

ASSIGNMENT 3. YOUR SITE THROUGH TIME

This is the third part of a four-part, semester-long project. The first assignment was to find a site, the second, to find evidence of its environmental history and ongoing natural processes. Now the task is to trace changes on your site over time by comparing its character at several points in time, using different types of sources. You may find different kinds of changes: land use, density of settlement, additions to buildings, ownership, transportation. The types of sources you will find helpful may include nineteenth- and twentieth-century atlases; old maps, plans, and prints; and photographs.

Start your investigation by locating your site on maps in several atlases of different dates. Include at least four different time periods in addition to the present, including at least one from the nineteenth century. By comparing your site at different times, you are likely to find that changes between some dates are more significant than others. Record the changes you think are important or interesting. You may want to modify your site slightly by shifting it a block or so to include interesting material that you have found or to make the site a bit larger or smaller. The site you end up with should contain four to eight blocks.

What changes do you find? How would you characterize them? Are the changes gradual or do they seem to happen suddenly? Do changes within a time period seem related? How about from one time to another? Can you find patterns in the changes? What might explain the changes you found? Were they merely an outcome of actions by individuals or do they reflect broader forces (social, cultural, political, economic, or natural processes and conditions at local, regional, national, or global scales; policies; events; technological changes)? Review Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier* for material to test, substantiate, or revise your hunches.

Describe what you have found, the causes you have identified, and your reasoning. The text should be equivalent to about eight typed pages, accompanied by illustrations (don't forget to list the source of each illustration!). Focus on what seems most significant and interesting; look for patterns. Don't try to cover everything. This is an assignment that could occupy you for an entire semester. The objective of the assignment is to give you a sense of how cities change over time, to prompt you to question why, and to search for answers.

Successful papers are well organized, cite specific examples to make each point, put examples in context, make reference to required texts, and are illustrated. In organizing your paper, focus on the patterns of change you found and the important issues they raise; consider using subheadings to highlight your key points. Choose your examples carefully. They should be specific and significant, illustrative of the patterns of change you found. Illustrations (copies of maps, prints, photographs) should be apt and clearly linked to your reasoning; quality is important, not quantity. Include a map identifying the boundaries of your site. Do not forget to list the source of each illustration.

Start on this assignment right away. It requires finding your site on old maps before you can even begin to puzzle out the changes and their possible causes. Map collections often have their own hours and may not always be open when the rest of the library is. Leave yourself plenty of time.

It is important to include copies of the illustrations used to analyze the changes on your site. If you use the atlases on microfilm, copies are easily made. If you use bound atlases, which may not be reproduced on a copy machine, you may need to make drawn copies or photograph them.

Assignment #3 Due: Friday, April 1, 5PM. Post the assignment on your home page, send the address to spirn@mit.edu, and send [Jeanne Wildman](#), the writing tutor the address and a copy of your text. Late submissions will receive a reduction in grade. There will be no extensions without prior, written, consent of the instructor.

SOURCES

1. Getting a map of your site to make notes on. This is useful for taking notes on and for illustrating points in your paper. Current Boston Redevelopment Authority maps are available at Boston City Hall. For other cities, like Cambridge and Somerville, check with the local planning commission.

2. Finding your site in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century atlases. MIT's Rotch Library has numerous atlases that you may consult and even copy. You probably will not find all the maps you need in the MIT collection, and there are other sources in the Boston region, such as the Boston Public Library, the Cambridge Public Library, and the Harvard Map Collection in Pusey Library (for a list of resources, see <http://libraries.mit.edu/rotch/maps/bostonmaps.html>).

Atlases: G.M. Hopkins (nineteenth century); Bromley (nineteenth and early twentieth century); Sanborn (mainly twentieth century).

Rotch Library

Rotch has some maps on microfilm and others in bound atlases. For an overview of this collection, visit the website (<http://libraries.mit.edu/rotch/maps/index.html>).

Other Libraries

Explore the resources of the Rotch Library before visiting other libraries. Librarians will appreciate that you are knowledgeable and have already exhausted the resources at MIT. Note hours: map collections frequently are not open during all library hours. Plan your time accordingly.

4.21

4/4

Site Through time due today

Presentations

Central Square

- doing a lot more trends
- pulling national trends in
 - ~~white~~ well I did that too
- forces
- lots of houses torn down
- stables just switched to garages
- lots of change
- reflective how all cities changed at this time

Central Square Broad Canal

Canal was private
key in industrial growth
lots of late development
Even single family homes built

(2)
Analys disappear after industry

Exaggeration of topo in early maps

Mission Hill

- Some items permanent, some ^{transient}, some usages transform
- Residences cleared out by 1915 for playground
- Large federal gov involvement w/ apartment buildings
 - Urban renewal

Newbury St

- Development started quickly
- Was shops on Boylston even before prudential center
- 1850 rooming houses - lower income
- Large buildings along Boylston
- Usually buildings along street are same

South End

South End filled before Back Bay

Lodging house problems
- "moral decline"

③

Villa Victoria actually built on other uses
- so closest to desired use today

4/21

4/6

Final assignment: Find artifacts + trends

Reading: Death + Life of Great American City
- reaction to urban planning

Yellowwood + Forgotten Creek - prologue on Stellar

Due 4/22

This lecture should explain how this assignment diff from 2

Artifacts + Trends

Find remnants

Like curved street b/c amphitheater

City walls in paris

Old plazas still there

Separate out layers

- like earth map

Look on Google Earth first

Topo may be clue

- was once stream

Identify old historic buildings

*Artifacts, traces, layers, trends *

②

look at history of word
- artifact

Use writing as a way to think more clearly

Fairmount Park mansion

- Park installed

- ~~ROCK~~ to preserve the cities' water supply

(Central Park as well constructed

- clean public water

Alley

- narrow streets

- new materials

- historized?

Historic Preservation was response to Urban Renewal

New brick

(This is all repeat of before
I think I've thought about
but not written)

From when neighborhood was more downscale
Fit in - not stand out

3

Layers - diff years of building

Camden public Lib

L Camilo Jose Vergara's photographs

Carnegie Lib -

- very high standards

- gave ^{all} people access to books

Banks

- were once part of old neighborhoods

- lots of old buildings

Juxtaposition highly cared for houses vs borded up

Photos = evidence of what you found

Be selective - look for significant detail

- why seem significant?

- what do they reveal?

- still serve original purpose?

- are they unique to site or part of national trends

- hint at trends to future?

- relate to each other

④

- flowers
- decorative screen
- DirecTV dish
- statues in window

What does it say

Often need more context to identify trends

- lots of new paint
- for is it just 1

Trace - path or track made by person or thing
- former presence of something that no longer exists

Beat-in path is trace

Lancaster Ave = vestige of trail

- but also artifacts
- words confuse

Wall = vestige

steps

trees around fire hydrant

Stumps = trace of tree-lined street
hills

⑤ Closed street = trace of stream

Traces

- which most sig, interesting
- what processes created
 - still process happening?
- why trace survive?
- relate to each other?
- national trend?
- hint at future

Diff b/w pages

- use site itself as primary
 - then refer to map to check
- yeah did think before
- some amt of rigor
- why did it come into being and why did it survive?

Often layers not as clear

Mill Creek Redev plan

Much more complex now

- hard to think at intervening times

what actions at each time reveal layers?

- what actions

16

Are layers successive or non-conforming
Set up or future

Trend - general direction things are going
- trend of replacing public housing

How long processes been at work?
Local or national policies

Walk through site w/ historical map

Make notes on what ya find

Look for patterns, relationships artifacts & traces

Use a structure that works

- fits findings + arguments
- tell the story well

Tell the story of your site

- reflect your own interests

4.21 Finding Traces

4/11

Paper due 4/22

- email for extension

4/18 Patriots' Day Holiday

She will be gone next week to teach in France

Then presentations in May

Traces may be hard to find

Looking for clues - past / current uses and residents

What traces no longer exist?

When? Are their discernable layers

Significant

What do they point in the future?

Walk though site several times looking for trends

- filling opp

- shoreline

- look for diff trend / map each time

Looking also for what isn't there

②

Property Division

Outline of building on building wall

- Stairwell
- roofline

Make notes on map
Take photos - look for patterns/relationships

Artifact can also be a trend

- over top of

What is most interesting/significant?
Why did it survive?

Relation to each other

Nature/identity of site/story

Last year: The Last tenement of west end

Frame it to show larger context

Set up on a hill

Sense of layering

Is there any significance in what came first

③

Take photo to show the different periods

Window boxes tell you about the people that live there

- care about historical

- time and money to plant flowers

Some sense of uniformity

- Some underlying org's

- Controlled

- since 20th century only

Diff architectural styles

- diff periods

Diff building types in Back Bay

- not uniform

- diff builders

Were sometimes patterns copied

- typical Philly rowhouse

- also in Balt.

Mass Pike - artifact of 50s, 60s

Trace of railroad

Mural is artifact

④

traces - more remnant than artifacts

* Tell story of site through artifacts *

- future as well

Some people left ahead

- I think I did

Geography

Do layers relate to one another?

Trend: Brick ~~W~~ restoration is a trend

New things added to old houses

- Trent: rising property values

Public art

- money going to area

- government money

Think in terms of the story you want to tell
about your site

- use org strategy

Can tell a fictional story

- Using the traces + trends

⑤

Photographing

- framing
- standing for ~~with~~ meta phone
- lumin is memory of home and dream
for future home
- some larger story
- read caption
- think about where to stand
- what's in the photograph

Think about what's on the edge

Photo shop

- Cancelled

- Paper due 4/22
- 2 sessions on revising
- This is last lecture

Top-Down/Bottom-Up Approaches to City Design

West Phila Landscape Project

- longitudinal study
 - hard to get long-term funding
 - not full tilt all the time
- resistance to some ideas
- granite garden - how existing communities could use?
 - ret that was outflow
 - but now much inflow
- Investigate combo of sewer and social improvements
- both top-down and bottom-up
- landscape literacy
 - let people know it's changeable
 - intervene / shape

② Buried flood plane
- subsidence

Individual vacant lots
- "missing teeth"
- fire - if black

Working in field is diff than at desk working on map

Are houses well kept?

Lights came from PECO as a group
- social network

But across street - deviation

Almost all black

Was one of poorest neighborhoods
- but ~~most~~ everyone was not poor
Better now

1880: was integrated racially

Public housing plans
- towers no
- low rise ok

Many white folks left 1950 - 1980
Was called "the Top" - 1940s + 1950s

3

Then it was called the bottom

1951-1880 - Mill creek buried in sewer
Lots of cave ins - 1952 - partially buried
- partially dry in
- lot of land is landfill

1872 - street car suburb

- lots of small houses
- and larger lots

- Cusp of change: upper middle class vs working class

Community gardens movement

Housing w/ garage underneath were always very desirable

Most of it was for community gardens

- Planned at same time
- Forced researchers to work closely w/ people
- Looked for diff data

Was always digital

Denver flood control district

She proposed in Boston - keeping water instead of new sewage plant
at source

⑨

Then in 1994 they built townhouses on flood plane

- want 1 big visible ~~plan~~ project
- not knit closely in

She didn't spend the time

Made her mad - wanted to know other people

Then she partnered w/ a middle school

- all black
- came in w/ community garden person

1996 - started posting everything online

- available to anyone who wanted to look

Water department skeptical

Engineers started looking at

Stuff is still online

Took kids in to look at maps

Built a minigolf course

Before 1/30 wanted to go to college

Post 29/30

Kids empowered to know change

- before thought it would be wrecked

5

Need to understand past to know that future can change
Civil rights movement: needed to read to vote

So reading schools (called ~~citizenship~~ citizenship schools)

Verbal literacy - being an active participant in democracy

Landscape literacy - grasp history textbooks
- talk abstract

Was featured by gov

Bill Clinton came

Phila water dept 1999 - now paying approach

Big flops & project

Outdoor classroom never built

Storm water project not really built

Water dept has new attitude

2009: Green city clean water project from Phila
1.6 billion

New water
commissioner worked w/ her

Salzberger middle school not as fixed

Trying to find where kids are now

EPA pressured city to talk to her

Y111 Writing Tutorial

4/20

lots of resources

Important

How do you work?

- 1. Prepare notes / argument ← writing for yourself
- 2. Write
- 3. Org, Transition, Flow, Target to audience

Writing for others

4 important characteristics

- 1. - cohesion
- 2. - general / specific balance
- 3. - integrated source + images
- 4. - audience awareness

1. Tell 1 story

- even if 3 varied stories
- pull together
- use intro + conclusions meaningfully
- transitions should reflect actual connections

② Specifics in introduction good
- but kinda general

↗ what I have
not done in paper ↘

Organizing idea
- dominating factor

Transitions

- weave para together

2. Balance general / specific examples

- 'intentional focus in & out
- Match the 2
- if no general thing, don't include the specific idea

3. Cite info

- moving knowledge ahead - original research
- need to cite

4. Maintain audience awareness
- general audience of website visitors
- tone + lang for academic paper

Define terms

- define 'site'
- don't use term exchangably b/w site + neighborhood

Fulfil expectations

Copley Place Through Time

Michael Plasmeier



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My site has gone through many changes through its less than 170 year existence. Cities, including my site, are shaped by the social and economic mood at the time. These factors are memorialized with brick and concrete in the layout and design of the buildings and transportation arteries. The first users of my site were the two railroads, which started as railway embankments over the swamp. These divided my site into 3 broad sections: the northern section (the Back Bay), the middle section (the St. Botolph's neighborhood), and the southern section (the South End). In the early years, the northern section was largely commercial, the middle, largely industrial, and the southern section, residential.

However, sometimes a new mood comes along and changes the makeup of a section of the city. This happened to my site after World War II, when the MassPike blew through my site and urban renewal sought to clear "derelict" buildings. The people protested in response. Afterwards, the government continued to strongly influence my site, but with much more public involvement. Citizens were involved in designing Copley Place, the use of the Southwest corridor for transit, and creation of "Tent City" mixed-income housing in the 80s and 90s. A city is always adapting and changing; my site is an example of this.

Swampland

Like much of the land in Boston, my site used to be a salt marsh. Figure 1 shows an 1806 map of Boston. The one operation which had occurred when this map was drawn was the damming of the Mill Pond. However this was not to last; in 1807 the pond was filled in order to create additional land.¹

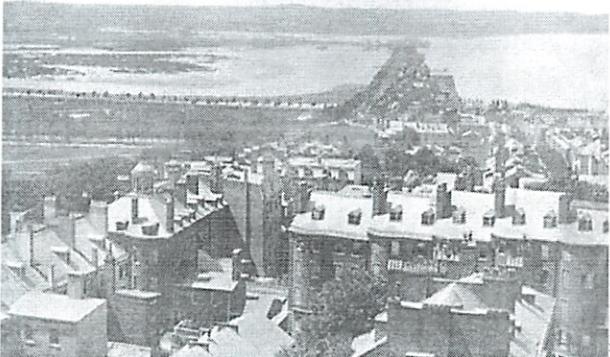


¹ Spirn, Anne. *The Granite Garden*. New York: Basic Books, 1984. Page 18.

² From the South End Historical Society <http://www.southendhistoricalsociety.org/history.htm> Retrieved 2011-3-5

Picture: personal photograph of the author

In 1818, a second "Mill Dam" was built across the salt marshes of what would be known as the Back Bay. (Figure 2). Mills operated on the dam in order to harness the water power.



In 1834, the first railroad tracks were built over my site as part of the Boston and Providence Railroad. Today these tracks run, from east to west, under Dartmouth Street southwest along what is now the Southwest Corridor Park. In 1888, the line was leased by the Old Colony Railroad in order to forestall the New Haven Railroad's competition. But the New Haven, under the guidance of J.P. Morgan, soon got the upper hand and leased the Old Colony tracks and established a Boston to New York route.⁴ Today this route still carries Amtrak's Boston to New York service and several MBTA commuter rail routes.

The Boston and Albany railroad also crosses my site. It opened not far behind the Old Colony Railroad in 1835.⁵ To the right of my site, the B&A's tracks once crossed the Old Colony's tracks and then proceed under Dartmouth Street. The tracks then continue northwest. They once led to a rail yard, which is now the Prudential Center. The Boston and Albany tracks now run parallel to the Massachusetts Turnpike and still carry the MBTA's Framingham and Worcester line, as well as Amtrak's Lake Shore Limited to Chicago. One can see the embankments stretch out over the marshes in this 1857 U.S. Coast Survey map (Figure 3).

³ From Wienke Associates. [Boston history and architecture](#).

<http://www.iboston.org/assets/photos/backBayNoFill.jpg> Retrieved 2011-3-5

⁴ United States. Department of Transportation. Urban Mass Transportation Administration. [Draft Environmental Impact Statement: Orange Line Relocation and Arterial Street Construction South Cover to Forest Hills, Boston Massachusetts](#). Volume 1. 1977. Page 1-8

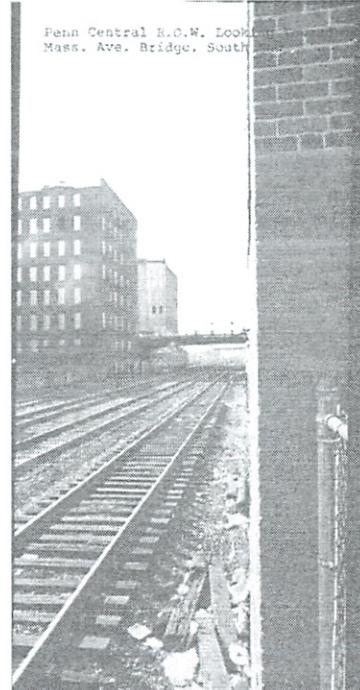
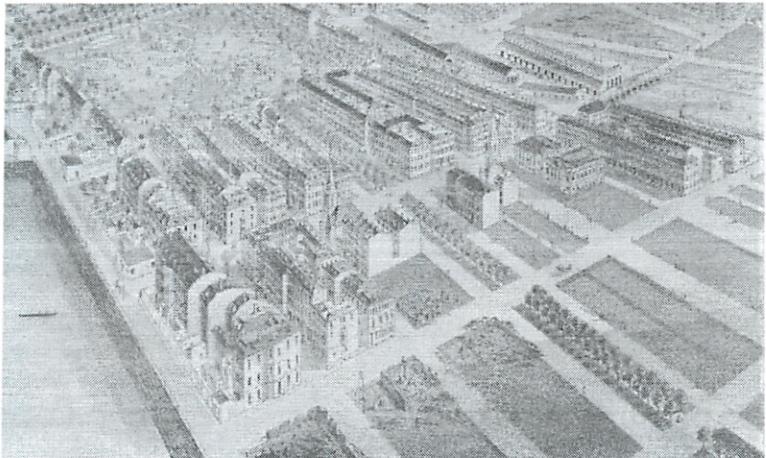
⁵ Parks, Richard. "Boston and Albany Railroad." [Our American Heritage](#). <http://www.r2parks.net/b&a.html> Retrieved 2011-3-19.



The second "Mill Dam" and the railway embankments quickly became problems, however. The dam and the embankments prevented water from flowing into and out of my site. Since the residents of Boston discarded their garbage simply into the Back Bay, it quickly became a stinky situation. Coupled with the demand for more land for houses, my site was filled in by 1870, as can be seen in this 1970 drawing. (Figure 4) When the land was filled in, it was filled to a level such that both railroads ran below grade, in a cut. This can be seen in this circa 1977 view of the Old Colony (Penn Central at the time) tracks before construction of the Southwest Corridor project. (Figure 5)

↑
could correct this
to next section
↓ more explicitly

⁶ U.S Coast Survey, [Boston Harbor, Massachusetts](#). 1857. Chart 0.337 (Note the book Mapping Boston from the MIT Press has a better scan of the map on page 65 than was available on the Office of Coast Survey's [National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration; United States Department of Commerce] website)



Early Uses

By 1887, houses were starting to be built on my site. (Figure 6) Across the street from my site, the Boston Public Library' foundations had been built, but the rest of the building was on hold. Stuart Street did not exist at the time, but a small one way street called Oxford Terrace ran through the north part of my site; today it is part of Copley Place. Buildings filled about 60% of the north part of the site, and most were labeled as "French flats." S.S. Pierce and Co, a grocer, opened their flagship store on the corner of Dartmouth and Huntington. (Figure 7) Also on the north part of my site was the "Hotel Copley" and "The Berkshire," along Dartmouth Street, presumably another hotel.

⁷ Fuchs, F. Back Bay. Detail of: Map of Boston, Massachusetts. 1870-7-4. Published by John Weik.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1870_BackBay_July4_map_byFFuchs_JohnWeik_detail.png Retrieved 2011-3-19

⁸ United States. Department of Transportation. Urban Mass Transportation Administration. [Draft Environmental Impact Statement: Orange Line Relocation and Arterial Street Construction South Cover to Forest Hills, Boston Massachusetts](#). Volume 1. 1977. Figure IV-100



Pierce Building
erected 1857
and recently refaced

St. S. Pierce Bldg.
Intersection of
Copley Square
and
Huntington
Ave.

9

In the middle part of my site, in the triangle between the two railroad tracks, lay The Union Athletic Exhibition Co. baseball grounds. To the west of the baseball grounds lay Irvington Street and part of St. Botolph Street. Harcourt Street did not extend to Huntington Ave. at this time.

The southern section of my site was almost completely filled in at the time, largely with row houses. Some exceptions were the fire house, a Reformed Episcopal Church, and several hotels, mostly on Dartmouth Street. In addition to the current street layout, there were some local streets which no longer exist because later developments redesigned the street grid in the area. It should be noted that the South End was completely cut off from the northern part of the site by the Boston and Providence Railroad. The only crossing over the Old Colony tracks near my site was at Dartmouth Street.

⁹ E.M. Bacon, E. M. and R. Herndon. "S.S. Pierce building, Copley Square, Boston." *Boston of To-day, 1892*. 1892. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:SSPierce_Boston_Bacon1892.png Retrieved 2011-3-27



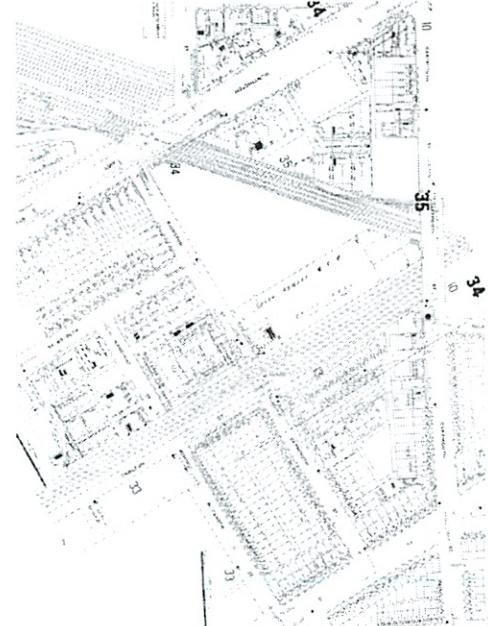
¹⁰ Chadwyck-Healey Sanborn. *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1887*. 1887. Stitched together by the author in Adobe Photoshop.



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10 years later, in 1897, the baseball stands was gone and an Armory was built on part of the field. The other land in the center of my site to the east of Irvington Street remained vacant. To the west of Irvington Street, flats were built on the block facing Huntington Ave. The "Angler Chemical Co," "International Rolling Screen Co," as well as the "Geo. S. Hutchings Church Organ Manufactory" were built to the north of the New Haven tracks. Irvington Street was extended one block south and a footbridge was built over the tracts at Irvington and Yarmouth Streets. There were no changes to the north part of the site. The south side of the site gained a bakery and the Landor Hotel was built on the empty lot at the corner of Yarmouth and Truro Streets. In addition, many of the buildings on the south part of my site are indicated as flats on this 1897 Sanborn map, but I am uncertain if that is new, or the previous 1887 map did designate flats specifically.

¹¹ Chadwyck-Healey Sanborn. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1887. 1887. Stitched together by the author in Adobe Photoshop.



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In 1900, the Huntington Avenue station was built by the Boston and Albany railroad in the middle of my site. The station only served trains going inbound to Boston. A matching station, Trinity Place¹² was built opposite the New Haven's Back Bay station for outbound travel. The current Back Bay station, built with the Southwest Corridor project, currently stands on the site of the old Trinity Place/Back Bay stations.¹³ It also serves the inbound trains once served by Huntington Ave. As described in Crabgrass Frontier, commuter railroads were popular in Boston. The stop on my site allowed suburban residents to get off in the city.¹⁴ The railroads allowed people to live further out in suburbs, further than was possible with a streetcar, and take the train into the city. Today, the commuter rail makes it easy for people who live in the suburbs to get into the city without using a car.

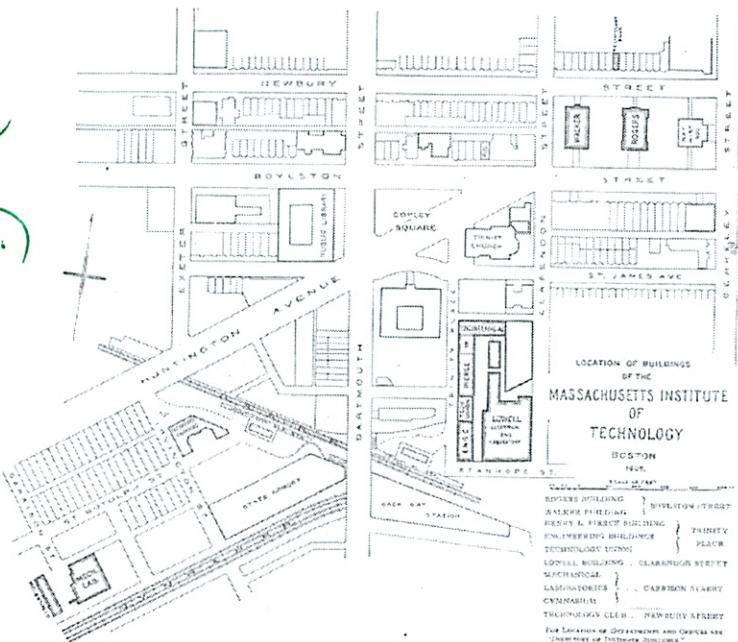
¹² Chadwyck-Healey Sanborn. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1897. 1897. Stitched together by the author in Adobe Photoshop.

¹³ "What station is this? (Trinity Place)" discussion topic. Railroad.net Forums. 2008-2-13. <http://www.railroad.net/forums/viewtopic.php?f=126&t=48365> Retrieved 2011-3-27.

¹⁴ Jackson, Kenneth T. Crabgrass Frontier. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. Page 37

Each of these
(passive) verb
forms is
awkward,
though for
different
reasons!
(try reading
them out loud
as you see see
what I mean?)

In 1902, the Technology Chambers were built on the old baseball field between the two railroad tracks.¹⁵ The building was built to house men who were attending the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which was located in the Back Bay during that time.¹⁶ In 1903, the field between the Tech Chambers and the Amory was allowed to be used by the track team for practice.¹⁷



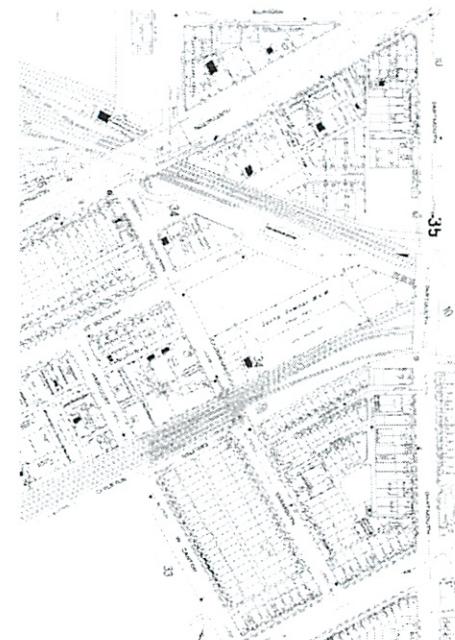
In 1904, the chemical company and organ manufactory were torn down and new brick garages were built. In 1914, they were occupied by the "L. E. Knott Apparatus Co." and "Copley Prints Photo."

¹⁵ "Technology Chambers." *The Tech*. Volume 21. Number 20. 1902. <http://tech.mit.edu/V21/PDF/N20.pdf> Retrieved 2011-3-20

¹⁶ "Technology Chambers." Advertisement. *The Tech*. Volume 21. Number 28. 1902. <http://tech.mit.edu/V21/PDF/N28.pdf> Retrieved 2011-3-20

¹⁷ "Training Ground for Track Work." *The Tech*. Volume 22. Number 23. 1903. <http://tech.mit.edu/V22/PDF/N23.pdf> Retrieved 2011-3-20

By 1914, the fire station had become property of the New Hampshire railroad, as the railroad needed to curve their tracks in order to build Back Bay station. The Huntington Chambers and Offices were built in the empty space along Huntington Ave in the north part of my site.



In 1917, three garages were built in between the armory and the Technology Chambers in what was once the field. In 1922, the garages were occupied by the "E. H. Patch Co," the "Checker Taxi Co. Ltd.," and the "E. F. Tomlinson et. Al. Trust."

By 1928, Stuart Street was cut through the north part of my site. This caused major changes. The Oxford Hotel and the French apartments along Oxford Terrace were torn down. In its place were the Copley Theater, the Trinity Building and "Willard Welch at Al. Trust Building," which was wedged awkwardly between Stuart Street and the Boston and Albany Railroad, were built along the new street alignment. Separately, the B&A railroad was now leased by the New York Central Railroad, but no

¹⁸ Chadwyck-Healey Sanborn. *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1914*. 1914. Stitched together by the author in Adobe Photoshop.

changes occurred to my site. The Landor Hotel became the "Morgan Memorial Home for Working Girls", when Eliza Henry bought the six story building for them as a donation.¹⁹ The organization is now called "Morgan Memorial Goodwill Industries," or simply "Goodwill." The empty space between the buildings in the back streets on the south part of my site had been designated as "Leighton Park." The New Hampshire railroad had become the Boston and Providence.

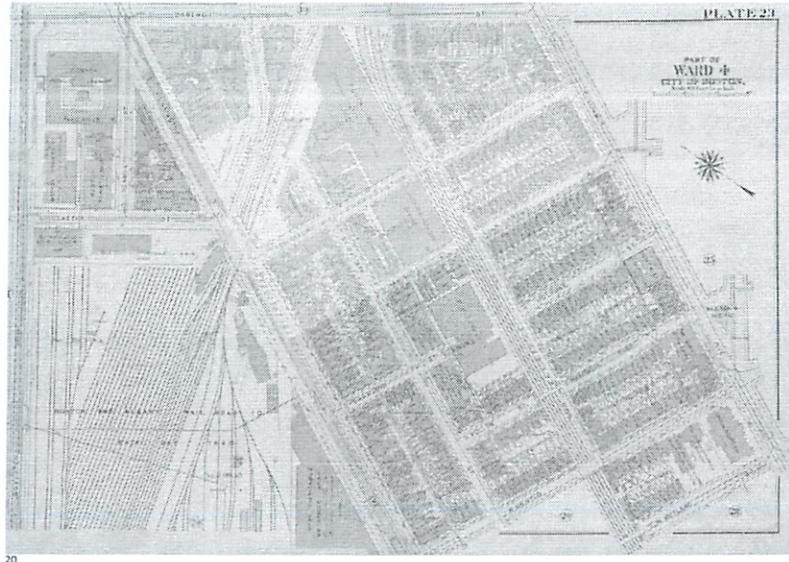


Figure XX shows Trinity Place station with Technology Chambers and the garages in 1959

By 1937, the Technology Chambers was renamed "The Irvington," but it was still apartments for bachelors, what we would call a dorm today. The last empty lot on the north of my site has been filled in, the letters are blurry, but it looks to have been a garage building with a filling station in the back. A school was built next to the theater. A business school was now open in the Pierce Building. The awkward Willard Welch at Al. Trust Building had become a private art school. The garages built on the old Tech field had been labeled the Copley Garage, with room for 130 cars.

In the south part of my site it appears that some houses may have been begun to be torn down, especially closer to the railway. A "Wet Wash Laundry" opened in the back, near Columbus Ave.

¹⁹ Upper Pemigewasset Historical Society and Rick Russack. "Who Was James E. Henry?" Logging In Lincoln: The Industries and People of The Lincoln, Woodstock Region. 2010. http://www.logginginlincoln.com/J_E.htm Retrieved 2011-3-21.

²⁰ G.W. Bromley & Co. "Plate 23, Part of Ward 4." G. W. Bromley & Co.'s 1928 Atlas of the city of Boston. 1928. <http://hdl.handle.net/10427/5327> Retrieved 2011-3-22.

²¹ Chadwyck-Healey Sanborn. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1937. 1937. Stitched together by the author in Adobe Photoshop.



You need to set up the contrast to a "hobble", "the slow rate of change, however, or gradual evolution of changing uses, " (2) There's what you mean).

The Turnpike

Things started changing drastically, however, starting in 1948 when the state published their Master Highway Plan for the Boston Metropolitan Area.²³ In 1952, the Boston-Springfield Highway Authority, later renamed the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority, was created to build the highway to the west of the state. The project's champion, William F. Callahan, saw the expressway as an opportunity to create an "economic lifeline" for Boston, whose fortunes sank in the preceding decade with the decline of rail and sea freight, and the lack of modern highway access. In 1955, construction started on the turnpike from West Stockbridge to Weston. In 1956, Callahan met secretly with Alfred Perlman, the president of

²² DeWolf, Nick. "111159 04 00D." 1959-11 <http://www.flickr.com/photos/dboe/273971089/> Retrieved 2011-3-20

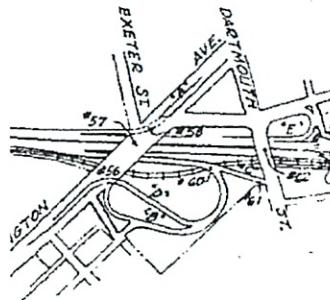
²³ Eastern Roads. "Massachusetts Turnpike: A Historic Overview." *Boston Roads*. 2001. <http://www.bostonroads.com/roads/mass-pike/> Retrieved 2011-3-21

This "however" is hard to interpret

the Boston and Albany Railroad, to discuss plans to acquire the B&A right-of-way. However, in 1956, the Prudential Insurance Company also announced its intentions to develop the old Boston and Albany rail yard into a high rise office tower. President Dwight Eisenhower also signed the Federal Highway Act into law in 1956, granting states the ability to construct new highways while paying only ten percent of their cost. This was actually a blow to Callahan's project, because the expressway could now be constructed directly by the state for 10-cents on the dollar.

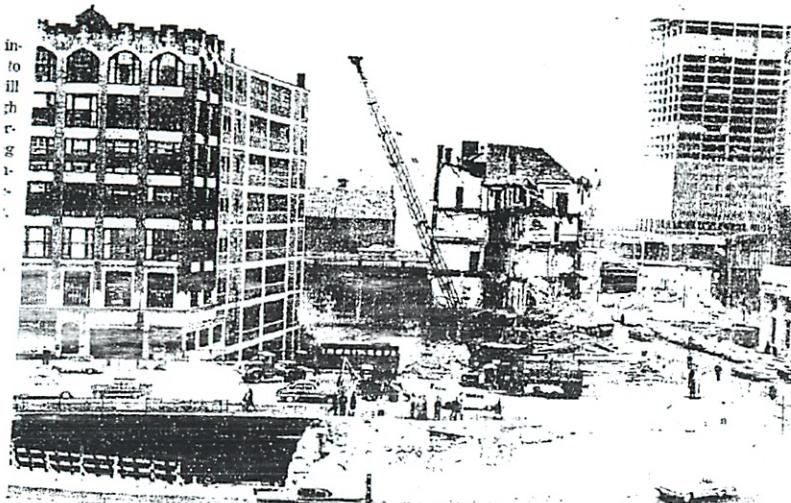
However, the Turnpike Authority was able to raise the money in 1964 in order to start construction. The two tracks of the Boston and Albany railroad would be preserved, but the right of way had to be widened by tearing down buildings for the highway. In addition, Callahan was able to work out a deal for the highway to be built under the Prudential Center. However, this meant that the interchange planned for the B&A rail yard was moved to my site. The entire center of my site, including the Armory, Copley Garage, and the Irvington, was torn down for a 360° ramp to allow motorists driving into Boston to continue east on Stuart Street without a dangerously short ramp. A second ramp branches off this ramp halfway around the loop to allow motorists to go east on Huntington Ave. The exit to this ramp is actually to the west of my site, next to the Prudential Center. Another, much shorter ramp allowed traffic coming east on Huntington Ave to enter the Turnpike going out of Boston. Up until the construction of Copley Place, this ramp interchange area was simply a grassy "hole" in the middle of the city. The narrow sidewalks, low lighting, and wind made the area a place that people tended to avoid.

The north part of my site ~~was torn down~~ was also torn down. The triangle which is now the Westin hotel remained a grassy vacant lot up until the construction of Copley Place in 1980.



24

²⁴ "Construction of Turnpike Extension to Link Boston with West." The Tech. Volume 83. Number 2. 1903. <http://tech.mit.edu/V83/PDF/N2.pdf> Retrieved 2011-3-20



Buildings at the corner of Massachusetts Ave. and Boylston St. are being razed to clear the route of the Mass. Turnpike extension into Boston. Shown being leveled is the building adjacent to the now-closed "Mass. Station" bus terminal. In the upper right is the Prudential Tower, scheduled for completion next year. —Photo by Conrad Grundlechner

25

The south section of my site was designated as an Urban Renewal district in 1965.²⁵ In the 1965 report, the section of my site to the east of Yarmouth Street was marked for demolition in 1969-1971 as part of "stage 4" of the South End renewal district.²⁶ Mayor John Collins introduced the plan by saying, "once a residential area of great charm, its day of fashion was brief and it has become seriously blighted."²⁷ The South End neighborhood was home to many new immigrants and tenements. The Urban Renewal plan sought to upgrade the existing buildings. If this was not possible, then the buildings should simply be torn down. The plan said the following about the old buildings:

according to the plan?

²⁵ "Construction of Turnpike Extension to Link Boston with West." *The Tech*. Volume 83. Number 2. 1903.

<http://tech.mit.edu/V83/PDF/N2.pdf> Retrieved 2011-3-20

²⁶ Boston Redevelopment Authority. *South End Urban Renewal Project: Final Project Report: Application For Loan And Grant, Part I*. 1965 <http://www.archive.org/details/southendurbanren1965bost> Retrieved 2011-3-20

²⁷ Boston Redevelopment Authority. *South End Urban Renewal Project: Final Project Report: Application For Loan And Grant, Part I*. 1965 <http://www.archive.org/details/southendurbanren1965bost> Retrieved 2011-3-20. Page 509.

²⁸ Barnet, Alison. "Discriminating people moving in." 2011-1-6. *MySouthEnd.com*.

http://www.mysouthend.com/index.php?ch=columnists&sc=alison%20%99s_adventures&sc2=&sc3=&id=114829 Retrieved 2011-3-22

Block quotes are rarely this kind of expository paper, because the paper needs to be put into context. (An excel paper analysis) be involved a paper of feet.) Paraphrasing is usually more suitable than quoting.

The project area was developed between 80 and 125 years ago when most residential structures were built as single attached dwellings. Many have since been converted and few remain in their original use.

During the last 20 years, due to changes in living conditions, many of these converted structures have been abandoned. Vandals have destroyed these buildings and, in addition, a high incidence of fires has left others vacant. As the population has declined there has been no economic incentive to improve these buildings and many of them have become tax foreclosed or been demolished. Construction is mostly of brick with frame interiors. Party walls between attached dwellings are typically 8 inch brick walls, 5 or 6 stories in height. Where party walls must serve as end walls because of demolition of attached structures, they are often inadequate to support that number of stories. Also, throughout much of the area such party walls do not extend above the roof line to act as exterior fire stops. In consequence of these deficiencies, some buildings are uninsurable except at excessive rates. Some of the project area contains buildings of cheap original construction designed for housing lower income families. These structures have not been well maintained over their approximately 100 years of highly transient occupancy. Lack of central heat and the widespread use of space heaters has been a serious cause of fire.²⁹

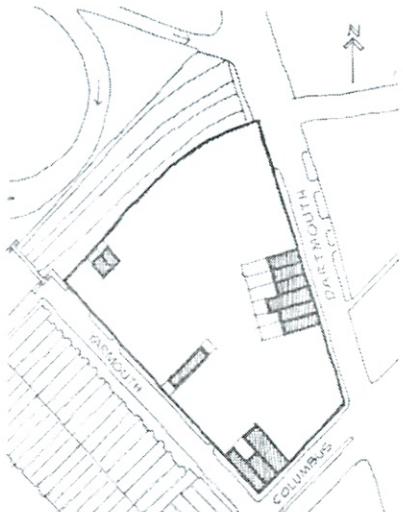
However, some of the buildings on this section of my site escaped the wrecking ball. (Figure) The BRA assumed ownership of half of the land and it soon became a parking lot for Copley Place. It would stay empty for many years.

entire paper this single source unclear?

²⁹ Boston Redevelopment Authority. *South End Urban Renewal Project: Final Project Report: Application For Loan And Grant, Part I*. 1965 <http://www.archive.org/details/southendurbanren1965bost> Retrieved 2011-3-20. Page 53

too vague. What do you mean?

source?



Copley Place



31

In 1977, the Urban Investment and Development Corporation (UIDC), a division of Aetna Insurance, approached the state to discuss development of the air rights over the Huntington Avenue exit of the Turnpike.³¹ The state was in a bad economic state at the time. Massachusetts unemployment was at 11.2%, versus 8.5% nationally. Gross National Product had only grown 0.8% in the years 1970 to 1975, vs. 8% for the entire nation. Governor Dukakis created the Office of State Planning (OSP) to oversee the project. A decision was made to appoint UIDC the developer of the site early on, instead of going out for bid, so that citizens could work on the project with the developer. An extensive public comment

³⁰ Total Studio, Tent City Task Force. Boston Tent City Site Study. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, School of Architecture and Planning. 1978. <http://www.archive.org/details/bostontentcityi00tota> Retrieved 2011-3-23

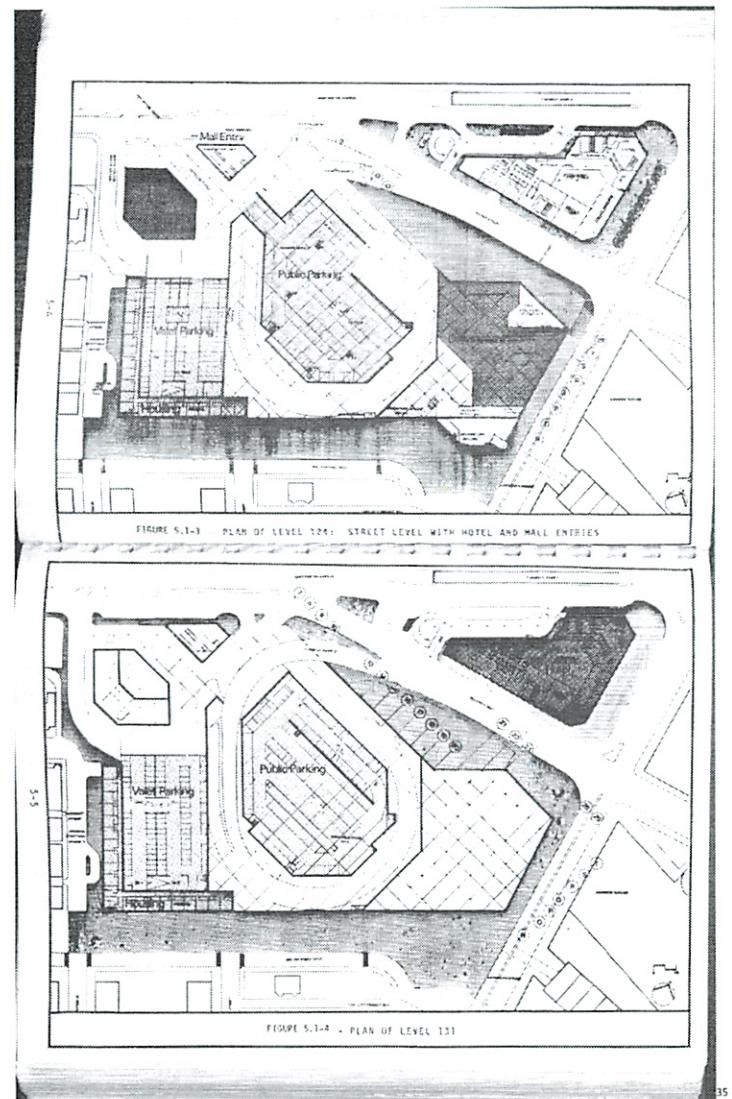
³¹ HMM Associates. Copley Place: draft environmental impact statement. 1980.

³² John F. Kennedy School of Government; Harvard University. Citizen participation at Copley Place. Case study. 1983.

process followed. The process was considered notable by a case from the Harvard Kennedy School of Government. This was a significant change from the previous decades, where there appeared to be little public involvement.

The developer sought to maximize the use of the site by combining retail, office space, and two hotels onto the site. The developer claimed that it had to have a project of that scale in order to cover the high cost of building over a highway and two different rail lines.³³ A plan to build a deck over the Southwest Corridor tracks was proposed by the developers. The developer wanted to integrate all of these ideas into a single multi-use building. For example, the hotel lobby opens up into the shopping area. The UIDC also built a similar project, Water Town Place in Chicago, before Copley Place, which also combined a hotel and shopping mall. The trend back to multiple uses is interesting – according to *Crabgrass Frontier*, sections in cities were originally multi-function.³⁴

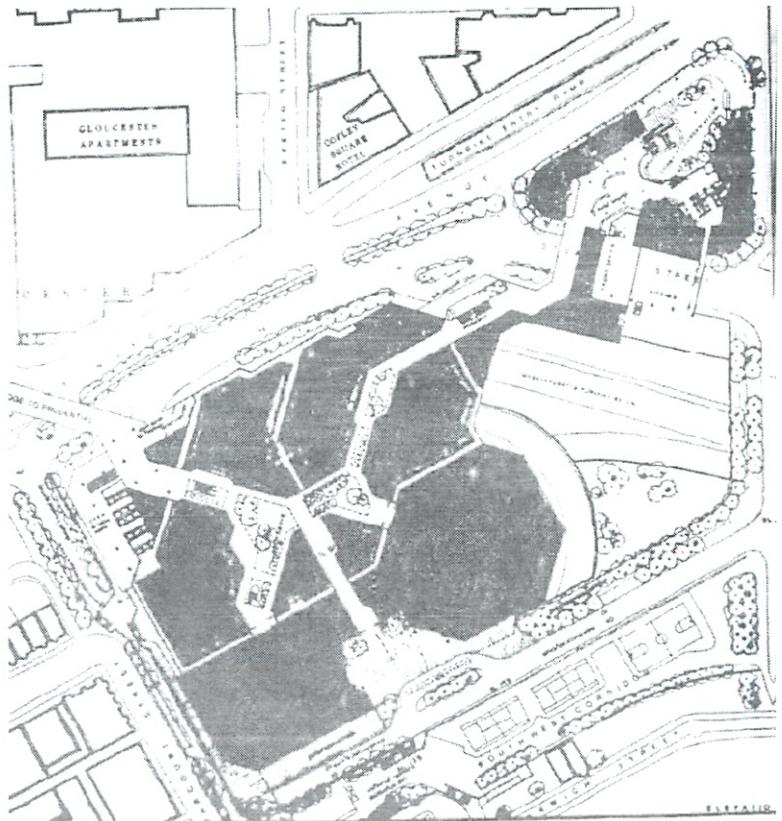
Everything
old is
new again...



³³ HMM Associates, *Copley Place: draft environmental impact statement*, 1980, p 3-3

³⁴ Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. Page 15.

The plan was shaped significantly by the public through the public process. The community wanted the site to connect the Prudential Center to the Back Bay train station. This led the developers to orient the mall to stretch along this corridor. In addition, the community wanted a bridge over Huntington Ave, despite that the Prudential Center did not extend all the way to the southeast corner of its site at the time. Early plans put a grand exit onto the Southwest Corridor. However, the residents pushed back against this plan because they wanted the area to stay residential. In addition, in order to ease the transition to the neighborhood, a narrow strip of housing was to be built along Harcourt Street and the deck over the tracks. The community, however, did not push for more housing, because people felt that there was still a lot of land to develop for housing in the South End.³⁶ Citizens also pushed for some retail area near the Southwest Corridor to be set aside for community groups at reduced rents. In addition, the citizens required that part of the construction work be given to local and minority workers.



EARLY CONCEPT SKETCH, ELEVATION 143

I think that many of these changes which the community pushed for worked out well for the site. The orientation of the mall and the bridge over Huntington Avenue are used by many people who pass through the site and it has no doubt resulted in higher sales than if many people did not use the mall. The housing units nicely hide the blue parking garage and ballroom from the surrounding area and continue to be desirable and expensive housing units. I think that this represents a good compromise between the old-city multi-function pattern and the new desire to separate city functions.

³⁶ John F. Kennedy School of Government.; Harvard University. Citizen participation at Copley Place. Case study. 1983.

³⁷ HMM Associates, Copley Place: draft environmental impact statement, 1980.

Copley Place also made some changes to the street layout. Stuart Street was shifted slightly to make the triangle significantly bigger. In addition, some of the turnpike exit ramps were adjusted slightly and a large water main was moved.

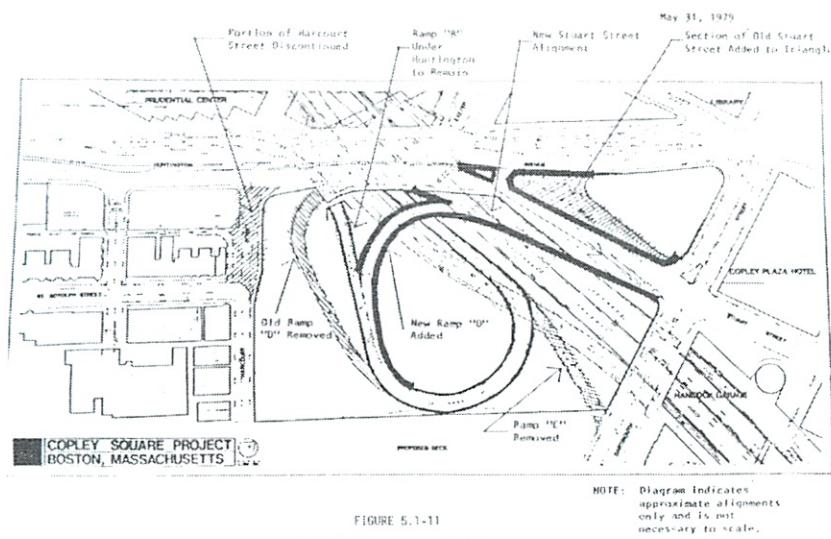


FIGURE 5.1-11
PLANNED STREET MODIFICATIONS

The Southwest Corridor

Around that same time, the MBTA was planning to relocate the Orange Line from an elevated structure over Washington Street to the Penn Central, formally the Boston and Providence, railroad alignment.

³⁸ HMM Associates. Copley Place: draft environmental impact statement, 1980.

The MBTA wanted to remove the old elevated structure on Washington Street which they felt was blighting the neighborhood.³⁹ The MBTA thought that the "Southwest Corridor" would be a good choice for the relocated Orange Line. The Penn Central right-of-way had been widened in the late 1960s for a new Southwest Expressway from Interstate 95 in Canton to an exit near Massachusetts Avenue in the West End.⁴⁰ The highway was never planned to stretch as far as my site. However, political opposition in the early 1970s had the Governor Dukakis shelve the plan and transfer the money to mass transit under the 1973 Federal Highway Act.

The deck over the new rail tracks near my site was controversial. Residents on both sides of the tracks wanted a deck for noise protection, similar to what had been built on my site as part of the Copley Place project.⁴¹ However, the residents on either side of the tracks could not agree on a design. The St. Botolph's neighborhood, to the north of the tracks, in the center of my site, matched the South End ethnically in the early 1950s.⁴² However, when the Prudential Center was built, the Center bridged the gap between the Back Bay and the St. Botolph's neighborhoods. This caused young professionals to started moving into the St. Botolph's neighborhood in the late 1960s, gentrifying it. The St. Botolph's neighborhood was afraid of the "dozens of Puerto Rican teenagers [from the South End] playing basketball and making noise" on the new deck. Originally the planners of the train line thought that the rail line could not be buried any lower without disturbing the ground water, so the deck would stick up about 6 ft. Some St. Botolph's neighbors even wanted the deck to be built in a barrel shape to make use impossible. However, the MBTA and project planners deftly navigated the controversy and instead proposed light recreational uses. In addition, they were able to lower the tracks to allow the deck to be flat with the neighboring streets. This scared some of the St. Botolph residents who were used to the separation of railroad tracks between the neighborhoods. Some asked that their streets be bricked shut from the Corridor Park. The planners proposed semi-temporary iron fences instead. Some of these fences still exist today, for example at Blackwood Street.

The plan was executed in the late 1980s and opened in 1990.⁴³ It turns out that it was not the St. Botolph's neighborhood which should have been afraid of the deck. Instead, the South End residents were quickly gentrified. Today a ~1,600 square foot flat on both sides of the Southwest Corridor goes for over a million dollars.⁴⁴

L
either?

the neighborhood
not the
↑ residents
(ironic
Point taken
Though.)

³⁹ United States. Department of Transportation. Urban Mass Transportation Administration. Draft Environmental Impact Statement: Orange Line Relocation and Arterial Street Construction South Cover to Forest Hills, Boston Massachusetts. Volume 1. 1977.

⁴⁰ Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority. Southwest Corridor Development Plan Pamphlet. Fall 1979.

⁴¹ Gaston, Mauricio Miguel. Community Participation in Boston's Southwest Corridor Project: A Case Study. Thesis for Masters of City Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. June 1981.

⁴² Gaston, Mauricio Miguel. Community Participation in Boston's Southwest Corridor Project: A Case Study. Thesis for Masters of City Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. June 1981.

⁴³ O'Brien, Ellen. "Two neighborhoods celebrate completion of park projects." The Boston Globe. 1990-5-6

⁴⁴ Zillow Home Estimate of 226 Canton Street in Boston MA on 2011-3-23 http://www.zillow.com/homes/226-Canton-Street,-Boston,-MA_rb/ Retrieved 2011-3-23

Tent City

However, some residents did not like the high-end residents moving into their neighborhood. The site that would become Tent City was originally torn down as part of the urban renewal plans in the late 1960s. However, the city did not make good on its plans to provide acceptable replacement housing in a short time period. In 1968 between 100 and 300 protestors occupied the site and built tents and wooden shanties to protest the lack of replacement low-income housing.⁴⁵ The protestors posted a sign welcoming residents to their "Tent City." Thousands of people visited the protests during the day, and the protest received substantial media attention. The protest ended several days later when the police cleared the site.



1968 demonstration at the current Tent City site

46

However, the protest did not work. The site remained a parking lot, used mostly by Copley Place office workers for the next few years. Not much was heard about the site until 1974, when there was a proposal to build a luxury apartment building.⁴⁷ Obviously this plan did not go over well with the protestors. A Task Force was created, of MIT Urban Planning students, who produced a 1978 report detailing how the site could be developed to meet the demands of the protestors. There was a hope that the developers of Copley Place would develop the site for low and moderate income households. However, in 1983, the UIDC purchased the rest of the site and announced its intentions to build a seven story 1,400-car parking garage. The neighborhood groups fought this proposal and were able to work out a deal with the BRA and the UIDC, where the UIDC would build a 698-space underground garage and the BRA would help secure government grants to build a 271-unit housing development. 25% of the units would be set aside for low-income people and 50% of the units for moderate income households.

The site would be developed with a mid-rise building at the corner of the Southwest Corridor and Dartmouth Streets and then the building would slope down to the south and west to meet the

⁴⁵ Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities. "Activists Erect Tent City in Boston April 27, 1968." [Mass Moments](http://massmoments.org/moment.cfm?mid=126), 2011. <http://massmoments.org/moment.cfm?mid=126> Retrieved 2011-3-20

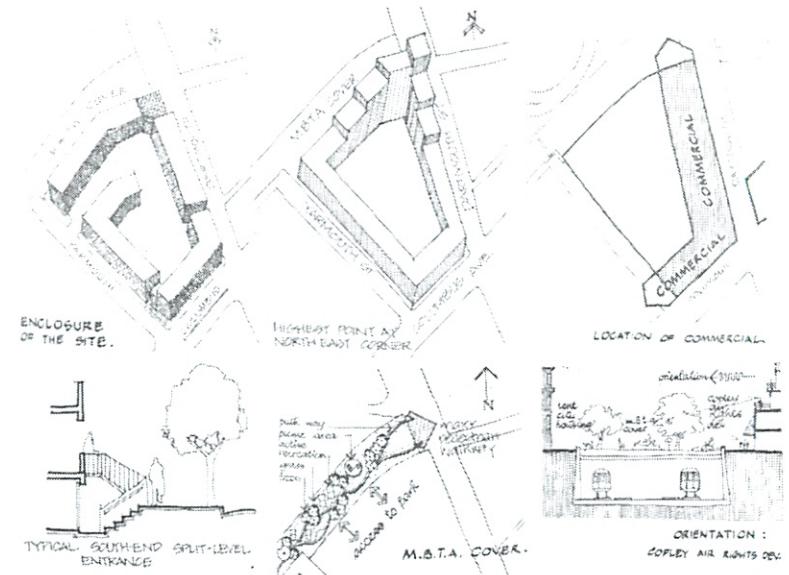
⁴⁶ "Tent City." [Boston Looking Backwards](http://bostonlookingbackward.wordpress.com/2010/08/02/tent-city/), 2010-8-2.

<http://bostonlookingbackward.wordpress.com/2010/08/02/tent-city/> Retrieved 2011-3-23.

⁴⁷ Sasaki Associates. [Tent city, Boston, Massachusetts - draft environmental impact report/statement](http://www.archive.org/details/tentcitybostonma00sasa), 1985. <http://www.archive.org/details/tentcitybostonma00sasa> Retrieved 2011-3-20. Page 26.

surrounding neighborhood. Streets would be added to part of the site, so that a large majority of the units would be town-houses in the classic South End style. There would be a small courtyard with playground and gardens in the middle. Like at Copley Place, some townhouses opened up onto the Southwest Corridor Park. Figure XX shows some of the recommendations from the 1974 MIT study.

Tent City was completed in 1988.⁴⁸



49

More Changes Coming

Even though my site is now fully developed, changes are still being proposed. In 2008, Simon Property Group, the current owners of Copley Place, filed a Project Notification Form (PNF) to build a XX ft tall tower with XX residential units on the corner of the site near Niemen Marcus.⁵⁰ What is now a brick

⁴⁸ Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities. "Activists Erect Tent City in Boston April 27, 1968." [Mass Moments](http://massmoments.org/moment.cfm?mid=126), 2011. <http://massmoments.org/moment.cfm?mid=126> Retrieved 2011-3-20

⁴⁹ Total Studio, Tent City Task Force. [Boston Tent City Site Study](http://www.archive.org/details/boston tent city si00 tota). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, School of Architecture and Planning, 1978. <http://www.archive.org/details/boston tent city si00 tota> Retrieved 2011-3-23

⁵⁰ Epsilon Associates. [Copley Place Retail Expansion and Residential Addition](http://www.archive.org/details/copley place retail expansion and residential addition), June 2008.

courtyard would be enclosed with glass to make a winter garden and more retail space for Nieman Marcus. The tower would be almost as tall as the Prudential Center and the Hancock Buildings.⁵¹



In the decades that my site has existed, some corners of my site have seen significant change. My site started as a marsh, and then was filled in by real-estate developers. The South End area was initially wealthy, but the wave of immigrants after the Civil War soon drove the wealthy to the Back Bay. During the first half of the century, the South End was one of the poorest neighborhoods in Boston. People were packing into the over-crowded, poorly-maintained buildings. However, after the war, the government became much more involved in my site. The developers of the turnpike wanted to bring transportation to the city, but they did not consider how the turnpike would change the many destinations it strove to serve. Local officials thought they could improve neighborhoods by tearing them down. On the other hand, the Prudential Center bridged the gap between the Back Bay and the St. Botolph's neighborhood, bringing working professionals back into the St. Botolph's neighborhood. In the downturn of the 1980s, Copley Place filled the other hole in the middle of the city. However, this time greater public involvement was sought to fit a lot of uses into the complicated site without overwhelming the nearby neighborhood. Tent City represented the struggle of the early century South End residents to achieve their promised low-income housing taken through urban renewal. Finally, the deck over the Southwest Corridor bridged the gap between the Back Bay and the South End. Today, the neighborhoods on both sides of the tracks command the same, high, prices to buy and rent.⁵² One can no longer see the transportation arteries that cut through my site; the different neighborhoods that come together on my site seem more similar than ever.

⁵¹ Personal Email with Heather Campisano, Boston Redevelopment Authority. 2011-3-7.

⁵² Epsilon Associates. Copley Place Retail Expansion and Residential Addition. June 2008.

Michael, this paper reflects a huge range of research turning up several different, great stories. There are many interesting details. We talked about pulling the information together so it constitutes more of a single narrative. I see from the introduction that you've given thought to the public response thread; and the conclusion emphasizes developers and governmental entities. If you decide to rewrite this paper, let's talk more about & increasing the cohesion of the very intriguing pieces of your site's story.
-jeanne

Michael Plasmeier

THE ONCE AND FUTURE CITY
ASSIGNMENT #3: YOUR SITE THROUGH TIME

Basic Requirements: You have footnoted the sources of illustrations, but it is best to put them as part of the caption, and to add a URL link when applicable. This is to ~~simply~~ ensure that there is no copyright problem.

Observations:

See attached

Writing:

see Jeanne's comments.

Illustrations: excellent use of illustrations as evidence for your argument. Please enlarge them (on another page, ^{or another page} on mouse click) so that they are legible.

More narrative captions would also be helpful. Even if they repeat what is already in the text, it helps to draw the eye to

Website: Significant detail

good.

B+ → A- (bonus for extra research)

Please pay close attention in the last assignment to the description of the assignment and what is required.

Michael.

Your paper goes way beyond the assignment in certain respects (research into planning documents and secondary sources and construction of a detailed narrative of change post 1960), but falls short in certain aspects of the brief. It is a fairly detailed account of the local history of a particular place, which fails to fully place that local history within the broader context of national policy and social/economic conditions at ~~the~~ the time of key changes in your site. Jackson would have helped you here, as opposed to the extensive reference to other documents + readings (which were not required). You did cite Jackson on a couple of occasions, but in a rather vague manner - there are many specifics about both Boston + the VS to mine in order to better contextualise the changes you found both post 1960 and in the earlier periods. While you catalogued a detailed list of changes in each of the earlier periods ~~post~~ pre 1960 (1887-1897 - 1909 - 1914 - 1928 - 1937), more analysis of the patterns + the forces that produced them would be welcome.

This paper is an excellent candidate for the one revision required. I have no doubt you could bring the grade up to an A.

4.21

4/25

Writing Tutor back again

Presentations

What general advice would you give

Basic: loud enough, stand up straight.

diff tools - speed up/slow down

Put work [^] into it like a paper
prep

Visually Visuals more important

You put 1st part work on it

So your level of expertise is higher

You know more than ~~present~~ professor

Balance of expertise is different

(an assume group has knowledge)

Like a movie adaptation of a book

Framing where are we is even more important

- Outline

- ~~Power~~ Point where you are

②

Like overview section of map



Visuals reinforce what you say

Balance specific + general

- Do 1 and make it clear that stands for all
- More active in things that interest you

Transitions

- practice

- May use same on website

- or different

keep it clean + simple for slides

Just put img up while talking about it

Rewrites

Due May 11

Need conf w/ Wildman

- Sent email

Can cut down in some areas

Totally rewrite or just revise?

Actually got a worse grade on 3

③

May move stuff around

Make sure it still makes sense

Look back at your own writing and objectively look at it

(Comments on 3 interesting - since I was interested in that stuff, but I did not feel comfortable writing)

(Incidentally did it in '04)

(Email Anne)

What order?

(Chron - easier to tell story)

Topics

Whatever you want

~~that~~ Diff people have diff amt to talk about

- So details

- natural resources

- people focused on what you are interested in

3 p may pull back in some areas + expand in other areas

Make a case for which category

- try to use the terminology

⑨ people use concepts of layers in diff ways

How will you approach rewrite?

- org
- lang
- content

4.21

4/27

Revised papers due ~~all~~ May 11

The previous grade ~~is~~ is totally dropped

Presentations soon

7-8 min present

7-8 min discussion

What is the character of site?

How did it come to be like that?

Forces that shaped it

How important are certain factors

- location
- nature
- transport
- the period
- property ownership

Req readings is next 4 papers

Still have to do journals

Last one needs to be longer, reflection of class

Many come w/ PPT

② More presentations

Bacon Hill

bricks should not be cleaned

so can tell buildings age

interior/land use can change

historical guidelines

State house

- expand vertically?

diff. trends on diff. slopes?

Davis Square

Bike path was cool trail

not as slavish attention to history

down hill 1970-1980s

Until Davis Sq T

People in Lexington did not want Red Line

so not really thinking urban renewal

Bike lane was 1970-80s

or 80s-90s

3

Savin Hill

Dorchester

layers

Old Colony railway

Triple decker buildings

Lots of local biz

Kinda like an island

Does it feel safe?

LQ10 - lots more public parks

- sanitary reform
- mental health
- shift to active recreation
- playground - movement

Kenmore Sq

Citgo sign

a lot of the buildings were car showrooms

so that's why citgo sign is there

no trace today

⑨

Can't change from outside

20s - 50s many were doctors offices

Frat houses

BU

- 1950s

- taken over lots of buildings

- tons of students

Parking
esp during games

Fort Point

filled in by CO to be a waterfront

Owned up to 2002

Plaques still there

built in short time period

large scale investment

leased to COS

Bridges

~~links~~ rail tracks

Used to be a coal terminal

5)

buildings set up along tracks

- Summer st was 2x

- was over tracks

Big dig

Big arts community

Turning lux

- hip people w/ \$ moving in

Expensive housing from artists from BAA

Offices are more the ones up front

Predict it will be overpriced w/ rich people

Artist groups try to negotiate

nearby

Whole parking lots filled in w/ huge lux housing