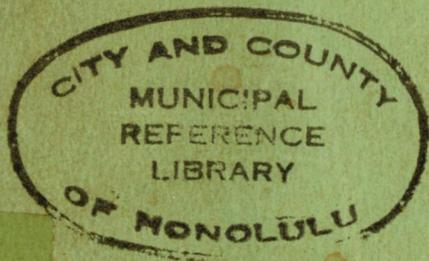


Whither
Honolulu
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By LEWIS MUMFORD

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WHITHER HONOLULU?

The accompanying report has been submitted to the Park Board of the City and County of Honolulu by Mr. Lewis Mumford, internationally prominent authority on municipal planning.

Due to the importance of the suggestions Mr. Mumford makes for the development of the entire city and county of Honolulu, the Park Board is making copies of the report available to the general public in the hope that what Mr. Mumford has to say will be of assistance to all of us in our desire for a better understanding of our civic problems.

When Mr. Mumford attended an education conference at the University of Hawaii in June, 1938, he was invited by the Park Board to return in August to conduct a reconnaissance survey for parks and playgrounds. The report submitted herewith is the result of Mr. Mumford's firsthand study and observation during that time.

Mr. Mumford brings to his subject a lifelong study of the culture and development of cities. He began with a detailed survey of New York and surrounding area some 23 years ago. Since that time he has continued his studies in many cities of the world, living and working in Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh, London, Geneva, Amsterdam, Frankfort and dozens of other cities in the United States and Europe.

He has become recognized through his books and essays as one of the foremost living authorities on city and regional planning. His lucid and penetrating accounts of the effect of environment on man and of man on environment have placed him high in the ranks of serious contributors to American literature and American thinking.

Members of the Park Board are profoundly grateful for the opportunity of making Mr. Mumford's vast experience available to Honolulu. Although the pri-

mary purpose of Mr. Mumford's study was the development of a program for our local parks and playgrounds, all municipal planning is so integrated that the accompanying report covers general planning for the city and county of Honolulu in addition to parks.

Among the many provocative and pertinent recommendations made for municipal planning in Honolulu are the following:

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We firmly believe that a thorough understanding of the problems discussed by Mr. Mumford will enable us all to see more clearly the form Honolulu's future development must take. For that reason we urge careful reading of the accompanying report.

City and County of Honolulu Park Board

Lester McCoy, Chairman; Mrs. Walter F. Dillingham, Reginald P. Faithfull, Christian R. Holmes, Philip E. Spalding, Herman V. von Holt; . . . J. A. Cummins, Superintendent; Frank Dillon, Asst. Superintendent; J. E. Lyons, Secretary; Mrs. Charles Wilder, Secretary, Shade Tree Dept.

**A MEMORANDUM REPORT ON
PARK AND CITY PLANNING**

BY

LEWIS MUMFORD

FOR

**THE CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU
PARK BOARD**

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Introduction

THIS REPORT is based on a four-week study of the parks and playgrounds of Honolulu. Some of the original investigation was done on my first visit in June, when I had no thought of making special use of my observations: the greater part was done during my second visit in August. Such a rapid reconnaissance survey has certain advantages, in that it enables the observer to see the broad picture of planning as a whole, while closer observation often leads to getting bogged in details. I am, of course, acutely aware that further study would disclose many things that I have either failed to see or failed to understand. But on the other hand, Honolulu has much to learn, toward its further development, from the notable work that has been done during the last generation in cities like Amsterdam, London, Frankfort-am-Main, and New York; and my familiarity with those developments may perhaps partly compensate for certain weaknesses in my local knowledge, which citizens of Honolulu can easily repair out of their own store. If the reader is surprised at the fact that a memorandum on park planning also deals with the problems of congestion, slum clearance, land use, and municipal administration, he should remember the complex nature of the human environment. No structure can stand alone; no function exists by itself.

Honolulu's Unrivalled Situation

ALL GOOD planning must begin with a survey of actual resources: the landscape, the people, the workaday activities in a community. **Good planning does not begin with an abstract and arbitrary scheme that it seeks to impose on the community:** it begins with a knowledge of existing conditions and opportunities. It seeks to bring out and to develop further latent advantages; when needful, it seeks to import from other areas useful goods that happen to be lacking in the natural scene, as Hawaii has for long been adding to its great store of trees and plants: but above all it seeks to conserve resources that are already in existence and to bring them to a higher pitch of perfection. In the course of this development, art—as the conscious expression of human design—has a decisive role to play: wherever man settles, he displaces raw nature with something that bears the marks of his own mind and his own interests. But art has been defined as the well doing of that which needs doing; and so it is important to recognize “what needs doing,” as a first step toward doing it better. Much that is weak in our current practices is a result, not of anti-social action or of perverse intentions, but of sheer indifference and ignorance.

Conserve Assets

Honolulu is the natural stage for a complex and beautiful human drama. The blue sea, the jagged mountains, the rhythmic roll of the surf over the coral reefs, and the tumbling clouds form a landscape that has few rivals as a setting for human activity. But the city itself has taken its splendid physical features in a somewhat casual fashion. **Honolulu is a little like a beautiful woman, so well assured of her natural gifts that she is not always careful of her toilet: she relies upon her splendid face and body to distract attention from her disheveled hair, her dirty finger nails, or her torn skirt.** Up to a point, such careless self-confidence is admirable; but Honolulu is now like a beauty passing into middle age, who can no longer be quite sure of drawing people's eyes to her unless she is

smart and well-groomed and radiantly in health. The wrinkles are beginning to show; the old wardrobe has ceased to be just quaintly old-fashioned; much of it is now in disreputable tatters. Worst of all, Honolulu has now reached a point where some of her natural advantages are not merely in danger of being neglected: they have already been spoilt. More disastrous results may follow unless steps are taken at once to conserve Honolulu's peculiar assets.

Cooling by Trade Winds

What are the main conditions imposed here by the earth, which must underlie all of man's plans and contrivances? The first great gift is the stretch of beach and shallow water, broken to form the natural channel and entry to the port. The sea permeated the life of the original Hawaiians: their love of bathing, their mastery of swimming, their delight in surf-riding, their studious perfection in fishing, have remained as a lasting link between their ancient ways and the less primitive life lived by the various haole groups that have followed. The display and daring exercise of the body, in all the sports connected with the water, is one of the permanent attractions of Honolulu. **And one may safely assert that any development of the city that ignores or threatens to impair these attractions works against its best interests.**

Another important natural resource of Honolulu, which gives it a value for permanent residence that far surpasses many other tropical or semi-tropic regions, is its equable climate: due to the trade winds that sweep over the city from the northeast. This forms the most admirable air-cooling apparatus that a community could boast. Whereas in temperate climates the elemental principle of good planning is to command the fullest possible exposure to sunlight, in a climate like Honolulu's, with its open-air life, the main effort must be to temper the torrid sun and to achieve the utmost degree of ventilation. This does not merely mean open houses: it means an open and oriented type of planning, of which Honolulu as yet can show but few good examples.

Not the least of Honolulu's interesting natural conditions is its characteristic downpours of rain, and the corresponding need of an extensive system of surface drainage to take care of the run-off of water, not alone in the rainy winter months, but even on odd days at other seasons of the year. A large part of the low-lying

areas of the city was originally swamps and duck-ponds. **The belated building of adequate drainage canals shows how slowly the need for coping seriously with this condition was recognized.** As yet, the challenge that this problem offers has been taken up and carried through in only one great planning project: the Ala Wai Canal. The precedent set in that development is so good that it may well set a pattern for other similar situations: it is an excellent illustration of the way in which a utilitarian need, like that for drainage or for highway circulation, may, through imaginative design, be converted into a permanent delight.

Universal Verdure

The fourth prime natural feature of Honolulu is its vegetation. Viewed from the top of Punchbowl, for example, the city is one of the most parklike of cities: the density and spread of the foliage give a deceptive appearance of spaciousness, even where in fact the trees overarch a huddle of filthy shacks. This parklike quality of Honolulu owes much to the typical brilliance of its tropic foliage, the pepper red of the poinciana, the brilliant yellow of the golden shower, the feathery greens of the palms, the dark tones of the banyan trees. **One might define Honolulu as a great park, partly disfigured by a careless weedy undergrowth of buildings: indeed, here vegetation takes the place of fog in other climates in hiding the city's architectural misdemeanors. One of the chief problems in re-planning the city as a whole will be to make this appearance of universal verdure as effective in fact as it seems to the distant eye.**

Garden or Desert

In every city, a perpetual contest goes on between the garden and the desert. The streets of the city—through over-crowding, through congestion of traffic, through indifference to all but the barest physical needs—tend to become a stony waste: an environment hostile to life: noisy, dusty, ugly, unsafe. In such an environment, bare health can be maintained only by heroic exertion. The garden, on the other hand, as the aristocracies of the world have always known, is a life-favoring environment: gardens renew the air, temper the heat of the sun, reduce the glare and strain, provide visual delight, give space for play and relaxation and one of the most sanative of all modes of work—the care of plants itself. It is

not by accident that the healthiest type of city that has been designed in modern times—one of the few whose health rates and mortality rates equal those of the neighboring countryside—is the garden city. To make park and garden a permanent attribute of the modern city is one of the chief contributions for the modern planner.

Significant Experiment

One further natural resource needs to be canvassed: the people of Honolulu themselves, and the various cultures that meet and mingle here in their daily practices. The original Polynesian culture has left a beneficent trace on the entire life: its kindly human sense, its love of healthful natural activities, its nutritive diet must all be reckoned with in any intelligent planning scheme. The high Oriental cultures that have also left their mark on the city, through the Japanese and the Chinese, have a no less powerful contribution to make: already they have begun to influence the architecture; and their ceremonious cult of beauty, especially in their cultivation of flowers, has re-enforced the original Hawaiian inheritance. Finally, the systematic rationalism of the Western World, with its habits of close accountancy of time, money, and energy, has contributed an element of purposive activity that perhaps helps to counterbalance the more indolent, haphazard ways that are closer to the life-rhythm of the tropics. Hawaii is a significant experiment in that hybridization of cultures which will perhaps mark the future development of human society: it is a miniature experimental station. Not the least of the resources that must be conserved through good planning is the population itself. For the ultimate work of art in any community is the man and the woman that the landscape and the culture produce.

Here, then, is a situation that holds many unusual advantages for city development. What use has been made of them?

Honolulu's Planning Assets

WHEN one points out the defects in the development of a city, its citizens sometimes exhibit resentment: they have adjusted themselves to these defects, they are often unconscious of them, and at times they even incline to class them with benefits. The inertia of habit, the indifference of repetition underlie the citizen's apparent sense of pride. People sometimes look more benignly on familiar evils than they are inclined to look upon unfamiliar goods.

Such complacency is unsound and debilitating; and one may remark that this resistance to improvement does not usually characterize the same person's attitude toward a new motor car. The cure for it is perhaps to point out the elements over which the citizen may legitimately congratulate himself. In Honolulu, such a list of good things would begin with the fact that the city, though overgrown, has not gotten completely out of hand: its 150,000-odd inhabitants afford all the variety of group and personality necessary for a flourishing city. It is a city that has not forfeited its contact with earth, air, sky: even though the beach fronts have been stripped to almost nothing, people still maintain the right to fish and swim there; even though the houses are crowded, it is hard to find a district so mean, a shack so wretched as to lack the sight of some growing plant. It is a city of low houses: even its business district has escaped the blight of the skyscraper, though Waikiki is marred by two gawky hotel structures. In the residential streets the narrow service road is common: the super-block and the cul-de-sac are not unknown. These are economical devices of modern planning, which one must approve in principle, though in many cases one may question the particular manner in which they have been planned.

Even the concentrated holding of land would have advantages, if the owners of such land were as socially and architecturally enlightened as the great ground landlords who built up Bloomsbury, Mayfair, and Belgravia in London between the seventeenth and

the nineteenth centuries. The very fact that so much of Honolulu is built of wood, and that so many of its old structures need to be renewed, should further the process of change and modernization: whereas in cities that have sunk too much of their capital in steel and stone, the resistance to change becomes as massive as the buildings themselves.

Planning's High Returns

In short, Honolulu is a city that has only to learn how to conserve and utilize its natural advantages to remain one of the most attractive spots on earth: it is a city where, if the social and aesthetic vision needful for planning ever took possession of its leaders, a transformation might be wrought that would lift Honolulu beyond all rivalry. No other city that I know would proportionately yield such high returns to rational planning as Honolulu. But the necessary impulse, the necessary popular support, will be lacking so long as Honolulu's citizens seek merely to maintain the system of familiar compromises, evasions, and negligences that are recorded in the present state of Honolulu. And in the end, who loves his city best?—He who seeks to improve it, or he who is content to muddle along in the familiar grooves, exercising a minimum of foresight, intelligence, and imagination? History allows no doubt as to the answer: that which makes a city dear to later generations is the power to master its own destiny and express its best ideals in the transformation of its environment.

Major Weaknesses in Honolulu's Plan

THOUGH the native life of Honolulu is close to the water, the city plan scarcely discloses that fact. The cluttered development of shipping and marketing facilities around the docks indicates that no attempt has been made to clear away and order the space needed for approach to the docks, and for the expeditious unloading of passengers and goods. Except for the very recent development of Ala Moana Park and for very brief stretches elsewhere, it is impossible to skirt the waterfront either on foot or by car. No attempt has been made, curiously, to preserve the approaches to the water to give vistas of the sea at the end of the makai-pointed streets and avenues: too often the old streets swerve and cut off the vista. Bishop Street is potentially one of the fine business streets of the world; and the major element that contributes to its beauty is that its lower end shows the harbor in a frame of palm trees. Many of the streets that parallel Bishop Street lack this connection; and even Bishop Street is too narrow, and too scantily planted, therefore, to achieve the maximum effect. Even in farther parts of the city, not least in Waikiki, this sense of the waterfront is lacking. The visual neglect of the water has been a conspicuous defect in the development of Honolulu's Street Plan. Hence the need for a waterfront parkway: hence the need of occasional broad boulevards leading down to the water.

Natural Air Conditioning

The failure to make use of the trade winds on both the city plan and the conventional site layouts is equally inept. One of the great principles of modern town planning is that of orientation: choosing the direction of the streets and the building sites so that sunlight and breezes can be used to greatest advantage. Because of the place that the trade winds have in making life comfortable here, orientation should be strictly observed in site layouts: blocks and houses should be so set that currents of air will flow freely through them. From a glance at the street plan of Honolulu, it is

plain that this principle never entered for a moment into the calculations of the real-estate subdivider or the municipal engineer.

Not merely are the streets and houses arranged higgledy-piggledy, but the houses themselves, chiefly because of high land values and exorbitant rents, are placed too closely together: as if to prevent adequate circulation of air. Open building, with a coverage of the lot area at which forty per cent would represent the topmost coverage allowable, is characteristic of modern planning. Such open building is desirable in every part of the world; but it is nothing less than a vital necessity in Honolulu. Without it, adequate gardens are impossible and the private lanai, even when provided, is stuffy. So far from accepting this natural condition as a determinant of plan, the greater part of Honolulu's buildings, not excepting some in its more expensive residential areas, overcrowd the land on which they stand. This throws an extra burden upon the parks system, which must not merely perform its normal duties, but make up in part for the deficiencies in open spaces in the private areas of the city.

The relation between open planning air circulation, and efficiency is worth extra emphasis here. In a well organized factory, like that of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, the principal working units are designed so as to permit the free circulation of the air. Numerous physiological investigations, beginning with Winslow's classic experiments, have shown that the lowering of the temperature is not so important as the direct air cooling of the body. Mechanical air conditioning may be a useful auxiliary to nature under special conditions; but for the mass of the population, and for most circumstances of living, the more natural modes of air conditioning that would be available to everyone in the city through adequate planning must retain major importance.

The third great weakness in Honolulu's development is the spotty and erratic nature of its growth. Large tracts of land near the middle of the city have long been held out of use: this has prevented the orderly and systematic development of the city, section by section, and it has necessitated a premature building up and exploitation of the land in the remoter suburban areas. This has been accompanied by the extremely costly development of the hillside sites of the city, long before, in the ordinary course of things, they should have been made available. In tracts like that

of St. Louis Heights, for example, land has been opened up to middle-class home owners who could ill afford the excessive site preparation and utility costs that such a development calls for: and the city has been forced to expand its municipal services at a disproportionate cost. In many cases, the original owners lost their entire savings in the process of liquidation that followed.

Reckless Expansion Costly

Most private citizens are completely unaware of the relation between site costs and the total cost of building a house. They are unaware that hilly parcels of ground are more expensive to grade and service than even parcels; that the amount spent on putting sewers and water mains in hillside areas is disproportionately high; and they are even more innocent of the fact that the over-extension of streets and utility mains, in contrast to a more compact and consecutive development from the center outwards, is one of the major causes of municipal deficits—indeed, bankruptcy. When funds are lacking to provide safe traffic intersections, necessary street lightings, or new schools, they do not connect this shortage with money that has been unwisely spent elsewhere, on servicing subdivisions that cannot in reality pay their way. Unfortunately, many city officials, financiers, and real-estate subdividers are equally ignorant—and equally indifferent as to the economic and social results of a reckless policy of expansion.

Not merely has the original land-holding system placed an obstacle in the way of Honolulu's rational development. In addition to this, no systematic attempt has apparently been made, during the last thirty years, to correct the haphazard methods by which the land has been platted and connected together, or to anticipate the growing needs of intercommunication between the various parts of the city. The congestion of the traffic in the central area is a common phenomenon in most American cities: it points to the need for a radically different type of street design, in which the street will no longer be called upon to serve as a parking area, and in which by-pass avenues will take part of the traffic load against those streets which locally serve the business section. The lack of a clear connection between the Ewa and Waikiki sides of the town is aggravated by the hideous bottle-neck of congestion that now exists on the makai side.

Arterial Parkways

While ample arterial parkways are lacking on the makai and mauka sides of the city, no serious attempt can be made to solve Honolulu's traffic difficulties; and as far as the park system goes, this means that on the days of heaviest park use, access to the recreation areas is obstructed to wheeled traffic, and the value of the recreation period itself is partly undermined by the extra time and nervous energy spent in going to and from the parks. Despite this fact, which should be evident to every citizen of Honolulu, considerable support has been obtained for the highly dubious Pali Tunnel project, whose cost, whose upkeep, and whose tendency to further disorganize the growth of the city should put it far down on the priority list of public improvements—or remove it altogether. Meantime, the planning of marginal parkways of the city, which would radically improve the circulation through the area and make accessible all its facilities, is scarcely even discussed.

Re-plan Natural Zones

Let me note one further weakness in Honolulu's development. Partly because of natural conditions, partly through an historical development, the city divides itself naturally into a series of major zones: the port zone, the industrial zone, the central shopping zone, the administrative zone, the recreation zone, and the residential zones. The amount of area available for these various types of zones seems more than adequate to present needs; and it will probably be equal to future demands. What is badly needed, however, is a further clarification of these natural zones. An attempt should be made deliberately to push industry away from the waterfront on the Waikiki side of the port, in order to keep a uniform approach to Waikiki and to give the proposed Civic Center site a more harmonious background. Lack of vigilance here has already permitted a spotty and ill-kempt development, in which the excellence of some of the new individual pieces of architecture is lost; but it is not too late to repair this condition.

To achieve the necessary definition of zones, the merely legal procedures of a zoning ordinance are not sufficient. It is necessary that each zone should be progressively re-planned, as occasions present themselves, so as to achieve with greatest economy its special functions. Here the backwardness of street platting in Ho-

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holulu is a distinct advantage: it opens the way for more modern types. The great factories in the industrial zone, though perhaps they do not represent the highest degree of planning skill now available, are much more satisfactorily arranged for industrial purposes than if they had been put up on a uniform block system, designed to create the maximum number of building lots. The obstacles toward comprehensive planning in the business district are much more serious: but they should not result in an apathetic acceptance of the present inefficient layout. One of the first steps that suggests itself is the widening and planting of the mauka end of Bishop Street, the provision of a well-designed parking area, and the wiping away of the miscellaneous collection of buildings that spoils the magnificent vista toward the mountains. This whole process would be a relatively inexpensive one: yet overnight it would turn Bishop Street into one of the most attractive thoroughfares of its kind in the world: not merely more beautiful but vastly more efficient than the present jumble.

Parks Frame Zones

In the definition of zones, moreover, the use of parks and parkways should be considered, to give a visible frame to the zone or the neighborhood. A greenbelt or a park girdle, as little as a hundred feet wide, can give as much coherence to a modern neighborhood as the ancient wall used to do for the medieval city. Now it happens that the natural course of the original brooks and streams in the city, as well as most of the new drainage canals, is such as to check partly the otherwise uniform tendency to spread on either side of the original port. By utilizing such divisions, the city has the opportunity not merely to define the various natural neighborhoods of the city, but to open up, by means of the canal itself, its connections with the sea. Strips of water and strips of park, such as those by which the Ala Wai approaches the sea, would not merely increase the recreation zones of the city but give definition and order to its several parts. In this respect, Honolulu has a natural opportunity for a sound kind of planning that surpasses the opportunities of which the Dutch made such good use.

Demand for Open Spaces

I have kept to the last the major weakness in Honolulu's development, although it has been touched on in relation to other

matters. This is the low standards of housing and of open spaces that obtain in many portions of the city: not alone in the slums. The slums themselves are among the filthiest and the most degraded in the world: that they are not even viler, when the physical conditions of life are considered, is a tribute to the personalities of their inhabitants. The overcrowding of the land in the central areas imposes upon a park program a burden that park planning by itself cannot relieve. Such an acute maldistribution of population may be beyond the physical powers of a Park Commission effectually to correct. It creates a demand for open spaces precisely in those parts of the city where the land costs are highest, and the land itself is hardest to acquire. Such conditions throw a double burden on the community: first in the evils that derive directly from them, and second, in the excessive cost of correcting them. Slum clearance and good low-cost housing become, therefore, more than an incidental part of a unified program of park development.

The Period of Expansion is Past

PARK PLANNING today is part of the broader process of ordering the human environment in such a way as to make the most of its varied possibilities. No park program can be permanently satisfactory until its policies and its plans are fitted into the general frame of the city's development, and represent the best thought available as to its development as a whole.

All intelligent planning today must begin with the recognition that the population of the United States is fast approaching a state of stability. Between 1945 and 1965 the normal increase in population through the excess of births over deaths will come to an end. This is not solely a big-city phenomenon, although the tendency shows itself most sharply in metropolitan areas: the same general facts apply even to relatively primitive areas like Oregon and Washington, where half the population is occupied on the farm or in the forest. These states have already apparently reached stability—a fact concealed only by the annual immigration from the dustbowl and other marginal agricultural areas. In many cases it will turn out that the earlier rather than the later date will hold.

Many people in Honolulu apparently believe that these islands are an exception to the general rule, because of the racial composition of the population. I have not had access to the most recent statistical analysis of this problem; but the sudden fall of the Japanese birthrate here, amounting to about twenty per thousand in a dozen years, would indicate that the same forces exist here as elsewhere, and may indeed manifest themselves, because of restricted economic opportunities, at an accelerated rate. Others, again, apparently hold that the present curve of population growth, which shows a decisive drop since 1930, is solely due to the economic crisis through which we have passed. A group of reputable Honolulu engineers, who were giving counsel on an important public project, showed me the graph upon which they based their views of future needs. It showed a sharp upward increase in population up to 1930: at that point the curve flattened out: then, with 1938, it

showed a continuation of the sharp original upward curve. If the depression were the sole cause of this flattening-out process, the upward movement should have been visible before 1938; but it did not in fact show itself, nor is there any special ground for believing that the present economic crisis is not a chronic one, attended by continued insecurity, fear, threats of war, and their deterrent effect upon the birthrate.

The depression is only one item in the present picture; the increase of cheap contraceptives and the extension of scientific contraceptive knowledge are far more significant factors. The general decline in population increase set in in England, for example, as early as 1870: by now it is almost a worldwide phenomenon, which would be even more conspicuous than it is already were it not for the fact that sanitation and public hygiene and medicine have lowered the number of deaths per thousand and increased the expectation of life.

Build for Stable Future

We must accept the fact, then, that the great period of population expansion, which set in with the nineteenth century, is now drawing to a close. The National Resources Committee's Report on Cities put the year when the population shall have ceased to increase as 1955: other estimates place it earlier. Meanwhile, the rate is rapidly dropping. Unless some profound change takes place, making parenthood as such more desirable and more attractive than it now is to the average married pair, population will be on a replacement basis. In Hawaii, immigration from the mainland may for a while postpone the stabilization, particularly among the haole groups; but these are just the groups that show the steadiest decrease. All our activities must be re-appraised with this fact in view. Instead of accepting quantitative increase as no less desirable than inevitable, we must concern ourselves with qualitative development: we must bring into existence an environment that shall be favorable to the propagation and nurture of children, if only to maintain adequately the numbers we are now reduced to. And instead of making grandiose calculations as to future needs, whose over-optimism used to be automatically corrected by the mere flooding in of new members of the community, we must now make closer calculations. The pressure of population

is now easing up: makeshift planning, jerry-building, amateurish improvisation, if they once had perhaps a tolerable excuse for existence, no longer have any.

Most of the city plans, zoning schemes and road-building activities of the last two decades in America have ignored this approaching change. They still clung to the original notion, valid during the nineteenth century, that the population would continue indefinitely to expand and that the only thing that might hold this back would be lack of suitable mechanical facilities. Many cities of 300,000 during the past twenty years projected plans for absorbing populations as great as three million; and correspondingly reckless fantasies were accepted by allegedly sober bankers and investors as a basis for their financial calculations. It would have been bad enough if these projects had been merely committed to paper and placed on file in the municipal archives: unfortunately suburban subdivisions, street extensions, sewer and water main extensions were often put through far in advance of their actual use: similarly vast railroad stations, like that at 30th Street in Philadelphia, were brought into existence to take care of an anticipated demand which was, in fact, diminishing.

Indefinite Expansion Obsolete

As a result of this over-expansion, cities throughout America have been decaying in their old centers, and over-extending themselves in raggedy fragments, often tax-delinquent or otherwise approaching private and public industry at the edges. Honolulu is not without examples of such over-extension. In many cases, the areas zoned for business and industry are from five to fifteen times the amount that any city would normally have used, even if the process of population increase had continued. Today these over-blown attempts at civic greatness have become the signals of municipal bankruptcy. Planning for indefinite expansion is now wasteful and obsolete. The city of the future will have a better sense of its natural limits: it will attempt to make the most of what it has, rather than to evade its actual difficulties and its actual deterioration by encouraging its population to move out to the outskirts and permit the interiors to become more completely blighted. Good planning means rehabilitation: it means beginning over again and doing the job right.

The fact that Honolulu did not, before 1920, subject itself to plans of expansion is today one of its largest assets. Its central commercial and industrial areas are not very much larger than will satisfy its legitimate demands, although the infiltration of industries into areas from which they should be excluded must be watched with care. But, thanks to the approaching stability of population, Honolulu may at last pull itself together and create a permanent framework for its activities. With the approaching stability of population comes another possibility that has usually been foreign to our American city economy: the notion of permanence, particularly permanence in location and in the type of use to which a district or a zone is dedicated. Hitherto the exploitation of land has been on the assumption that the population would automatically increase: this increase in population would cause a rise in land values: the rise in land values in turn would cause a more intensive type of exploitation and would thus promote a change in use from residential to commercial, from low buildings to high buildings. From the standpoint of the land owner or the real-estate speculator, this transformation was the main purpose of city development: no effort that promoted it was unworthy. Hence the popular programs for "attracting population."

Under such a system effective zoning was impossible, and effective planning, in which the street pattern could be adapted to the particular function served, was hopeless. Every street was planned to serve eventually as a through traffic artery; and blocks were laid out and land subdivided so as to produce the maximum number of saleable lots and street frontages, not so as to make the most economic and socially advantageous use of the site. With the diminishing pressure of population, there is a reasonable prospect of planning for permanent functions and permanent uses: not for the next few years alone, but at least for the next few generations. Planning that is done now will set the mould of the future. Hence it is important, both in the general scheme of planning and in each individual task, to take all the necessary time and forethought and technical skill and art that are necessary to effect a good plan.

Ala Wai Bridge Hit

Planning today works with a greater number of known factors than in the nineteenth century; and it can work toward a more

definite social objective. As the pressure of population decreases, the pressure to get work done at once, before sufficient study has been made, before it fits into the general scheme of development, before it has been thought through to the point of complete integration, should be resisted. The acceptance on the part of the citizens of Honolulu—and even on the part of members of the Park Commission—of such an irresponsible and random piece of planning as the bridge over the Ala Wai is almost as amazing as the project itself: the obstinate refusal to consider the bridge in relation to the present and future needs of Honolulu, was as bad from the standpoint of method as from that of result. For good planning, today more than ever, is not a matter of putting through an isolated project: it is above all a matter of coordination. Planning that is thoroughly thought out and coordinated with other needs is necessarily slower than planning in a piecemeal and hit-or-miss fashion as political opportunity hastily dictates: but that is no objection to it. If the pressure of population is over, the rush is over too.

From Productive Opportunities to Consumptive Demands

STILL another conclusion follows from the approaching stability of population. During a period of expansion it was natural that industry should have the primary task of feeding the hungry mouths, clothing the naked bodies, linking together by railroad and steamship the newly settled areas. Hence new productive enterprises absorbed most of the available capital. By now, however, a great series of major industries have been built up and a vast productive plant is in existence. Although opportunities for new enterprises and new types of industrial goods will doubtless multiply, it should be plain that for the major industries the plants themselves will be on a replacement basis, and in the case of many commodities, the commodity itself will be on the same footing. Only one real field of expansion remains: that of raising the standard of living, of multiplying per person the amount of goods consumed. Whereas the emphasis in the nineteenth century was mainly on the fascinating new problems of production and transportation, the emphasis for the twentieth century must be on the no less urgent problems of distribution and consumption.

Many people are willing to acknowledge this approaching change; but they conceive it too much as taking place on the terms dictated by the past: namely, by a mere raising of the wage level and by a continued dependence upon individual consumer's demand, more or less manipulated—like the current demand for radios and motor cars—by the astute salesmanship of industries whose products lend themselves to fashion. Those who believe this overlook another kind of change that is taking place: a change in the mechanism of demand. Under the earlier economy, the demand of the individual consumer was for such goods as he could personally consume: this was the main regulator of production. To multiply and vary these individual needs seemed to the orthodox economist and the business the only basis for sound production: expanding individual wants meant an expanding market.

Under this system, working-class families that failed to nourish their children properly might nevertheless possess a motor car; or they might live in a shabby, insanitary dwelling and still be tempted to purchase a suite of furniture far beyond their means.

Community Perquisites

During the last generation, however, there has been a steady shift from individual demands, satisfied mainly by machine industry as an incident in the creation of profits and dividends, to collective demands, expressed in goods and services that are supplied by the community to all its citizens. What are called "perquisites" under the plantation system come to occupy a larger and larger place in a community's budget. The community attempts to normalize demands and to satisfy human needs by taking care that the most important wants should be met, whether the individual's own preference is sound or not. In urban communities we do not leave the provision of a sanitary water system or the provision of education to accidental choice: we erect a standard of cleanliness or of literacy and make acceptance obligatory to the whole community. "Perquisites" have become an important part in the community's budget: an increasing part of the annual income of the country goes to their provision. This shift in the incidence of demand gives to programs of city development and of housing a place of peculiar importance in the national economy: sound planning along these lines ensures that the shift in the distribution of income, which is inevitable if our productive system is to be kept running at all, shall be soundly managed, in such a fashion as to increase the real goods, in health, comfort, and joy, available to the ordinary citizen.

Education, recreation, hospital services, public hygiene have increased in importance in the national economy: they represent a collective need whose fulfillment the community cannot leave to the working out of the laws of supply and demand on the part of sporadic individuals. And just as the lessening of the number of workers needed in agriculture and primary industrial production shifts over to the administrative and professional services larger numbers of people, so the slackening of industrial expansion tends to thrust the surplus capital, not into new productive enterprise of a profit-making nature, but into those consumptive and cultural

activities from which no immediate financial return can be expected, although each year may bring steady dividends in terms of intelligence, health, and spiritual animation. Such wealth, though apparently put to extravagant use, has the special virtue of not being readily consumed: and in that sense the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, for example, have paid a return incomparably higher than the more profit-making enterprises whose buildings and ships have long ago rotted away.

Within the field of cities a similar shift can be detected. The annual budgets of American cities show a decrease in the amounts spent for streets, transportation, and other utilitarian operations as against the amounts spent upon health, education, and recreation. This change expresses a real rise in the standard of living, not merely as regards the quantity of goods which the individual acquires, but still more with respect to the quality. These new goods represent not the means of living but living itself: the deepening of intelligence through study and research, the discipline of the emotions through music and the dance and the theater, the gain in physical exuberance through swimming or tennis playing or golfing in a beautiful environment.

Parks No Longer Luxury

Expenditures on these new items in the municipal budgets have gained wide public approval: they represent an individual demand which the unaided individual is quite unable to make economically effective. The increasing part played by these collective utilities of culture is due to the fact that goods which were once—like parks themselves—considered the luxuries of a ruling minority have now become the necessities of daily life for the mass of the population. This change represents, not the passing caprice of fashion, but a profound re-orientation of life: it comes about as the result of high taste and intelligence. Such collective consumption is a true index of the culture of a country. In general, one may look to relatively less capital going into profitable productive enterprise and more going into permanent civic goods: one may look toward a narrowing of individual demands and toward greater opportunities for collective enjoyments and satisfactions. Instead of an automatic expansion of the productive mechanism, one may count upon a steady expansion of the consumptive mechanism, as population approaches stability.

This new field for expanded effort is a very large one. Few cities can boast that they have the accommodations they need for parks, playgrounds, schools, and museums on the scale that would be necessary if anything like a full quota of the population had the means to take advantage of them. In comparison with the abundant energies of our civilization, to say nothing of its superb technical equipment, the majority of our cities are in a state of pitiful impoverishment, filled with obsolete structures and makeshift urban services. The ugliness and sordid disarray of the usual American city, the existence of slums, the absence of a consistent and harmonious design in so much as a single quarter of the city, the failure to achieve a coherent pattern—all these things are a contradiction to the high pretensions of our civilization.

Can Cities Hold Their Population?

BEFORE CLOSING the subject opened by the approaching stability of population, one further consequence must be noted. The growth of the city in the past was dependent mainly upon its ability to draw newcomers from the once inexhaustible reserves in the open country. Although in general the diminution of the rate of increase is slower in rural areas than in cities, the same tendency is at work there: the supply is diminishing. Now it happens that most cities above fifty thousand in population do not reproduce their own numbers: without constant recruitment the city would diminish in population. This is true, even apart from the tendency on the part of many people to escape from the more congested and sordid internal sections of the city to outlying urban developments where at least a little sunlight, fresh air, and free play space can be secured for their children.

Internal Decay

If these tendencies continue, the cities that now exist will be emptied out in their central areas, leaving a mass of rotting or dilapidated structures and a vast burden in capital investments whose returns are annually becoming smaller and shakier to the point of eventual tax delinquency and forfeiture. This has already happened on a vast scale on the mainland; and if the tendency is not so conspicuous as yet in Honolulu, it is something that must nevertheless be taken into account and guarded against. **Under these conditions, the prime question of municipal policy becomes, not how the city is to expand and increase in population, but how it is to retain the population which the existing municipal utilities and the existing commercial enterprises have been framed to serve.**

This question, I submit, can be successfully answered only if it is recognized that the older cities must be made over into sound biological environments. Cities that do not reproduce their population lack some necessary conditions for effective family life;

high ground rentals, congestion, lack of play facilities, the threat of moral debasement, the uncertainties of economic existence—all these probably play a substantial part in shaping that multitude of individual decisions whose final result is the lowering of the birthrate.

Improve Urban Environment

If the existing city is not to go downhill in population, it must make itself over into the sort of environment in which having children will not be a burdensome liability. This calls for the systematic improvement of housing, the prevention of overcrowding, the establishment of healthy standards of density, the creation of necessary public open spaces. Such measures should be framed and applied to all undeveloped areas at once, to keep them from turning into slums and blighted districts: it calls likewise for their early application to older parts of the city, and in particular to those ripe for demolition as pestilential slums. Finally, it calls for the provision of gardens, parks, and recreation grounds on a scale that will give to the city all the advantages that the suburb usually has at the beginning of its existence—before the suburb itself becomes a prey to speculative disorder and congestion.

Ultimately, every well administered municipality, in order to save itself from bankruptcy and hopeless arrears, must offset the tendency toward reckless suburban growth by taking substantial measures toward its own renovation. Not merely must the municipality discourage such uneconomic growth by resisting premature subdivision, by withholding assent from ill-advised express highways, bridges, or tunnels that open up cheap land outside the municipality's area of control: what is much more important is that it will seek to make the city itself permanently attractive as a human home by slum clearance, large-scale housing, neighborhood planning, and park development. On any priority schedule for cities, these things come first: and other municipal improvements are acceptable only to the extent that they directly further the movement toward urban rehabilitation.

Larger Honolulu Uneconomic

Although no serious student can doubt the general statistical analysis upon which the foregoing views of population are based,

there is nevertheless a considerable number of people in Honolulu who are convinced that the development of tourist trade will continue to offset, by immigration, the tendency toward stabilization. They look forward to a cheap airplane service between the Islands and the mainland: they envision further industrial developments that will take care of a surplus. Suppose these sanguine views should prove correct: suppose the increase of population that has taken place since 1920 should continue. What then? As a matter of fact, the problem remains fundamentally unaltered. It will still remain uneconomic and anti-social to attempt to congest this increase within the confines of Honolulu proper or to extend its suburbs farther. The local water supply by itself limits this expansion: to overcome it by drawing upon distant supplies would not merely threaten a water shortage in other parts of the island where it is badly needed for agriculture, but it would excessively add to the per capita cost. **To make proper use of the recreation facilities of the Islands—the basis for attracting a larger number of people from the mainland—an active regional planning authority should prepare for the building up of new recreation centers and new greenbelt towns and villages in other parts of Oahu, and on the other islands; no amount of local expansion could economically take care of the increase.** Far from it: the garden city principle of city development—to build new towns once old ones have reached the limits of favorable growth, that is, between fifty and one hundred thousand—must be invoked. To take care of the possible increase of population involves, not city planning, but regional planning for the Islands at large; and meanwhile, the necessity of replanning Honolulu and rebuilding its congested or blighted areas and providing sufficient quantities of recreation areas, will remain. In other words, the essential problem of planning is not radically altered by additions to the population. What the tendency toward stability does is to simplify the details of the solution, not to alter the general terms. For no city, no matter how drastic the pressure of population, can afford to grow in the haphazard and wasteful fashion that prevailed in the past.

Parks Guarantee Order

Pending the formulation and execution of such a comprehensive policy of city renewal, the city has the alternative of accept-

ing decay and paying the price for this decay in deteriorated social and economic life. One large step toward the formulation of an enlightened policy of city development, however, can be made immediately through the rational provision of park areas and playgrounds. Here the major outlines for a long-term development can be sketched out at once: the necessary land can be spotted and acquired; and a policy of thorough systematic improvement, undertaken piecemeal, can be carried through over a long term of years. The strategic occupation of the open spaces of the city is the best guarantee of order and economy in the development of the building areas.

The Character of the Present Park Development

AS WITH most American cities of the past, Honolulu grew up without any systematic effort to conserve or bring into existence its needful open spaces. Nevertheless, though the development of Honolulu's parks was belated, the city already possesses the substantial framework of a comprehensive park system in the chain of parks that now begins with Ala Moana and passes along the shore area through Kapiolani Park and the intermittent connecting patches along Waikiki. **These parks, together with the Ala Wai and the yacht basin at the end, transform the immediate neighborhood into what one may properly call the recreation zone of Honolulu.**

Lopsided Distribution

But upon examining the recreational zone in connection with the population of the city as a whole, one is conscious of the fact that it does not extend far enough. The larger park areas are lopsidedly situated. The building of Ala Moana Park has partly served to rectify this condition; but as the sites for low-cost public housing, under the slum clearance program, are mainly on the Ewa side of the city, one may now raise the question as to whether there is not the possibility of a waterfront area in this section of the town that can be used by the nearby neighborhood communities. The admirably wooded island now occupied by the quarantine station cannot be left altogether out of such an inquiry; it might be that with a development of small ferries at various points, partly subsidized by the city, a very useful recreational area could be made available. An early survey of these various possibilities should be made.

The county park areas are admirably distributed around the island, at least for all those forms of recreation that embrace the sea. But the use of these parks is for special occasions, such as holidays and weekends; and though they form an essential part

of any comprehensive scheme of recreation, their existence does not diminish in the least the need for day-to-day facilities that are accessible, without carfare, to every family. It should not be forgotten that a forty-five-cent fare for a family of three, though small to a middle-class purse, is an item that must be reckoned with in the family budgets of the underprivileged.

Space Requirements

The total area dedicated to parks and playgrounds in Honolulu comes to about one acre for 360 people; that of city and country together to one for about 123 people. This is a high standard in comparison with such space-poor cities as New York; in comparison with other American cities double Honolulu's size in population it is adequate, but no more than that. In the most crowded quarters of Honolulu, where living conditions, from the point of view of health, are most deplorable, the proportion of people to the acre of play space is much higher. Hence a realistic appraisal cannot accept the statistical average as quite as favorable as it looks on paper: accessibility, use, daily refreshment-value, not gross acreage per thousand people, are what determine the space-requirements for parks and playgrounds: used space is different from dead space: functional space is one thing and merely formal space is another. In other words, the relationship of park space to public need is more significant than gross acreage.

Sporadic Development

The poor distribution of neighborhood playground space is a sign of the fact that the park program has never been treated as an integral part of the city's development. Random pressures and opportunities have evidently controlled the acquisition of land for park purposes: there has been no systematic effort to relate the amount of space dedicated to the social and hygienic needs of the inhabitants. Similar pressures, moreover, have undoubtedly been responsible for the premature development of this tract or the tardy development of another. One group with an active neighborhood leader wants a playground and, because it is vocal and insistent, gets it; another group, in much more serious need, never makes its need visible or audible and is forgotten. **Such haphazard planning, such indolent opportunism,**

are inevitable until a comprehensive and long-term plan for park development is instituted. Such a plan would have a definite priority schedule, based upon actual social need: its budgetary demands would be based upon these needs and distributed, where the expenditure involved was large, over a sufficiently long term of years; the Park Commission would then be under no pressure to dribble away a few thousand dollars here because of special demands which should be met, if at all, in a later stage of its work. And without this plan, even the most efficient of boards must be the victim of mere opportunism: a policy that is economically wasteful and fatal to any orderly development.

Concentrated Development

Another weakness of a vague program of park development is that, with each area crying for special attention, with each recreation purpose demanding its special tribute, it is difficult to put through any single job systematically. **One of the weaknesses in urban psychology is that the city man, in our day, has accustomed himself to dealing only in finished products, ignorant of the long period of growing and processing that must take place before the can or the package or the machine reaches him.** He often displays a certain impatience over the unfinished, based upon ignorance and the failure to understand nature's slow processes. While much can be done, perhaps, by way of public education to make the urban intelligence appreciate the need for time in perfecting a park or any other structure, it is advisable to meet the city man's impatience at least half way. One of the reasons for Mr. Robert Moses' popularity as Park Commissioner in New York City is the fact that, even with some initial extravagance, he concentrates his resources on a particular job and carries it through till the improvement is finished. A scattering of half-developed parks is not so impressive as a single park that has been brought to a state of completion. While such a development must not sacrifice real efficiency to effect, the demonstrative value of a perfected work, in arousing popular demand, must not be overlooked.

Premature Access

Still another advantage of this concentrated development should at the same time be noted. Instead of opening the incom-

pleted park prematurely, the area under development is kept free for the working force while the building and planting is being carried on. In the case of Fort Tryon Park in New York, for example, designed by the Olmsted Brothers for Mr. Rockefeller, something like a decade was given over to the building of the park. **During this whole period of construction and planting, the area was closed to the public.** When it was finally opened, it was in a state of dazzling perfection. Parks prematurely opened not merely handicap further work, but they give the visitor an imperfect notion of what is to be expected: hence he is either captious over what he mistakenly takes to be a finished job, or he learns to be satisfied with something that is half-done and grudges the expenditure of extra money for its real completion. Every architect knows, to his sorrow, how dangerous it is to let his client see his building in a half-finished state; and this holds even more true when the client is a whole city. Unlike roads and buildings, parks cannot be hurried to completion: no addition to the working force, no overtime allowances, will make a tree grow faster than nature permits. One of the special reasons for long-range park planning, indeed, is that work must be started today if a satisfactory result is to be achieved ten or twenty years from now. Hence the value of timeliness; hence the need for patience.

Survey Requirements

No adequate park program for the city itself can be laid down until certain necessary statistical information has been collected. What is needed is a block-by-block canvass of neighborhoods to establish the number of families, the number of people per block, the number of children, the age distribution of all the people surveyed, and finally their present recreational preferences. Such a survey could easily have been included in the National Youth Survey done a little while ago, had the need for it been formulated then: part of the necessary data might possibly be included in the Real Property Inventory, which has recently been projected here, to be done with WPA money, on the general lines done on the mainland. If this opportunity does not open up, I suggest that samples be taken in various parts of the city; and the results checked up for the neighborhood as a whole with social workers, physicians, and other experienced observers working in the district.

The reason for such a survey becomes plain as soon as one sets out the requirements of a broadly organized park system, as contrasted with a mere collection of publicly owned open spaces. As Olmsted pointed out two generations ago, park areas should grade upward from the immediate patch of open space around the individual house or group of houses to the widest and most comprehensive regional recreational uses, drawing upon the inhabitants of many communities. The core of such a development is obviously the individual garden. Within the residential block there should be small enclosed play areas for the play of little children directly under the eyes of their mothers: a sand pile, a board, a few sturdy boxes are almost all that is needed by way of equipment. The proper design of residential blocks involves the correct placing and hedging of such a play area.

Playgrounds Suited to Needs

The next type of playground is that which should serve the group of families forming a neighborhood: a bigger play area for sports like tennis, basketball, or even baseball—or as an alternative, swimming. Here, again, small areas, sufficient for the play of children from four to twelve, should be more numerous than the bigger areas for children above that age and for adults: since the tolerable walking distance to a playground differs according to the age of the user; and whereas half a mile may not be too far for older children, it effectually excludes the younger group.

In addition to such active recreational areas, open greens and shaded promenades should be established in neighborhoods to serve as attractive places where the older members may meet, gossip, flirt, or court in accordance with their age, sex, and inclination. The courtship of boys and girls in the city's street, or in the drab places on the outskirts where they may take refuge for greater privacy, is one of the most pitiable spectacles that the modern city furnishes: it gives to all the amatory explorations of youth an air of furtiveness, sordidness, and shabbiness which subtly corrodes the entire sexual life. One of the best uses to which any park may be put is obviously to serve as a harmonious meeting place for young lovers: the prolongation and enrichment of courtship is one of the best ways to intensify sexual ardor and fend off boredom.

We should not forget that in the western world the planning of parks and the introduction of courtship as an erotic ritual came in together in the royal courts, as the very word courtship indicates; and it is high time that a little public wisdom was applied to this area of life. If wiping out sexual disease is an imperative hygienic matter, building up a rich and many-sided culture of sex is no less an important contribution to family well-being. I have been in public parks on the mainland where motorcycle police with searchlights patrolled the parks in the evening and obscenely blazed upon park benches in order to interrupt the tender moments of lovers: a perversion far worse than the loosest sexual abandon that the searchlight might discover. Just the opposite of this is needed: public gardens and promenades that lovers will take to naturally, in preference to the sordid quarters that dishonor their every emotion. Without any ostentatious declaration of purpose, the placing and planting of neighborhood promenades may well make a positive contribution to the biological well-being of the community, through their direct effect upon the moods and feelings of the young.

Local Greenbelts

ONE OF the great principles established by modern urban design is the necessity for greenbelts to give shape and coherence to the local community and to keep it from being invaded, once its character is established, by a lower order of urban building. The failure to establish a greenbelt around the garden suburb of Forest Hills, L. I., for example, turned out to be a miserable "economy." What it did was to invite the speculative builder to creep up to the very door of the community and fatten himself on the values created by good planning, whilst lowering the values of the neighboring property. **The greenbelt serves a triple purpose, then: it gives a coherent pattern to the neighborhood; it prevents encroachment; it provides needed park space. Moreover, the provision of intra-urban parks in long strips has the excellent effect of spreading park services over a wider area; while, at the same time, it avoids the vice of parks like Central Park in New York, of taking too large a chunk out of the urban building area and more or less blocking its articulated development.**

Honolulu has the special advantage of having its greenbelt areas more or less provided by nature. On the mauka side, the spurs of the mountains that lead down into the city form a natural open green wall that can only be developed for urban building at an extravagant cost. Where these areas have not already been sacrificed to the subdivider, they should be retained and connected together as a greenbelt. Where the soil and rainfall lend themselves to further cultivation, these areas may be kept in active use as fruit-tree plantations. Otherwise they should be left open for the occasional picnicker and excursionist.

Parks and Drainage Canals

Far more important than this natural mauka greenbelt is the opportunity offered by drainage canals. Much of the land upon which Honolulu was built in the past cannot effectively rid itself

of surface water without an artificial drainage system. In areas like the Dillingham property by Ala Moana Park, and even more the lower areas behind it, an impossible condition will be created unless ample drainage canals are dug. So far, these canals have been constructed mainly for the purely utilitarian purpose of getting rid of the water. The magnificent contribution made by the Ala Wai is to show that if the drainage canals are on an adequate scale, they may be combined in handsome fashion with park strips. These strips serve as green lanes that may define the boundaries of a neighborhood and provide a park vista toward the open sea. An incidental use of such canals is that they serve as positive barriers against fire. Nature has here given the city planner a potent ally—provided he has the imagination and the means to make use of it.

A system of drainage canals, bordered by parks, would give to Honolulu a special character like that which lends its charm to Annecy in the Alps. The fact that a new canal is now in course of building without any provision having been made for such park strips shows that the significance of the drainage canal from the planning standpoint has not been grasped either by the engineers of the city or, for that matter, by the Park Commission itself. As far as the internal development of the parks of Honolulu goes, the working out of a park and drainage canal system for every great neighborhood area is perhaps the most important item to be added to the immediate program.

The Place of Arterial Parkways

IF THE bringing of the sea into the heart of Honolulu is one item in a complete park program, the bringing of the countryside into the system by means of at least two major parkways, running more or less parallel to the sea on the one hand and the base of the hills on the other, is equally important. The plotting out of such parkways, with roadways for travel in opposite directions separated by a green planted strip, would fill a double function. It would give Honolulu the fast and safe traffic artery that it needs, instead of the series of impediments and bottlenecks that now stand in the way of quick intercommunication; and it would link up the various park services more closely than is now possible. These parkways should skirt the makai and the mauka sides of Honolulu. Far from congesting traffic in a central point, their aim should be to pick it up and drop it at intervals all along the route.

Federal Aid

Every alternative to this scheme goes against the fundamental principle of arterial planning: namely, it piles traffic upon streets that are already used and already over-burdened; and in order to achieve the necessary width for the arterial avenue, it is compelled to condemn and tear down large swathes of existing buildings. Moreover, the widening of any of the existing streets has the further disadvantage of imposing a major financial burden upon the city and its property owners. Whereas arterial parkways, skirting the city at either side and leading out into the country, would have a claim for Federal assistance.

The reader will note that I speak not of arterial roads but of arterial parkways. Here is an important difference between these two types of traffic arterial: The arterial road is a wide thoroughfare, almost impossible for the pedestrian to cross and extremely disagreeable to travel on because of the glare and the usual ugliness of the straggling business or residential developments on each side. A parkway, on the other hand, that has a right-of-way

at least one hundred feet wide, can be planted so as to offer complete shade and coolness for those who drive along it, as well as a maximum degree of safety for those who wish to cross it. A road is a public thoroughfare to which all abutting property owners have right of access: a parkway, in distinction, is primarily a park, and the road that runs through it need not be opened to traffic except at convenient intervals.

Tree-shaded Streets

Once such parkways were built and planted on a large scale, they might well influence the rebuilding of the commercial areas of the city. Here the narrow streets, and the unrestrained abandonment of shade trees on most of them, show a wanton neglect of a beautiful opportunity. The merchants' notion that the chopping down of shade trees on business thoroughfares is a sign of progress or business efficiency is one of those blind superstitions that cannot be justified by sound business practice. Shopping along shaded streets, as every visitor to Paris knows, is a far more delightful pastime than shopping in the barren waste of an American commercial district. It is likely to take longer, too, and this is to the advantage of the shop keeper. Whereas the open glare of the hot pavements often tempts the buyer to reduce as far as possible the time spent on shopping.

Even the partial attempt to combine trees with buildings on Bishop Street is a healthy step. It gives one a hint of what the smaller thoroughfares in the city might be if the spirit of the park were brought, by means of a parkway, into the heart of the built-up quarters. The opportunity for adequate park treatment that was opened by the widening of River Street, I must point out incidentally, has so far been neglected. This would be a proper starting point for making the tree-lined street a normal feature of all street widenings and straightenings in Honolulu.

New Park Areas

WHILE THE broad outlines of a city and regional park system have been well laid down, there are a few links that remain to be connected. One of these is the extension of the Ala Moana-Waikiki ocean park development from Kahala up to Koko Head. The great reef outside the Kahala section obstructs the use of the waterfront there for either sailing or boating. By dredging part of the reef and using the material to fill in a strip on the ocean side, a new park and parkway could be created which would connect directly with the park already acquired at Hanauma Bay. At the same time it would provide an opportunity that Honolulu, for all its love of water sports, strangely lacks: that is, a large quiet area that can be used for diving and deep-water swimming.

Kailua Beach

One other weakness in the regional park system is the inadequate frontage the Park has acquired at Kailua. Here is an exceptionally fine natural beach—perhaps the best in the island. It answers, in fact, to what the mainlander thinks of when he hears the name "Waikiki." But already a great part of this beach has been carelessly permitted to go into private ownership and to be built over. Meanwhile, land values have been going up, and if the Pali tunnel is put through, this part of the island will not be much more than twenty minutes away from the heart of Honolulu. It will therefore draw a load of Sunday visitors comparable to that of the most visited beaches within the city itself. Hence the need for acquiring a more sufficient park area here is highly urgent—so urgent, indeed, that I would here make an exception and suggest it be acquired by special funds, since the annual sum dedicated to the Park Commission for the acquisition of new properties is plainly insufficient to acquire an adequate amount of land at an early enough date.

In looking over the various types of park, playground, and recreation area that the Park Commission has developed, I am impressed by the wide variety of uses and by the wide range of interests that have been served. With the policy of devoting each of the great park areas to a more or less specialized purpose—using Kapiolani Park for horse riding and polo playing; the Ala Wai for boating and boat racing; and Ala Moana Park for tennis, bowls, and aquatic sports—I am in thorough agreement. It seems to me, however, that there are two special kinds of park that might well be added to the present system in order to embrace a fuller range of activities.

Wild Park Lacking

One kind of park that is lacking is the upland wild park: the primeval park. Such a park should be located in the hills. It should include within a relatively narrow compass, perhaps, a wide range of topography and natural vegetation: there should be an example of semi-tropical jungle; there should be, if possible, one or more ti slides; there should be a stream and a waterfall of a kind that has always contributed to the traditional delights of Polynesian existence. Such a park could have the barest minimum of physical equipment: at most, rough open shelters for over-night camping, simple stone fireplaces for cooking, and a mere clearance through the denser vegetation for the hiker and the camper. Contrary to the unwise practice of some of the large primeval parks and reservations on the mainland, access to such parks should not be made too easy. The roads leading to them should be planned to attract only those who wish the experience of roughness, of simplicity, and of solitude in the midst of nature. This excludes large, well surfaced roads and large parking areas that would attract the sort of picnicker whose very presence would rob the scene of the value it holds for those who meet its challenge.

On the windward side of the island, Dr. N. P. Larsen has a tract of land which very closely meets the requirements that I have set down here, and it gives an opportunity for recreation of an entirely different kind from that suggested by the sunnier parts of the shore. I would suggest that a small area combining these advantages be set aside experimentally to determine whether the primeval park has as close an attraction for the Hawaiian citizen as it has for the inhabitant of the mainland.

Fish Ponds

While on the subject of the primeval park, I should like to add one other thought to the development of the more aquatic parks along the shore. **The ocean, too, is part of our primeval inheritance. The love of almost all the peoples in the Pacific for the water is one of their most fundamental characteristics. It unites the Hawaiian, the Samoan, the Filipino, and the Japanese.** Without any undue piety toward the now archaic Hawaiian traditions, it seems to me that salt-water fish ponds, constructed and stocked on traditional lines, might well be a useful addition to the recreational opportunities of some of the outlying parks.

Hawaiian Village

I note that various proposals have been made to construct a typical Hawaiian village in connection with one of the parks within the city. This seems to me a highly inappropriate urban enterprise; but, on the other hand, it might well be the crowning achievement in one of the wilder and more distant areas that the Park Commission has set aside for public recreation. To come to such a village among its natural surroundings, and to participate (up to a point) in some of the typical recreational resources of the old Hawaiian village, would be an excellent way of not merely recalling the past but enriching the present.

One further point. **One of the greatest delights of bathing in the sea or the sun is the enjoyment of untrammelled contact with these elemental forces. They invite a certain ease, a certain abandonment of the usual conventionalities of civilization: above all, the ancient convention of wearing clothes.** Every swimmer knows that nakedness gives the last touch to his enjoyment of the water and that even the wearing of trunks takes away a little of the edge of that pleasure. In England, a country that invented Mrs. Grundy, there has long been the custom, at various public bathing beaches, of reserving certain hours when men could go into the water without wearing clothes. Such segregated bathing shocks no one and there is no reason why a similar convention should not be established on one or more of the beaches of Oahu — applying to women as well as to men. While this proposal perhaps runs in the face of an ancient missionary tradition in these islands, it is time to recognize that the shamefacedness and the distrust of the

body which the early missionaries showed in their contact with Polynesian civilization, no longer represents the sanest thought of the community. Rather, one detects in it a prurience and a libidinousness born of qualities the very opposite of those that they affected to promote. To restore to both Hawaiian and haole alike the privilege of confronting the primeval forces of the ocean and the sun in Adam's original garb is but a just measure of restitution for the restrictions and burdens imposed by what one of Herman Melville's characters derisively called "Snivelization."

Formal Gardens

In extreme contrast to the primeval, wild park is another type of park that represents the very apex of aesthetic culture: the formal garden. In the Banyan Garden in Ala Moana Park, Honolulu has a brilliant example of such formal planning. As public funds become more available, the development of such gardens in other areas of the city would be extremely desirable. They would form natural centers for neighborhood play activities, and they might well lend their beauty to great formal occasions in life—like a wedding or the celebration of the anniversary of a marriage, the honoring of some local public character, or a sociable luau. In providing such formal gardens in future, I should expect to see a further development in aesthetic design that would make the garden itself as conspicuous an example of modern taste and modern Hawaiian traditions as the new buildings that have recently been created, under the Park Commission, in the Ala Moana Park and other places.

Oriental Gardens

But while favoring and emphasizing the utilization of contemporary motifs and materials in planting and garden architecture, as well as in building proper, it seems to me that there is room in Honolulu for at least one or two small examples of the high garden art of the Chinese and the Japanese. There are a number of private gardens around the city which exemplify the special characteristics of these cultures, but in a city where the Oriental peoples have contributed so much to the vividness and color of its life, some public recognition should be given to one of their supreme contributions to culture. **Many Americans, unable to push beyond Hawaii, will get their first and only real contact with the older civili-**

zations of the East through what evidences they find in these islands. For their sakes, as well as for the edification and delight of the permanent residents of Honolulu, one or two conspicuously good public examples of Japanese and Chinese gardening would be an asset for the city which might prove one of its most profitable investments. Were the desire for such a garden given public expression, it is even possible that some wealthy citizen, with a talent for philanthropy, would ensure the ultimate passage of his private garden into public possession.

Design and Function of Neighborhood Playgrounds

WITH respect to the provision of neighborhood playgrounds, I have already mentioned their weaknesses in number and placement. These weaknesses can be corrected only after making a systematic canvass of neighborhood needs. But I cannot leave this subject without saying a word as to the character of these developments: for from the standpoint of permanent economy, rational design, and æsthetic mastery, the best playgrounds of Honolulu seem to me definitely superior to those I have seen on the mainland, not excluding some of the excellent ones that the La Guardia administration has erected in New York, to say nothing of the well established structures of an older period in Chicago.

Too often playgrounds are regarded by municipal authorities as permanent waste-spaces—or unoccupied lots—set aside for play. That the very spirit of play is enhanced by taking place in a setting that shows order and vision often does not occur to the municipal departments concerned; hence, ugly chicken-wire fences, clay or bare asphalt surfaces, and a complete innocence of all æsthetic device. Honolulu has made a valuable departure from this stale tradition by providing, in some of its new playgrounds, structures that have none of this tawdry makeshift quality; they are rather examples of building art worthy to have a place beside the open-air gymnasiums or palestra of the Greeks. The handsome bounding wall, the judicious planting of shade trees, the retention of grass wherever possible, translate the spirit of organized play to the area itself.

Coordinate School and Playground

This tradition will, I trust, take permanent root in Honolulu; the spirit called forth in the Mother Waldron Playground should be infused into all the city's other playground activities. But one important opportunity should not be missed: that of coordinating school-building with playground-building, and vice versa. Here

an administrative unification is necessary, to the effect that the Park Commission should design and administer all the playgrounds of the city, including those attached to public schools, so that these areas themselves should have the highest competence brought to their design and should be used to the greatest extent possible. If in the new housing units that may be put up in future by either the Hawaiian Housing Authority or the city itself, playgrounds are provided as part of the original design, the Park Commission should be brought in and the supervision and upkeep of the new area should be placed under the Commission's jurisdiction. All this will doubtless add to the burdens of the Commission and call for both a larger staff and a larger share of the city's annual income. But the present division of responsibility here is wasteful; and it works against the building up of a comprehensive park system.

There are park properties, insignificant in extent and improperly located, that might well be traded off or sold in order to acquire land in more appropriate areas. It would need a more thorough study than I have had the opportunity to make to suggest precisely where such land should be acquired; but an obvious place to begin is in connection with the razing of congested slums. In some cases the sites so cleared may be better adapted to park purposes than to any other uses.

Ribbon Parks

Along these lines I have one further suggestion to make: in the older type of city planning, the park formed an isolated open area in the midst of a pattern of built-up blocks. In the new type of city planning, with the development of super-blocks and closed cul-de-sacs, treated as more or less self-contained areas for domestic services, the neighborhood ribbon park becomes the very core of effective design. It is the natural site for the elementary school and, in general, it makes it possible for the child to walk to and from school without crossing a traffic street. This gives the school itself the quiet and isolation necessary for good classroom work, and it brings the park itself closer to the door of the individual home. **Such a design, once worked out successfully, should have a potent effect upon the laying out of new residence areas in all the Islands, possibly even on the West Coast: quite as potent an effect**

as Radburn has had in the East, or as Frankfort had throughout Europe before 1932.

This brings up one further point: the close connection between a sound park policy and a program for rehousing the occupants of decayed and congested areas. The rational control of land use, with respect to density of occupation and open spaces, is an indispensable part of any valid park system. Through the creation of parks, the city establishes a proportion of open land to occupied land for the city as a whole. This, however, is only a part of a well-oriented program. Such a standard of open spaces and density must be established for every area. In England, the vast rehousing developments of the last twenty years have been at average densities of twelve or less families per acre. This standard implies reasonable land values, and in turn it guarantees that such values will remain reasonable.

Spearhead of Planning

Under the police powers, the American city has ample constitutional means for controlling the density of population and extent of land coverage in the interest of public health and hygiene. Before these standards can be established and protected by law, however, the city will have to tackle a much more difficult problem: that of opening up the major land areas within the city for orderly human occupation. There can be no sound or effective planning of either neighborhoods or parks and playgrounds so long as land values here remain prohibitively high. High land values mean high rents; these conditions in turn place a premium upon congestion and upon bad types of architectural design.

This problem came down to the present-day city out of special historical conditions with which everyone in Honolulu is familiar. **With the right and wrongs of these conditions the city planner need have no concern; but about the urgency of correcting them he must speak in no uncertain terms. All available legal means should be taken at once to reduce land values to a sane value.** By opening up for public housing territorially owned land on the outskirts of the city, by using the process of eminent domain to take over for public purposes land held against public interest out of use, by establishing low maximum densities of population per acre for all new developments, by enforcing the minimum standards of

hygiene and sanitation in now overcrowded quarters—by these means a vigilant planning authority would correct the inherent evils of a short-sighted monopoly. And without such comprehensive aid, the Park Commission can scarcely hope to catch up with actual needs or provide anything like the full services and facilities a modern city should demand.

Park planning, in other words, cannot possibly stop at the edges of the parks: its greatest need is to infuse its standards of space and beauty and order into every other aspect of the city's developments. The park system is thus the very spearhead of comprehensive urban planning.

The Quality of Design in Parks

PARKS have been called the lungs and the breathing spaces of the city; and this important aspect of the park has perhaps tended to obscure the fact that they are, in reality, much more than that. An empty lot is also an open space, but no matter how big it is, it is not a park until it has been adapted to the special civic needs that a park fulfills. The origin of all municipal parks is the royal park, like the Tuileries or St. James Park: the outdoor part of the palace. The quality of design, which marked the architecture of the palace, likewise infused itself into the park: in making a setting for promenades and play, a certain amount of formalization necessarily enters into the conception of the park. Sometimes the deliberate parts of the design are elaborately concealed by naturalistic artifice, as in the great romantic parks designed during the nineteenth century by Frederick Law Olmsted, an American of world-wide renown; but even in the most pastoral and informal settings, Olmsted's aesthetic touch was everywhere visible; and in the most successful landscape park of all, the Prospect Park in Brooklyn, Olmsted provided for strongly formalized entrances, even as (with Vaux) in the design for Central Park, the plan of the Mall and the great stairs and esplanade that lead down to the water, he did not hesitate to depart from "free" design into the strictest kind of order.

In remoter portions of a region, where the natural landscape is of too striking a character to be modified by the works of man, nature may well be left in her savage state; but to achieve success here, it is important that access to the spot should not be too easy and the opportunities for recreation should remain of the most primitive character. In park developments where this has not been observed, as for example on Mount Rainier in Washington, with its ten thousand visitors on a single day, the very feeling of primeval mountain masses and untrammelled spaces and terrifying heights is badly spoiled by the suburban nature of all the vast facilities that care for and feed the curious visitor.

Beauty Best Preserver

On the more striking beaches, like that by Koko Head, very little in the way of design need be added to nature's achievements. But where crowds of people are going to gather for essentially social pleasures, design is an essential part of the whole park relationship. The people's park, no less than the royal park, should convey a certain sense of order and by the planting of every tree, the design of every building, give a sense of what life's environment may be at its best: spacious, harmonious, rhythmic, infused with that quality of keen vitality for which the names "art" and "beauty" must serve as commonplace equivalents. Aesthetic delight is not something that should be segregated for the connoisseur of pictures or statues; not an emotion that one puts on tap on entering a museum and forgets in daily life. It is the natural reaction of the common man when the sea is blue and the sky dazzling, when a water lily unfolds in a pond, when a clean, finely-proportioned building extends its welcome to him when he enters it. No amount of attention that is paid to the aesthetic part of park design is wasted, for beauty is the best preservative of a park or a building.

An ugly, disheveled environment discourages good use; whereas a handsome, well-ordered environment usually stimulates the best kind of human reaction: under normal circumstances people take personal pride in maintaining such beauty.

The formal beauty of good architectural design and the spirit of play are indeed closely akin; where, indeed, is there a finer rhythm or a keener sense of design in space than in the balance of a surf-rider's body, in the delivery of a fine serve in tennis, or the curve of a diver's body as he leaps from the diving board? Beauty of form in sport is not obtained by accident: it is obtained by practice, by emulation, by the deliberate exercise of human skill. It is this sort of beauty that counts in the design of parks; and it is by no means an accident, perhaps, that possibly the most delightful playground for the young of all ages in the world, the Jardin du Luxembourg, is within the compass of a highly formalized park and garden.

Architecture Commended

Although all the main parks under the Park Commission are in an incomplete state, the quality of their design is evident. Espe-

cially to be commended is the use of the native tropical vegetation to the greatest extent possible, and the handsome, clear-cut character of all the new structures. The architectural treatment of Ala Moana Park and the design of the Mother Waldron playground seem to me particularly successful; these have their parallel in the handsome bathing structure and pergola in the coastal park at Waialua. **The Park Pavilion in Ala Moana, giving on to the beautiful formal garden and pool, will, if developed according to the original plan of serving as restaurant, provide a setting that is equalled in few places in the world.** The closest approach to this possibility is in the handsome restaurant that has been built, under the commissionership of Robert Moses, in the Central Park Zoo in New York. The great merit, indeed, of all of Mr. Moses' park developments, from the magnificent seaside park at Jones Beach to his smallest municipal playground, is that every spot that his architects and planners touched bears the mark of highly rational purpose, intelligible design, and aesthetic form. **No spot is too mean, no function is too humble to exist without benefit of art.** It is useless to seek in the past of Hawaii or any other region the aesthetic precedent for the new structures that the urban parks need. That will have to be found, through continued experiment, in the line already established by the boathouse on the Ala Wai and the other buildings I have mentioned. In landscape design, and in the working out of formal gardens, further thought and imagination are needed; but the architectural precedent is by now well established, and the need for an architectural form, clean, vivid, strong enough to hold its own against the effects of sea and mountain, should be obvious.

Makeshift Improvements

In park planning, as in every other department of civic economy, the wise counsel is that of Emerson's: save on the low levels and spend on the high ones. It is poor economy to erect makeshift structures that will presently look stale and seedy, will rot or lose their coat of paint, and will either have to be replaced or form a permanent eyesore. It is real economy to build whatever structures are really needed in durable and handsome materials, whose annual upkeep is low, and whose life may be measured in decades and centuries, rather than in years. For, of all the parts

of a city in which permanence may be expected, its parks rate highest; and that fact should be taken advantage of in the design of its structures. Simple, straightforward designs, carried through with an eye mainly to proportions, texture, and color, have a power to outlast all the minor changes of convention and taste. Mechanical equipment, on the other hand, is subject to rapid obsolescence; hence this item should be reduced to the lowest amount practicable with convenience and sound upkeep. Premature expenditures on half-baked developments are wasteful. It is better to go slowly with the development of parks, until the need for larger amounts of the annual municipal budget is recognized, than to undertake makeshift improvements whose feature is the fact that they will have to be remade.

Program Handicapped

The whole Parks program is seriously handicapped; it is quite evident, by the smallness of its annual municipal income. The two hundred and fifty thousand dollars allotted the Commission represents about four per cent of the annual municipal budget: the amount available for improvements and developments is infinitesimal after maintenance costs are provided for. Even the whole budget is not large enough to provide complete policing and services, and the lack of any substantial and regular development funds make precarious the completion of any concerted improvement program, dependent largely on sporadic allotments by the Legislature.

Because of the natural problems that arise through the congregation of large groups of people in a limited area, park police are as important for the proper care of parks as park gardeners. Their place is not merely to repress disorderly elements, a simple police job. They must be specially trained to oversee tactfully the entire use of the park and to give those who use it the fullest sense of ease compatible with good order. Until the parks have a special force of their own, specially trained, along the lines so well laid down by the designer of the Boston Metropolitan Park system, Charles Eliot II, the parks of Honolulu will labor under a serious handicap.

As for funds for park improvement, there would be no objection whatever to the reservation of part of the annual income for capi-

tal improvements: quite the contrary, for the proportion that can be so set aside out of the total is almost an index of the effectiveness of a community's taxation system and municipal administration. But the total sum granted to parks by the municipality should be greater than that made mandatory by law: the mandatory limit should be treated as a minimum. **Moreover, as the parks increase in extent, the amount needed to maintain them properly increases as well.** Eventually it will be possible to shift over to the maintenance and administration side of the park budget a part of the income now devoted to building and new development; but so long as the parks remain in an unfinished state, the whole budget must be greater, and must be increased with each new playground or park put into commission. Buildings and parks do not maintain themselves; to provide for capital outlays without also providing for the annual charges for maintenance is to evade inevitable obligations.

Budgetary Increase

With the extension of Honolulu's parks and their more intensive use, therefore, the proportion occupied by park expenditures in the annual budget should increase. To promote this readjustment should be a first concern of all citizens who are seriously interested in providing recreational facilities and a healthy environment for the inhabitants of Honolulu, and until adequate response to this need is forthcoming, the Park Commission must, in prudence, reject new commitments, and proceed slowly with the development of their existing properties.

Means of Working Out a Park Program

AS FAR as technical assistance is concerned, the parks have, during the last few years, been very fortunate. The character of the design has been thoroughly in harmony with regional needs, without any attempt to reproduce archaic patterns or to draw upon foreign historic sources. Under the priority schedule that has apparently existed in the minds of at least the Chairman of the Commission and its Architect, the most important elements have been put first and nothing has been skimped in order to give the work as a whole the appearance of being finished before it actually was ready to be done effectively.

But park planning, from the very nature of things, touches every other aspect of the city's existence. The quality of space, which is a matter essential to urban health and beauty, is a quality that comes especially within the province of the Park Department. Spacing is no less essential an element than placing and building—just as in music, the interval may be as important for the musical effect as the notes that are actually struck. But it is obvious that the work of preparing and executing a comprehensive park program for Honolulu must, under the present political arrangements, be an obstacle race for even the most earnest and intelligent and civic-minded commission. Planning involves relationship and the parks for Honolulu cannot be planned in correct relationship to all its other urban and industrial needs unless some authority is actively dealing with these things and formulating a rational treatment for them. Even the present park program has been seriously handicapped by the lack of any authoritative planning commission in the city capable of formulating and carrying out a coordinated program of city development.

Ineffectual Planning

The present City Planning Commission has been in existence for seventeen years. During that time it has, no doubt, accomplished a great deal of useful pedestrian work, **but because of lack of**

active public support, lack of intelligent cooperation on the part of elected officials, it has so far done little to anticipate the major constructive enterprises upon which the city must embark. In view of the circumstances under which it has functioned, no blame attaches to the City Planning Commission for this failure. Lack of political authority and lack of financial support have hamstrung even its most modest efforts. Such a commission might be composed of Michelangelos and Haussmanns without being able to add an iota to its present performance. Unfortunately, half-hearted city planning is in some ways worse than no city planning at all, for it gives the impression that some provision has been made, that some work is being done, that some careful eye is overseeing all the city's developments. Whereas in reality, habit and routine continue to throttle every attempt to improve the city's present condition.

Charter Revision

For the sake of doing its own work more effectively, the Park Commission must necessarily interest itself in the better composition of the city government—must concern itself, in other words, with the very important political and administrative revisions that the present Charter Committee will undertake to incorporate in their recommendations.

The first important need for a new type of city planning authority is to break through the water-tight compartments in which the various city departments now work. Departmental jealousy is an obvious and ever-present cause for the failure to work out a common solution of a common problem, and one of the causes for this jealousy is mere ignorance of what the other departments are doing, while another is the desire to acquire for one's own department as large a share as possible of the municipal budget. **This rivalry is, of course, not peculiar to city officials and certainly not peculiar to Honolulu.** One may observe exactly the same friction at work in the administration of any large university. While administrative autonomy is one of the secrets of responsibility and efficiency in any organization, such autonomy cannot exclude the need for common plans and for common means of effecting those plans. Indeed, certain matters which concern other city departments and functions should be made mandatory for common consultation and common action.

Uncoordinated Building

The recent case of the Ala Wai bridge crystallizes the dangers that are inherent in the present scheme. The engineer of a territorial public works board chose to consider the bridge as an independent, self-contained structure. His plan of the bridge was prepared without the slightest real consideration for the park approach, for the yacht basin approach, for the safety of the pedestrians having to cross the Ala Moana Boulevard, or for the probable need of a much broader parkway. But the fact is that a bridge can have no such independent existence. Whether it is a good bridge or a bad one does not depend merely upon its structural efficiency but upon its ability to work harmoniously with the other needs of the area it serves. **To plan, design, or build such a bridge except as part of an authorized city planning scheme, duly examined and thoroughly criticized by the authorities concerned, is not merely shortsighted but extremely wasteful. Such uncoordinated building has characterized a good part of the conventional improvements that have been made by urban authorities throughout the country.**

Waikiki Short-cut Not Needed

Another example, almost comic in its ineptitude, recently occurred in Honolulu, in which a recently paved street must be torn up within a few months of the completion of the paving job, in order to lay down water pipes. Still another example of this mischievous isolation that now exists between city departments is the proposed new street that is to be carried over the Ala Wai. **The basis upon which this short-cut from the hills to Waikiki is urged is an obsolete one: it is based on the time-standards of foot-traffic.** It would sacrifice the unity and beauty of one of Honolulu's proudest city planning developments (namely, the Ala Wai itself) in order to cut a few minutes of travelling time between two sections of the city that, on the basis of their prospective population or prospective amount of social intercourse, have no need of any such rapidity of movement.

Program of Civic Action

Whereas intelligent city planning is always concerned to reduce the number of streets to the lowest possible level, half-baked city planning, lacking in sound social objective, usually distin-

guishes itself by adding streets and traffic thoroughfares to areas where they are not needed. The cure for such erratic projects lies not so much in a master plan by itself as in a master policy: a program of civic action, formulated by minds that are capable of holding in view the good of the city as a whole and who are not afraid to go contrary to prevailing practices when those practices have proved to be obsolete and inefficient and wasteful.

How is the necessary city planning program to be achieved? How is the city planning education of the citizens and the professional groups of Honolulu to be extended? How is a coherent master plan to be formulated, not as an arbitrary exercise of technical authority but as a resolute consensus of the city's best intelligence about its needs and its possibilities of future development?

Informal cooperation between various departments and groups may prove very useful as a first step, but some more systematic and inevitable method of obtaining a common approach to city design should be brought into existence. This involves finding, first of all, some coherent administrative pattern to take the place of the present tangle of conflicting jurisdictions of territorial, county, and municipal authorities. It involves the incorporation of a more effective type of city planning authority in the very structure of the municipal government.

About the composition for such an authority, there appear to be many differences of opinion in Honolulu: Some favor a continuance of the purely advisory form of commission; some favor a more active and responsible type of commission. **Few as yet, apparently, have questioned the usual commission form itself as the most desirable type of administrative organ.** Most city planning authority in the United States is indeed vested in commissions. Often they are unpaid, as with the present Honolulu City Planning Commission. Sometimes they are paid, as in the new commission provided under the reformed charter of the City of New York. Such commissions tend to suffer from the lack of an indispensable element: a dominant personality of marked administrative or designing talent, capable of fusing together in a common design the special projects needed, anticipating future developments, making ready for them, installing them successfully, making them intelligible and useful to the community at large. **Most of the effective planning in New York during the past five years has been due to**

the existence of such a personality as the head of the park system.

Wherever one encounters the highest type of planning work, one usually discovers such a mind at the head of it. The vast and complicated regional planning reorganization of the Ruhr district in Germany was largely the work of a single man, Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, who had charge of the regional development of the Ruhr until the advent of the Nazis. Similarly, in Hamburg, the street development of the new areas along the Alster, the planning of the new parks, the building of the new schools, was largely the work of Dr. Fritz Schumacher.

Commissions are, by their very nature, consultative and deliberative bodies rather than executive ones. They provide a useful public check upon the planner. They give no guarantee, in their own composition, of the ability to plan: rather the reverse. To establish the type of planning service needed, one person must be entrusted with the necessary power and responsibility. He must devote himself wholeheartedly to this single purpose: he must carry it in mind day and night; he must live with his plans; he must nurture them; he must guide their development; he must be capable of amending them. Such devotion and such integrated action are beyond the normal working of any commission, no matter how harmonious. For this reason, I propose that the active planning agents of the city be placed on a different footing, and I would put forward for discussion an organization on the following lines:

Advisory Council

(1) A popular educational body, in this to be called the City Planning Council. Such a council should be of an advisory nature. It should be non-paid. It should incorporate the major professional and occupational and religious groups of the city—not excluding the responsible labor unions. This would bring into the active work of city planning, groups like the medical professions, whose advice and interest have been regrettably lacking from this field—and whose failure to deal with the environment as a conditioning factor in disease has been a serious handicap, many observers think, to the profession itself.

The purpose of such a council, composed of the best available representatives of each group, should be two-fold: (a) to contribute their special professional advice toward the general development of the city, and (b) to transmit to their special groups the concepts,

the principles, and the vision of the more active city planning administration.

One danger in connection with appointments for such a body should be noted. In most cities, such appointments are treated as a way of paying off, by an honorary office, some minor political or personal debt; the purpose of advisory bodies that do not effectively advise is to serve as a front of respectability for the job in hand. It is not such a body that I have in mind; respectability and good intentions are not a sufficient qualification for the office. The council should not consist of more than fifteen members: these men should be distinguished primarily for their competence in their professional fields; they should still be active, and aggressively interested in their vocations, as well as in the general welfare of the city. They should not pass upon any specific measures; but they should help to form and criticize and assay the fundamental policies of the city planning administration. The members of such a body should be chosen at yearly intervals; in such a way as to give at least half of those first inducted a term of office as long as that of the

Project Director

(2) A Project Director, with a competent staff large enough to handle all the problems of survey, engineering, architecture, and economics that may arise. The post of Project Director should be an appointive one and it should hold for a relatively long period: probably for no less than ten years. A shorter span of office either does not permit the occupant to show his abilities, or it commits him, perhaps against his will, to a premature effort to achieve an effect.

It might be that in Honolulu, the type of man required for such a post could, like the Chairman of the Park Commission, be obtained on a non-salaried basis. It is important, at all events, that he should be placed beyond the need for currying political favors, and that his work should be judged not by its immediate results in any particular year but by its total effect upon the city over the longer period of his supervision.

Expert Guidance

In giving the Project Director the key position, I purposely would open the office to another type of expert guidance than that of the

architect or the engineer. What is needed is someone who will understand the business of planning, organization, and coordination without necessarily being competent to carry through the actual task of design. This does not exclude the use of a person with an architectural or engineering training; it does exclude the use of his special services in the detailed work of carrying out the plan.

To obtain the best talent available for the latter work—and nothing less than the best should be good enough for Honolulu—the salary scale for permanent officials is too low. Hence all except the routine order of planning should be done with the part-time services of the best technician available. His selection should be mainly the responsibility of the Project Director. Such an arrangement is not perhaps as satisfactory as would be the appointment of a city architect, who is both administrator and technician in one, on the traditional lines of certain European cities; but in the case of Honolulu, it offers the best method, I believe, of obtaining the superior technical equipment necessary for the work, along with that continuity in office and continued supervision which are indispensable to any long-term improvement.

Board of Public Works

(3) A collaborating Board of Public Works, consisting of the elected or appointed officials who administer the various city departments. The active interest and understanding of these departments, together with such special members as the Park Commission itself, are involved in every city planning program.

This Board of Works should meet regularly to discuss its common problems, and it should be brought together at special meetings on the initiative of the Project Director when some new proposal, not covered by its routine procedure, is on the carpet.

Most people in Honolulu are by now agreed, I believe, that the present term of two years for city supervisors is far too short to permit effective public service. In New York, the term of the city officials was changed from two years to four years, with a marked advantage to competent officials and good administration. A term of at least four years, and probably not more than six, would be advisable in Honolulu if the right sort of administrator is to be drawn into public work.

It will occur to the student of municipal government that the post of Project Director, as here outlined, corresponds on the planning and development side to that of Mayor or City Manager on the administrative side. This scheme would, it seems to me, combine the advantage of concentration of authority with the necessary democratic safeguards against abuse of power, and also with the necessary enlistment of interest and goodwill on the part of the municipal officials whose assent and resistance will, in the long run, make or mar most of the plans that the Project Director may put forward. Before such an administrative board could be formed, however, it would be necessary, I believe, to group the existing City and Territorial authorities into a more symmetrical order without the overlapping and conflicting jurisdictions that now exist.

Sound Collaboration

The aim of this whole scheme would be at once to widen the participation of citizens and professional groups in the entire program of city development, and to give more authority to technical competence and sound administrative initiative than now exists. Most city planning commissions, instead of grasping and interpreting general questions of policy, spend far too much time on niggling details, that often embarrass or block the designer of a project without contributing effectively to the formulation of general policy. A clear definition of the several functions involved in city planning (namely: planning itself, administration, and advisory counsel) is a first step toward sound collaboration. Plato's age-old dictum that the main concern in morals and government is for each agent to mind his own business, is still true. But this involves, first of all, discovering what one's business truly is, and it involves the creation of a method of procedure whereby common business, no less than individual business, may be efficiently furthered. The advisory board would have no direct responsibility for determining policy but it would act as a liaison group between the public at large and the Project Director and the Board of Works. As citizen-like interest in planning develops, however, and as the various organized bodies that make up the city become conscious of the scope of their own professional contribution to a city planning program, one may expect the advisory board to grow in importance.

The Function of a Project Director

BEFORE discussing in more detail the functions of the Project Director, let me anticipate some of the criticisms that may be laid against the provision of such an officer.

The first that naturally occurs is that the Project Director has an authority almost equal to that of the Mayor's; hence the possibility of rivalry and conflict and cross purposes. This objection need not detain us very long. Within the province of city planning, the Project Director would indeed have a power comparable to the Mayor's; but like that of the Mayor himself, it would be subject to budgetary supervision and control. If the question be raised, why should not the city planning and administrative offices both be entrusted to an elected official like the Mayor, the answer is two-fold: the far-sighted planning of the structures of the city is by itself a full-time office. It calls for a different type of background and interest from that of a mayor or city manager; and again, the temperament that goes best with the professional capacities of the builder and planner is not necessarily that which allies itself easily with the tactful shoving and hauling and backing of ordinary political life.

The sort of Project Director that may be needed is perhaps not to be drawn from the local community. He must therefore be brought here by appointment, and any effort to tie him to the routine of elected office would compromise his work from the very beginning. In a certain city on the West Coast, the municipal engineer, who, for practical purposes, is there the equivalent of the Project Director, devoted a great part of the time nominally supposed to be spent at the service of the city, in electioneering in local neighborhoods and in obtaining small municipal favors for these local groups. As a result of such canny efforts, he achieved wide popularity and a very powerful political backing, although his actual contribution to the planning of the city as a whole was very largely a negative one.

Subject to Check

The second objection that may be raised to the office of Project Director is that it provides for too great a concentration of power. But power as such is not necessarily an evil. What must be guarded against is irresponsible power, power that is above criticism, power that is above the possibility of being displaced or overthrown. **Plainly, a Project Director, although he would be given a final say over many important points in a city's development—some of which would lay him open to the temptations of bribery and graft, or even merely affable collusion—would be subject to the normal checks of democracy: public criticism, arraignment on charges, and dismissal in the event of proved incompetence or crime.**

What our American cities have suffered from is precisely the absence of power on the part of those duly commissioned to further the city's activities. Our cities have been handicapped—thanks to backward Constitutional interpretations by the Supreme Courts—by the inability to acquire land in advance of public need, to control the socially negligent practices of the individual property owner or land speculator, to reorganize and rebuild blighted areas. In many states, indeed, the city may not take positive measures for the housing of lower-income groups who are not taken care of under decent standards by the commercial builder. To create the office of a Project Director or of a city planning commission without considerably widening the powers of the existing municipal governments eventually, through local and constitutional amendments, is to give with one hand and take back with the other: to promise the results of planning without providing the elementary means of achieving those results.

The greatest safeguard against the misuse of power is the active employment of scientific knowledge and technical skill. The physician has the power of life and death over his patient—a power that the community willingly entrusts to those who have sufficiently prepared themselves by study and discipline to wield it. So, too, with the Project Director: the safeguard against despotism or caprice is the same as the safeguard against ignorance and incompetence: namely, in the very technique that the engineer and the architect and the planner have achieved for arriving at their results.

Survey the City

The basic guide to all comprehensive city planning is the survey of the city. This should be a body of knowledge in the process of continual development and revision, which will show, both at large and in detail, the essential characteristics of the city and its region with respect to the geological formation, the soil, topography, climate, weather, water and other natural resources, occupations and industries, and the social and educational and religious practices of the community. These surveys must be prepared with the aid of competent specialists and technicians in each department, and they should be paralleled by similar activities in the schools of the city.

All such surveys begin with actual outdoor observation. Such intimate knowledge of the city, deepening with years and experience, should be the possession of every citizen; the foundation for this should be laid in the schools and become an essential part of their curricula and activities. City planning bodies that lack such understanding themselves, and that fail to foster such understanding on the part of the individuals and groups who compose the city, lack the very first resource of intelligent planning: a basis in fact, a true picture of existing conditions, a many-sided contact with the life and activities whose physical structure they propose to improve. While in most cities, city museums serve merely an antiquarian interest, it should be possible in Honolulu to create a civic museum, as part of a wider city planning project, which would deal with the future as well as the past and which would be the natural repository of the knowledge acquired in the Project Director's office. In such museums the past, the present, and the future of Honolulu should be spread before the eye in such a concentrated and simplified fashion that every citizen might become an active participant in the city's destiny.

Urban Renewal

Following the survey, the next important task of the Project Director is the development of a comprehensive policy for urban renewal; that is, for maintaining and conserving all that is sound in Honolulu's actual development up to the present, and for introducing such major changes and innovations as are necessary for the maintenance of health and well-being in future. The formula-

tion of such a program and its critical revision is something which may bring to the surface divergent and sometimes incompatible interests. **So far from shunning such issues, as officialdom everywhere too often timorously is tempted to do, the Project Director must, for the sake of the work that is to be carried through, boldly dramatize them and bring them to a head.** For the notion that any important changes can be made in the structure of our present cities without also changing the general pattern of life which they exemplify and reflect, is a superstition. Planning, so far from attempting merely to stabilize existing practices, rather concerns itself with achieving an orderly basis for change and readjustment. In working toward this end, it will necessarily come into conflict with vested economic interests of one kind or another. In the long run, good planning works to the advantage of all the inhabitants of a city; not the least to the advantage of those who have a large economic stake in its existence. But, by this very token, it cannot forfeit the advantage of the whole to the temporary aggrandizement of interest of any single individual or group.

This should come out very plainly in Honolulu, if any effective city planning is to be done, in the steps that must be taken to deal with the present land situation. It will come out likewise in various other departments. Such changes as may be projected can come about only through a well considered program of education and purposive political action. They cannot be bought on the cheap. One of the important reasons for putting the Project Director above the concerns of local politics, and above fear of losing office through temporary shifts and eddies in public sentiment, lies in the very need for the exertion on his part of courageous leadership.

Master Plan

The third step in arriving at an effective scheme of city development is the provision of a master plan which will not merely record the existing development of the city but which will indicate the lines of future development, both in space and in time. Such a plan is not to be regarded as a monument, forever fixed and inflexible. It is rather to be looked upon as an instrument of orderly thought, open to revision as need dictates from year to year and from generation to generation. In his recent little treatise on the Master Plan, Mr. Edward Bassett treats the Master Plan as if it existed only

in space: he includes under this term nothing that cannot be located on a map. This seems to me a very partial view of the functions of a plan; and it rests upon an old-fashioned and now untenable separation of space and time. Buildings and structure and avenues and open spaces do not merely exist in space: they enter into the civic picture, they take place at some time; and to achieve a timely and orderly sequence of such building is as essential a part of a plan as to secure their correct location and disposition. Time plays a part in the matters of allotment, building, opening, amortizing, repairing, renewing, and destruction of all the visible structures in a city; hence a time-chart of public works, in order to secure at the most advantageous moment the land needed and the public funds to develop it in correct relationship to need and demand, should be an essential complement to every Master Plan; without it the plan is only half-done.

Priority Schedule

In the preparation of such a plan, then, I must emphasize the importance of the time element. A good city plan not merely rests upon an historic sense of the city's development in the past, but it assigns to each new project its desirable order in time. Premature developments are expensive developments. Retarded developments, such as the belated provision of schools or playgrounds after land has risen to a value which makes its acquisition all but impossible, are expensive developments. To achieve economy in city design means not merely to invest the municipality's capital in the right sort of structure, but to provide for its building at the right time. Not merely must there be a systematic study of the timely arrangement of urban projects, but there must be a priority schedule in terms of social value. Without such a priority schedule, public monies are forever in danger of being quickly expended upon the simpler and more obvious forms of urban reconstruction, while more important ones, because of their difficulty or because of the total cost involved, are indefinitely postponed while evils pile up and grievances become more deep-seated.

Finally, it should be the province of the Project Director not merely to formulate, with the assistance of the Board of Works, a policy and a program of planning: he should also have the power to initiate necessary improvements and, where no existing author-

ity is competent to undertake them, to supervise their construction. In the case of public projects involving the collaboration of one or more city departments, the major responsibility for coordination and control should rest with the Project Director.

Democracy's Alternative

The broad powers I have outlined seem to me essential to the economic development of the city of the future. They are democracy's responsible alternative to the irrational and irresponsible processes of dictatorship. They are also democracy's alternative to the log-rolling, the wire-pulling, the ineffectual jockeying, and the massive inert mediocrity of American municipal politics, as practised in most cities up to this last generation. The important changes which must be instituted cannot be achieved more cheaply. We cannot remain in our old groove without sinking deeper. It requires an act of political imagination and courage to achieve anything like the organization that is needed today to cope with the problems that the disorderly and incompetent development of the American city have raised.

Whether Honolulu has the type of leadership necessary to create such an office, and to give it the necessary understanding and support, I do not know. Possibly, as yet, no one knows. But this, one may safely say: if the right lead is given and if the responsibility is accepted, there is perhaps no place better situated than Honolulu to achieve favorable results.

Reorganization of the Park Commission

FOR THE better administration of the Parks, I submit to the Park Commission the following recommendations for its own reorganization.

(1) The planning and development work shall be entirely in the hands of an Executive-Commissioner. He shall perform the functions now performed by the present Commission Chairman; but actual administrative decision shall rest entirely in his hands. He shall have the services of an architect, a landscape architect, a gardener, and other technicians as may be required for the development program—subject to the budgetary control of the Park Commission.

(2) The Park Commission shall become a policy-making body. The Executive-Commissioner shall consult with the Commission as to the general lines of policy to be pursued; and in case of serious disagreement shall resign. The Commission shall also perform the routine functions of authorization and financial review. The Commission shall exercise no control over the day-to-day operations of the Park system; nor shall it, except in general terms of policy, determine the specific solutions worked out by the Executive-Commissioner and his technical assistants.

The aim of this reorganization is not to reduce the importance of the Commission but to limit its actions to those provinces where its contributions have merit and point. At the same time, it proposes to relieve the present Chairman of the burden of having responsibility without authority; and to provide him or his successor with the means of executing a broadly conceived park program.

In suggesting this eventual reorganization, I am aware that I am perhaps putting upon the present members of the Park Commission the rare duty of acting as the old feudal families did in the reorganization of Japan. But although this kind of self-abnegation is more usually forced by some outside authority than put forward by internal consent, it may be that in the case of the Park Commission there is sufficient public spirit to effect the change. No better example could be set for the larger reorganization of the municipal government, now so badly needed, than such an act as this.

Conclusion and Summary

IN THE course of this report I have put forward a number of specific suggestions for both the improvement of the parks of the City and County of Honolulu and for the general development of the city as a unified whole. Each of these proposals may be criticized and evaluated by itself; but underlying them is something more important—certain broad views and principles as to the nature of modern city development in relation to the special local problems of Honolulu. Let me attempt to sum up these more fundamental matters.

The first is that we are approaching the era of stabilization and that the time for long-range planning and for systematic coordinated planning is already upon us. We are now about to create the permanent framework of the city. Whatever is done toward urban improvement should be done well. It should be done not by mere rote and habit, as cheaply as possible, as conventionally as possible. It should be done rather out of the fullest inquiry into the best contemporary city planning methods, and out of the fullest determination to achieve the sort of political organization that is necessary to put such projects through. Honolulu's parks, for example, are already, despite the short term of their development, well abreast of the past generation's best work, in many departments. They have now, like the city itself, to be more fully adapted to the new needs and the new plans that are characteristic of twentieth century practice.

The second basic principle is that park planning is a coordinate branch of city planning. There can be no effective park planning on a grand scale without working out a unified attack upon Honolulu's city planning problems as a whole: renewal of its blighted districts, the replacement of its slums, the opening up of its middle-class suburban subdivisions, and the restriction of a premature and uneconomic suburban development.

The third principle is that a comprehensive park system, like a comprehensive plan for the city as a whole, must be worked out

in systematic fashion. It must be based upon a deliberate survey of resources, needs and opportunities. It must provide for development in both space and time. And it must be established in accordance with a social scale of values which will put the major social needs of the population first and be entirely free from any tendency to respond erratically to local pressures and sporadic individual suggestions.

The fourth principle I would emphasize is one that applies particularly to the Park Commission: In the development of the city, the park program remains the very core of a more social conception of city development. The Park Commission itself, therefore, has a very urgent responsibility to assume the leadership here, to introduce to the community as a whole the more comprehensive designs for parks, parkways, and neighborhood developments. It has the duty of taking the initiative in furthering popular education as to what plan and design may mean in life: first, by bringing all of its present structures up to the high standard of excellence that two or three of them have already achieved; and second, by interpreting the nature of such plan and design to the community at large. City design is a field of effort that should enlist the best talents of this generation. Here is something that should call into quickened activity the hopes and resources and dreams of the young, the experience and fortitude of the old. Out of the shabbiness and messiness of the present city, a new order may emerge; and out of its natural charm, a maturer beauty—more deeply humanized, more friendly to human desire—may be constructed. Only two things are lacking: not the power of execution but the imagination to conceive and the courage to desire.

Lewis Mumford
Amenia, New York
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