

COMMERCE AND PRESERVATION: THE UNEASY RELATIONSHIP

Commerce and preservation in the United States are locked in a curious, uniquely American relationship. The union has been one of strife, often fatal to preservationist values and artifacts. Yet it has at times been a creative intertwining, even the author of those values and artifacts.

The relationship is both hopeful and dangerous. Because of its double-edged character, establishing supportive rather than destructive ties between commerce and preservation will remain among the most urgent but least understood tasks facing preservationists in post-Bicentennial America. This challenge is momentous, because preservation has traditionally taken a back seat to commerce in the United States. When its goals have agreed with government and private sector efforts to promote commerce, preservation has fared reasonably well; otherwise, it has not.

It is important to understand where and how commerce derives its primacy before attempting an assessment of its linkage with preservation. The idea offered here is that commerce signifies both the central organizing force in American historic and social affairs and a distinctive conception of private property rights. On balance, both features have proven hostile to preservation in the past, although workable accommodations have been recorded.

Preservationists need not be pessimistic, however. As noted before, the past is not without its areas of productive interplay between the forces of commerce and preservation. As for the future, changing conceptions of both commerce's primacy in national life and the formerly unbridled scope of private development rights promise a readjustment of priorities. Preservationist values may not be so readily discarded in the name of economic growth and development in the future.

COMMERCE: AN AMERICAN OBSESSION

The pervasiveness of commerce in American life marks it as a force to be reckoned with by any who seek to shape the nation's historical and cultural values. In the memorable epigram of President Calvin Coolidge, "The business of America is business." From the country's founding to its 200th birthday, no theme is more recurrent than the commitment to commerce and its partners, economic growth and relative freedom in the marketplace.

The historical background of this development can be recounted briefly. Europe's decision to colonize the New World was largely the result of mercantile attitudes. The English in Jamestown, Virginia, the French in the Mississippi Valley and the Dutch in New Amsterdam all saw

the New World as a source of raw materials and as a market for the Old World's manufactured goods. In the settlers' struggle for independence, a major motive, as reflected in the Boston Tea Party and similar outbreaks, was a desire to break the mercantilist grip of the Old World.

The central role of commerce in New World affairs was not the source of the settlers' objection. Rather, they wanted power over commercial decisions to rest at home rather than abroad. Once independence was secured, the fledgling nation commenced with abandon to exploit its land and natural resources. Exploitation, not management or husbanding, was the mood, for the blessings of land and resources seemed boundless then.

The 19th century further quickened America's obsession with commerce. The westward migration and the United States industrial revolution absorbed the nation's attention and energies. The first of these developments stimulated generous public investment and franchising to assure the infrastructure of roads, canals, railroads and other improvements that the demographic shift demanded. At both the federal and state levels, government eagerly served as the handmaiden of commercial exchange.

The industrial revolution called forth not only government's supportive efforts but the private sector's involvement in the functions of capital concentration and technology management. Thus the chartered private corporation came to compete with and not infrequently outstrip government itself as a creator and distributor of resources and, ultimately, of social values.

The progeny of the 19th-century marriage of the corporation with a swashbuckling laissez-faire ideology is still with us today, indicated by the primacy of the marketplace and the balance sheet in development decisions.

The Civil War was a tragic interlude in the nation-building process. It also served to underline further the influence of commerce in American affairs as long-standing commercial hostility between northern and southern states contributed to the clash of arms. The post-Civil War period, from 1866 through the second decade of the 20th century, witnessed the coming to fruition of the three trends mentioned earlier: the western migration, the industrial revolution and the growing domination of the private corporation. The merging of the three trends identifies this period as the height of a growth-at-any-price philosophy in American thought.

The Great Depression modified the picture in at least two respects. First, through the New Deal and other political innovations of the 1930s, America's federal government intervened more directly as regulator and

stimulator of commerce than it had earlier. In fact, its economic recovery programs for industry, agriculture and housing were bitterly but unsuccessfully contested in constitutional litigation before the United States Supreme Court. Second, the period saw some tempering of government's power to regulate private enterprise in the public interest.

With the end of World War II, both the public and private sectors mobilized to meet the demand that had developed during that lengthy conflict. By all accounts this period, which has only recently terminated, saw extraordinary economic growth. Among the public sector's contributions were a massive interstate highway system, the renovation of downtown sections of countless cities and an upward spiral of both public and private housing starts in response to direct federal spending and mortgage insurance programs.

A similar explosion was evident in the private sector, which registered dramatic increases in jobs, real income and production and consumption. The period's single-minded pursuit of economic growth rivaled that of the post-Civil War period, differing principally in its approval of more regulatory and other governmental intervention than would have been acceptable in an earlier era.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

The conception of property that dominated American thought during these phases of its past can fairly be described as a good idea gone awry. As proclaimed by John Locke in England, and by Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson on this side of the Atlantic, private property was a "natural right" immune from state infringement. Their sometimes extravagant claims for property must be seen in the antifeudal, antimonarchy context; opposing those who preached the absolute power of kings, they looked to private property as a buffer protecting the individual from the state. To them, property was an affirmation of human personality and a healthy decentralizer of power, as Jefferson repeatedly emphasized in his idealization of agrarian America and its yeoman class.

Forged to free individuals from one kind of domination, this notion of property was subtly reformulated in the 19th century to subject them to another—that of potent private corporations and their captains, the "robber barons" who presided over industrial, transportation and commodity empires. In the midcentury period, a concern that the concentration of wealth made possible by the corporate model could lead to abusive concentrations of power caused many states to outlaw corporations altogether or to restrict their activities severely.

This concern also became an important plank in the agrarian-populist movements of the following 75 years. But these efforts proved to no avail, both because the anticorporation laws were eventually repealed and because the United States Supreme Court, in a series of post-Civil War decisions, extended to corporate property the same immunity from state regulation that had earlier been accorded to individual property.



The Second Avenue Commercial District in Nashville, Tennessee, built in the 1870s and 1880s, is an example of commercial American architecture. (Jack Boucher for HABS)

Le Quartier Commerçant de la Seconde Avenue à Nashville, au Tennessee, construit dans les années 1870 et 1880, est un exemple d'architecture commerciale américaine.

The Supreme Court thereby buttressed the conceptions of strong private property rights and untrammelled laissez-faire capitalism that were the unique bequest of the late 19th century to the 20th. The article by Robert E. Stipe in this publication discusses the legal impediments to public regulation of privately owned historic properties; those impediments have their roots in this phase of American jurisprudence.

In view of the Stipe article on this issue, only two points need be made here. First, the dominance of the marketplace and of private property rights was a fact in 19th-century America, one supported by the United States Supreme Court. Second, while the courts since then have progressively whittled away at the more extreme claims for private rights, the issue of the extent to which government may restrict private use of historic structures remains very much alive.

COMMERCE: THE MASTER OF PRESERVATION

Commerce has been the creator of much that the nation now strives so desperately to retain. Without the great age of railroads, there would be no Grand Central Terminal in New York City or Union Station in Cincinnati, Ohio. The lust for gold and silver not only settled California but built historic Virginia City, Nevada, and Columbia, California. The hogs, wheat and iron of brawling, turn-of-the-century Chicago, Illinois, were wondrously transformed into the business palaces of the Chicago School of Architecture. Demand for California's great redwood trees accounts for Roaring Camp, Eureka



South Pass City, Wyoming, reached its peak as a center of gold mining activity in 1870 but declined shortly thereafter. A store, saloon, former Wells Fargo office and log dwelling give mute testimony to the 19th-century westward migration. (Jack Boucher for HABS)

South Pass City, dans le Wyoming, centre minier aurifère, connu son apogée en 1870 mais déclina peu après. Un magasin, un cabaret, un ancien bureau de Wells Fargo et une habitation en rondins témoignent de la migration vers l'Ouest au XIX^e siècle.

and other rugged logging settlements along the California coast.

These and countless other commercial ventures have given America most of its great buildings and sites, its diverse manners and folkways and, in no small part, its very soul as a nation. And that is what preservation is all about.

In addition to creating the wealth to underwrite these ventures, commerce has to some extent financed the preservation of the buildings and artifacts to which they gave rise. Private philanthropy, for example, has been the backbone of such preservation showcases as Williamsburg, Virginia, Deerfield, Massachusetts, and Old Salem in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Without a healthy private economy, of course, philanthropic support for these projects would not be forthcoming.

Public agencies at the federal, state and local levels, moreover, are increasingly supporting all manner of preservation projects, from the city-wide architectural survey of Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the restoration of the Cataldo Mission in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Public aid also assumes a healthy economic base, as the tax dollars contributed to these undertakings would be unavailable without it.

But if commerce creates, it can also destroy. Because of commerce, many lots in several large American cities including New York have each been occupied by at least three buildings consecutively in the last 100 years. With occasional exceptions, no inherent physical or engineering reason dictates that these buildings must be replaced in 30-year cycles. The causes are found instead in the network of economic constraints that impel builders to



Jacksonville, Oregon, founded on the euphoria of a nearby gold strike, was the principal distribution, financial and trading center for southern Oregon. The late 19th-century commercial architecture in this historic district remains basically unchanged. (Jack Boucher for HABS)

Jacksonville, dans l'Oregon, fondée dans l'euphorie de la découverte d'un terrain aurifère, fut le principal centre de distribution, de commerce et de finances de l'Oregon du Sud. L'architecture commerçante du XIX^e siècle de ce quartier historique n'a fondamentalement pas changé.

demolish and rebuild, lenders to lend, unions to find work, suppliers to supply and architects to design.

What is true for buildings is no less true of entire neighborhoods and lifestyles. No longer is Chicago's Prairie Avenue home to the great families who made their fortunes in the once-bustling Chicago stockyards and other industries. No longer is the island of Nantucket, Massachusetts, a community whose life and manners revolve around the whaling industry, in ways so richly portrayed in Herman Melville's novel *Moby Dick*. The stockyards are gone; and whale oil cannot compete with crude oil. Deprived of their commercial reason to exist, Prairie Street and Nantucket, along with their distinctive lifestyles, are but a pale image of their former selves.

That is only part of the story. The economic network in turn generates other networks, which are equally change-inducing. A pro-commerce era, for example, transforms the complex of laws bearing on land exchange, development and taxation. Private transactions in land are shielded from public scrutiny by an ambitious jurisprudence of private property rights, such as that proclaimed by American courts at the turn of the 19th century. Tax laws all but force periodic replacement of buildings within absurdly telescoped time frames by granting generous depreciation allowances and other boons.

In this framework, land becomes a replaceable commodity—readily assembled, traded and redeveloped. Indeed, along the highways of California, one today even sees signs advertising trailers as "mobile estates." How unlike



The Reliance Building, designed by D. H. Burnham and Company in 1895, and the Marquette Building, designed by Holabird and Roche in the same year, exemplify the Chicago School of Architecture, which revolutionized commercial architecture throughout the world. (Jack Boucher for HABS)

Les deux bâtiments suivants, "Le Reliance Building" dessiné par D. H. Burnham et Compagnie et le "Marquette Building" dessiné par Holabird et Roche la même année sont des exemples types de l'Ecole d'Architecture de Chicago qui révolutionna l'architecture commerciale du monde entier.

the true estates and great mansions that remained in English families for generations! Their sale for subdivision development would have been unthinkable as a matter of manners and infinitely complicated under the traditions of English land law.

Along with the legal framework generated by a market economy, another important factor is the network of consumer tastes that it produces. If a product will not sell, it will not be built or developed and the commercial engine cannot be put in motion. Hence, there is an emphasis on the "new" in America. New—or "newer than new"—soaps and toothpastes, annual automobile and clothing fashion changes and the like are now taken for granted.

The desire for novelty extends to buildings as well. Real estate people may degrade any building—the great Chicago School of Architecture masterpieces included—that has somehow survived its third decade. In their minds and those of their corporate clients, age alone curses a building.



THE SEARCH FOR HARMONY

Preservationists have begun to face these stubborn realities. Their mood is pragmatic as they ask: "How can commerce be made to work for, rather than against, preservation?" The answers given are as varied as the problems that give rise to the question. However, despite the varieties of response, two generalizations can be ventured. First, preservationists are finding that commerce and preservation are not invariably at odds, in spite of the economic, legal and planning-architectural rules of the game as they now stand. Imaginative but practical solutions can frequently be worked out between preservationists and government or private developers to avoid destruction of a cherished building, neighborhood or site.

Second, preservationists are unwilling to agree to those rules of the game that clash harshly and often heedlessly with preservation values. The fatalism of an earlier day is giving way to sophisticated, aggressive efforts to single out the more troublesome of these rules, to determine how they should be changed and to mobilize political and educational resources to secure those changes.

Examples of these developments are easily found. One is the Old City Hall in Boston, Massachusetts, a building that faced certain demolition because, in its original



The Cataldo Mission, Idaho, (c. 1852) is a National Historic Landmark preserved with matching grant-in-aid funds from the National Park Service. Constructed by Jesuit missionaries and Indian workers, it is the oldest building in Idaho. (William C. Everhart for HABS)

La Mission Cataldo, dans l'Idaho (c. 1852) est un haut lieu Historique National conservé grâce aux subventions du Service des Parcs Nationaux. Construite par les missionnaires jésuites et des ouvriers indiens, c'est le plus vieux bâtiment de l'Idaho.



The Single Brothers' House in Old Salem, North Carolina (1769), reflects the German origins of its builders. Private initiative is responsible for the preservation of the historic Moravian settlement. (National Trust)

La Maison des Frères Single à Old Salem, en Caroline du Nord (1769) reflète l'origine allemande de ses bâtisseurs. C'est l'initiative privée qui est responsable de la conservation de la colonie historique moravienne.

use, it no longer served the needs of public or private commerce. An imposing granite-walled, Second Empire-style structure, it was literally given a new lease on life by Architectural Heritage, Inc., which prevented its sale as surplus public property by acquiring a 99-year leasehold on it from the city of Boston.

Through renovation, painstaking restoration of the exterior and astute financial planning, the Architectural Heritage firm not only protected one of Boston's most distinctive buildings but provided space for a French restaurant, a bank, a law firm and numerous other tenants as well. Old City Hall is now making a profit for its sponsors and is expected to return to the city of Boston more than \$25 million in rent in lieu of taxes.

Old City Hall's story of success through adaptive reuse is one that can be told about countless other architecturally significant buildings or complexes. Additional examples are Ghirardelli Square and the Cannery in San Francisco, California; the Auditorium in Chicago, Illinois; and, to complete the swing from west to east, the Jefferson Market Courthouse in the Greenwich Village Historic District of New York City.

These stories have a happy ending principally because accommodation between commerce and preservation was not left to chance but carefully worked out beforehand. Consumer preferences and submarkets were identified. While a corporate consumer of large, standardized office space areas would have little interest in an Auditorium or an Old City Hall, other potential users might. It is no accident that adaptive reuse has proven especially

attractive to institutions, such as universities and non-profit corporations; to purveyors of specialized services, such as banks and law and architectural firms; and to retailers of quality merchandise and cuisine.

The economics of these ventures conformed to prudent investment guidelines. Basically, the income generated by a property must both amortize its costs and return a reasonable profit. Sometimes this happy state of affairs may be precluded by structural deterioration, neighborhood changes or a simple absence of market demand. For instance, some think that the Arcade Building in Cleveland, Ohio, and the Ryman Auditorium in Nashville, Tennessee, are imperiled by such factors.

Even when adaptive reuse affords a return, however, the higher financial rewards promised by redevelopment may prove overwhelming. The owners of Chicago's 13-story Old Stock Exchange were enjoying an estimated return of nine percent on invested equity in 1968 but chose to demolish nonetheless because they found irresistible the prospects of the increased profits possible in replacing the Exchange with a 42-story structure. (As things turned out, they guessed wrong; the new building went bankrupt two years after construction.)

In the face of such an alternative, adaptive reuse may prove deficient. But for other landmark situations, adaptive reuse can and has facilitated the marriage of commerce and preservation.

Finally, the finance and real estate communities had to be persuaded that preservation could be profitable. Resistance can usually be anticipated, but it is not impos-



Old City Hall, Boston, Massachusetts (1862–65), designed by Gridley I. F. Bryant and Arthur D. Gilman, was recently rehabilitated for a variety of uses including a restaurant, a bank and offices. (John Maguire for Architectural Heritage Foundation)

Le Vieil Hôtel de Ville, à Boston, au Massachusetts (1862–65), dessiné par Gridley I. F. Bryant et Arthur D. Gilman a récemment été reconverti en restaurant, banque et bureaux.

sible to overcome, thanks to several trends. One is America's growing appreciation of its past, which is already being reflected in market preferences and investment decisions. As shoppers, office workers and ultimately as human beings, Americans *like* to be in the New Orleans, Louisiana, Vieux Carré, the Seattle, Washington, Pioneer Square Historic District and other places rich with the associations and physical contours of earlier times and lifestyles. Thus the real estate market's slavish preoccupation with consumer preferences will eventually work in favor of preservation.

Energy shortages also provide further assurance of the economic wisdom of recycling and restoring, instead of tearing down and replacing. Similar inducements for recycling appear in skyrocketing costs of building materials, attributable in part to energy problems and in part to world-wide market shortages.

Especially encouraging is the fact that preservationists and the financial community are finally talking to one another, seeking points of common concern and a common language. This dialogue, predictably halting and unsure at the outset, must expand and deepen if long-term cooperation is to be established between commerce and preservation.

What is true of individual buildings such as Boston's Old City Hall is true of neighborhoods and entire communities as well. Consider the case of New Harmony, Indiana. As a community that has never exceeded its present population of 971 residents, its accomplishments are extraordinary. The 160-year-old town is the home of America's first kindergarten, first trade school, first free coeducational public school system, first women's club and first free library. It was also the site of the nation's first geological survey, an important development in opening up the West, and the home of Robert D. Owen, the fabled 19th-century social reformer and draftsman of the legislation creating the Smithsonian Institution, a complex of museums in Washington, D.C.

Restoration of buildings within New Harmony and its revitalization as a cultural and educational center are being pursued under a blueprint devised by Historic New Harmony. In terms of economic sophistication, the blueprint rivals anything produced by private corporations or government agencies. There is a deliberate and painstaking attempt to harness commercial forces for preservation ends. Among the matters addressed are the following: availability of funds by amount and source (some \$25 million has already been committed by the state of Indiana, private philanthropists and foundations); land-use planning, broadly defined to include zoning, transportation planning, historic districting and a comprehensive development plan for New Harmony and its environs; marketing projections as they relate to the tourist activity and jobs that the project will generate (200,000 visitors expected in 1977 and an anticipated increase to 570,000 by 1985 with the creation of 200 full-time and 100 seasonal jobs); an infrastructure of public and private improvements, ranging from cemetery to town hall, inns to bookstores, and cluster housing for the elderly to a medical center; and a decision-making process involving Historic New Harmony with local and

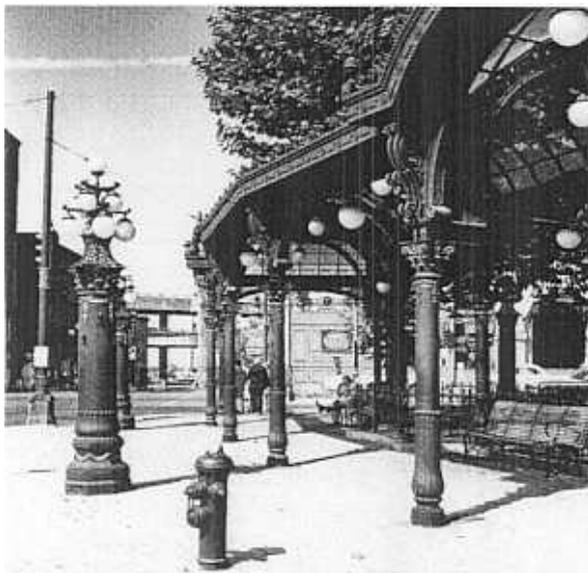
state officials, and various private individuals and organizations.

The New Harmony blueprint is not without its counterparts in other American cities. Preservation's prospects in the Denver, Colorado, Larimer Square, the Galveston, Texas, Strand and the New York City South Street Seaport have been enhanced by similar efforts to understand and, where possible, to harmonize market forces with preservation goals. The process is full of unknowns for all concerned, be they preservationists, public officials or representatives of the finance and real estate communities. Troublesome compromises are inevitable, but the earnest and sophisticated way in which the process is being pursued is a sure sign that preservation is coming of age in America.



Ghirardelli Square, San Francisco, California, is a multi-level complex of shops, restaurants and theaters that occupies 19th-century chocolate, spice, coffee and woolen factories adapted to new use in 1964. (San Francisco Convention & Visitors Bureau)

La Place Ghirardelli, à San Francisco, en Californie, est un complexe à plusieurs niveaux de restaurants et de théâtres qui occupent les vieilles fabriques de chocolat, d'épices et de café du XIX^e siècle, reconverties en 1964.



Pioneer Square Historic District, Seattle, Washington, a center of the 19th-century lumber industry, has been rescued from urban blight through the cooperation of preservation and business interests. (Carleton Knight III for the National Trust)

Le Quartier Historique de la Place des Pionniers à Seattle, dans l'état de Washington, centre de l'industrie du bois au XIX^e siècle a été sauvé du fléau urbain grâce à la coopération des intérêts de conservation et d'entreprise.

This cast-iron pergola is in the Pioneer Square Historic District. (Carleton Knight III for the National Trust)

Cette tonnelle en fonte se trouve dans le Quartier Historique de la Place des Pionniers.

CHANGING THE RULES OF COMMERCE

There is a growing appreciation among preservationists and their environmentalist friends that commerce's primacy over other facets of national life is not preordained. They understand that the rules of the development game began in a growth-for-growth's sake atmosphere and are inevitably slanted against preservation. They also realize that public officials do not intentionally undertake highways or redevelopment projects in architecturally or environmentally damaging ways. Instead, those officials respond to efficiency requirements and budgetary constraints, to routines and practices sanctioned by usage and regulation and to other considerations that crystallized when preservation counted for little in public policy.

Nor do universities, churches and private developers necessarily leap with joy at the prospect of tearing down another landmark. They too are caught up in a network of antipreservation rules that grew in an earlier time.

The drive to reorient or at least neutralize these rules is among the most positive features of the contemporary preservation scene. Two examples might be cited as representative of this trend, one addressed to development undertaken or licensed by public agencies, the other to private development.

In the past, citizens had little recourse when confronted with the environmentally adverse consequences of government's decision to build a highway or license a nuclear plant. Such consequences were many and often serious, and the rules circumscribing public development decisions contained few incentives or sanctions to induce officials to avoid or mitigate those effects.

With the passage of federal and state environmental policy acts in recent years, a major step has been taken to right the balance in this situation. These laws require that public development or licensing decisions must be preceded by a thorough assessment of their environmental impacts, and they authorize citizen suits to insure a government's environmental accountability.

Extensive litigation during the last half decade has confirmed that this and related legislation have indeed changed the rules of the public development game. While environmentalists have not received everything they asked for under these acts, few would deny that their credibility and their leverage have received a strong boost from the laws.

The second example, incentive zoning, speaks to the problem of fairness in public decisions that restrict private rights, such as landmark designation. Anyone familiar with urban construction knows that profitability depends largely on the intensity of development permitted. A 40-story office building will earn more than its five-story neighbor, assuming a vigorous market for office space. Many, perhaps most, urban landmarks have been destroyed because they were undersized in relation to the density authorized for their sites by the municipal zoning codes.

As long as the rules of the private development game state that the development rights of a given site may be



The Owen Block building in New Harmony, Indiana, has been returned to active commercial use as part of the rehabilitation and preservation program of Historic New Harmony, Inc. (Historic New Harmony, Inc.)

Le bâtiment Owen, à New Harmony, en Indiana, a repris son activité commerciale grâce au programme de réhabilitation et de conservation de la Corporation Historique de New Harmony.

Thrall's Opera House, New Harmony, Indiana (1824), was restored in 1969 and serves as a cultural center for the town. (Historic New Harmony, Inc.)

L'Opéra Thrall, à New Harmony, en Indiana, a été restauré et sert de centre culturel à la ville.

used on that site or not at all, landmark designation of these often diminutive buildings inevitably meets with resistance from landowners. In effect, designation forces landmark owners to forfeit their unused development rights while leaving their neighbors, as owners of non-designated sites, free to build to the greater densities prescribed in the zoning code.

One response to this problem, pioneered in New York City and modified for application elsewhere, is the transferable development rights (TDR) technique. A classic instance of changing the rules to substitute an incentive for a deterrent, TDR allows landmark owners to transfer the unused development rights of their sites to other parcels. In return for agreeing not to redevelop the sites the owners receive either (1) cash from the sale of these rights to other landowners, or (2) should they also own the transferee sites, the right to build larger, more profitable buildings than the zoning would otherwise allow.

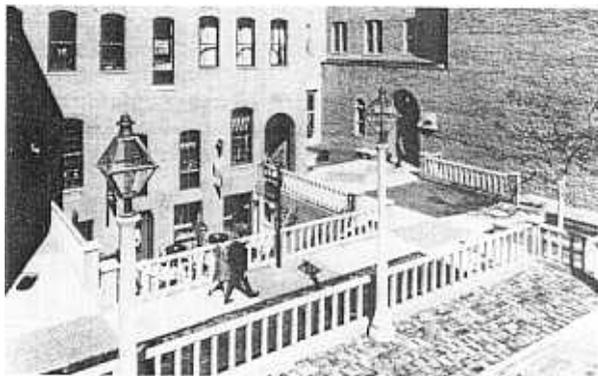
THE DILEMMAS OF SUCCESS

It would be misleading not to mention what may be called the second generation problems implicit in the foregoing efforts to harness commerce in aid of preservation. After all, the two forces are strange bedfellows. Certainly in a society so permeated with commercial values, accommodation by preservationists promises positive results in many instances. But this strategy may also erode the same preservation benefits it affords.

Adaptive reuse, for example, must be undertaken in light of consumer preferences—of what will sell. When historical or architectural authenticity is in demand, all may be well. But suppose they are not, as often occurs, or that the income possibilities of a property (or the profit expectations of its owner) preclude the scale of investment necessary to achieve and maintain that authenticity. Then the results are likely to be low-quality and synthetic, rather like the “colonial” gasoline stations sprinkled about the Washington, D.C., Georgetown section.

Nor is restoration of neighborhoods or areas an unmixed blessing, particularly for the local residents. Increased housing costs usually follow refurbishing, and the price one must pay for the area’s new amenities may both drive out lower income groups presently living there and preclude any but higher-income professionals from moving in. Achieving social balance and equity between present residents and newcomers is not an easy task under such circumstances, as Washington, D.C., Cincinnati, Ohio, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Boston, Massachusetts, can attest.

A somewhat different set of difficulties confronts preservation areas that bank on tourism for their economic bases. Consider the residents of New Orleans’ Vieux Carré, whose problems have arisen not because preservation failed to stimulate tourism but because it has succeeded too well. The price exacted here takes many forms: congestion within the Vieux Carré itself; gross overbuilding of tourist accommodations on its periphery;



Larimer Square, Denver, Colorado (1860–80), illustrates commercial urban preservation. Efforts to harmonize market forces with preservation goals resulted in renovation of the Court of the Bull and Bear, seen here before and after renovation. (Larimer Square Associates)

La Place Larimer, à Denver, au Colorado, illustre la conservation commerciale urbaine. Les efforts fournis pour harmoniser les forces commerciales et les projets de conservation ont abouti à la rénovation de La Cour du Taureau et de l'Ours, présentée ici avant et après les travaux de rénovation.

and, most recently, construction of a superdome sports arena a few blocks away. The latter has further tangled traffic, added to congestion within the district and scrambled property values and development patterns in the area.

In a similar light, it might be asked what the future holds for the 971 residents of New Harmony, Indiana, when the projected 200,000 visitors arrive in 1977 and 570,000 in 1985. Will the benefits of a restored village, new educational and cultural amenities, and an additional 300 full and part-time jobs be worth the stress, social change and possible disruption produced by a tourist influx of this magnitude? As one New Harmony resident describes the issue:

“I think it’s a good thing to try to preserve the small town atmosphere that’s fast fading from the American scene. But all this change. I don’t know. It puts us in the tourist business which I didn’t think we wanted to be in. In this area I have misgivings. Can we exercise control to keep from being inundated by people?”

Historic New Harmony and local officials are aware of these concerns and have tried to anticipate them in their planning efforts. How successful they will be is a question for the future.

Uncertainties also attend efforts to change the rules of the game. As always in such ventures, it is never clear at the outset whether the cure may not prove more of a problem than the illness. For example, the environmental reporting requirements imposed on government by the legislation discussed earlier can be subverted to serve nonenvironmental ends of dubious social value. Some communities and private groups, for example, have employed them to obstruct or bar housing for low-income groups.

The TDR technique is also surrounded with significant risks. Does TDR undercut sound zoning by endorsing a flexible approach to the concentration and dispersion of density? Might it encourage or shield official favoritism or corruption? These are possibilities attending any discretionary scheme in which public officials dispense lucrative franchises. Have planners achieved enough proficiency to handle the complex legal and economic issues involved in TDR's successful implementation?

Persons with a gambling temperament, or those distressed by preservation's buffeting by market forces, will not be deterred by these or other problems. On the other hand, those who may emphasize the problems include

RÉSUMÉ

Le commerce et la conservation n'ont pas particulièrement fait bon ménage aux Etats-Unis. Leur relation a pour le moins été ambivalente. Au mieux, le commerce a chargé d'une signification unique une grande partie des éléments que le pays cherche maintenant à préserver, qu'il s'agisse d'édifices et de styles architecturaux, de sites et de lieux historiques ou de modes de vie caractéristiques. Il a également permis de dégager des fonds d'origine privée et publique utilisés pour financer la conservation de ces aspects de la vie américaine. En le même temps, le commerce a souvent été l'antagoniste le plus gênant de la conservation. La croissance économique, dont l'un des aspects réside dans la promotion immobilière, est responsable de la démolition de nombreux édifices, parmi les plus remarquables de l'Amérique, et de la disparition de la structure sociale et architecturale d'innombrables sites, zones et communautés. Elle a donné naissance à une notion sociale et juridique des droits de la propriété privée qui tend à paralyser les programmes de conservation patronnés par les pouvoirs publics. Elle a stimulé plus souvent que de raison, des ersatz de la conservation et de la restauration axés sur des éléments susceptibles d'être commercialisés plutôt que sur l'authenticité historique ou architecturale. La vigueur continue du laissez-faire et du commerce en tant qu'instruments destinés à façonner la culture sociale et matérielle de l'Amérique garantit que les tensions qui existent entre le commerce et la conservation persisteront bien au-delà de l'année du bicentenaire du pays. Les partisans américains de la conservation doivent par

people who are cynical about government's capacity or willingness to protect historical and environmental amenities and those who are purists in matters of historical and architectural authenticity.

Despite the considerable achievements that have resulted from efforts to accommodate preservation with commercial forces, this strategy is too dependent on many uncontrollable contingencies to warrant enthusiastic endorsement, or to serve as an all-purpose solution. This statement is meant neither to disparage these achievements nor to urge that the strategy be avoided in the future. But preservationists should not focus so narrowly on the strategy that they lose sight of the emerging consensus in America—one favoring protection of properties with historical, architectural or environmental importance against damaging commercial forces.

It is in this consensus that post-Bicentennial American attitudes will differ most dramatically from those that dominated the nation's first 200 years. And this shift may well result in an approach to preservation that promises greater permanence and universality than one based principally on harmonizing preservation with commerce.

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conséquent devenir experts dans l'art de maîtriser les forces du marché pour que celles-ci travaillent en faveur de la conservation plutôt qu'à contre-courant. La tendance actuelle en faveur de la réadaptation d'anciens bâtiments, la mise au point de techniques novatrices dans le domaine du zonage, l'élaboration de nouveaux modes de financement de la conservation et l'intégration d'éléments de conservation des monuments et sites historiques dans les plans d'ensemble des collectivités, sont autant de signes précurseurs qui vont dans le sens préconisé ci-dessus. L'adaptation de la conservation aux forces du marché comporte toutefois d'importantes options et chaque méthode ne doit être employée qu'après une soigneuse évaluation de ses coûts et avantages dans des contextes particuliers.

La conservation tirera également parti du consensus national qui se dégage en faveur de la protection de l'environnement, tant naturel qu'artificiel. Une prise de conscience accrue des terribles pertes qui ont été subies au nom du "progrès économique" pourrait constituer le moyen le plus puissant de subjuguier les excès du commerce, afin de faire de celui-ci le partenaire de la conservation plutôt que son adversaire. S'ils valent la peine d'être poursuivis, les efforts visant à ajuster la conservation aux mécanismes de l'économie de marché sont cependant en butte à d'évidentes restrictions. Une réorientation des valeurs nationales, qu'augure la croissance d'une conception positive de l'environnement, est indispensable si l'on tient à ce que la conservation soit plus solidement ancrée dans l'avenir de l'Amérique que dans le passé du pays.