work in the factories.

Stein's Interpretation: Following Addams' philosophy, Stein designed community and recreational facilities to develop a positive social environment. In *Toward New Towns for America*, he described in detail the community activities for Hillside, Phipps Gardens, and Greenbelt, Maryland that he created by community design. A neighborhood environment resulted from these designs that is a contrast to the impersonality found in the majority of city apartments. Also, Stein was a pioneer in the design of neighborhood units, such as the superblock, that would help people to function as a social unit rather than live in social isolation as in many urban communities. In his design of the Garden Cities, Stein went to great length to ensure that the needs of children were met. This was very much in the spirit of Jane Addams' Hull House and the Progressive Movement, which sought to alleviate the problems for children living in the tenements.

Stein's sensitivity to the social process is also revealed in his careful methods of documenting these social processes. These scientific techniques are also evident in his socio-economic analysis for building and evaluating the communities of Radburn, Chatham Village, and Greenbelt, Maryland, which are described by Stein in *Toward New Towns for America*. This social science approach was first formally introduced to

[72] Clarence Stein, "Communities for the Good Life," A.I.A. Gold Medal Speech presented on May 17, 1956. *Journal of the A.I.A.* (July l956): 11-18.

American community planning in the landmark 1929–1930 *Regional Plan of New York*.[73] Before the use of this approach in city planning, Jane Addams and her Hull House associates pioneered in the use of these techniques to document social injustices for the purpose of bringing legislative changes.

Impact of the Automobile on the Garden City Movement

Clarence Stein and his Garden City colleagues lived in a turbulent historical period when the American Industrial Revolution (called the Second Industrial Revolution) produced phenomenal technological discoveries during the second half of the 1800s and early 1900s. These discoveries included new energy sources (electricity, gas, and petroleum) and development of steel (replacing iron) that accelerated the manufacturing of consumer products along with building new types of buildings. These events and their impact on society were more complex than the first Industrial Revolution that took place in Great Britain a hundred years earlier. For instance, communication discoveries changed the nature of social behavior and the community with inventions, such as the telegraph, telephone, photography, motion picture, and radio. The most profound change to the community was in the area of transportation, notably the development of the railroad. For it became a vital link, which connected people and goods, and thus nationally accelerated the progress of the American Industrial Revolution. However, the most important invention was the automobile. It was the single most important invention in terms of changing both the social life and physical structure of the community. For the first time in history, the individual was given the technological capability to move easily from one area to another for work and recreation. Because of increased consumer demand, the rate of growth of automobiles increased phenomenally during the first three decades of the 1900s. For instance, in 1901 there were 429 automobiles, 2 million in 1919, and then five million in 1929.

By 1928, when Stein and his colleagues began designing Radburn, they were fully aware of the serious problems that the automobile created in communities across the United States. At great government expense, the community's physical structure had to be reshaped because the growing number of automobiles produced serious traffic jams and congestion. For example, streets had to be widened, new highways constructed, parking facilities built, and traffic signals with signs installed. Also, pollution and heavy traffic noise added to the problem. Of great concern to the nation was the large number of deaths and serious injuries caused by the automobile. By 1925, the annual death rate was 24,000 and the injured were 600,000 or more per year with the streets evaluated as literally unsafe for children.[74] Stein concluded: "American cities were certainly not places of security in the twenties. The automobile was a disruptive menace to city life in the U.S.A…"[75]

With these disadvantages in mind, Stein and his colleagues built Radburn (1928–1933) as a modern Garden City that would address the current problem of the automobiles and yet still maintain the quiet tranquility and safety of a humanistic community as envisioned by the social philosophy of Ebenezer Howard. They produced a remarkable design that was a radical departure from the limitations of existing communities. Included were elements that facilitated traffic: the superblock with their cul-de-sacs for garages and parking; separation of roads for pedestrians and automobiles; and different roads for different functions (i.e., parking, service, visiting, movement, and collection). In addition, houses were turned inward and faced a large extensive park in order to avoid the noise and fumes of traffic. This park, or open area, became an extended backbone of the community that would provide a safe haven for the social and recreational needs of children and the total community.[76]

[73] Goodman and Freund, 25.
[74] Mel Scott, *American City Planning since l890; A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 187.
[75] Stein, *Toward New Towns for America, 141.*
[76] Ibid., 41-44.

At its completion, Radburn became internationally known as an important solution to community living in the modern age. It also is regarded as a major milestone in American City planning. Scholar Eugenie Ladner Birch stated:

> Radburn's plan was so well designed and rationally organized that it has become a permanent resource for planners who in every generation examine and sometimes adapt it to solve contemporary problems.[77]

Radburn's history, then, is closely tied to the evolution of the planning movement in the United States. As a continuous element in planning theory, Radburn's story can be used as a case study to track the development of the profession focusing on its changing aims, its propagation, and its reception in American society. Although there are other examples worthy of investigation, Radburn is unique for its constancy and familiarity in planning literature.[78]

Later, the "Radburn idea" was refined and became more sophisticated at succeeding sites built by Stein and his colleagues. These included Chatham Village (1929–1933) and Greenbelt, Maryland (1935–1937), and finally Baldwin Hills Village (1938–1941). However, it was at Baldwin Hills Village that the Radburn idea reached its highest development in the American Garden City movement. Stein stated:

> At Baldwin Hills in 1941 the Radburn Idea was given its most complete and most characteristic expression.[79]

SITE COMPARISONS

Introduction

Stein viewed the creation of his Garden Cities in America as part of an evolutionary process in producing more sophisticated communities (both scientific and humanistic) on an international level.[80] Chronologically, each successive Garden City became more complete because of the experiences he and his colleagues acquired at previous sites. Stein considered Baldwin Hills Village as the most advanced of his American Garden Cities in this progression:

> I had come to the conclusion that the Greenbelt Towns were only three links in the chain of experiences that led from Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn through Baldwin Hills Village toward the future New Towns of America.[81]

This conclusion is also confirmed in Stein's notes (located at the Stein archives at Cornell University) written on August 28, 1955:

> Baldwin Hills Village is a more unified composition than any of its predecessors or ancestors—Radburn, the three Greenbelt towns, and Chatham Village. Although the more balanced group arrangements of Baldwin Hills Village building may suggest an inheritance from Renaissance or Baroque civic design, fundamentally I think Baldwin Hills Village is the furthest step toward

[77] Eugenie Ladner Birch, "Radburn and the American Planning Movement: the Persistence of an Idea" in *Introduction to Planning History in the United States* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1983), 122.
[78] Ibid., 123.
[79] Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 8.
[80] Ibid., 9.
[81] Ibid., 8.

contemporary planning for spacious, peaceful, safe living coordinated with convenient use of automobiles.[82]

Research Method for Site Comparisons

Baldwin Hills Village is compared to these Garden City sites: Sunnyside Gardens (1923–1928), Radburn (1928–1933), Chatham Village (1929–1932 and 1935), Phipps Garden Apartments (1930 and 1935), Hillside Homes (1932–1935), and Greenbelt (1935–1937 and 1941).[83] Sunnyside Gardens and Phipps Garden Apartments are located in Long Island City, New York; Hillside Homes is in the Bronx, New York; Radburn is at Radburn, New Jersey; Chatham Village is located in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Greenbelt is in Greenbelt, Maryland.

Two major sources were used to gather information for these comparisons. The first consisted of visits to the above sites with interviews of managers and residents during July and August 1996. An additional site visit was made to Kitimat, British Columbia (Stein's final Garden City) in October 1997. The second was the text and site maps with interior blueprints in Stein's *Toward New Towns in America.* This information was then organized to compare how well the Baldwin Hills Village design succeeded in accomplishing Stein's major objective: the application of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City principles in a community architecture that would promote a high quality of life for the individual in a modern technological society. This type of architecture would contain the separation of auto and pedestrian circulation; a site plan that has open spaces or parks as the "backbone" or integral part of the community; and neighborhood clusters of affordable housing with communal facilities.

Two other invaluable sources were used to analyze and compare the evolution of Stein's Garden Cities. The first was printed materials (both published and unpublished). These were found in the Clarence Stein archives, Robert E. Alexander archives, and the Frederick Edmondson files at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; the library at the American Institute of Architects in Washington, D.C.; the library of the New York Historical Society, New York, New York; community archives at Chatham Village, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Greenbelt; Kitimat, British Columbia; and Baldwin Hills Village Homeowners Association. The second source was interviews of scholars, archivists, and the daughter of Reginald Johnson. They included the 1997 and 1998 interviews with Kermit C. Parsons, noted Clarence Stein scholar, and Elaine Engst, Cornell University archivist. Also, interviewed was Kimberly Alexander Shilland, Curator of Architectural Collections at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.) in connection with Baldwin Hills Village architects Reginald Johnson and Edwin Merrill who graduated from M.I.T. during the second decade of the 1900s. Valuable information for the research was provided during 1995–1999 by Constance Crown, daughter of Reginald Johnson.

In the conclusion of this study, the historical integrity of each site is evaluated to understand how the initial design has been sustained during the passage of time.

Design Evolution of Sites

This section compares Baldwin Hills Village to Stein's other American Garden Cities by first discussing the several advantages it had in its favor during the design process from 1938–1941. Then it describes how this site's design is the most advanced based on Stein's interpretation of Howard's Garden City principles. Three

[82] Clarence Stein, "Baldwin Hills Village Revisited," August 28, 1955, The Clarence Stein Archives, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1.

[83] The dates, including preliminary and planning stages and also construction, are from Stein's chart in *Toward New Towns for America,* page 18. Dates for Baldwin Hills is different from Stein's (1938–1941). The more accurate dates (1935–1942) is found in Robert E. Alexander, *Architecture, Planning, and Social Responsibility*, an oral history conducted by Marlene L. Laskey, July to October 1986 (Los Angeles: Oral History Program of the University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), vol. I, 93.

major design criteria are used. Two are central tenets of Howard's ideal Garden City. The first is the use of open spaces or parks as an integral part of the community. The second is the organization of neighborhood clusters that contain affordable housing with communal facilities. The third design criteria is Stein's major contribution to the international Garden City Movement: the separation of automobile and pedestrian circulation. This resulted from Stein and his colleagues' efforts in defining the role of the automobile within the community (socially and physically) when this American invention was introduced during the early decades of the twentieth century.

Baldwin Hills Village Advantages

Baldwin Hills Village had three important advantages over Stein's other Garden Cities before it was constructed. These were: a single superblock on flat open land; federal government financing; and a group of highly sophisticated and gifted architects who were trained in the European-influenced beaux-arts tradition.

Superblock: Baldwin Hills Village's one large superblock provided wider flexibility in designing open public spaces with clusters of private and public buildings. It also provided a greater opportunity to produce an innovative design that would accommodate the automobile. This is in contrast to Sunnyside Gardens, Phipps Garden Apartments, and Hillside Homes that have streets running through their community because they had to be built on the existing urban street grid system. This restricted the design of the common spaces and the role of the automobile. Baldwin Hills Village superblock's flat terrain gave the architects a freedom in their design while Chatham Village and Greenbelt were restricted by its topography. Chatham Village's site plan had to incorporate a rocky terrain and an existing main road while Greenbelt's site design was confined to a crescent shape because of the formation of the land. Baldwin Hills Village's single superblock made it easier to control its design compared to Radburn's twenty superblocks of peripheral parking and housing clusters with inner parks. As a result, Stein evaluated Baldwin Hills Village's design as being more advanced: "…the Radburn Idea was given its most complete…expression."[84] Stein further commented on the advantages of Baldwin Hills Village's superblock:

> But the architect planners had unusual freedom of opportunity to fix form, mass and pattern. They set the borders of the project (the Baldwin Estate owned the surrounding land) and even determined the location and form of Coliseum Street. At their request the county moved the city so that all the development might be within the Los Angeles municipality. There were no bisecting streets to prevent the free development of the 80-acre [*sic* 64 acres] superblock, and each road and path was located where, in the architects' opinion, it would best serve firstly for convenience, secondly for good living, and thirdly for the beauty of the community.[85]

Federal Financing: The second advantage that Baldwin Hills Village enjoyed was strong and reliable financial backing from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's newly organized Federal Housing Administration. This had a strong impact on the final design of this site and produced a more unified site plan. First, Baldwin Hills Village enjoyed an unusually long period for planning (three years) that was not possible with other sites. For example Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn were being designed, constructed, and occupied at the same period of time. Second, the construction of Baldwin Hills Village could be completed from beginning to end as planned without interruption. This was in contrast to Phipps Garden Apartments that had an addition constructed after a four-year interval. Third, it avoided the financial instability of a private company, or a single investor, which could compromise its design. For instance, Radburn's initial site design was affected because only one-third of the original plan was built due to the fact that the Depression eliminated the necessary funding. As Stein stated:

[84] Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 189.
[85] Ibid., 202.

> The Radburn experience indicates that a private corporation has only a gambling chance to carry through to completion the building of a city…there must be a certain amount of government cooperation.[86]

Baldwin Hills Village Architects: The third design advantage was that the Baldwin Hills Village architects and Stein were highly gifted and experienced. They all graduated from the nation's leading architectural schools (M.I.T., Cornell, and Columbia) during the early 1900s when the curriculum was predominantly based on the internationally famous Ecole des Beaux Arts, located in Paris. The Ecole des Beaux Arts was an academy whose principles were based on several centuries of design tradition that included architecture, landscape architecture, and civic design; and was instrumental in training a large number of leading American architects during the second half of the 1800s and early 1900s. Stein himself spent six years at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and his training (particularly civic design) gave him an advantage in designing new communities compared to his American contemporaries without that background. In addition, lead designer Reginald Johnson was a student at M.I.T. during the time of noted beaux-arts teacher Desire Despradelle (1862–1912) [87] and spent a period in Paris studying architecture. This education prepared him to become the leading residential architect (working within the beaux-arts philosophy) for almost two decades in Southern California. By the time Stein and Johnson began the Baldwin Hills Village project in the late 1930s both were at the height of their profession.

Baldwin Hills Village reflects these architects' beaux-arts influence that basically dealt with how a design is planned rather than an exclusive style. This site contains these major beaux-arts elements: the establishment of major and secondary axes, the arrangement of balanced symmetrical elements, the design of controlled vistas, and the close integration between buildings and landscaped open areas. The result is an over-all design that is unusually balanced, consistent, and clear in its interpretation of Ebenezer Howard's social philosophy. As stated by Stein:

> Baldwin Hills Village is a more unified composition than any of its predecessors or ancestors…[88]

Separation of Automobile and Pedestrian Circulation

Stein and his American colleagues made an important contribution to the international Garden City movement by designing a community that incorporated the automobile while still maintaining the social and physical environment of a humanistic community as envisioned by Ebenezer Howard. This was done during a historical period in the 1920s and 1930s when the United States (as the leading nation in the use of the automobile) was searching for solutions to the serious physical and social problems caused by the automobile. The relationship of the automobile to a balanced community was first designed at Radburn and then ten years later was developed in its most sophisticated form at Baldwin Hills Village.

Baldwin Hills Village's Unique Feature: Baldwin Hills Village's one superblock configuration makes it possible to relegate all automobile traffic to the edge of the site and thus provide uninterrupted open areas for safe pedestrian circulation. Garages and resident parking are grouped in 17 cul-de-sacs or "courts" on the outer areas with ample guest parking allocated both in each court and in special designated areas on the periphery. No street cuts through the community, and thus large open areas are available for residents' social and recreational activities in a park-like environment. Baldwin Hills Village architects especially designed these protected areas

[86] Ibid., 69.

[87] Kimberly Alexander Shilland, "From the Ecole to Tech: Desire Despradelle, his Colleagues and Students—an Exhibition of Architectural Drawings at M.I.T.," brochure produced during 1990 in connection with the exhibit.

[88] Stein, "Baldwin Hills Revisited," 1.

for children. In addition, the rows of garages in each court are grouped in such a way that their backs insulate the residential areas from the automobile's noise and fumes. The close proximity of garages to residential areas provides a short walking distance for each resident after parking the automobile.

Comparisons: Baldwin Hills Village's complete separation of pedestrian and automobile circulation is not fully realized at Radburn. The site (which is almost triple in acreage to Baldwin Hills Village) has two public streets cutting through the community. The eastern section (an older section) is isolated from the community by busy Fairlawn Avenue and two blocks of buildings that belong to Fairlawn City. With more time for planning, Stein stated that he would have separated the two sections with a parallel service road.[89] However, the pedestrian circulation is protected within each section, and its open common areas provide a beautiful recreational and social environment for its residents. Radburn has various garage/house configurations, such as detached garages, adjoining garages, and garages underneath homes. Some of these were being developed and improved as the site was being built, such as Burnham Place. This is in contrast to Baldwin Hills Village, which has a well-planned, single motif pattern (garages, service roads, and their relationships to the buildings and landscape) that is repeated along the edge of the superblock boundaries. The result is a unity in the total site design that is not evident at Radburn. Also, Radburn's individual cul-de-sacs contain homes that are exposed to the sight, noise, and fumes of its neighbors' automobiles (although minimal). This is not true at Baldwin Hills Village because the rear of the garages act as a buffer for the residences against the noise and fumes of the automobile. Radburn's service roads are much narrower and more difficult for the automobile to maneuver than at Baldwin Hills Village. There is also not enough room designed for guest parking at Radburn (in most cases, public streets are used); while Baldwin Hills Village has ample guest parking at its perimeter.

Sunnyside Gardens, Phipps Garden Apartments, and Hillside are confined to the grid system with the result that these three communities have streets running through them. Thus, open areas are not available to develop a clear separation between pedestrian and vehicular circulation. One result is that it does not produce a safe environment for children; Stein reported that at Hillside a street was closed off because children had been hit by automobiles.[90] This situation also does not provide the extensive tranquil common areas for the community, such as at Radburn and Baldwin Hills Village. Parking is a problem for these three sites because of very limited garage areas. At these sites, most cars are parked on the streets and residents need to walk several blocks to reach both private and public transportation.

A more successful solution is found at Chatham Village where streets only circled three compounds—each of which consists of homes, moderate-sized open space, and ample garages. Unlike the other eastern sites, the streets are restricted to residents and thus add to the serene country-like atmosphere. Garages for some residents are at a far distance, unlike the close proximity at Baldwin Hills Village. The hillside terrain (in contrast to Baldwin Hills Village's flat surface) may make it more difficult for the handicapped and elderly to reach parking in these locations, although some parking exists beneath certain homes.

Being the largest of the American Garden Cities, Greenbelt (756.8 acres)[91] has a more difficult time in achieving the complete separation of pedestrian and automobile circulation. At Baldwin Hills Village, one can walk easily from one end to another without crossing any street, but at Greenbelt one needs to drive to reach the commercial and recreational centers or the outer residential limits because of the extensive acreage and large population. Greenbelt has greater recreational facilities than Baldwin Hills Village and Radburn. This includes a very large artificial lake for boating and swimming, several acres of wooded acres for hiking, and extensive fields for large-scale outdoor sports, with its own shopping area, library, gas station, and fire department. The

[89] Stein, *Toward New Towns for America,* 48.
[90] Ibid., 95.
[91] Elizabeth Jo Lampl, "National Historic Landmark Nomination for Greenbelt, Historic District," March 22, 1996. United States Department of Interiors, National Park Service, Washington D.C., page 4.

cited the fact that Greenbelt residents preferred not to use the pedestrian paths in some instances, and as a result they are exposed to traffic.[92] According to Stein in 1949, the garage areas were also not completely successful because ample parking was lacking for 1,885 families. Four hundred and seventy-five garages were built for 885 units during the early resettlement stage but none for the Defense phase.[93] Stein indicated that some of the garage areas were so poorly designed that they endangered the lives of children.[94] In contrast, at Baldwin Hills Village the garages are well thought out with each unit eligible for one garage; some extra garages are available for families with two automobiles. Greenbelt has limited guest parking that is situated on the streets, while Baldwin Hills Village has specially designed areas for ample guest parking in the courts and at the perimeters.

Quality of Life for the Individual: The relegation of traffic to the edge of the site has produced a large open area (approximately 42 acres with 21 acres for buildings) that insulates Baldwin Hills Village residents and their homes from the noise, fumes, and dangers of the automobile; no streets cut through this community. This design is most suitable for Baldwin Hills Village children because they can live and play in a tranquil and quiet environment and still be protected from the automobile. This is in contrast to the grid block system of the conventional neighborhood where the automobile can intrude into the daily lives of the residents and extra precaution has to be taken to protect little children from its dangers.

The Park as the Backbone of the Community

Clarence Stein included parks or open spaces for all his planned communities in order to support Ebenezer Howard's two major concepts for the ideal Garden City. These are combining the features of the country (such as open spaces and gardens) with the benefits of the city; and planning open spaces to further the social life and health of the individual and community. Stein interpreted Howard's social concepts following the rich tradition of the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, particularly in the area of civic design. This rich legacy can be traced back to the Italian Renaissance (1400s to 1600s); the Baroque influence (1600s to mid-1700s); and during the late 1600s when Louis XIV sought to exert total central control for all the arts, which also included civic design. The beaux-arts influence (particularly the use of the central axis to organize open space) is evident in Stein's Garden Cities and his first town of Tyrone, New Mexico during the period of 1911–1918. Actually, Stein and his Garden City colleagues extended the community park concept of the American Colonial period of the 1600s and early 1700s (which was partly influenced by the Baroque tradition in civic design) and the City Beautiful movement of the late 1800s and early 1900s. The latter included the pioneering work of landscape architect Frederick Olmsted in designing public parks for urban centers.

Summary: All of Stein's Garden Cities contain parks or common open spaces. The early Garden Cities of Sunnyside Gardens, Phipps Gardens, and Hillside have modest rectangular parks or open spaces. It was at Radburn that Stein and his colleagues began to design large-scale parks; however, only a limited number of homes face a park area. The landscape design of Chatham Village combined both the smaller rectangular spaces of Sunnyside Gardens with an extensive acreage of natural woodlands. Greenbelt's large landscape is essentially natural and rustic; its general outline is shaped by its crescent topography. However, it was only at Baldwin Hills Village that Stein was able to find a project and fellow architects that could give full expression to the sophisticated beaux-arts approach toward landscape and still reflect Ebenezer Howard's social philosophy. This socially oriented landscape also follows the design principles of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque periods. It contains a complex axial system that produces a balanced symmetry with dramatic and controlled landscaped vistas. This type of intricate landscape design is not found in any of Stein's other sites. In

[92] Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 148.
[93] Ibid., 137.
[94] Ibid., 139 and 142.

addition, the richness and variety of Baldwin Hills Village landscape is a contrast to those at the Eastern sites because of Southern California's year-round warm climate.

Comparisons: At Sunnyside Gardens, Phipps Gardens, and Hillside Homes the park is based on a basic module where residences are arranged on the edge to form an enclosed rectangular court of open space. At Sunnyside Gardens, each module consists of a block with three or four interlocking rectangular open areas or inner courts. Following a similar pattern, the multi-storied Phipps Garden Apartment has each unit facing a single inner courtyard of open space. A more sophisticated arrangement evolved at Hillside Homes. Each of its eight modules also contains an open rectangular court. However, a Beaux-arts east/west axis bisects the community design horizontally. This axis is a "backbone" of walkways and trees that promoted social movement throughout the community. Stein designed a greater central open area in order to accommodate large community activities (located at the north center of the site plan). For their times, Sunnyside Gardens, Phipps Gardens, and Hillside were remarkable innovations in community design. However, the concept of "the park as the backbone of the community" was limited in these sites by the block grid pattern and the lack of available land in a dense urban environment.

It was not until Radburn that Stein and his colleagues were fully able to design innovative open areas or parks. For Radburn and the subsequent communities of Chatham Village, Greenbelt, and Baldwin Hills Village were built on open land that was not restricted by the conventional block grid. Radburn represents a more complete design expression of the park as a backbone of the community. Its west section contains three areas of inner parks: one is designated for school and recreational activities, and the other two are elongated curved areas following the configuration of the dominant irregular oval and easily accessible to the majority of its residents. Radburn's east section contains an adjacent park in walking distance of its nearby residents. The inner parks at Radburn are often used and do indeed serve as the social and recreational backbone of the community. Stein described Radburn as "an inner park, beautiful as the estate of an eighteenth-century country gentleman."[95] Unlike Sunnyside Gardens, Phipps Gardens, and Hillside, all Radburn residences do not face an open area or park.

At Chatham Village, the "park as the backbone of the community" is located in two areas on the site plan. The first is the open inner courts located in each of the three major housing modules. In contrast, all residences face the parks. The second and more extensive areas are the twenty-five-acre greenbelt of natural woodland used for hiking and the adjacent large recreational area of tennis courts, playgrounds, and individual common gardens. In contrast, Greenbelt has a more unified design for its "backbone" of parks and open areas. These communal spaces are located at the inner crevice of the crescent-shaped site with a protective greenbelt surrounding the outer crescent. Its large size provides a substantial informal mini-park for the surrounding residences. However, unlike Baldwin Hills Village, Greenbelt's major parks, community facilities, and homes are not all in walking distance for its residents because of the community's large size.

Baldwin Hills Village's "park as a community backbone" is the culmination of the design experiences at other Garden City sites. Baldwin Hills Village's major park is fused into one central location that extends horizontally from both ends of the property with secondary parks extending from it. Thus, all homes are exposed to landscaped open areas and close proximity to community facilities. Consequently, residents have easier accessibility to the communal areas and major community facilities for social and recreational activities. In addition, this large area has the flexibility to accommodate a multitude of outdoor social activities not found in smaller spaces such as the fragmented open areas of Sunnyside Gardens and Hillside's inner courts and the four sections of parks at Radburn and Chatham Village.

[95] Ibid., 55.

Baldwin Hills Village's Beaux-Arts Influence: From a design point of view, the one central large area provided Stein and Baldwin Hills Village architects a distinct advantage in developing a beaux-arts design that would articulate Ebenezer Howard's social philosophy. This design approach (evident in Stein's other sites) has its greatest expression at Baldwin Hills Village. The sophisticated rendering of the beaux-arts tradition at Baldwin Hills Village site is first seen in its central west/east axis that is balanced by a long building on the west and a circular park on the east. The three major central parks are located on this axis. The multiple secondary axes (running north and south) are clearly defined, and the secondary gardens or inner courts are located along these axes. Also present are the diagonal axes, such as the west/south and west/north corners; central/north sections; and the north/east corner. These axes complete the definition of the site. The Baldwin Hills Village site plan is finally embellished by a half circle sitting above the large central park to give a perfect sense of balance to the over-all plan. The result is a sophistication and a symmetry that produce the features noted in a large-scale Baroque landscape, such as Louis XIV's Palace of Versailles. They include landscape vistas that are controlled and dramatic; also the landscape and buildings are tightly integrated into one architectural unit.[96]

Unlike the Palace of Versailles, Baldwin Hills Village's beaux-arts site plan does not define a social hierarchy (with the King as the source of power) but emphasizes a community that is characterized by the Garden City concept of social and political equality. This can be seen in Baldwin Hills Village's pathway design (several miles in length) that links its residents together and in the siting of the clubhouse (the "heart" of the community) where residents can interact with one another to build a better community.

The beaux-arts pathways form an interrelated and intricate design of several miles that covers the entire property. They are planned to anticipate where a person could walk while taking full advantage of the varied views on the property. It is also designed to guide the individual efficiently from his home to any other residence in the community and also to the community center. This is in contrast to the earlier Garden Cities of Sunnyside Gardens and Hillside where the pathways are parallel to the buildings. At Radburn the pathways also hug the configurations of the buildings. Radburn residents frequently walk on the grass in the open areas to go from one location to another. This seldom happens at Baldwin Hills Village because the paths are well thought out. Also, Baldwin Hills Village circular paths can take one completely around the property and provide alternative routes to reach a destination. This is not the case at Greenbelt and the earlier Garden Cities where the majority of the footpaths are horizontal or vertical within the contained space, and one has to backtrack to return to one's original destination. The closest in design sophistication of the walkways is at Phipps Garden Apartments. The formal gardens contain predetermined and circular pathways as at Baldwin Hills Village, but a pedestrian's mobility is limited because of its small space.

Stein and the founding architects further articulate Ebenezer Howard's social philosophy by placing the community center within the beaux-arts stylized half circle located at the top center to demonstrate its importance. All paths from the residences and the open areas lead to it. In addition, these architects provide additional accessibility to the community center by designing a private road (parallel to busy Rodeo Road) next to the community center in order to divert automobile traffic from the main street to this common meeting place. Additional parking for visitors has been provided in this area. Unlike Baldwin Hills Village, the other sites do not have a convenient and centrally located community center (for administration and social activities) with connecting and carefully designed pedestrian and auto traffic circulation. For instance, the Sunnyside Gardens office is located within a neighborhood of stores away from the residences. Phipps Garden Apartments recreation rooms are in the basement while Hillside Homes's community center is located in one of the apartment complexes. Chatham Village's Chatham Hall is located at the extreme eastern part of the property in its greenbelt; limited space is allotted for parking. Radburn's recreational and social centers are in two locations

[96] An excellent survey of the beaux-arts principles is given by Kostof in *The City Shaped—Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, 209-277.

because of the size of the property; the office located at a far distance in another area facing a busy street. Greenbelt's community center is the best developed but the site's large size makes it difficult for many residents to walk to the location. This is in contrast to Baldwin Hills Village where residents can walk easily to the community center to participate in community affairs.

Quality of Life for the Individual: Baldwin Hills Village's beaux-arts park system enhances the quality of life for the individual by its close integration between outdoor and indoor living spaces. The large central greens and the secondary gardens are in close proximity to each residence, and thus the individual can readily participate in social activities of varied sizes. The parks' several miles of circulatory pathways also makes it ideal for the individual to participate in solitary walks, jogging, skating, or bicycle riding. The enclosed patios for each residence demonstrate the founding architects' sensitivity concerning the need for private space where public spaces are held in common. Here the individual can cultivate private gardens and engage in solitary or small group activities. This close integration between indoor and outdoor living is made more successful by Southern California's warm year-round climate. In addition, Baldwin Hills Village's high air quality (in a smog-polluted urban area) is due to its well-selected site that draws in the ocean breeze and also its urban forest. This community forest has created an ecological system that supports one of the largest bird sanctuaries in the Los Angeles urban area.[97] Because the open area is held in common, residents living in affordable housing are able to enjoy these open spaces usually reserved for those who are economically privileged.

In 1972, the American Institute of Architects acknowledged the outstanding organization of public and private spaces at Baldwin Hills Village by presenting it the Twenty-Five Year Award. This honor is given annually to the nation's most distinguished and enduring architectural work that is at least twenty-five years old:

> The integrated pedestrian precinct thus created is skillfully laid out to offer its residents a remarkable variety of open spaces, ranging in scale from private patios and balconies, through garden courts serving groups of apartments, to the central village green, which gives unity and identity to the entire development.[98]

Neighborhood Clusters of Affordable Housing with Community Facilities

In his Garden Cities, Clarence Stein and his colleagues designed a community architecture that reinforces the Garden City's economic and social ideals. This can be seen in its understated and uniform residential architecture that is a contrast to a conventional community where housing is influenced by a wide disparity of wealth. Also, the Garden City architecture was designed to ensure a socially balanced community that contains different types of households, such as single resident, couples, and families with children. These social and economic ideals can be seen at Baldwin Hills Village. Nine types of housing buildings have been designed specifically to provide affordable housing and to accommodate a wide variety of households.

Siting of Buildings: The siting of the residential buildings in Stein's Garden Cities was influenced by Ebenezer Howard's social philosophy that homes should be arranged in small neighborhood clusters to promote close social relationships. The siting of the communal buildings (easily accessible by foot) followed Ebenezer Howard's concept of a crystal palace where residents came to a central location for meetings, shopping, and recreation. Unlike conventional communities, the siting of these planned communities is permanent and fixed in order to control population growth and spatial density. This concept was an outgrowth of Ebenezer Howard and

[97] See August 1996 letter from Kimball L. Garrett, Ornithology Collections Manager at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, California, in NHL Survey files, NPS, Washington, DC.
[98] Original citation found at Baldwin Hills Village Homeowners Association, Los Angeles, California.

Stein's reactions to the physical and social problems of the industrial cities in the late 1800s and early 1900s. At Baldwin Hills Village, the siting has been controlled to achieve a density of 10 families to one acre.[99]

The siting of Baldwin Hills Village buildings is the culmination of the work done previously by Stein and his colleagues. Sunnyside Gardens, Phipps Garden Apartments, and Hillside Homes contain homes sited on the edge of a rectangle because these communities are restricted by a block grid system. The siting of buildings at Chatham Village also follows a somewhat similar pattern; the buildings are placed on the edge of three free-form ovals. However, the siting for the buildings at Radburn and Greenbelt depart from this particular approach. The buildings are not confined at the edge of a block or predetermined form but arranged around a cul-de-sac (the automobile area) that produces a rectangular shape with one side exposed. This motif has its culmination at Baldwin Hills Village. It is distinguished by its close integration of residences, parking, neighborhood facilities (laundry, garbage areas, and formerly tots' lots) that is not found in other sites. Baldwin Hills Village architects repeated this motif systematically in a remarkable Beaux-arts design that demonstrates visually and aesthetically the Garden City philosophy where the central location of open space and communal facilities are easily accessible (without streets) and are in close approximation to neighboring homes. The concept of a superblock makes this design possible.[100]

Exterior Architecture: Stein and his colleagues designed the architecture of the Garden Cities (both on the East and West coasts) to reflect the surrounding cultural and physical environments. For instance, Baldwin Hills Village has a distinctive modern vernacular architecture that was planned to accommodate outdoor space because of the Southern California mild year-round casual life style. Also, the private dwellings at Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn adopted the architecture of the surrounding neighborhood to the point where its borders cannot be distinguished from the surrounding neighborhoods. Sunnyside Gardens has a simple colonial architecture while Radburn's architecture is New England and mid-Atlantic. Stein's high-rise apartments of Phipps Gardens and Hillside contain a distinctive style (with its intricate and rich art deco brickwork) that fit in with New York City's tall residential buildings. Chatham Village has a Georgian-style community architecture with its slate roofs that blend in with the Pennsylvania landscape. At Greenbelt (government sponsored), the architectural style follows the efficient box-like design of government buildings that are typically built for mass housing.[101] The exterior architecture of each of these sites can be summarized by what David Vater, architect and Chatham Village resident, stated about his community: "Village homes were constructed in bulk, use one architectural style throughout, and have a single consistent palette of materials."[102]

The Baldwin Hills Village architects derived this community's architectural style from Greenbelt's box-like government buildings. However, they incorporated four changes that made the architecture more elegant in design compared to the Greenbelt architecture. First, bungalows or three-bedroom units were added to each end of the main buildings to give it a less institutional appearance and to create a feeling of a "village."[103] Second, a low pitch roof was added to each building that is reminiscent of the roofs that lead designer Reginald Johnson

[99] Other Garden City ratios: Sunnyside Gardens—27 families per acre; Phipps Garden Apartments—122 families per acre; Chatham Village--5 families; Radburn—6 families per acre; Hillside—51 families per acre; Greenbelt—2 families per acre. Sources: Statistics for Greenbelt and Hillside are from Stein's *Toward New Towns for America (1957);* statistics for Radburn are from printed information published by the current Radburn management (approximately 1990); statistics for Phipps Garden Apartments and Sunnyside Gardens are from the *Sunnyside Gardens District National Register Application* (September 1984) and statistics for Chatham Village were given by resident and architect David Vatner (January 1999).

[100] A survey of the superblock concept and block grid is given by Kostof in *The City Shaped—Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, pages 95-207. Of particular interest is the section on "Grid in the 20th Century."

[101] Mary Lou Williamson, *History of a New Town 1937-1983* (Norfolk/Virginia Beach: The Donner Company, 1987), 134 (photo).

[102] David Vater, "Contrasts in Urban Planning," *Chatham Village* Times 4 (April 1995): 4.

[103] Oral interview with Robert Alexander during May 1990 at Baldwin Hills Village.

built for his mansions.[104] Third, simple but elegant architectural details were incorporated. This included front steps and entryways to the individual homes; large picture windows and balconies; and a low fence or wall that wrapped artistically around the back of each patio to insure privacy and to prevent exposure of the residents' private possessions. This feature was not found in other large housing complexes. The patios also were designed as an extension of the indoor living area to take full advantage of the year-round warm climate of Southern California. Fourth, the stucco buildings were painted in pastel colors similar to those found in Sweden and Denmark.[105] This is a contrast to the heavy brick and wood structures (painted in conventional colors) of the eastern Garden Cities. The architectural success of these buildings were noted twenty years later by the American Institute of Architects in its Twenty-Five Year Award:

> The buildings themselves are straightforward, unpretentious, serviceable. Their very lack of stylistic distinction has made them wear well, and the passage of time has given substance to their most positive virtue: a consistent simplicity of massing and detail.[106]

Interior Architecture: The basic interior architecture of Stein's Garden Cities is the same. It reflects a mass market approach in design to reduce costs and yet provide a range of options for different ages and different types of families. This evaluation is based on the 1996 site visits to the eastern Garden Cities and the study of Stein's Garden City blueprints in *Toward New Towns in America*. The major differences in the interiors are the sizes of the units, more windows, and larger windows during this evolutionary process because Stein was continually concerned about ventilation and light to improve the quality of living in a planned community. Baldwin Hills Village is the culmination of this type of interior architecture because the spacious design incorporated both indoor and outdoor living that gave it the maximum benefit of ventilation and light.

In looking at a series of floor plans from all of the projects Clarence Stein was involved with, one notices immediately the efficiency of all of the units. Plumbing is grouped, circulation is centralized, construction spans are kept modest. The basic units are often simple rectangles. Units may be off-set to provide variation within blocks, but the plans are clear and efficient. There is a remarkable consistency in the plans. For instance, a two-bedroom townhouse plan is used virtually unchanged from Chatham Village to Greenbelt to Baldwin Hills Village. Stein conceived of rooms as boxes, and was not concerned with developing space in the way that Wright or other designers in the classic modern style were. The units at Baldwin Hills Village are the most free in spirit though, with dining areas typically opening generously to living areas, and large banks of windows providing light. Levels of amenity at different projects were influenced by budget. The small closets at Sunnyside Gardens and Greenbelt are typically much larger at Baldwin Hills Village. Also, the small rooms at Sunnyside Gardens and Phipps Garden Apartments become progressively larger at later projects. At Baldwin Hills Village, indoor areas are generous, closets are abundant and large, and units are provided with patios. Here, the designers clearly wanted to integrate and link indoor and outdoor space, but it is done in a conservative way. In comparison to the other sites, many units have balconies as well, and other amenities that appear are fireplaces, second bathrooms, and laundry rooms. At Baldwin Hills Village, Stein and the other designers were best able to realize their ideals for efficient and comfortable living units.[107]

Communal Buildings: Like the other Garden Cities, Baldwin Hills Village communal buildings (administrative offices, clubhouse, and laundries) are essential to the life of the community. However, these buildings in types and numbers are limited in comparison to Stein's other Garden Cities because of Baldwin Hills Village's

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[104] Oral interview with Constance Crown (daughter of Reginald Johnson) during Spring 1996 at Baldwin Hills Village.

[105] Stein, *Toward New Towns for America,* 202.

[106] Original Citation from the American Institute of Architects located at Baldwin Hills Village Homeowners Association, Los Angeles, California.

[107] Architect and Village Green resident Robert Nicolais wrote this paragraph. The source for interior blueprints is Stein's *Toward New Towns for America.*

smaller size. For instance, Greenbelt (the largest of the Garden Cities discussed) has its own shopping center, day care centers, recreation center, museum, library, and school.

Quality of Life for the Individual: With rare foresight, the founding architects designed interiors sixty years ago that continue to be functional and relevant to contemporary needs. These interiors are simple (and thus adaptable to contemporary furnishings) and also spacious with generous closet and storage spaces. The living areas included maximum light and ventilation (evolved from Stein's studies at Hillside and Phipps Gardens) which was remarkable for affordable housing during the late 1930s and early 1940s; its well-designed amenities (i.e., storage spaces, large bedrooms, and individual patios) continue to be unusual for less expensive housing even during current times.

Lewis Mumford's Evaluation: These houses are, happily if a little ironically, the crown of Reginald Johnson's career as a designer of spacious private mansions; and in the plan itself, for which Clarence Stein was consultant, his experience, with Sunnyside Gardens, Radburn and Greenbelt came to its richest fruitage.[108]

Conclusion

Baldwin Hills Village's successful design is particularly noticeable in its unusually high level of historic integrity. The buildings with garages, drying yards, garbage areas, driveways, and pedestrian circulation walkways have been maintained essentially intact since they were built. The former clubhouse has been converted into residences, while the present clubhouse is housed in what was formerly the building for administration and reception. The damages caused by the Baldwin Hills Dam flood in l963 were repaired under the supervision of Robert Alexander, the last surviving member of Baldwin Hills Village architects. At that time, the only large-scale modification to the buildings was the introduction of sliding glass doors to some of the units. At the present, the only other modifications to the residential buildings include a few door substitutions and the addition of a screened-in porch to a three-bedroom unit at the eastern green. Modifications are largely found in the landscape, which was reconstructed after the Baldwin Hills Dam flood. A landscape of ivy beds, young saplings, and various formal gardens with decomposed granite provided a simpler perspective, reminiscent of the traditional English landscape with its extended green lawns and urban forest.

In contrast to Baldwin Hills Village, Sunnyside Gardens, Greenbelt, and Radburn contain modifications and additions to the buildings; these include enlarged living spaces and replaced exterior materials that were difficult to maintain. Chatham Village, Phipps Gardens, and Hillside Homes (all brick structures) have achieved a high level of integrity because their original architecture has been kept intact. However, Chatham Village (three times) and Phipps Garden Apartments (two times) were built in phases. In contrast, Baldwin Hills Village has achieved a tighter design integration because it was built in one two-year phase. Baldwin Hills Village's successful design has been acknowledged by several awards. These include: 1. The Southern California Chapter of the American Institute of Architects honored it with its Distinguished Honor award (1942); 2. The New York Museum of Modern Art selected it as one of the forty-seven outstanding examples in contemporary architecture (1945); 3. The New York Museum of Modern Art selected it for a traveling exhibit (1944–1949) that honored twelve well-designed neighborhoods in the nation; 4. The American Institute of Architects honored it in 1972 with its Twenty-Five Year Award for architectural design of enduring significance (following Rockefeller Center [l969], Crow Island School [l971], Taliesen West [l972]; 5. The Journal of the American Institute of Architects in its July l976 bicentennial issue lists it as one of the proudest achievements of American architecture over the past 200 years (1976); and 6. Baldwin Hills Village became a Los Angeles City Cultural Landmark (no. l74) in 1977. Furthermore, Baldwin Hills Village was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1993.

[108] Lewis Mumford, "Baldwin Hills Village," *Pencil Points* 25 (September 1944): 44.

Finally, the Baldwin Hills Village's successful design has been evaluated by noted architectural historian Lewis Mumford. He states:

> One of the handful of projects that stands out as a fundamental advance in both planning and architecture is Baldwin Hills Village in Los Angeles. Here every part of the design speaks the same robust vernacular: simple, direct, intelligible. I know no other recent community that lends itself so fully to strict scrutiny, simply because every aspect of its physical development has been thought through.[113]

THE LEGACY

Clarence Stein's Legacy: This nomination has discussed Baldwin Hills Village's national historic importance because of its close association with Clarence Stein, who served as its consulting architect. As mentioned previously, Stein stated in his book *Toward New Towns in America* (1951) that Baldwin Hills Village is the most advanced conceptually of all his American Garden Cities. This work, with a detailed description of Baldwin Hills Village, has become a classic in city planning, architecture, and landscape architecture; and has exerted strong influence, both nationally and internationally.

After Stein's death twenty-five years ago, several scholars have confirmed the importance of his invaluable legacy. Eugenie Lauder Birch in a 1998 American Planning Association symposium described the continual vitality of Stein's ideas to the present and future development of viable communities. She told how Stein's Garden Cities in the 1920s and 1930s were responsible for four succeeding generations of planned communities that included the large-scale private communities of Reston and Columbia in the 1960s; the HUD new community projects of the 1970s and 1980s; the condominium communities in this same period, and the New Urbanists of the 1990s.[114]

Additional research indicates that Stein's work has continued to influence current practices in city planning. Urban historian Greg Hise stated that Stein's ideas have become part of the current standard vocabulary for those building new communities, including individuals (such as developers) who have never heard of Stein. Hise also commented that Stein's concepts have been incorporated in many of the building codes presently used. This is supported by *Planning* Executive Editor Ruth Knack. In addition, Knack feels that Stein's ideals are important models in the planning of new improved communities even though present practices may fall short in accomplishing this.[115]

Researcher Reid Ewing found that Stein's ideas are the dominant model for current practices in designing new communities. In fact, they are more popular abroad because of the fact that centralized governments play a dominant role in creating new communities in contrast to the United States' decentralized philosophy.[116] Recently, Ewing has published *Best Development Practices* (1996), a best-selling manual for developers and city planners. This book is a synthesis of the last fifty-year research in designing new towns. Its findings confirm the success of these community design concepts supported by Stein fifty years ago and is evident in Baldwin Hills Village's design: open space, neighborhood clusters, community and commercial centers, control

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[113] Ibid., Citation also found in Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 198.

[114] American Planning Association Annual Conference held during April 1998 in Boston, MA, taped panel discussion with Eugenie Lauder Birch, Robert Fishman, and Alexander Gavin: "Are Garden Cities Still Relevant?"

[115] Interviews with Greg Hise (Los Angeles, California) held on July 1, 1998, and Ruth Knack (Chicago, Illinois) on February 4, 1999. Hise is Associate Professor of Public Policy and Urban Development at the University of Southern California and Knack is Executive Editor of *Planning*, publication of the American Planning Association.

[116] Interview with Reid Ewing (Lighthouse, Florida) on February 11, 1999. Research professor at Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey; Research Director at Surface Transportation project in Washington DC; and Senior Associate of Fehr & Peers Associates in San Francisco.

of density, separation of pedestrian and auto traffic, and affordable housing for different age groups.[117] Ewing stated that the concept of a planned community, as envisioned by Stein, will continue to grow. For the Garden City ideas are relevant to the increased global concerns about the quality of life issues as the world's population becomes more urbanized at a rapid rate.[118]

Baldwin Hills Village Legacy: The continued influence of Stein and Baldwin Hills Village, has been substantiated by documentation and interviews with scholars and professionals in urban planning.[119] Architect and town planner Stephanos Polizoides acknowledged Stein's contribution. Polizoides has designed new community projects in California, Arizona, and New Mexico and is also one of the founding members of the Congress for the New Urban (i.e., the New Urbanists). He stated that Baldwin Hills Village is an invaluable source for both urban planning students and professionals because this site indicates what works and what does not work in designing new communities. Hence, progress can be made in developing future communities that are more relevant to current needs. Reba Wright-Quastler, city planner for two decades, also agreed that Baldwin Hills Village is important because it represents lessons (or built-in ideas) that continue to help city planners and architects in conceptualizing and designing new and evolving forms of modern communities.[120]

In 1996, urban historian Larry Gerckens evaluated the strong influence that Baldwin Hills Village has exerted on succeeding generations of planned communities:

> Often imitated, but never replicated, Baldwin Hills set a successful precedent for the privately constructed large-scale residential projects of the postwar period and established a standard for a combination of environmental amenity, construction economy, and the creation of speculative investment value that has rarely been equaled in America.[121]

The legacy of Baldwin Hills Village (frequently referred to as Village Green) was evaluated by Reba Wright-Quastler in 1995 when she served as president of the American Planning Association, the California chapter.

The project is a seminal work in the field of urban planning and serves as a model of high quality, urban residential living. Though built more than fifty years ago, Village Green singularly embodies a full complement of planning ideals that are still promoted by planning professionals today. Based on design concepts that responded to specific urban housing problems of its era, such as overcrowding and lack of access to light, air and open space, it also responds to modern problems, such as sprawl, sense of community and human scale. Village Green is low-scale, but multiple-family and affordable; its design incorporates communal and private open spaces for recreation and relaxation, accommodates automobiles without allowing them hegemony, and emphasizes people and community. Because these features continue to be relevant to and frequently elusive in planning today, they give Village Green a timeless quality and make it a model of urban living for all generations.

With its sprawl, smog and congestion, Los Angeles has begun to encourage higher-density infill development. Village Green serves as a fitting L.A. Prototype, where the "can't live without" Southern California features like open space and parking are provided, but at a higher density than single-family homes and a more humane scale than most contemporary apartments. The relevance of its design to today's issues in Los Angeles, which is

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[117] Author's telephone interview with Reid Ewing (Lighthouse, Florida) on August 14, 1999.

[118] Reid Ewing, *Developing Successful New Communities* (Washington DC: The Urban Land Institute), 14.

[119] Refer to letters of recommendation (1995–1996) supporting Baldwin Hills Village's nomination for National Landmark status. On file at NHL Survey, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

[120] Stephanos Polizoides (Los Angeles, California) and Ruth Knack (Chicago, Illinois) on February 4, 1999 and Reba Wright-Quastler (Del Mar, California) on February 5, 1999.

[121] Larry Gercken letter on file at NHL Survey, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

the harbinger of development patterns throughout the country, is a clear demonstration of its progressiveness, timelessness and significance to the nation.[122]

[122] Reba Wright-Quastler letter on file at NHL Survey, National Park Services, Washington, DC.

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"Foundation Problem at 'Thousand Gardens' Solved by Unique and Economical Method." Author, publication, and date are unknown. Four-page article. Found by architect Robert Nicolais on October 1999. The Clarence Stein Collection, Ithaca, NY: Rare Manuscript Collection, Carl A. Koch Library, Cornell University.

Letters of Recommendations

Collected during 1995–1996. Documented Baldwin Hills Village's importance to the nation's history in the field of urban planning by various organizations and individuals. Organizations include The American Planning Association; American Institute of Architects; California Preservation Foundation; and Society of Architectural Historians. Individuals include scholars Mel Branch, Leland Burns, Larry Gerckens, Kathryn Smith, Patricia Morton and Allan Temko; urban planners: Amy Anderson, David Mellin, Craig O'Connor, and Stephanos Polyzoides; historic preservationist: Christy McAvoy; architects: Anthony Anella and Crombie Taylor; landscape professionals: Alden Kelley, Shirley Kirens, and Tom Lockette; and ornithologist Kimball L. Garrett. Also, enclosed are letters from public officials: Governor Pete Wilson, Mayor Richard Riordan, Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas; and Congress of the United States: Julian Dixon, Barbara Boxer, and Dianne Feinstein. Also, included is an article by architect Robert A. Kennard who died in 1995. Letters are located at the NHL Survey, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Interviews and Trips (completed by Dorothy Fue Wong)

1. Berkeley, California, August 8, l989. Interview with Robert E. Alexander, last of the four Village Green architects. A twenty-two-page transcript. Several interviews conducted during the one-week visitation and residence at Village Green during the first week of May 1990. Last interview held three weeks before Alexander's death on November 17, 1992.

2. Los Angeles, California, May 2, l993. Interview with Merrill W. Winans, landscape architect concerning the reconstruction of Village Green after the Baldwin Hills flood.

3. Los Angeles, California, May 2, 1993. Interview with Robert Kennard, architect and associate of Robert E. Alexander.

4. Washington, D.C., November 2, 1994. Meeting with James Charleston and Toni Lee of the National Park Service concerning what needed to be done in order to complete the National Hstoric Landmark nomination. Advised to collect letters supporting Village Green's nomination.

5. Los Angeles, California, January 1955. Interview with Leland Burns, Professor of Urban Planning at the University of California. Major research interest is the economics of registering buildings for landmark status in Great Britain and the United States.

6. Santa Barbara, California, August 2, l995 and September l5, l996; June 15, 1997, July 31, 1999. Interviews with Constance Crown, daughter of Reginald Johnson.

7. Los Angeles, California, June 3, 1996. Interview with historian Robie Lange from the National Park Service after site visitation. Discussion concerned what needed to be done in order to complete the National Historic Landmark nomination.

8. Hillard, Ohio, July 28, 1996. Telephone interview with Larry Gerckens, founder of the Society for American City and Regional Planning Historians. Emeritus Professor of City and Regional Planning, Ohio State University. Expert on the work of Clarence Stein.

9. Washington, D.C., August 2, 1996. Interview with head librarian Tony Wren at the library of the American Institute of Architects on the Clarence Stein files.

10. Greenbelt, Maryland, August 5th and 6th; l996. Tour with Mary Linstrom of the Greenbelt Historical Museum. Interviews with homeowners Barbara Havekost, Mary Linstrom, Sandra Lange, John and Delores Downs.

11. Radburn, New Jersey, August 8th to August 10th, l996. Three-hour tour with homeowner and architect Larry Koplik. Interviews with Felice Koplik and manager Louise Orlando.

12. New York City, August 11, 1996. Interview with librarian Ann Analoski of the Muncipal Art Society who provided historical information on the architecture of New York City in the 1920s and 1930s with articles on Hillside Homes and Phipps Gardens.

13. New York City, Hillside Homes, August l2, l996. Interviews with manager Siddhan Nolan and two unidentified homeowners who have lived there for over 25 years.

14. New York City, Sunnyside and Phipps Garden Apartments, August l3, l996. Three-hour tour with homeowner Oscar Shaftel, who had lived there for over fifty years.

15. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, Chatham Village, August 26, l996. Interviews and tour with homeowner and architect David Vatner and manager Kathryn Nelson. Telephone conversations with David Vatner, May 28, l998, February 1999, and August 1999.

16. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University, September 4 to 6 1996. Interviews with Kermit C. Parsons (noted Clarence Stein scholar), Elaine Engst (Library Archivist), and Michael Tomlan (Director of the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation).

17. Los Angeles, California, September 1997. Interview with Patrick Witz, doctoral student in Urban Planning at the University of Southern California. Witz gave an overview of recent developments in planned communities in Southern California and recommended key resources.

18. San Marino and Los Angeles, California, August 12, 1997 and May 1998. Interviews with Shirley Kerins, Curator at the Huntington Botanical Gardens and the Village Green Horticulturist.

19. Kitimat, British Columbia, October 5 to12, 1997. Tours and Interviews with Kitimat city planner Gwendolyn J. Sewell, business leaders Luanne Ives, Anne Berrisford, and Lynda Rocha. Interviews with Louise Shaw, Marie LeSage, and Anthony Yao of the Kitimat Centennial Museum.

20. Los Angeles, California, June 24, 1998. Dr. Melville Branch, Professor Emeritus of Urban Planning at the University of Southern California and writer of several books on urban planning. Telephone interview.

21. Los Angeles, California, July 1, l998. Dr. Greg Hise, Associate Professor of Public Policy and Urban Development at the University of Southern California; specialist in Los Angeles Urban History. Telephone interview.

22. Trips to Boston, Massachusetts (where Baldwin Hills Village's architects Reginald Johnson and Edwin Merrill studied architecture); Lowell, Massachusetts (where the Industrial Revolution began in the United States); and Annapolis, Maryland (to study early colonial town planning). November 1998.

23. Los Angeles, California, February 4, 1999. Stephanos Polizoides, architect and urban planner; Associate Professor of Architecture at the University of Southern California and Principal of Elizabeth Moule and Stephanos Polyzoides. Polizoides has developed new community projects in California, New Mexico, and Arizona. Telephone interview.

24. Chicago, Illinois, February 4, 1999. Ruth Eckdish Knack, Executive Editor of *Planning*, publication of the American Planning Association. Telephone interview.

25. Owings Mills, Maryland, February 4, 1999. Stan Duobinis, Director of Forecasting at the National Association of Home Builders. Telephone interview.

26. Del Mar, California, February 5, 1999. Reba Wright Quastler, City Planner located in Southern California, President of the American Planning Association, California Chapter (1995-1996). Telephone interview.

27. Los Angeles, California, April 27, 1999; August 17, 1999; and January 2000. Village Green resident Sara Cina who has lived in this community since 1946.

28. New York, New York, August 12, 1999. Michele Harvey, Archivist at the New York Museum of Modern Art. Telephone interview.

29. Lighthouse, Florida, February 6 and August 14, 1999. Reid Ewing, Research Professor at Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey; Research Director at Surface Transportation Project in Washington DC; and Senior Associate of Fehr & Peers Associates in San Francisco. Telephone interviews.

30. Ithaca, New York, July 1996; September 4, 1996; August 14, 1997; August 5, 1999. Kermit C. Parsons, Professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Telephone interviews on July 1996; August l4, 1997; and August 5, 1999. Meeting on September 4, 1996.

31. Ithaca, New York, October 1996 to August 1999. E-mail correspondence with Michael Tomlan, Director of the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
X Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
X University—Cornell University, Carl A. Kroch Library, Rare Manuscript Collections (Ithaca, New York)
__ Other (Specify Repository): Village Green Homeowners Administrative Office (Los Angeles, California); Huntington Library (San Marino, California)

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 64 acres

UTM References:	**Zone**	**Easting**	**Northing**
A	11	373960	3765120
B	11	374685	3765125
C	11	373940	3765125
D	11	373940	3764880

Verbal Boundary Description:

The entire parcel of land is bound to the north by Rodeo Road, to the east by Sycamore Avenue, to the south by Coliseum Street, and to the west by Hauser Boulevard.

Boundary Justification:

The boundaries selected exactly delineate the superblock that was developed as Baldwin Hills Village, and which today encompass the area governed by the Village Green Homeowners Association.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: Dorothy Fue Wong

Address: 5541 Village Green
Los Angeles, California 90016

Telephone: 321-294-9848

Description written by: Robert Nicolais, Architect

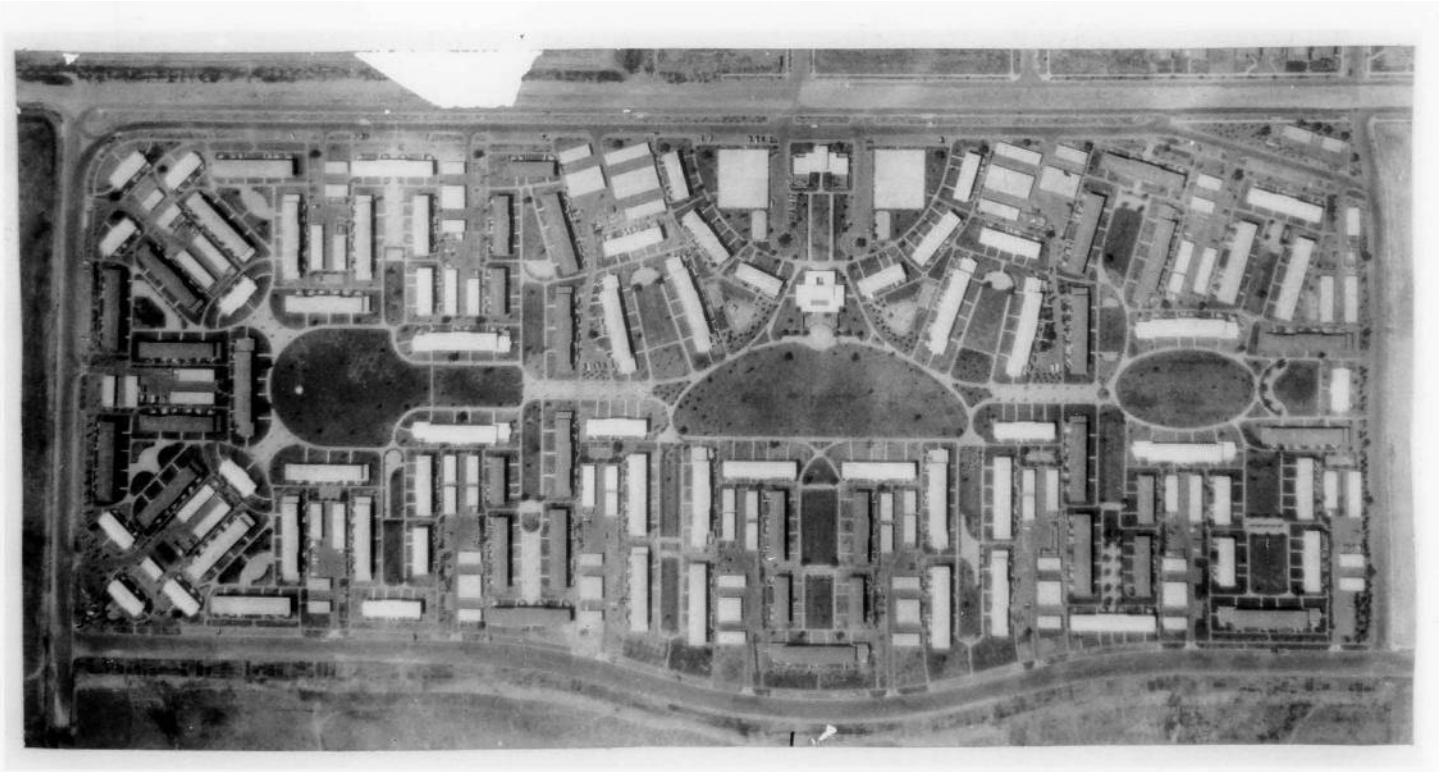
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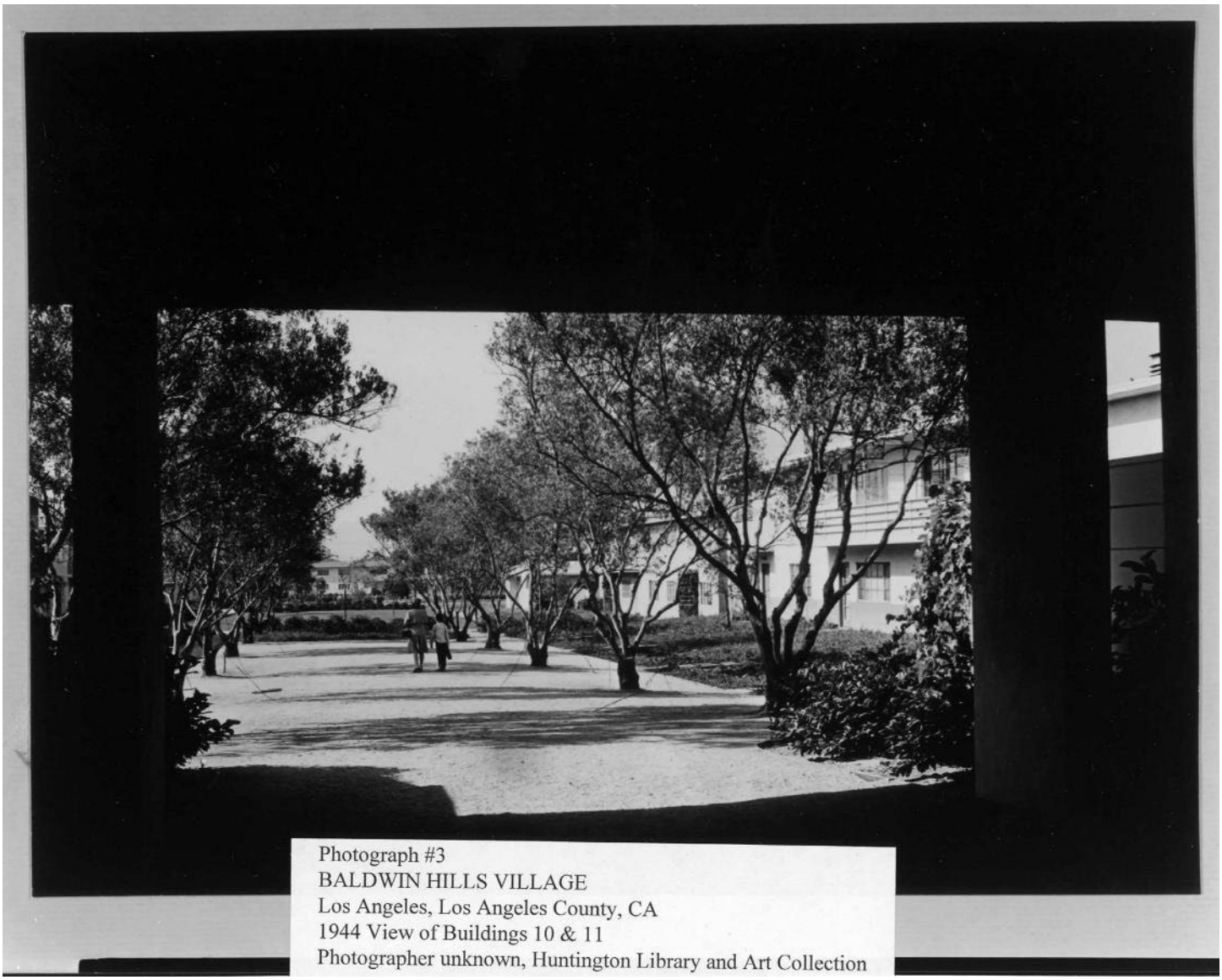


Photograph #1
BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE
Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, CA
1944 Aerial View
Photographer unknown, Huntington Library and Art Collection

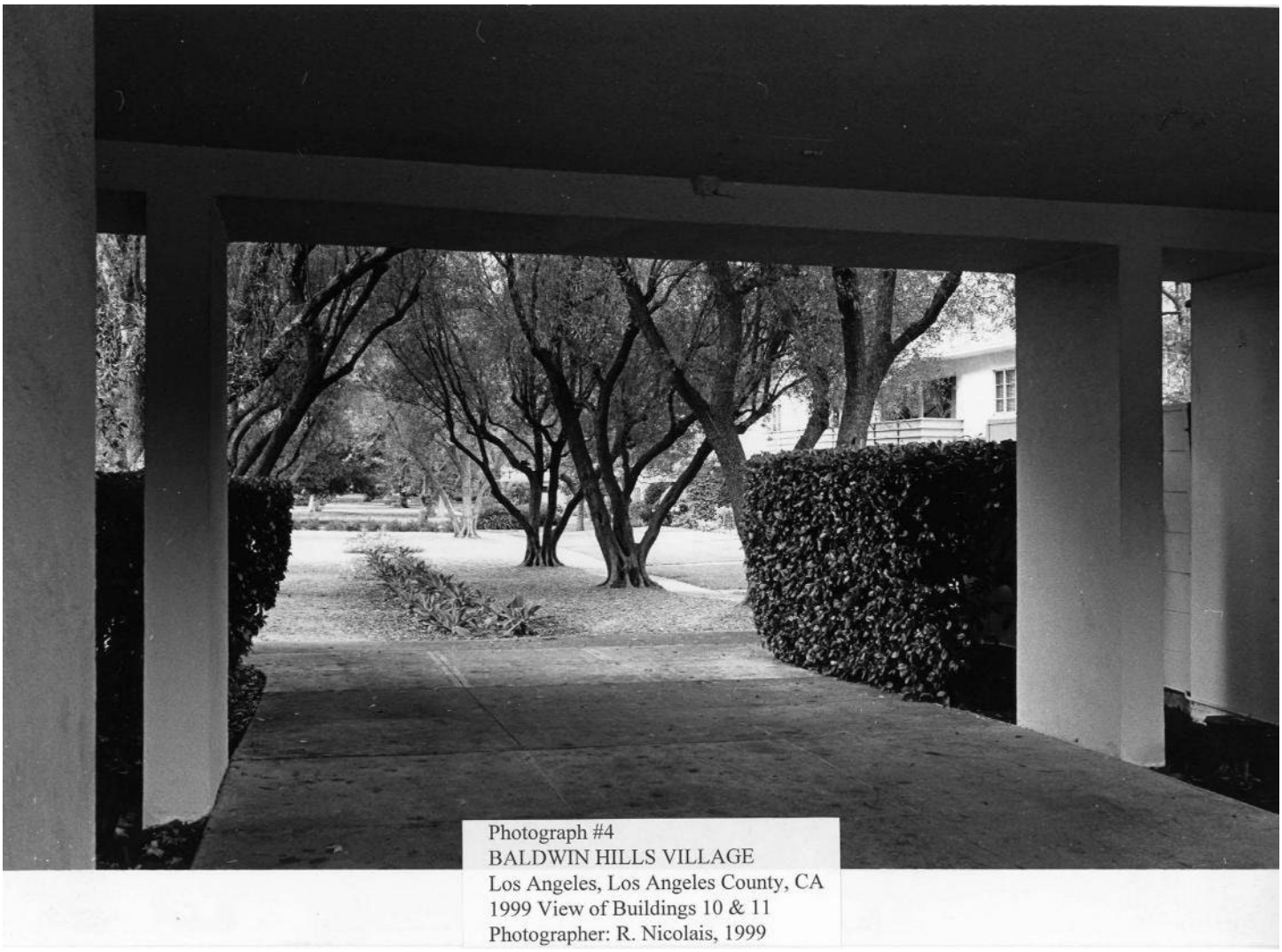
Photograph 1



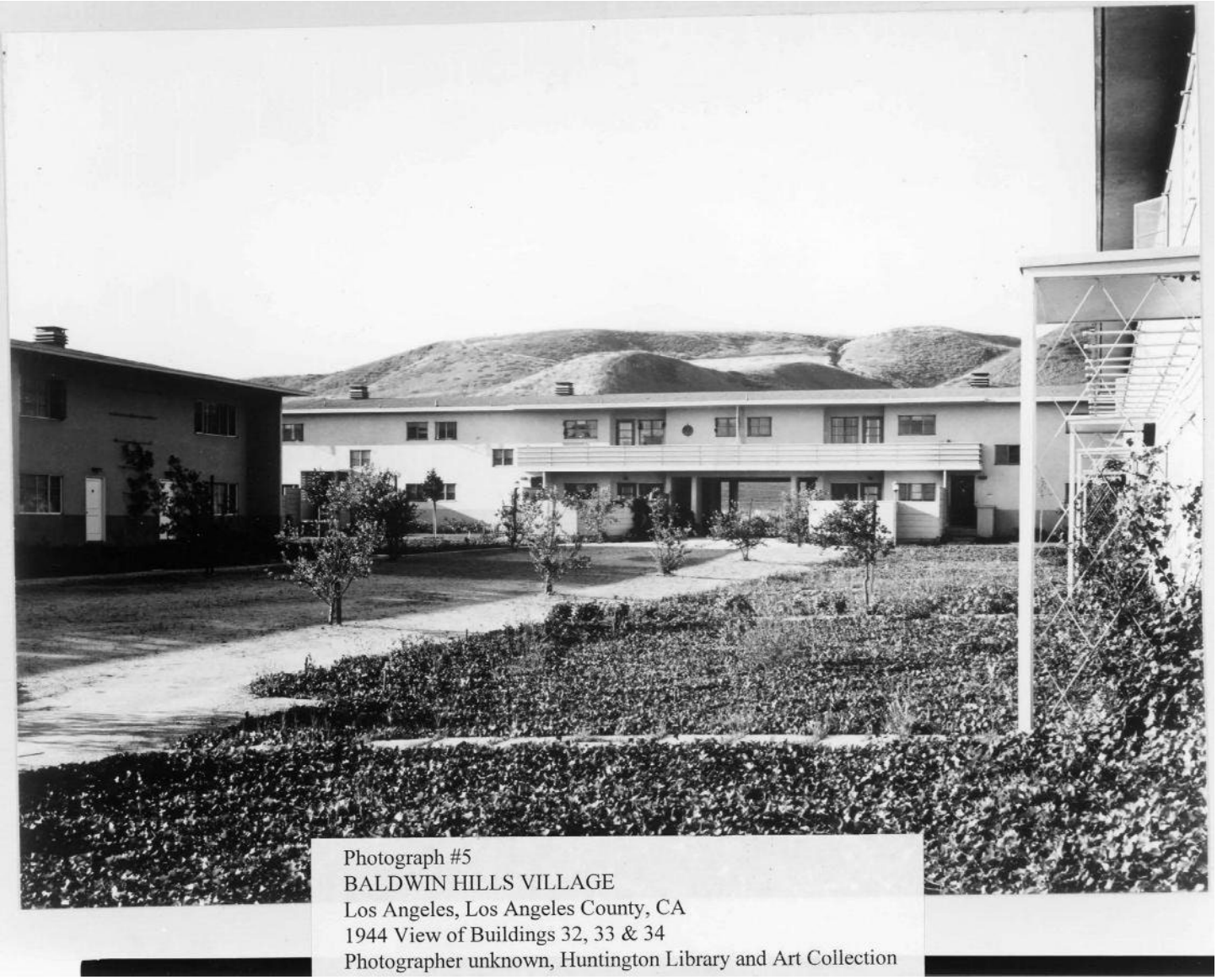
Photograph 2



Photograph 3



Photograph 4



Photograph 5

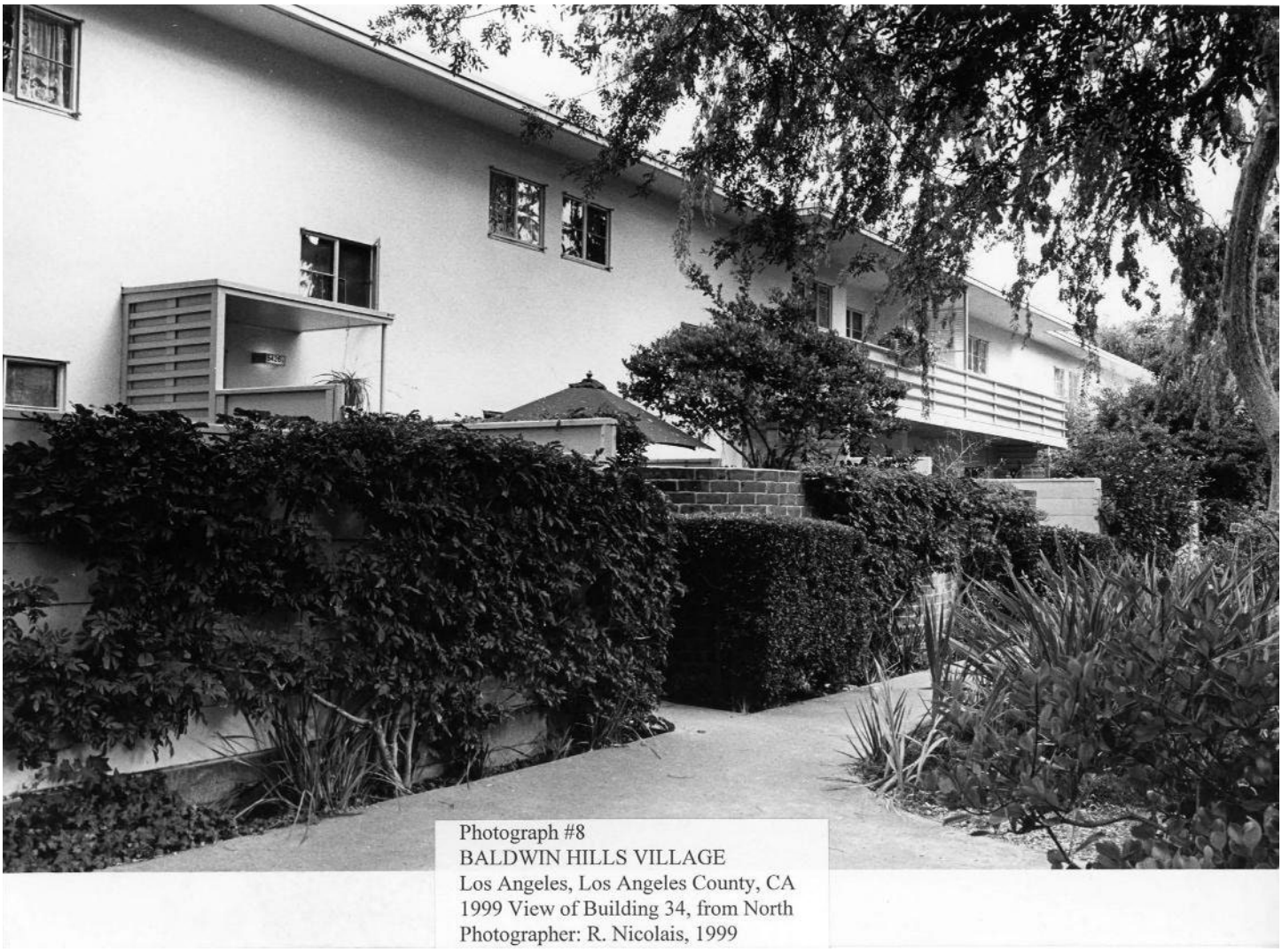


Photograph 6

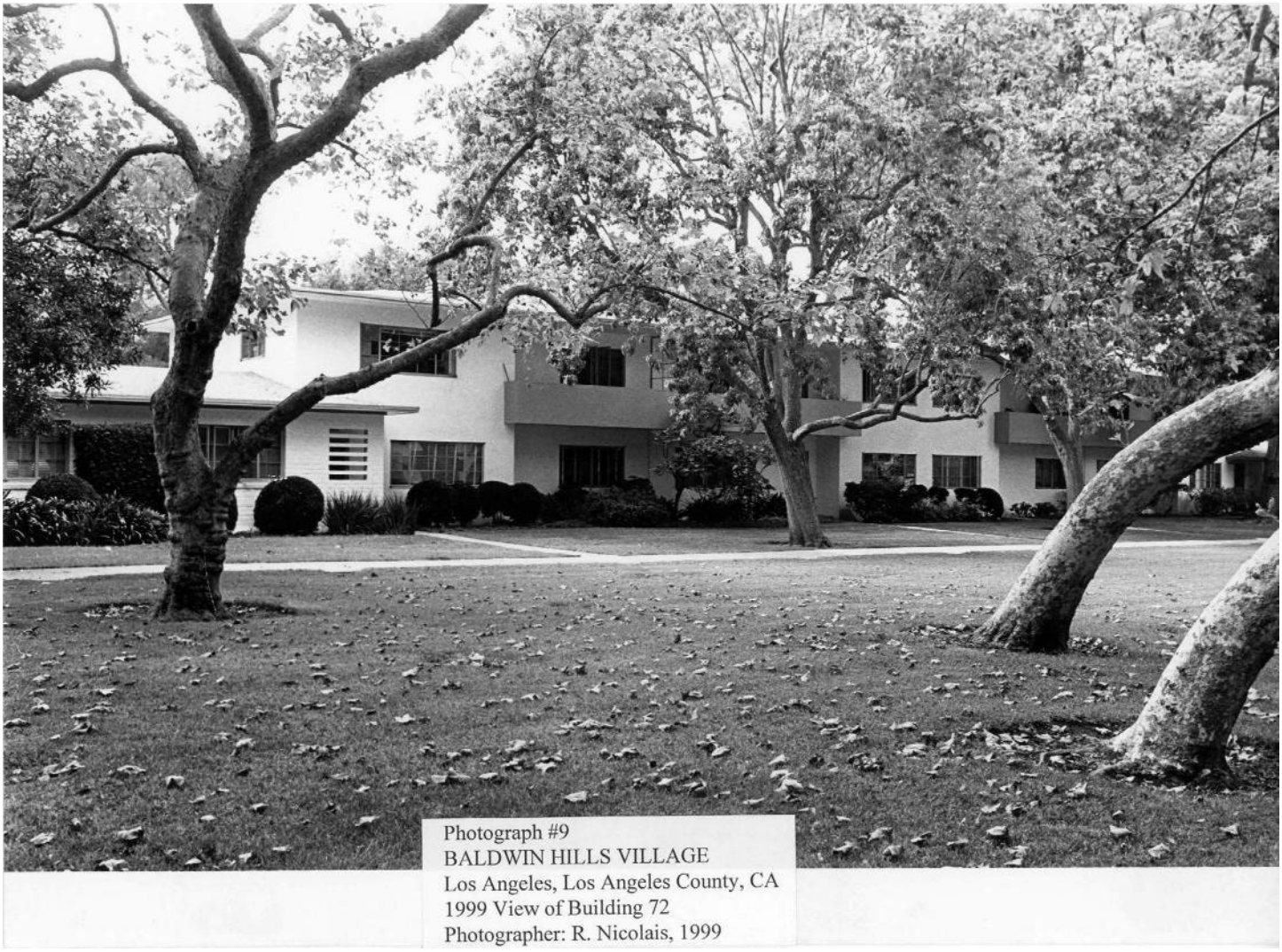


Photograph #7
BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE
Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, CA
1944 View of Building 34, from South
Photographer unknown, Huntington Library and Art Collection

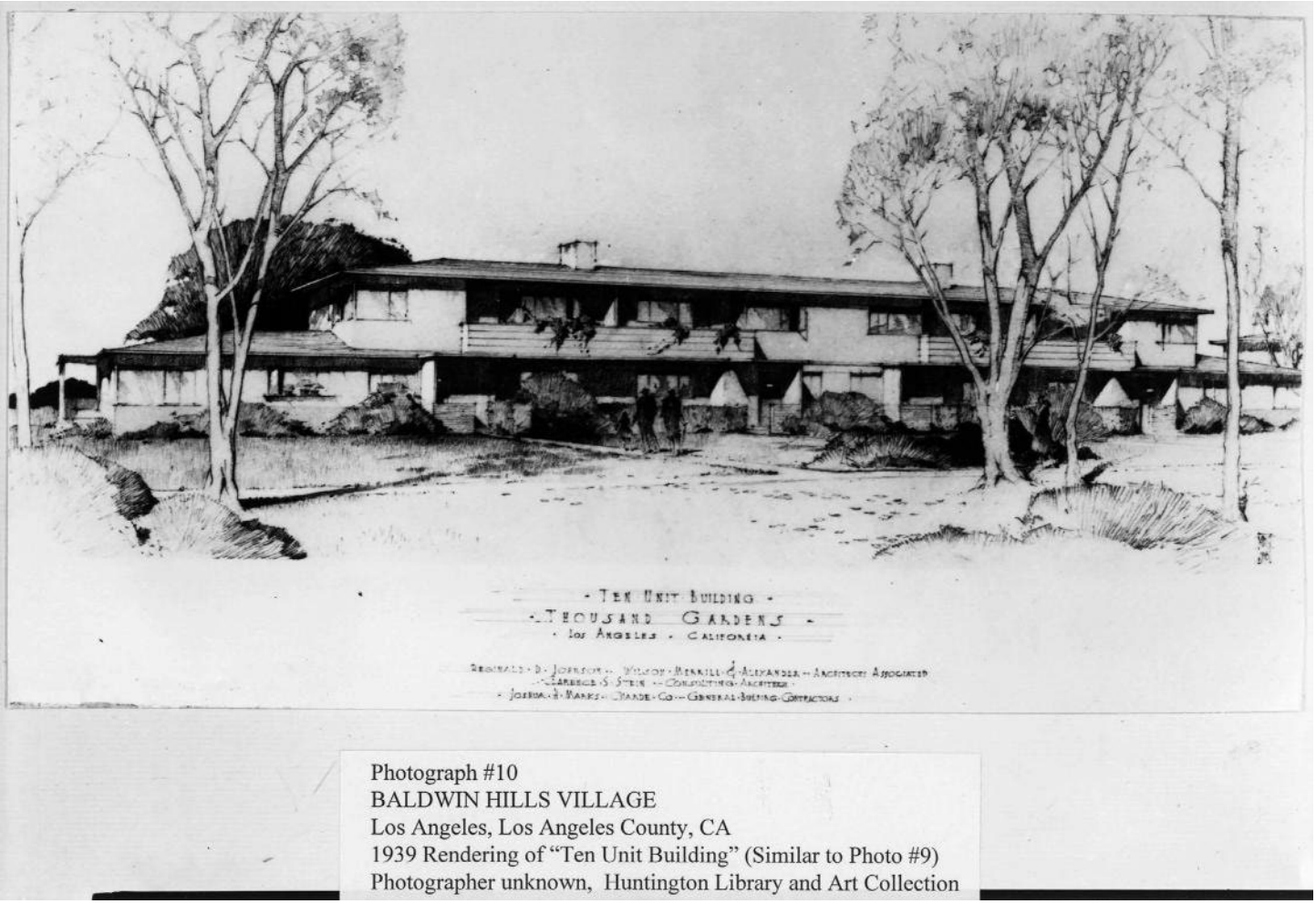
Photograph 7



Photograph 8



Photograph 9

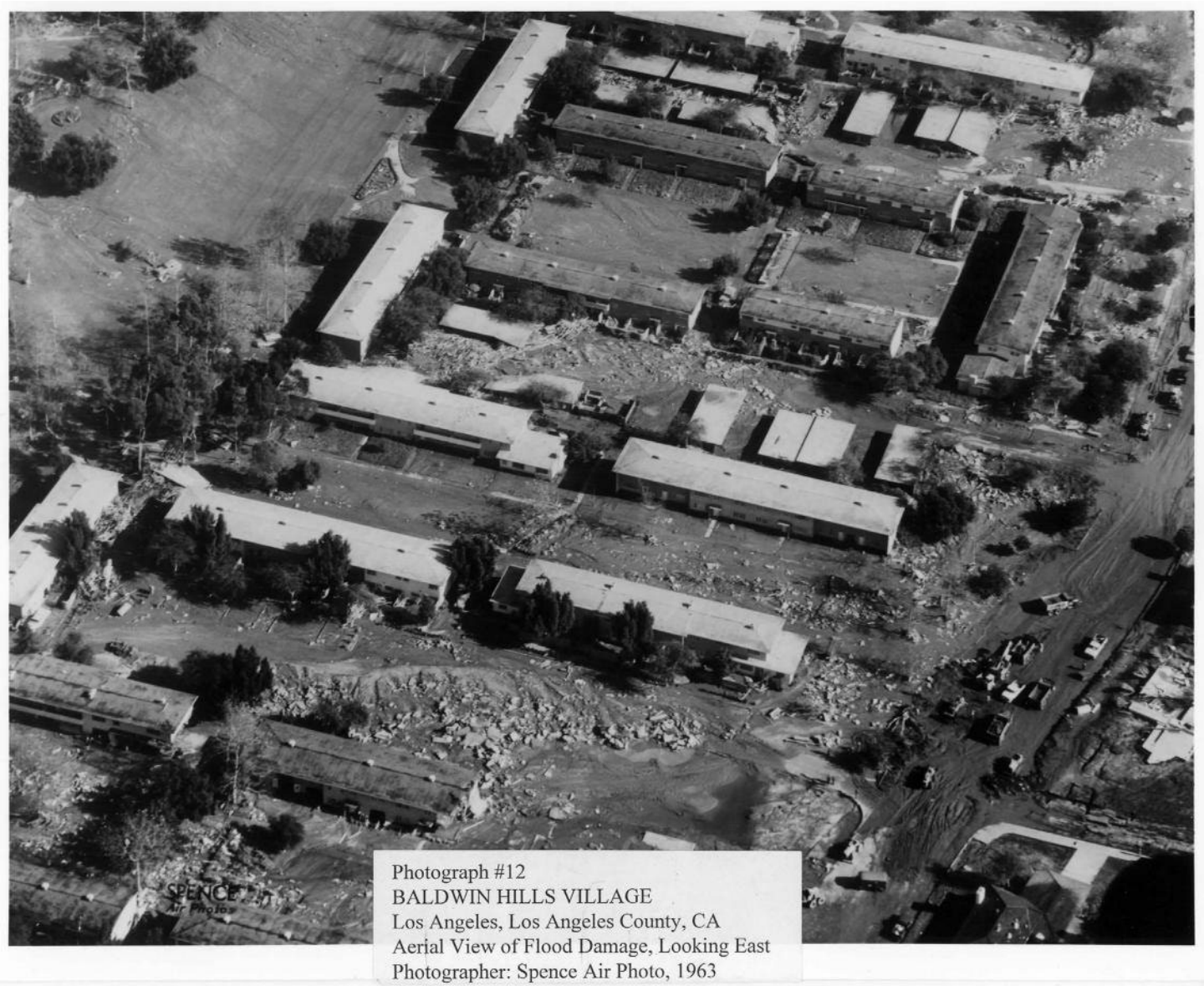


Photograph #10
BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE
Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, CA
1939 Rendering of "Ten Unit Building" (Similar to Photo #9)
Photographer unknown, Huntington Library and Art Collection

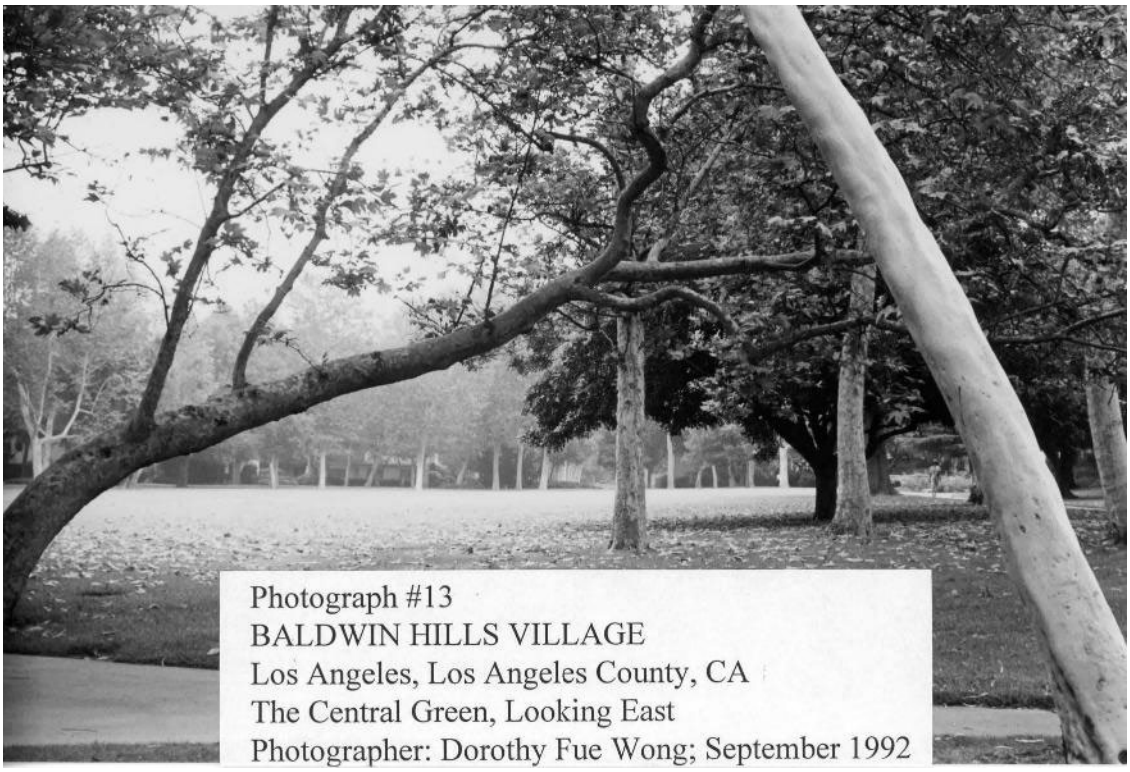
Photograph 10



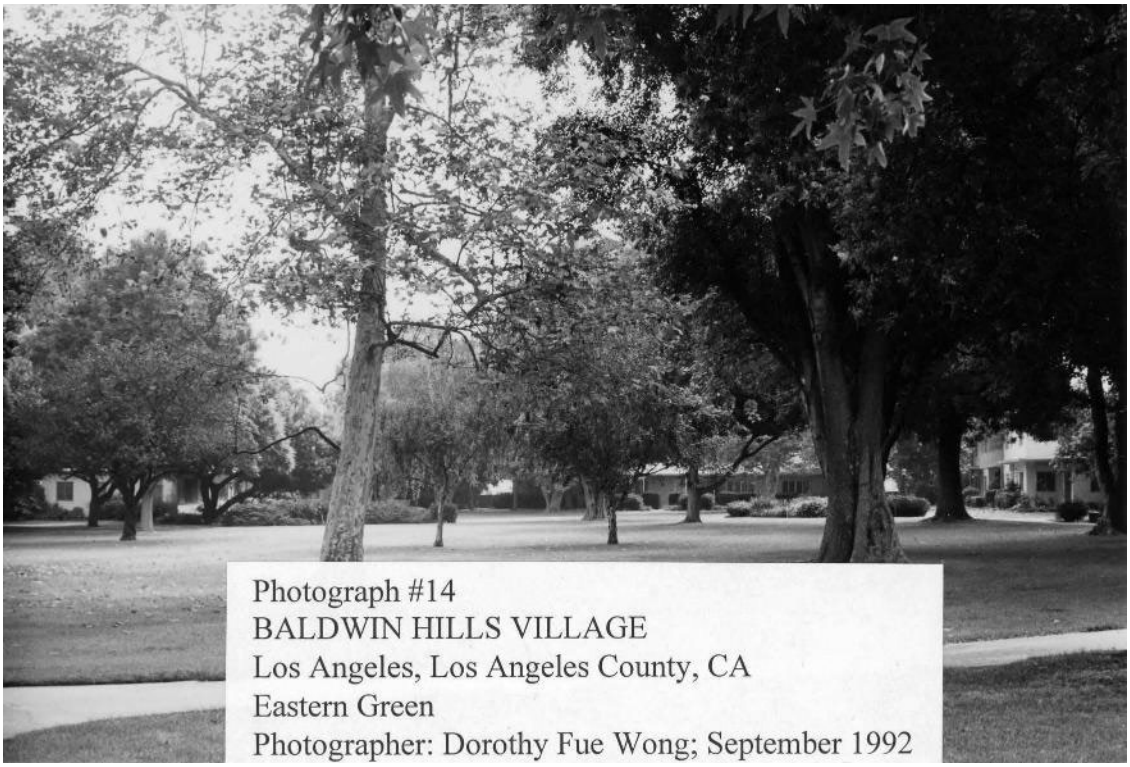
Photograph 11



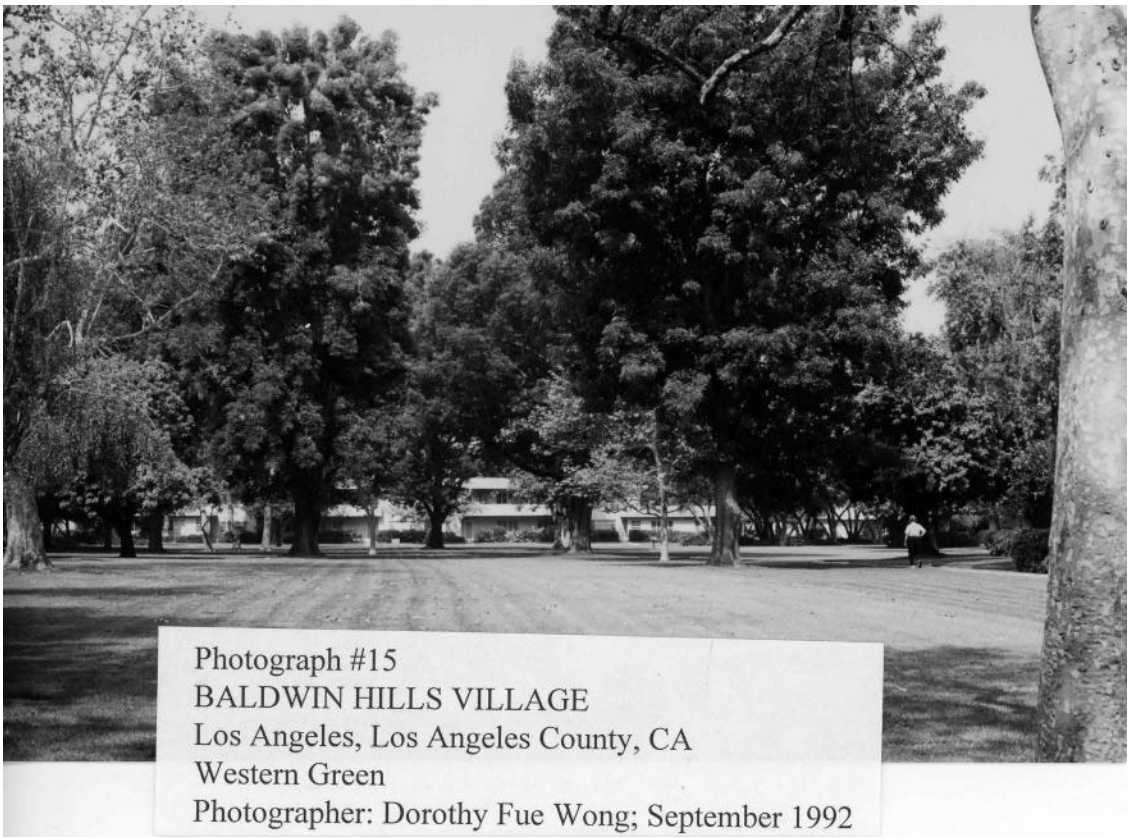
Photograph 12



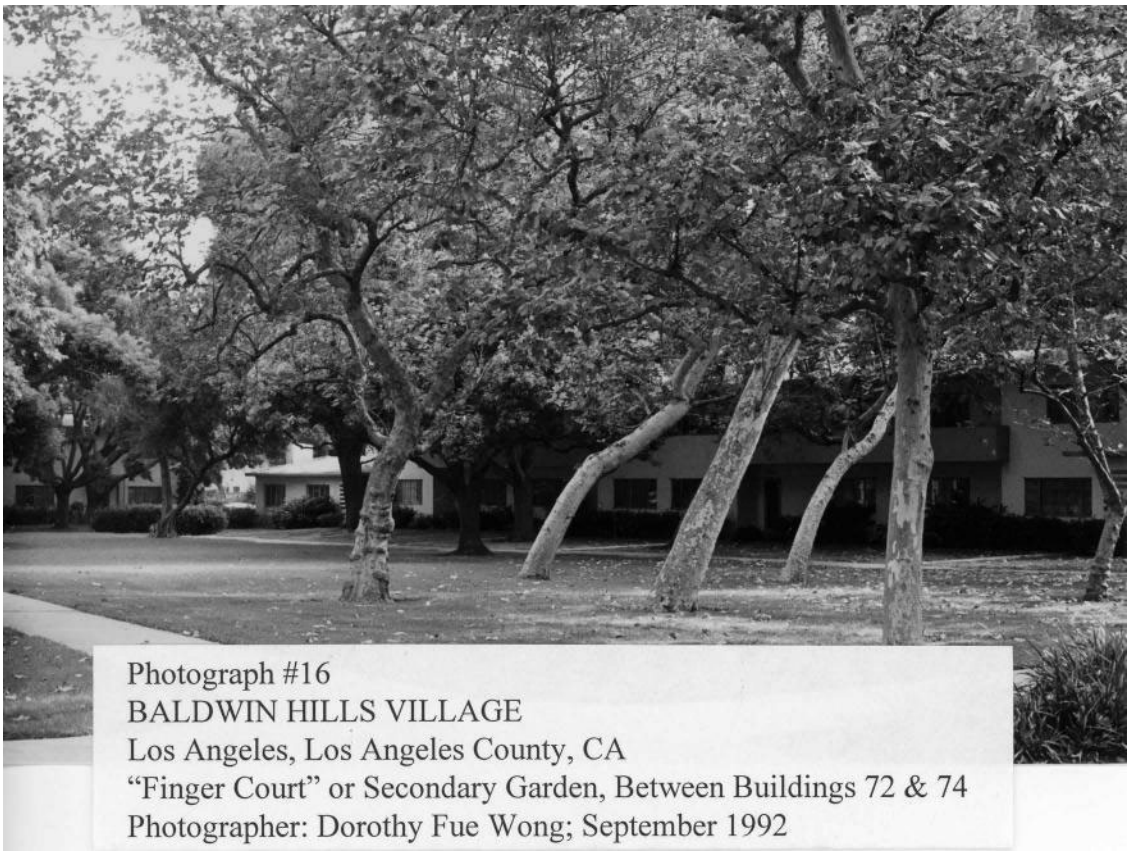
Photograph 13



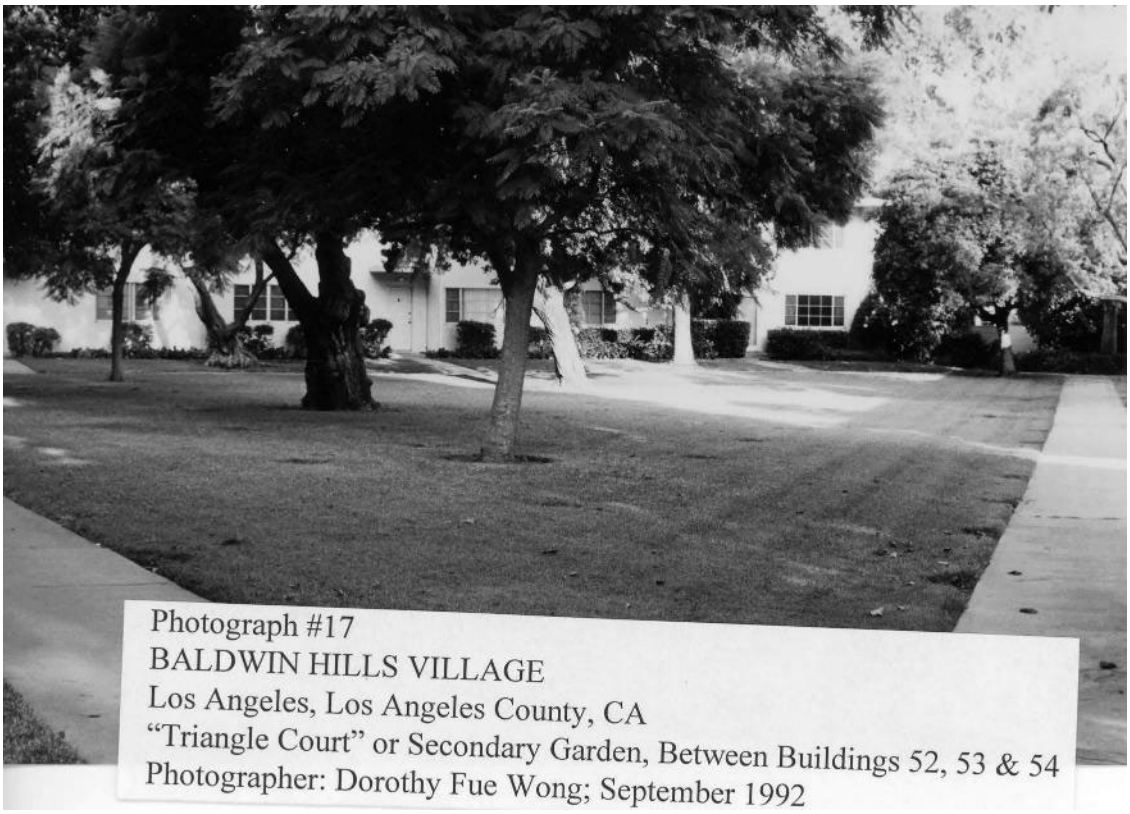
Photograph 14



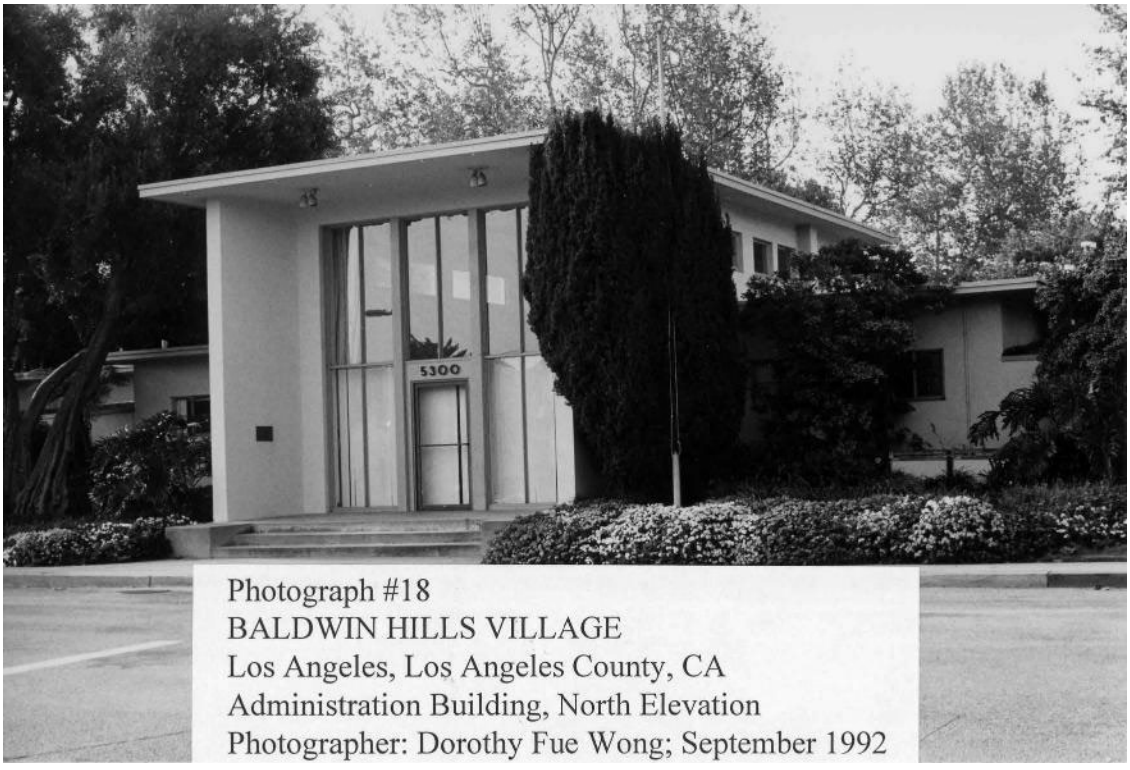
Photograph 15



Photograph 16



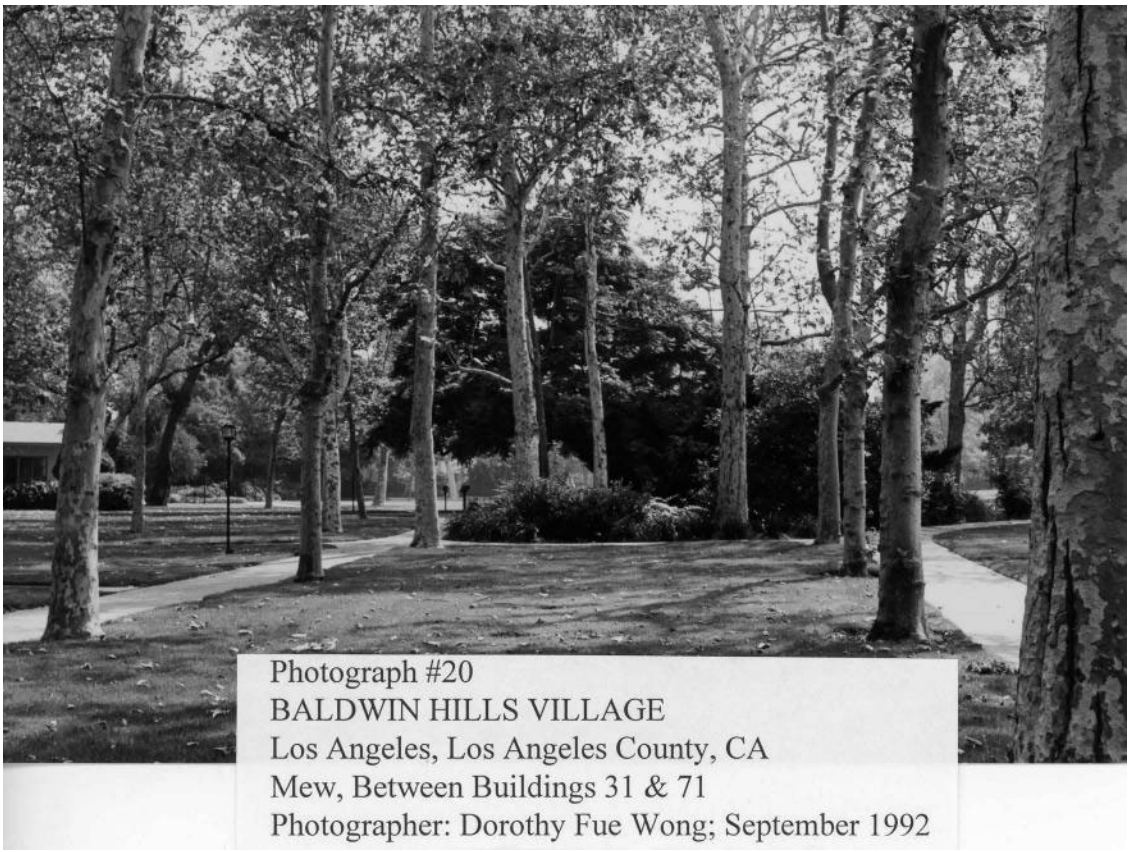
Photograph 17



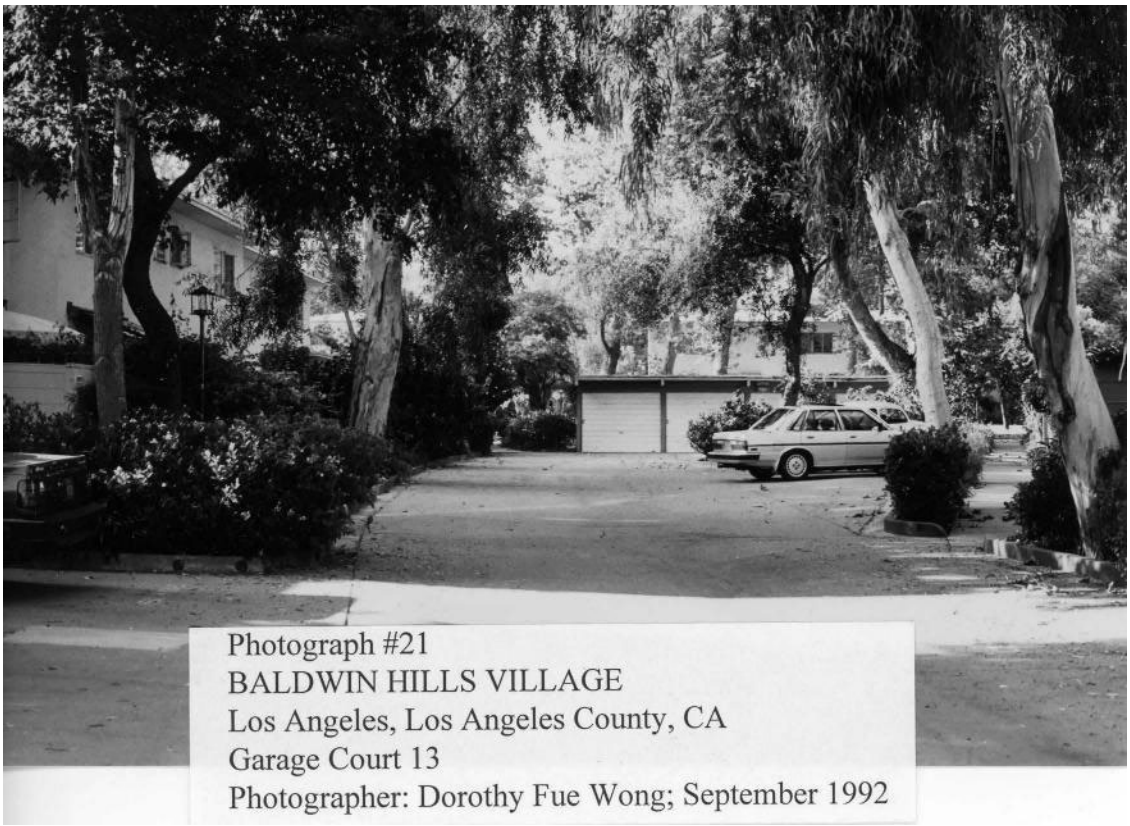
Photograph 18



Photograph 19



Photograph 20

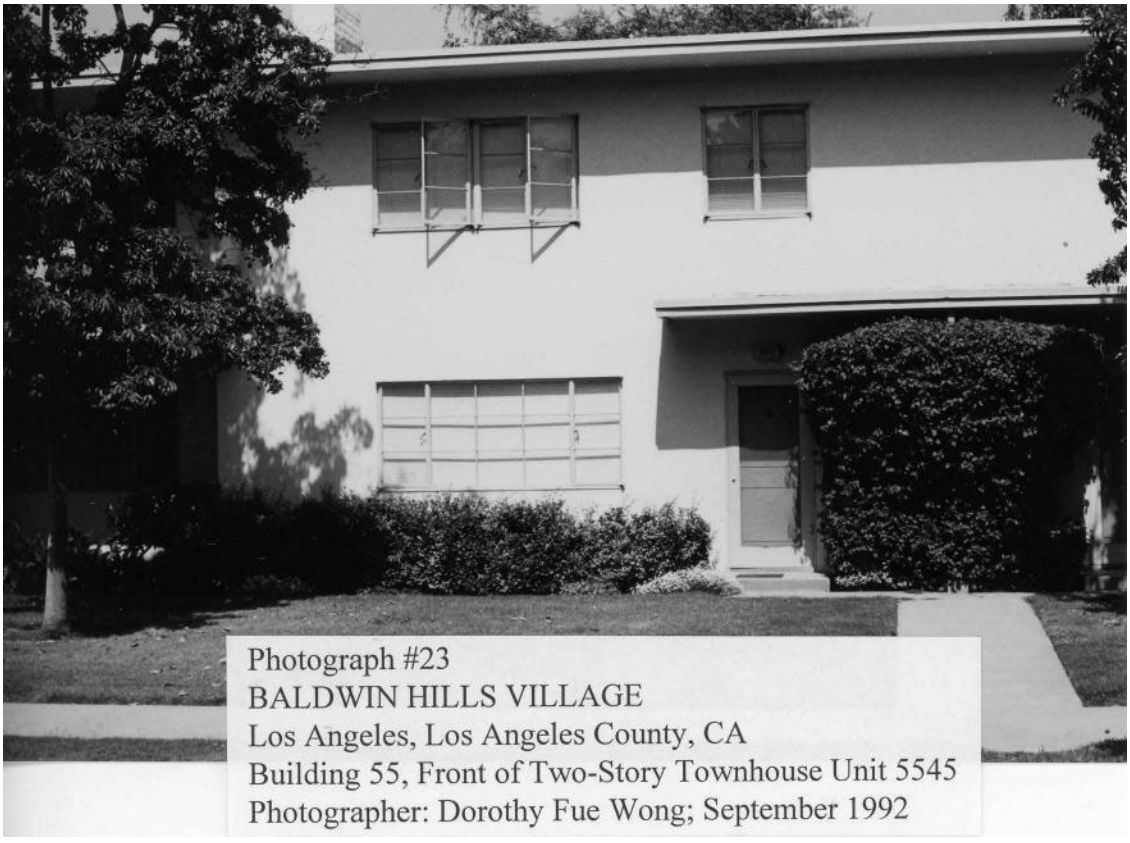


Photograph 21



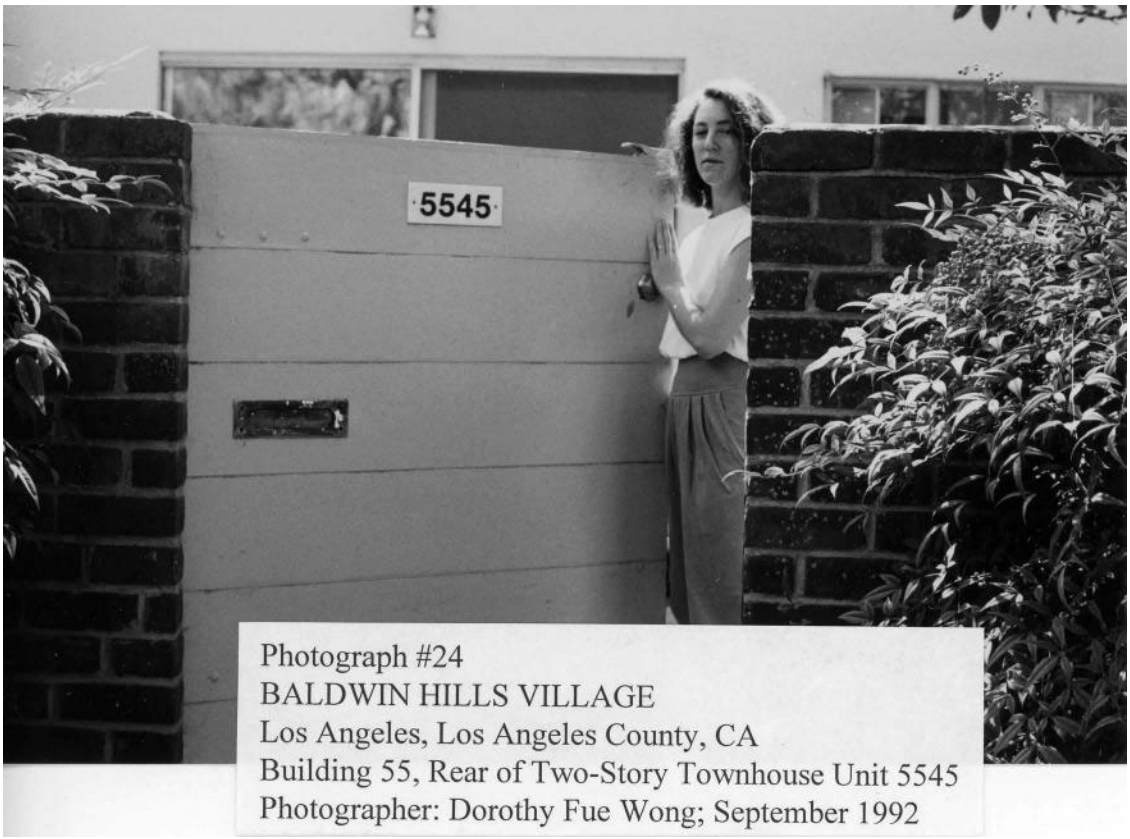
Photograph #22
BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE
Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, CA
Garage Court 8 (Trash Pen, Drying Yard, Maintenance Room & Enclosed Carport)
Photographer: Dorothy Fue Wong; September 1992

Photograph 22

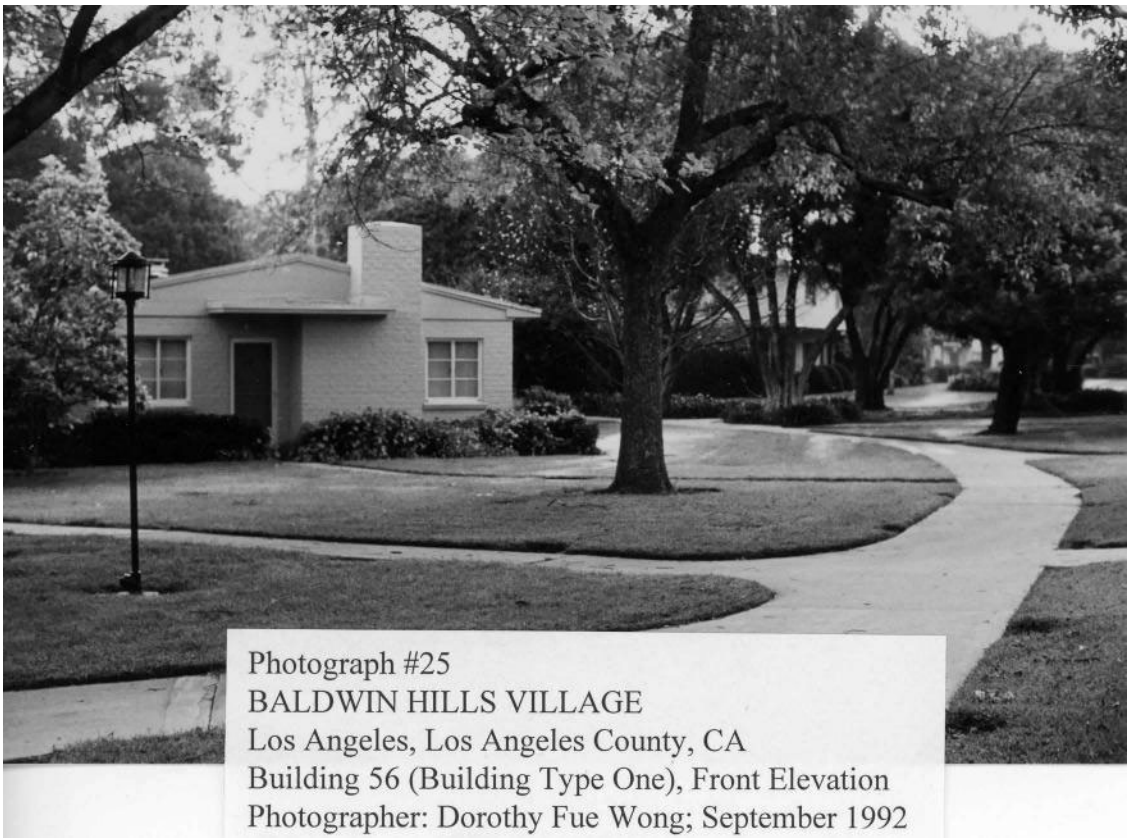


Photograph #23
BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE
Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, CA
Building 55, Front of Two-Story Townhouse Unit 5545
Photographer: Dorothy Fue Wong; September 1992

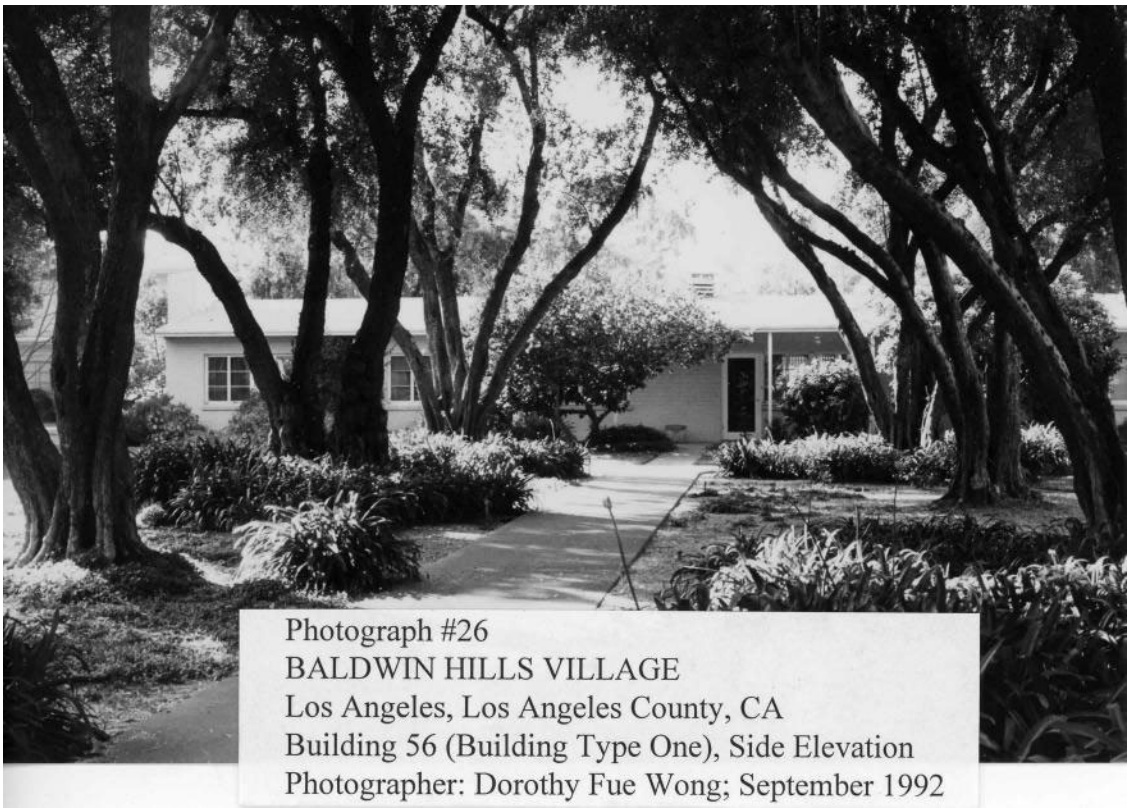
Photograph 23



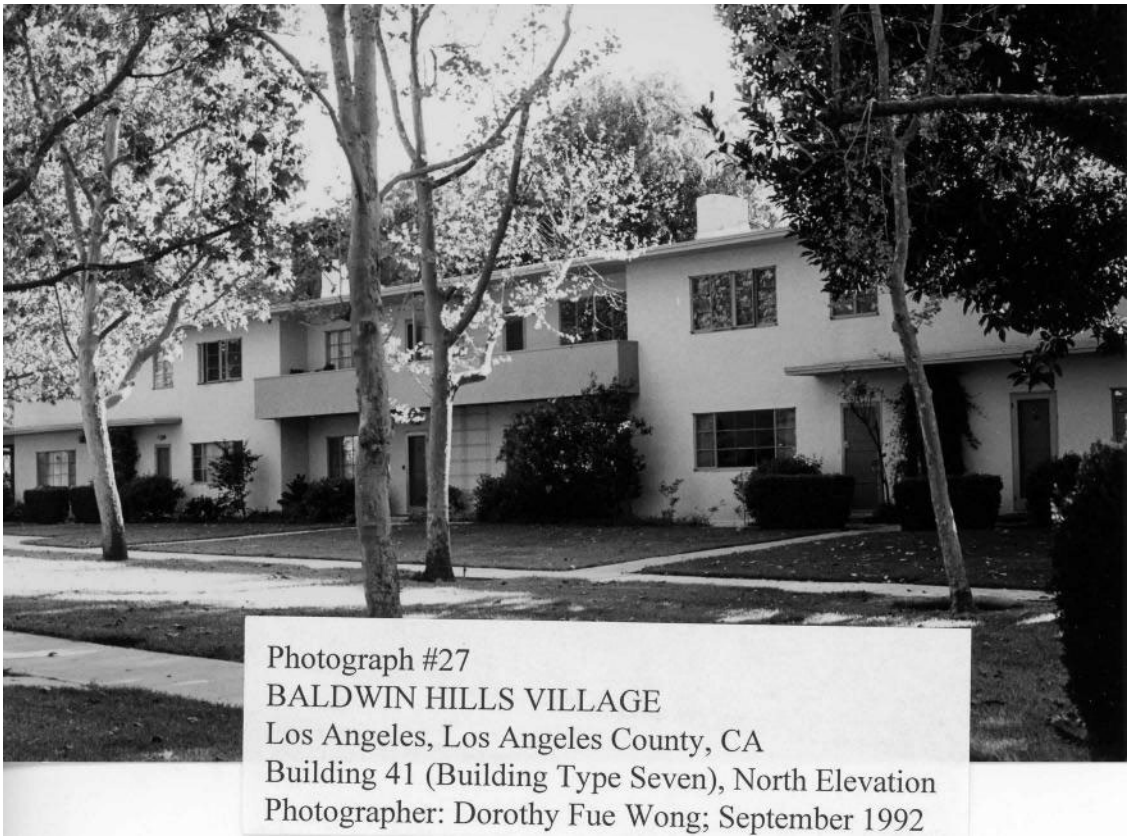
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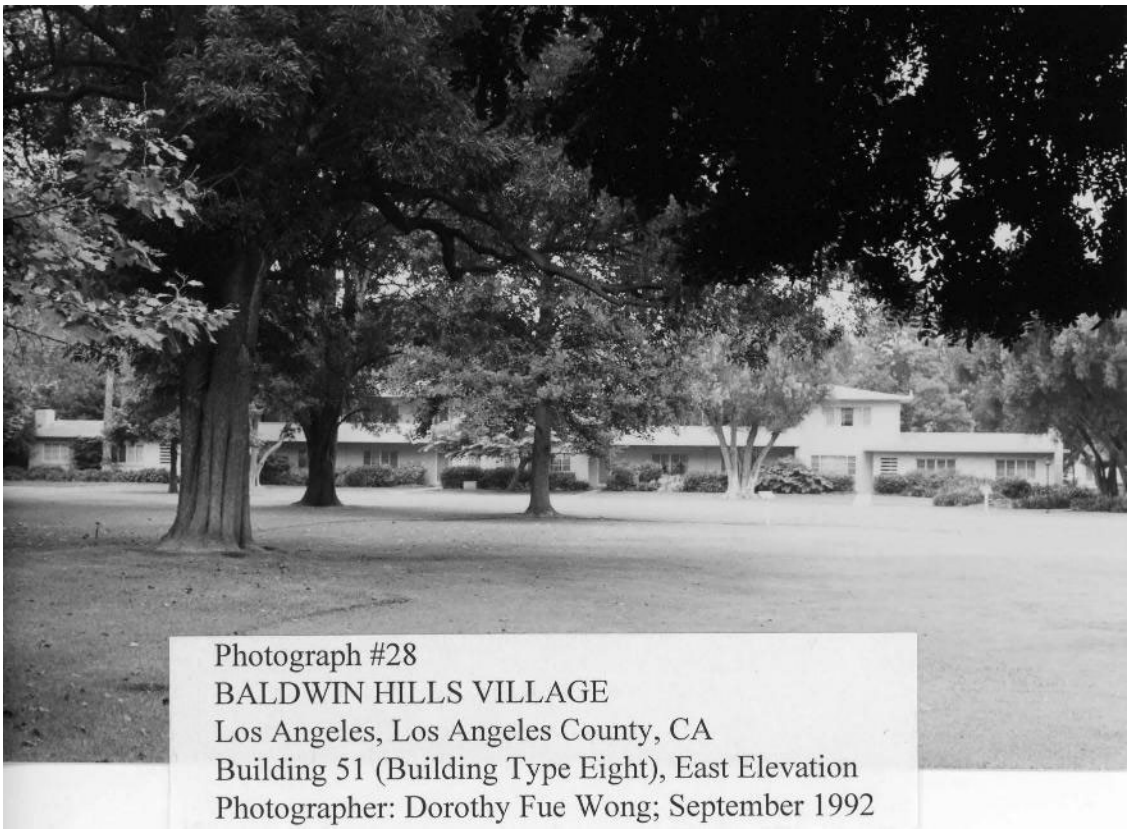
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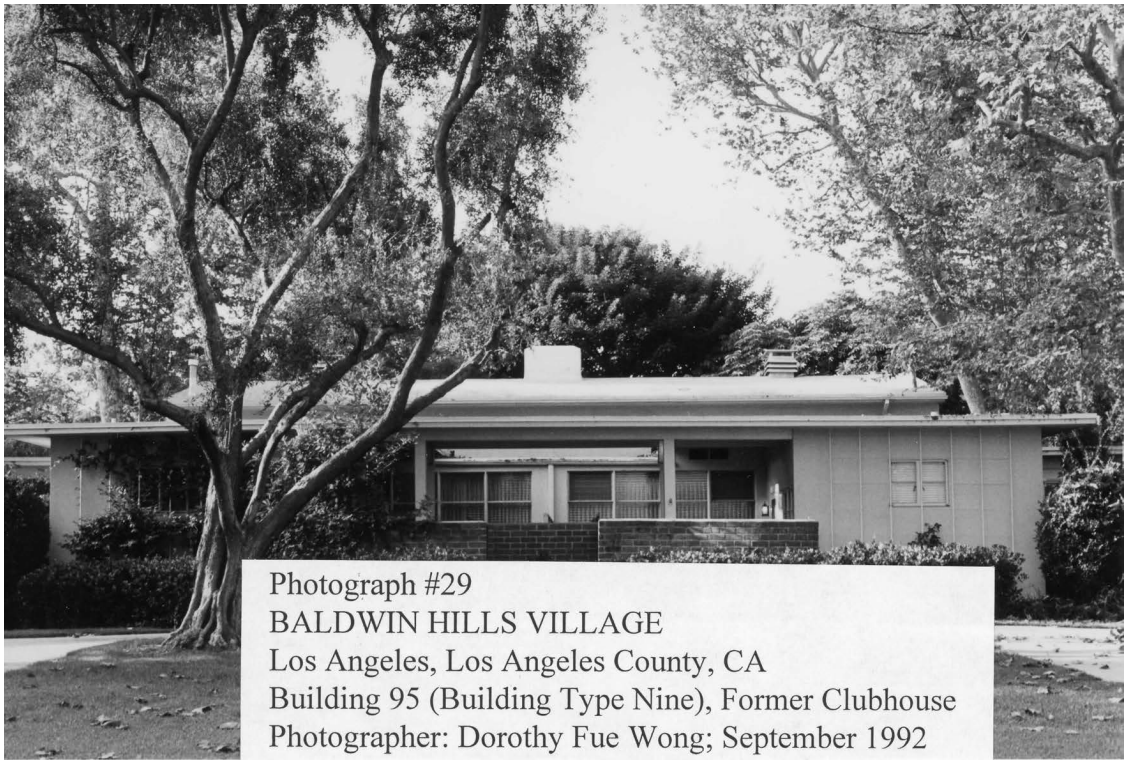
Photograph 26



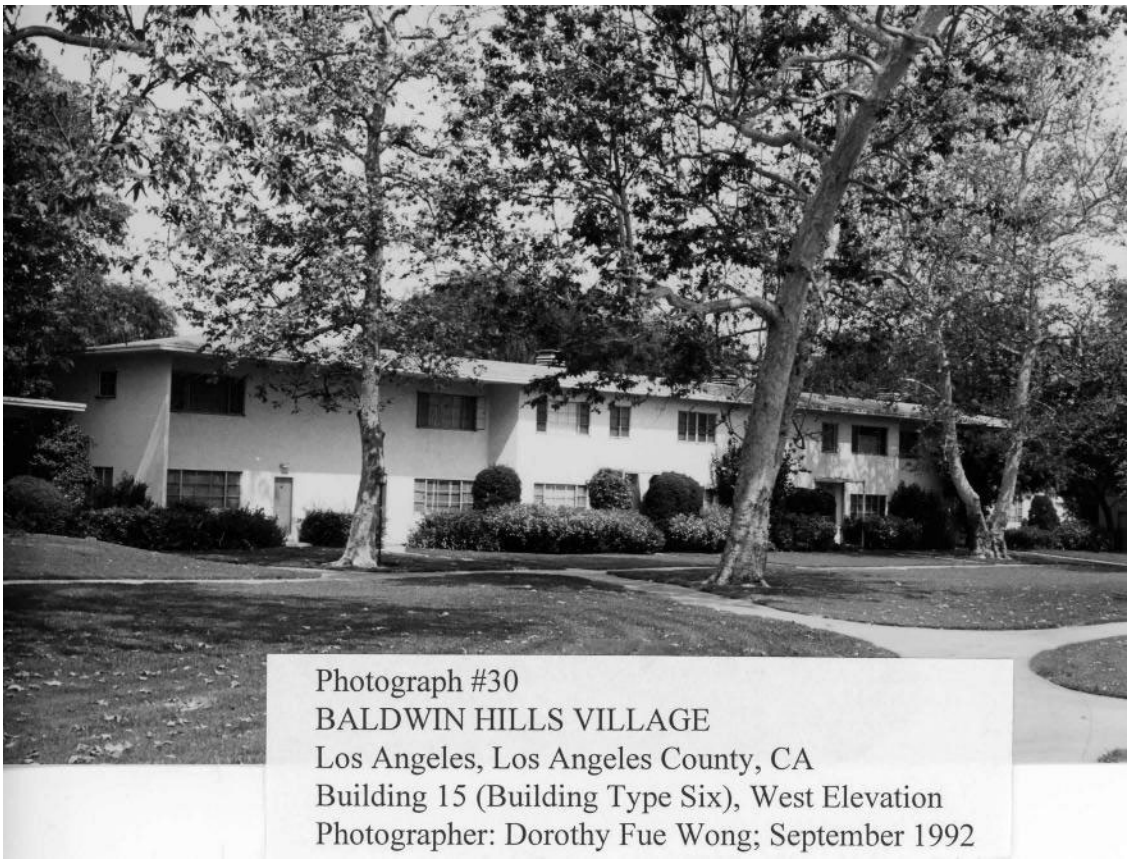
Photograph 27



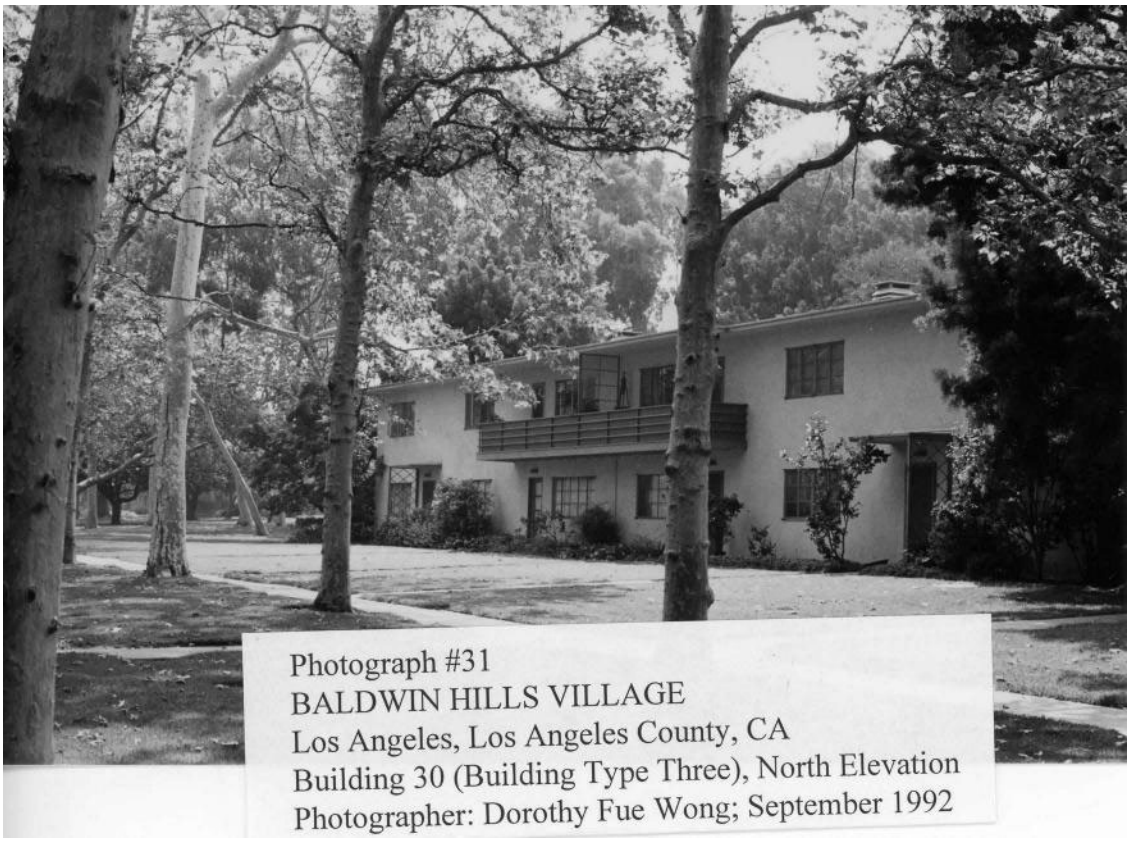
Photograph 28



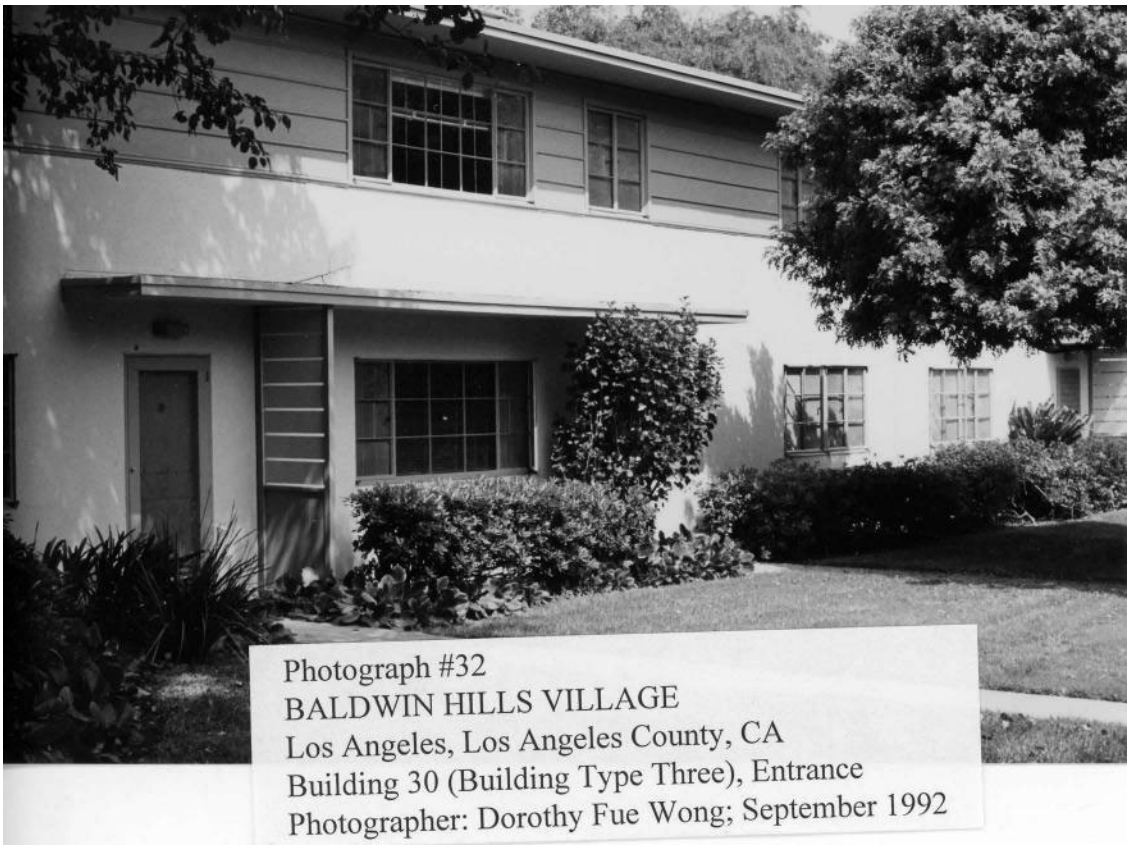
Photograph 29



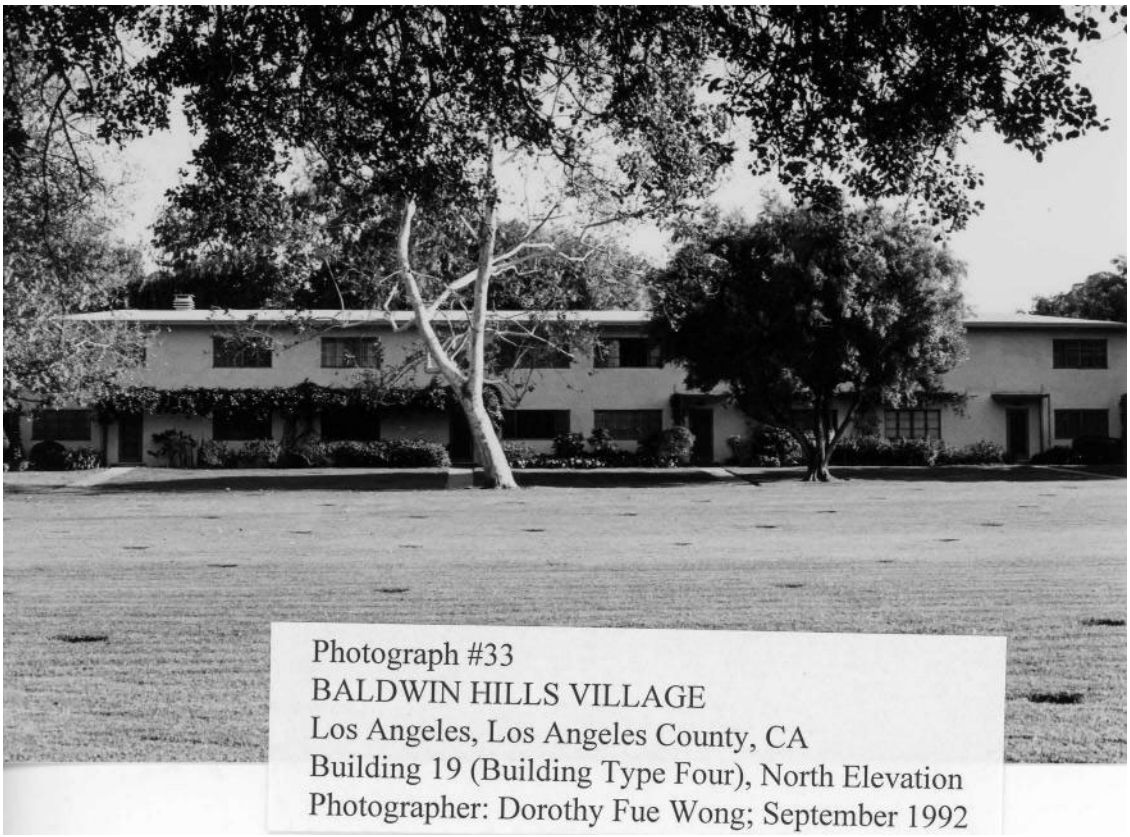
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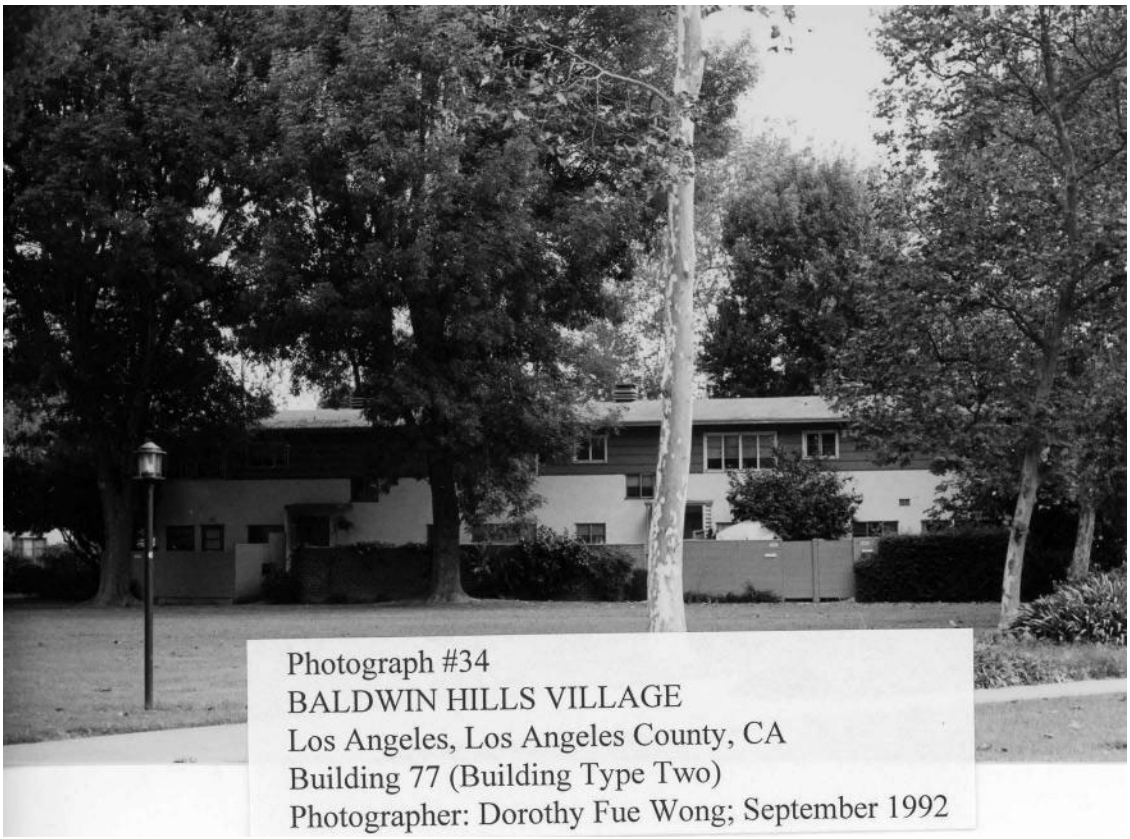
Photograph 31



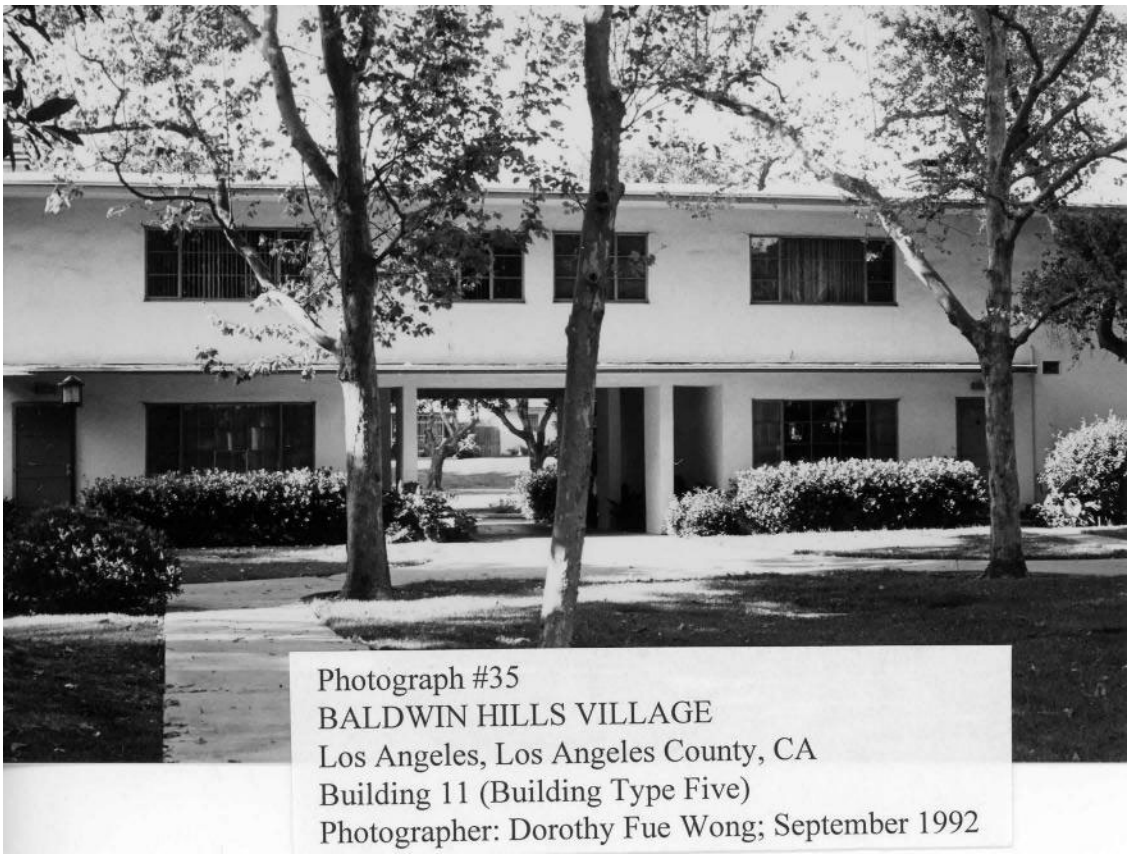
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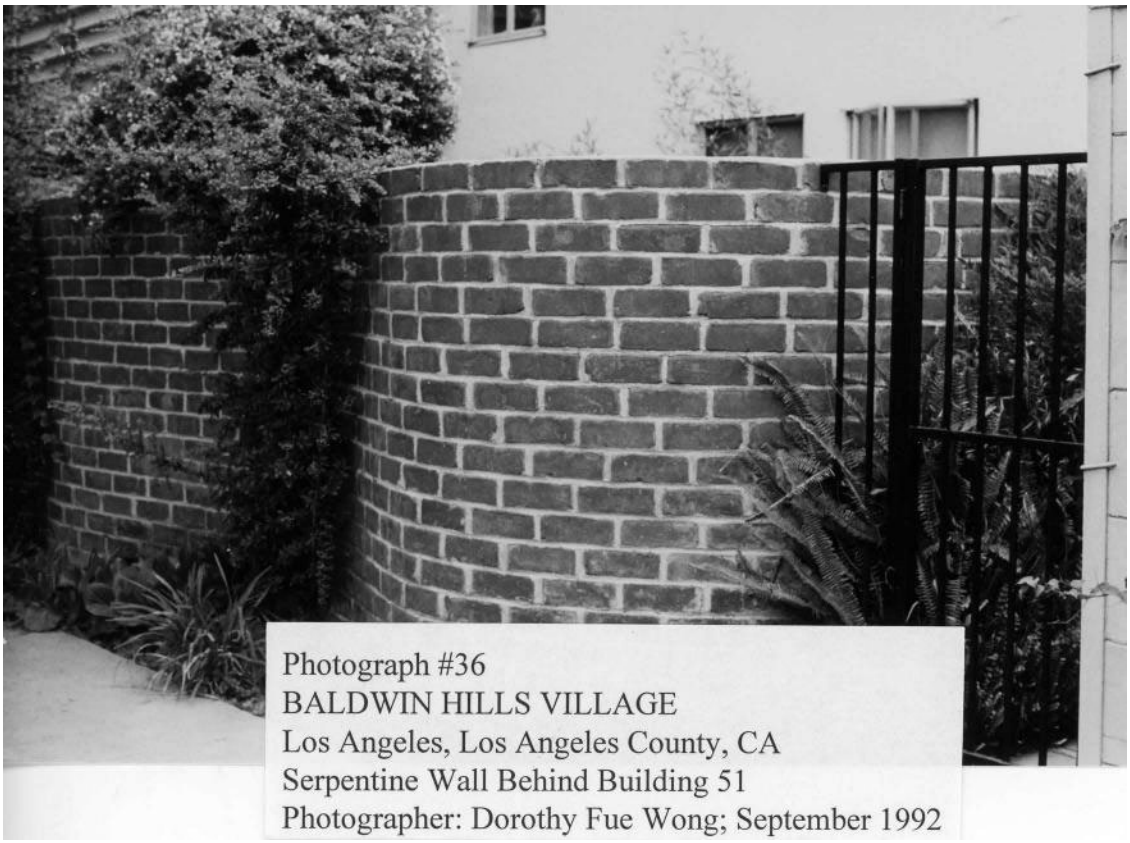
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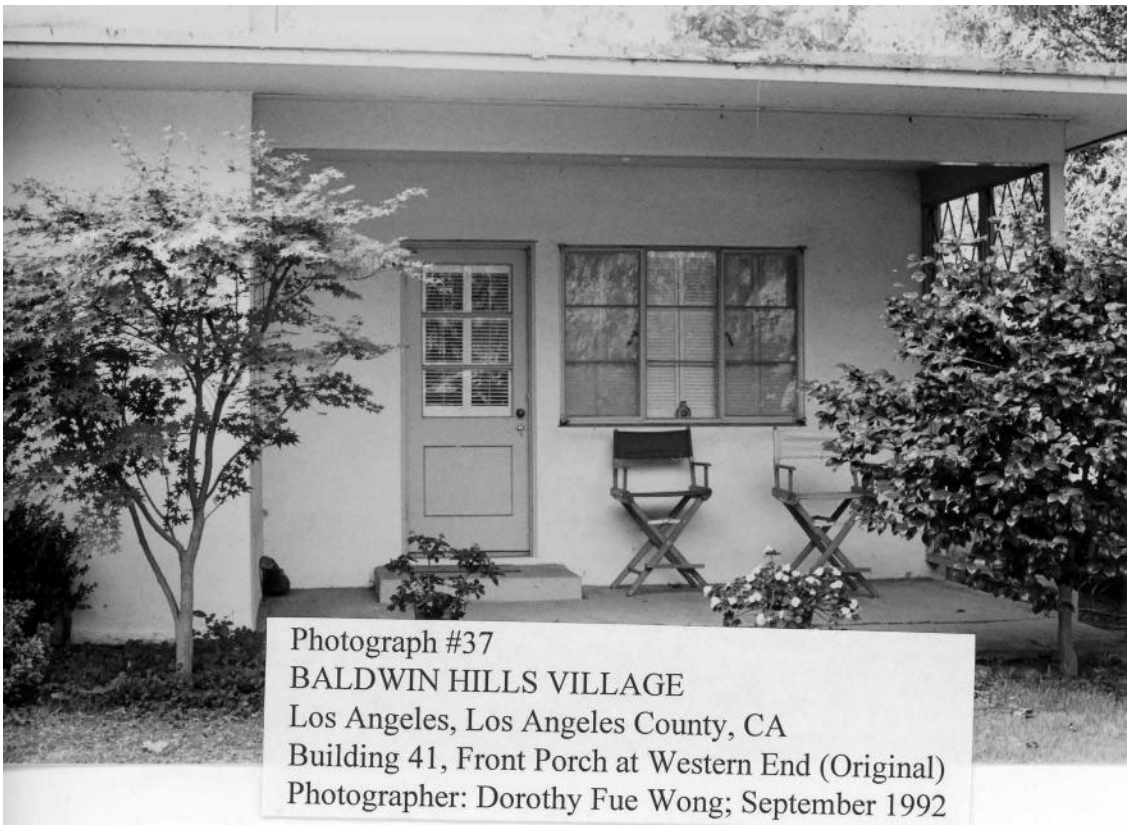
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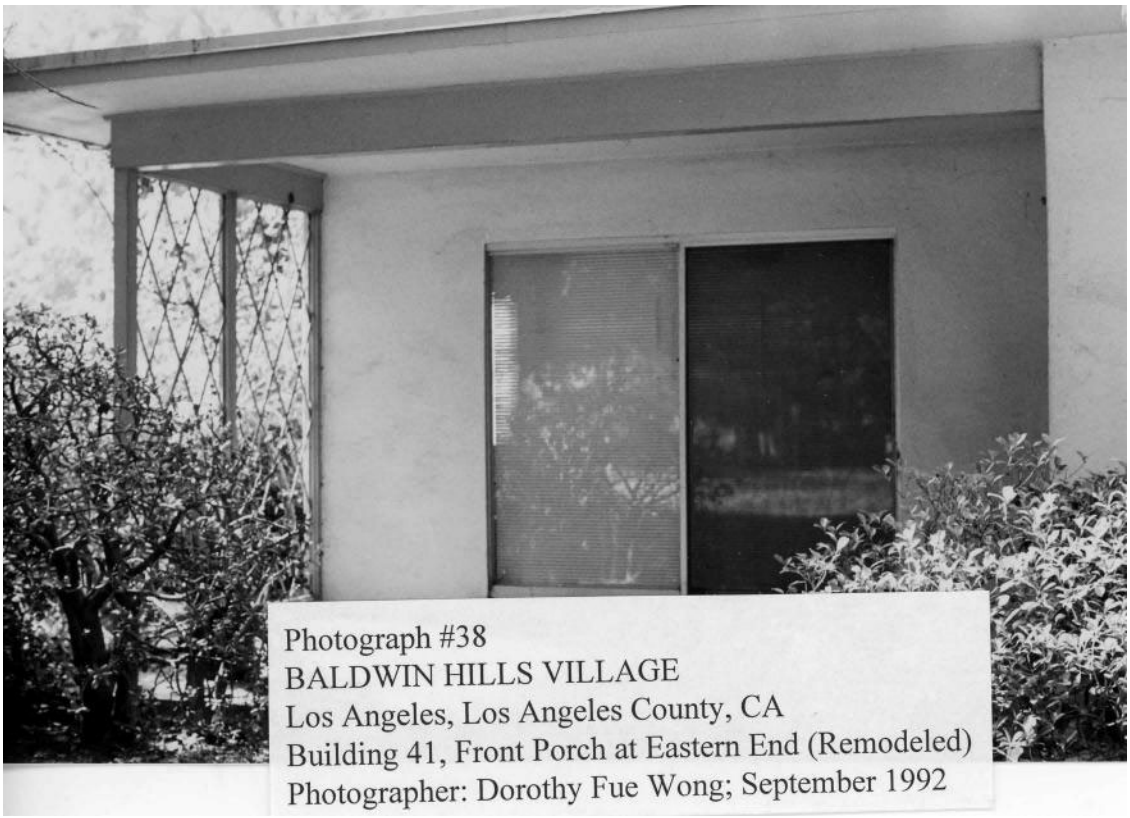
Photograph 35



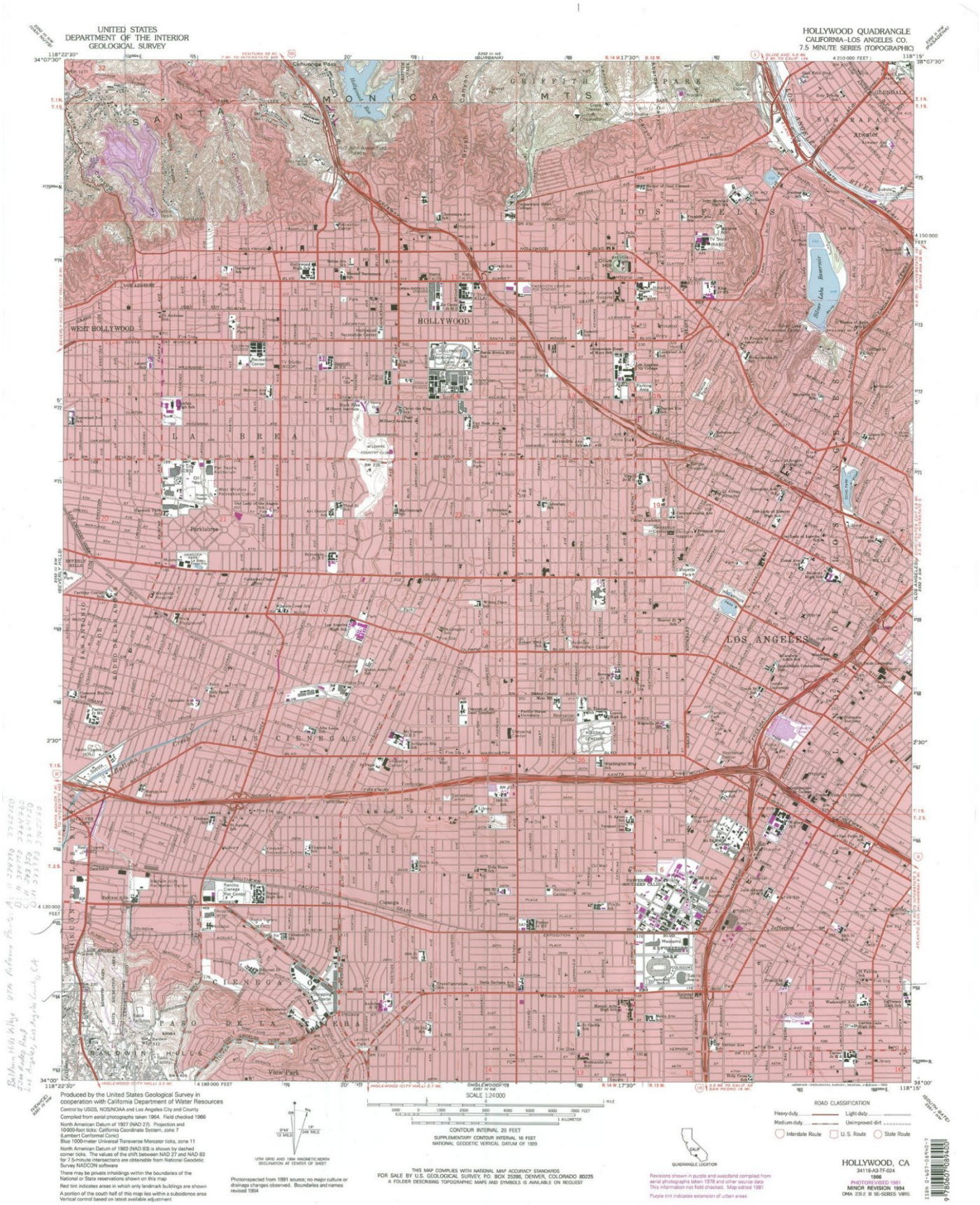
Photograph 36



Photograph 37



Photograph 38


UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
HOLLYWOOD QUADRANGLE
CALIFORNIA-LOS ANGELES CO.
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)
SANTA MONICA MTS
GRIFFITH PARK
LOS FELIZ
SILVER LAKE RESERVOIR
WEST HOLLYWOOD
HOLLYWOOD
LA BREA
LOS ANGELES
LA CIENEGA
CIENEGA
PASO DE LA TIERRA
BALDWIN HILLS
SCALE 1:24000
CONTOUR INTERVAL 20 FEET
SUPPLEMENTARY CONTOUR INTERVAL 10 FEET
NATIONAL GEODETIC VERTICAL DATUM OF 1929
ROAD CLASSIFICATION
HOLLYWOOD, CA
MINOR REVISION 1994

Map 1

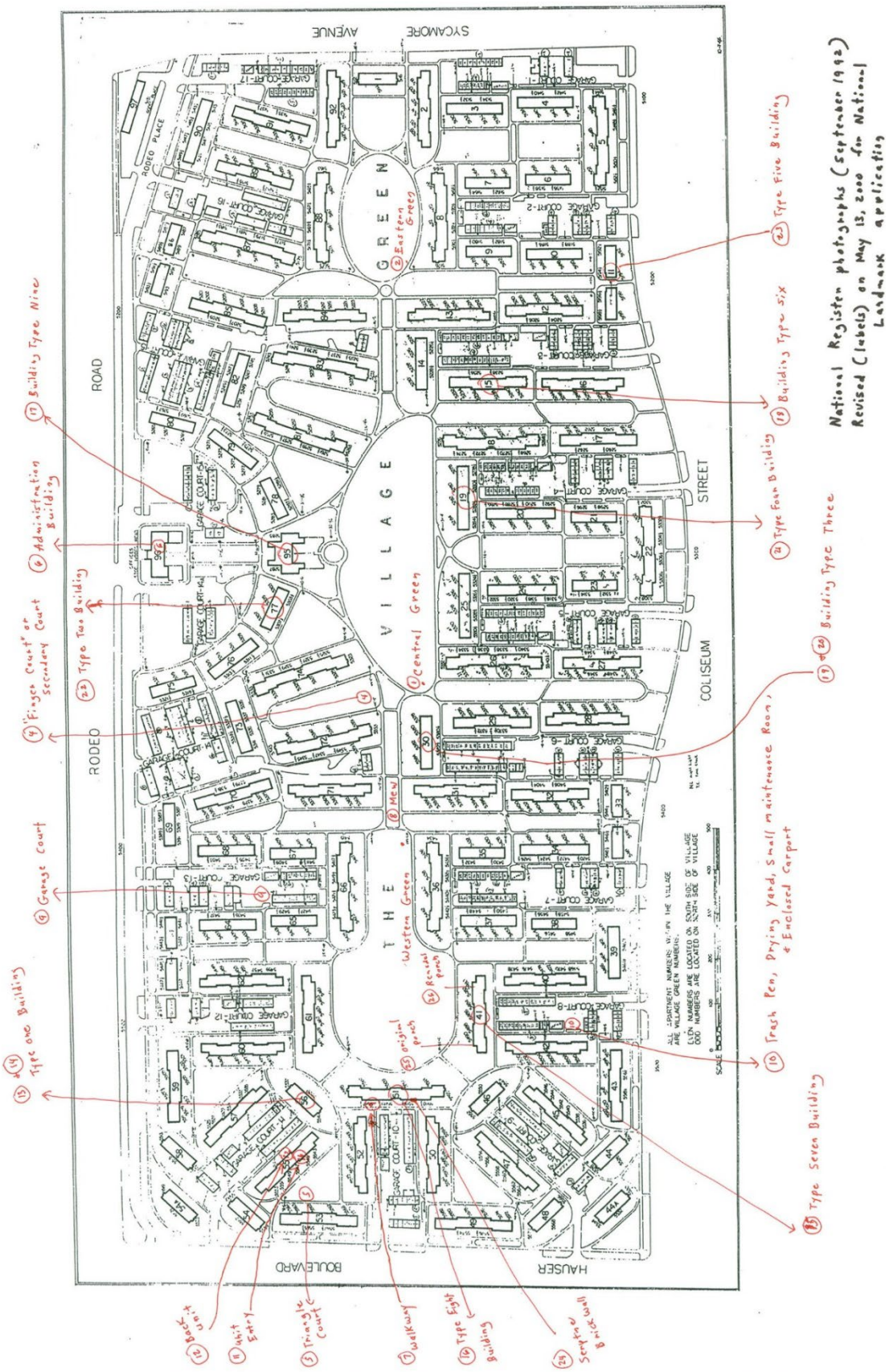

SYCAMORE AVENUE
GREEN
ROAD
VILLAGE
STREET
RODEO
COLISEUM
THE
BOULEVARD
HAUSER
National Register photographs (September 1992)
Revised (labels) on May 13, 2000 for National Landmark application
(1) Central Green
(2) Eastern Green
(3) Fingers court or Secondary Court
(4) Garage Court
(5) Triangle Court
(6) Administration Building
(7) Walkway
(8) Mew
(9) Western Green
(10) Trash Pen, Drying Yard, Small maintenance Room, & Enclosed Carport
(11) Unit Entry
(12) Back Unit
(13) Type One Building
(14) Type One Building
(15) Type One Building
(16) Type Eight Buildings
(17) Building Type Nine
(18) Building Type Six
(19) Building Type Three
(20) Type Seven Building
(21) Type Four Buildings
(22) Type Five Buildings
(23) Type Two Buildings
(24) Rental Porch
(25) Original Porch
(26) Scripted Brick Wall

Figure 1