From “Open Country” to “Open Space”: Park Planning, Rapid Growth and Community Identity in Tempe, Arizona, 1949-1975

by

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ABSTRACT

Tempe experienced rapid growth in population and area from 1949 to 1975, stretching its resources thin and changing the character of the city. City boosters encouraged growth through the 1950s to safeguard Tempe's borders against its larger neighbor, Phoenix. New residents moved to Tempe as it grew, expecting suburban amenities that the former agricultural supply town struggled to pay for and provide. After initially balking at taking responsibility for development of a park system, Tempe established a Parks and Recreation Department in 1958 and used parks as a main component in an evolving strategy for responding to rapid suburban growth. Through the 1960s and 1970s, Tempe pursued an ambitious goal of siting one park in each square mile of the city, planning for neighborhood parks to be paired with elementary schools and placed at the center of each Tempe neighborhood. The highly-publicized plan created a framework, based on the familiarity of public park spaces, that helped both long-time residents and recent transplants understand the new city form and participate in a changing community identity. As growth accelerated and subdivisions surged southward into the productive agricultural area that had driven Tempe's economy for decades, the School-Park Policy faltered as a planning and community-building tool. Residents and city leaders struggled to reconcile the loss of agricultural land with the carefully maintained cultural narrative that connected Tempe to its frontier past, ultimately broadening the role of parks to address the needs of a changing city.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Tempe's population increased from 7,684 to 93,882 between 1950 and 1975, and its land area expanded from a small commercial core south of the Salt River to encompass most of the agricultural district that had historically driven its economy.[1] The new wave of settlers echoed the one that had originally settled the land almost a century before. "The move to the suburbs has been characterized as a flight from the city," note Cynthia L. Girling and Kenneth I. Helphand, "but it was equally a passage to a promised land, not unlike the pioneer migrations of the nineteenth century."[2] Largely young and well-educated, Tempe's modern-day settlers expected a suburban environment with adequate infrastructure, stable jobs, and good schools. They also expected easily accessible and well-planned city parks.

Parks were a primary element of Tempe's response to rapid suburban growth. City leaders were reluctant to embrace change in the 1950s, only feeling compelled to do so because nearby Phoenix was annexing land feverishly, endangering Tempe's independent status and unique identity. Committing to infrastructure development, including municipal parks, signaled the city's acceptance of a more urban community with different boundaries and principles than those of the old mill town. In the early

[1] City of Tempe, "Tempe Population Growth," accessed March 25, 2019, https://www.tempe.gov/government/community-services/tempe-history-museum/tempe-history/population-growth.

[2] Cynthia L. Girling and Kenneth I. Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park: The Design of Suburban Open Space.* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1994), 12.

1960s, Tempe announced its goal of developing a park in each square mile of the city. With this plan, leaders sought to develop a framework to help both new residents and established citizens make sense of the changing physical and cultural dimensions of their community. When that framework proved not entirely adequate to deal with the dizzying pace with which agricultural land was being converted into subdivisions, Tempe leaders rethought their insular response to change, broadening their view of how parks functioned and who used them. While this study explores the critical role of public recreation spaces in Tempe's response to suburban growth, parks had long been part of the community's landscape and culture.

The Legacy of Tempe's First Parks

"In another year or so this little park will be one of the most beautiful places in the valley," the *Tempe Daily News* declared in 1908 of the town's very first foray into setting aside public open space.[3] Tempe purchased four narrow lots just east of Mill Avenue in 1907, with plans to set them aside as a public park. They adjoined parcels at the southwest corner of Fifth Street and Myrtle Avenue that were already owned by the town.[4] At the end of 1910, the park still had not been completely "thrown open to the public,"[5] although a 1911 fire insurance map indicated that the parcel was indeed a "Public Park."[6] The map also noted that a hose cart--a piece of firefighting equipment--

[3] *Tempe Daily News*, March 20, 1908, 3, column 1.

[4] *Tempe Daily News*, February 15, 1907, 3:3. The intersection of Fifth Street and Myrtle Avenue no longer exists as depicted on early maps. Myrtle Avenue between Fifth and Seventh Streets was decommissioned when the new City Hall complex was built starting in the late 1960s.

[5] *Tempe Daily News*, December 2, 1910, 3, column 1.

was stationed on the lot. The delay in full public access may have been because the park was simply a placeholder for another type of municipal public space, hinted at by the presence of the hose cart.

Tempe was not alone in trying to maximize the utility of its early public spaces. The earliest style of municipal open space in the United States was the public square, modeled on similar civic spaces in Europe whose village ancestor was "the space between dwellings that became used as a place for public gatherings."[7] From the nineteenth century, public squares in newer cities typically consisted of large-scale municipal buildings surrounded by grassy landscaping. The 1870 plat for Phoenix included such public space: two entire blocks reserved for courthouses, one for the city and the other for the county.[8] Tempe did not follow suit until 1912, when the Town Council engaged prominent local architect James M. Creighton to design a modern City Hall.[9] The building, located in what was once Town Park, housed Council chambers, a jail, a small library, and the fire department.[10] The *Tempe Daily News* made a nod to the

[6] "Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Tempe, Maricopa County, Arizona," Sanborn Map Company, Feb, 1911, image 3 of 6, accessed November 5, 2018 from Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn00177_005/.

[7] George F. Chadwick, *The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), 19.

[8] William S. Collins, *The Emerging Metropolis: Phoenix, 1944-1973* (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks Board, 2005), 127.

[9] *Tempe Daily News*, February 2, 1912, 5, column 1. Although the area it served was legally a town, the municipal complex was usually referred to as "City Hall" in photographs and promotional literature about Tempe.

[10] "Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Tempe, Maricopa County, Arizona," Sanborn Map Company, May, 1915, image 3 of 7, accessed November 5, 2018 from Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn00177_006/.

area's multiple-use nature in 1915 when an article referred to it as "the town plaza" rather than as a park.[11]

Figure 1. "Town plaza": Tempe City Hall and Town Council, 1914, Tempe History Museum

After Tempe repurposed Town Park, Territorial Normal School professor Frederick M. Irish assembled a "committee on parks and playgrounds" to explore the feasibility of developing a dedicated public park space.[12] The proposed "amusement second to none in beauty and uniqueness" involved the construction of a road around the base of Tempe Butte, two footpaths to its summit, resting areas to take in the views, and a

[11] *Tempe Daily News*, October 16, 1915, 4, column 1.

[12] "Parks and Playgrounds," *Tempe Daily News*, March 7, 1917, 5.

lot for parking automobiles. As soon as a supply of water could be acquired, the committee envisioned planting the hillside with flowers and trees.[13]

The next public park to actually be developed in Tempe was short-lived but innovative. A new rail depot opened in 1908 at what is now Third Street and Ash Avenue, two blocks north of the original 1887 depot building.[14] The land between the two sites was cleared for development of a park in 1918.[15] Arizona Eastern Park was named after the railroad that operated the depot,[16] but it was also known simply as "the depot park."[17] The railroad devoted a crew of workers to the clearing and preparing of the park site, while the Tempe Community Club made plans to landscape the parcel as soon as it could be irrigated.[18] Boosters promised that the project would be "one of the real beauty spots of the Salt River Valley."[19] The depot park, however, showed signs of

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[13] "Parks and Playgrounds," *Tempe Daily News*, March 7, 1917, 5. It is unclear how much of the plan the park boosters were able to fulfill. Although the butte was used as an unofficial public space for decades and was subjected to a number of beautification schemes, the Hayden Butte Preserve Park was not established until 1973.

[14] Tempe History Museum, "Trains of Tempe: Maricopa & Phoenix Railroad Station," accessed December 10, 2018, http://tempegov.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=59186595c49a480ba3595f8dc4c8e751.

[15] *Tempe Daily News*, February 20, 1918, 3, column 2.

[16] *Tempe Daily News*, February 27, 1918, 3, column 1. See also Tempe History Museum, "Trains of Tempe: Arizona Eastern / Southern Pacific Railroad Station," accessed December 10, 2018, http://tempegov.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=59186595c49a480ba3595f8dc4c8e751.

[17] *Tempe Daily News*, October 19, 1921.

[18] *Tempe Daily News*, February 20, 1918, 3, column 2.

[19] *Tempe Daily News*, February 20, 1918, 3, column 2.

neglect within three years.[20] At some point in the next decade, the site reverted to bare ground.[21]

The demise of Arizona Eastern Park left Tempe without free, easily accessible park space until the early 1950s, but these three early parks foreshadowed aspects of Tempe's park development that would persist until the 1970s. Donations of land and materials, volunteer labor, and partnerships with civic organizations were critical to the growth of Tempe's park system during the study period. The plan of the "committee on parks and playgrounds" to develop Tempe Butte as formal recreation space did not succeed, but the tactic of assembling committees to undertake tasks to which municipal government would not commit continued to be employed, and was used with particular vigor in the 1950s to advocate for neighborhood parks. Lastly, like the City Hall complex, parks were expected to multi-task: even when they were hastily planned and executed, they functioned as more than simple patches of green in the built environment.

Parks and Public Space in the United States

Tempe does not fit neatly into the overall narrative of American urban parks, due to its relatively late development and its origins as an agricultural hub. In one way, however, Tempe's parks development story meshes neatly with those of older, larger cities: its park system grew out of an ongoing attempt to deal with the effects of urbanization. "Their past and potential use in the process of creating social,

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[20] *Tempe Daily News*, October 19, 1921.

[21] Maricopa County Flood Control District Historical Aerial Photography, Tile 55, January 28, 1930.

psychological, and political order, of planning and controlling land use, and of shaping civic form and beauty" mean that the significance of parks has not abated, contends parks historian Galen Cranz.[22]

Before the 1800s, a "park" meant a large tract of land, often in the countryside, owned by a person of means. It could be left in a largely natural state and used for hunting, or it might be shaped into gardens and embellished with artificial water features, hidden from passersby behind a wall.[23] The nineteenth-century city park movement in England was a response to industrial age pressures on factory workers and urban environments. If a little piece of the countryside could be imported into the city, and the amusements appropriate to pursue there were modeled by upstanding members of middle- and upper-class society, the health and social problems that stemmed from being indoors for hours on end and living in close quarters with relative strangers could be at least partially improved. Park design and management pioneer Frederick Law Olmsted framed the urban park as a respite from the unforgiving geometry of the city, and from the analytical thinking required to navigate it.[24]

Park historian Galen Cranz groups movements to maximize the ameliorative effects of parks in the United States into four usage types: the pleasure ground, the reform park, the recreation facility, and the open-space system. The pleasure ground park was ascendant in the second half of the nineteenth century. The picturesque pleasure ground

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[22] Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), xii.

[23] Chadwick, *The Park and the Town,* 19.

[24] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 8.

was intended as a corrective to the rigors of urban life, showcasing naturalistic landscaping and emphasizing a range of physical and cultural activities. Patrons were expected to linger in these large parks for an entire day, engaging in a range of pursuits.[25] Simply being in the park was curative.

The reform park dominated parks development from 1900 to 1930, and represented a sharp turn away from pleasure ground theory. Park proponents believed that the greater amounts of unstructured free time won as a result of labor reforms translated into more opportunity for working-class people to engage in unsavory activities. Park space alone was not an adequate counteracting influence.[26] Spurred by a new cultural emphasis on scientific methods and efficiency, park activities must be organized and supervised by professionals, with the objective of "getting the most out of free time."[27] Formal landscaping was pushed aside in favor of large-scale play equipment, dedicated sports fields and educational garden plots. The neighborhood park grew out of this concept, an attempt to bring the edifying effects of the reform park closer to the densely populated residential areas most in need of them.[28]

As the pace of suburbanization increased in much of the United States between 1930 and 1965, the recreation facility enjoyed preeminence. "Recreation" represented a turn away from the focused park programming and design philosophies of the past;

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[25] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 10.

[26] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 98-9.

[27] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 62.

[28] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 81.

indeed, the term "seemed to exclude no activity or age group."[29] This open-ended attitude was also reflected in parks professionals' assertion that "park facilities were an expected feature of urban life," an element of city infrastructure on a par with sewer lines and sidewalks.[30] The individual park became but a unit in a park system, planned to meet the needs of rapidly increasing populations as parks budgets remained static. The need for efficiency and economy gave rise to municipal partnerships with civic organizations and volunteer groups.[31] The planning and partnership models of the recreation facility era typified parks development in Tempe during the study period.

"When urban parks began to be characterized as open spaces by municipal systems and federal programs in the mid 1960s," Galen Cranz argues, "that was strong evidence that a genuine turning point in park history had been reached."[32] The central-city open space Cranz analyzes was conceived as a response to urban unrest and a perceived lack of park safety.[33] This new conception of urban park space had three characteristics: it brought large groups together by embracing activities outside the usual oeuvre of recreation programs; it minimized physical structures and structured activities; and it was not sharply delineated from the surrounding city, functioning not as a closed-off space but as a "reflection" of what was good about urban life.[34]

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[29] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 103.

[30] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 101.

[31] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 107-8.

[32] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 135.

[33] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 137.

The open space movement in parks and recreation began in cities as a response to population losses to the suburbs, but open space had a different meaning in those more recently urbanized areas.[35] "Suburban open space ranges from the proximate space of home to encompass all outdoor spaces of public concern," according to Cynthia L. Girling and Kenneth I. Helphand. Not exemplified in parks as it was in dense urban areas, in suburbs open space included "streets, sidewalks, yards, and driveways, as well as vacant and natural lands."[36] Access was key to the concept of suburban open space, and not just the ability to enter a space: knowing where it was and having the means to get there were essential as well.[37] In this way, open space could function as a type of cultural currency.

Tempe Before the Boom

"The City of Tempe has an economy that is diversified into three main sectors: agriculture, industry and Arizona State University."[38] Tempe leaders noted this in 1963, when the city was growing so fast that it needed to mount a bond issue campaign just to keep up with infrastructure demands, but these three economic drivers got an early start in the city's history.[39] The Salt River Valley's settlement story began when it was first

[34] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 138.

[35] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 249.

[36] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park,* 17.

[37] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park,* 18.

[38] City of Tempe, *Prospectus and Call for Bids: City of Tempe, Maricopa County, Arizona: $2,000,000 Sewer and Water Improvement Bonds Project of 1963, $500,000 Park and Recreation Improvement Bonds.* (Tempe: City of Tempe, 1963), 12.

[39] Its leaders had referred to Tempe as a city for quite some time: "City Hall" was completed in 1914, and a City Manager was hired in 1932.

surveyed--meaning reference points were established for measuring and mapping--in 1851, as part of fixing the boundary between the United States and Mexico after the Mexican-American War. Maricopa County was surveyed for the establishment of town sites and for subdivision into homestead plots in 1867, five years after the Homestead Act was signed into law.[40] The survey created a series of 36-square mile townships that were typically divided into one-square-mile (640-acre) numbered sections. A section was comprised of four 160-acre homestead plots, each of which could be claimed by a settler who would own the land if he or she resided on it for five years and made certain improvements.

Tempe itself was established in 1871, when Charles Trumbull Hayden homesteaded property on the southern bank of the Salt River.[41] Shortly thereafter, he joined other partners in forming the Tempe Canal Company to finance and construct an irrigation ditch.[42] By 1872, the flour mill that Hayden built at the base of Tempe Butte was operational, powered by the Salt River water that coursed through Hayden Ditch.[43] Hayden Flour Mill was Tempe's first industrial concern, producing flour that was delivered to points as far away as Tucson and Prescott.[44] Tempe's original name,

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[40] Arizona Professional Land Surveyors, "Initial Point," accessed April 7, 2017, http://www.azpls.org/?12.

[41] City of Tempe, "Timeline," accessed February 25, 2019, https://www.tempe.gov/government/community-services/tempe-history-museum/tempe-history/timeline.

[42] Victoria D. Vargas, Thomas E. Jones, Scott Solliday, and Don W. Ryden, *Hayden Flour Mill: Landscape, Economy, and Community Diversity in Tempe, Arizona, Volume 1: Introduction, Historical Research, and Historic Architecture* (Tempe: Archaeological Consulting Services, 2008), 44.

[43] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill,* 44.

[44] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill,* 45.

Hayden's Ferry, refers to the river crossing service Hayden started while the mill was being built. The ferry accommodated heavy cargo, ensuring that flour deliveries and other freighting operations could continue even when water was high.[45] Hayden's Ferry was not the only settlement next to this part of the Salt River: the Hispanic communities of San Pablo and Sotelo Ranch lay to the east around the base of Tempe Butte. Although San Pablo held onto its distinctive character for decades, the settlements were considered to have merged into one town, called Tempe, by 1879.[46] The town was incorporated in 1894.

Tempe was situated near the Salt River for a good reason: the irrigation canals supplied by the river underpinned the agriculture that had sustained the area's economy since the early 1870s. When people thought of Tempe in the late 1800s, it was as "essentially an irrigation district" that stretched from the Salt River on the north to the land survey baseline about four miles south.[47] By the early twentieth century "new dams and aqueducts that reengineered the hydrology of the West made large-scale growth possible in places like Phoenix" and the smaller towns that surrounded it.[48] The tension between tradition and innovation would come to characterize the process of building an urban infrastructure in the desert, and what historian Bradford Luckingham called the

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[45] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill*, 45.

[46] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill*, 81. The post office was renamed to "Tempe" at this time.

[47] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill*, 81.

[48] Lawrence Culver, "Confluences of Nature and Culture: Cities in Environmental History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Environmental History,* edited by Andrew C. Isenberg, 553-570 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), accessed February 7, 2017, http://www.myilibrary.com?ID=637434.559.

"water problem" runs like a sparkling thread through the development history of Tempe and the rest of the Salt River Valley.[49]

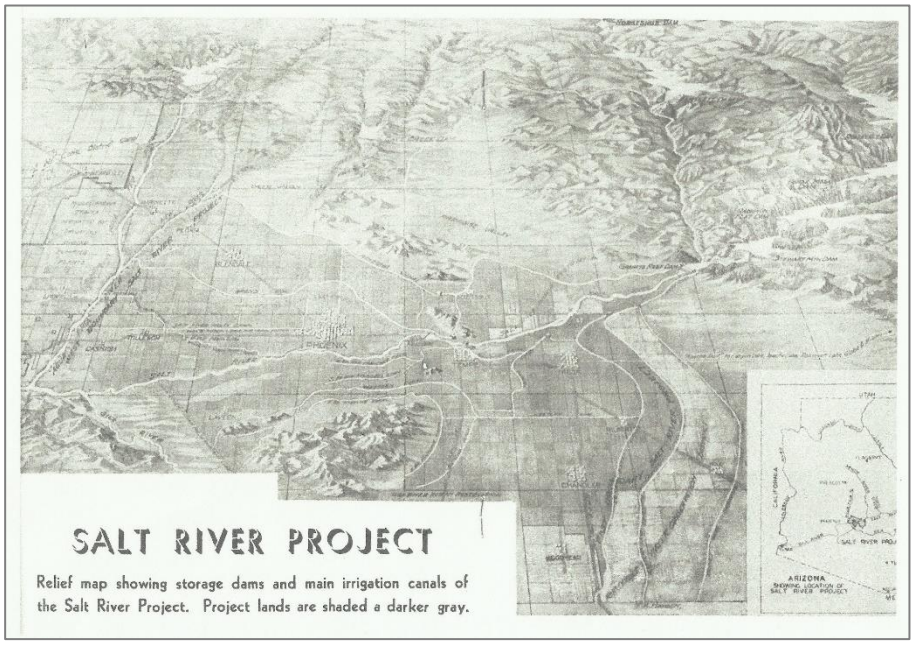

Figure 2. Salt River Project map, 1961, Tempe History Museum

The idea of Tempe as defined by irrigated farmland still had validity in the 1940s, although by that time the Salt River Valley Water Users Association, rather than private irrigation concerns, filled the canals. Tempe's commercial corridor, which stretched a few blocks south along Mill Avenue from its namesake building, was the supply and service hub of a large agricultural complex. It included the area just outside the commercial core, the highly productive Kyrene district south of the baseline, and much of

[49] Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 4.

the cultivated or ranched land that separated Tempe from Phoenix, Mesa and Scottsdale. In 1963, the Salt River Project was lauded as able to divert "virtually all of the flow of the Salt and Verde Rivers" to the areas it served, including Tempe and the Kyrene district.[50]

In 1887, the Maricopa & Phoenix railroad brought passenger and freight service to Tempe. Farmers and ranchers used the railroad to transport their goods out of the area, and prosperous landowners like Neils Petersen had sidings or spur lines directly connected to the M&P tracks.[51] A large stockyard just west of Mill Avenue accommodated cattle waiting to be shipped by rail to California and the Midwest. Agricultural production in the area around Tempe initially focused on alfalfa, which was used to fatten these cattle after they were driven to Tempe over many miles from mountain pastures. In the early twentieth century, many farmers had switched to cotton as their cash crop. The cotton market crash slowed the economy in Tempe and Kyrene in the 1920s; it did not recover fully until after the Great Depression.[52] The agricultural land served by Tempe produced a wider variety of crops after the crash, including citrus fruits and melons.[53]

The railroad was necessary for exporting agricultural products, but farmers depended on roadways to transport goods in the local area and to obtain supplies from

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[50] City of Tempe, *Prospectus and Call for Bids,* 12.

[51] Arizona Memory Project, "1911 Maricopa County, Arizona Land Ownership Plat Map T1N R4E," accessed February 24, 2019, http://azmemory.azlibrary.gov/digital/collection/maricopamap/id/258/rec/2.

[52] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study*, December, 2001, accessed March 25, 2019, http://164.50.248.38/modules/showdocument.aspx?documentid=53978.

[53] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill,* 95.

Tempe, Mesa, and Phoenix. From early on Maricopa County had a dedicated road system, provided by the framework of the land survey square-mile section grid. County roads throughout Territorial Arizona were poor, but Maricopa County fared better in this regard than most of the state due to its higher population and greater economic development.[54] At its first meeting in 1871, "the Board of Supervisors declared all section lines in the county to be potential public highways, claiming a right of way of 33 [feet] on each side" for future development of roadways.[55] Much later, City of Phoenix street planning initiatives in 1949 and 1960 ensured that prominent streets in the Salt River Valley would continue to be pinned to section lines.[56] A major highway ran through downtown Tempe from the 1930s until the Superstition Freeway reached Mill Avenue in 1971.[57] The highway exited Tempe north of the Mill Avenue Bridge, which was one of a handful of elevated Salt River crossings in the Phoenix valley.

Cities and towns competed to host institutions like hospitals and schools, and Tempe's lobbying paid off in 1885 when it was chosen as the site for the Arizona Territory's teacher training school. The Territorial Normal School had a class of thirty-three when it opened in 1886. Just as its early proponents had anticipated, Tempe Normal School attracted students, service providers, and increased economic activity to the town.

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[54] Mark E. Pry and Fred Andersen, *Arizona Transportation History* (Phoenix: Arizona Department of Transportation Research Center, 2011), 22, http://www.ansac.az.gov/UserFiles/PDF/02032016/C040-EngelmanBergerCities%20Supplement/Arizona%20Transportation%20History%20Final%20Report%20660%20December%202011%20(00650539xB0704).PDF.

[55] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill,* 66.

[56] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill,* 78.

[57] Arizona Department of Transportation, "From the ADOT Archives: The Superstition Freeway," ADOT Blog, accessed March 25, 2019, https://www.azdot.gov/media/blog/posts/2012/11/29/from-the-adot-archives-the-superstition-freeway.

The school was renamed Arizona State Teachers College in 1929.[58] Diversification of the school's academic offerings and a steady increase in enrollment saw the school rechristened as Arizona State College in 1945. When that academic year began, notes Tempe historian Scott Solliday, "there were 553 students at the college; by spring 1946, attendance had grown to 1163, and in fall 1946, enrollment nearly doubled again to 2180. It was estimated that more than half of the students at ASC in 1946 were World War II veterans."[59] In 1957, Arizonans voted to grant the college university status. The influence of Arizona State University on Tempe's economy and on its built environment has been profound.

Suburban Development in Phoenix and Tempe

A large number of the military veterans who attended Arizona State College on the GI Bill brought families along and later settled permanently in Tempe. This, coupled with the fact that few homes had been built during the Great Depression and World War II, meant that housing was in short supply. The same highway that crossed the Salt River and bisected downtown Tempe veered to the east as soon as it exited the southern end of the commercial corridor, running on toward Mesa. It was along this roadway, later called Apache Boulevard, that Hudson Manor, Tempe's first "automobile suburb," was built in 1948.[60]

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[58] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill,* 82.

[59] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study*, 8.

[60] Nathan Hallam, "Agricultural Production, the Phoenix Metropolis, and the Postwar Suburban Landscape in Tempe, Arizona" (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2016), 118.

Suburbanization, transportation and urban planning are intimately linked. The only comprehensive planning that existed in cities before the nineteenth century was for safety and survival: as Kenneth T. Jackson writes, "for the first four thousand years of urban history, congestion had meant security, with the very walls of the city representing safety from invading hordes or rampaging bandits."[61] Density and relative compactness meant that, before the inception of reliable public mass transportation 1820s, few city dwellers used any mode of transportation aside from their own two feet.[62]

In the United States, "streetcar buildouts" represented the first concerted residential impulse away from the city center.[63] In most cities these linear suburbs housed modest families, one generation removed from tenements and densely-packed neighborhoods, in unassuming individual buildings.[64] Streetcars debuted in Phoenix in 1887 and, although the city center was not crowded, buyers eagerly claimed homes sited up to three and a half miles outside the city. Many of these new subdivisions were "elite," according to historian Philip VanderMeer—one of numerous ways in which the development of Phoenix and surrounding areas differed from what predominated in the rest of the country.[65]

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[61] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 55.

[62] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 20.

[63] Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000.* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 71.

[64] Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 71.

[65] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions*, 49.

Suburbs continued to evolve along with transportation methods: if streetcars enabled people to work in the city center and live a few miles away, automobiles allowed their drivers to live on the city's fringes. Because the bulk of residential development in the Phoenix metropolitan area took place after World War II, it was profoundly influenced by automobile travel. The "lower density and larger average lot size" of automobile suburbs made them different from "anything ever previously experienced in an urban world."[66] Homes could now be built on less expensive land well beyond the city limits. In Phoenix, this translated into lots that were typically twenty-five percent larger than for comparable homes in the streetcar subdivisions.[67] The automobile was thoroughly integrated into Maricopa County life by 1940, when 45,866 vehicles were registered.[68] This translated into one registered vehicle for every four residents.[69]

Planned residential construction in Tempe did not extend much beyond the downtown core at the end of World War II. Federal authorities saw the decline in American homeownership through the 1930s as "the beginning of an alarming trend," and created the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) in 1934 to jump-start construction and curb unemployment.[70] The plan worked, at first: in Phoenix, neighborhoods where construction had been stalled for a decade were built out within months.[71] Homebuilding

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[66] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 184.

[67] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,*51.

[68] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,* 45

[69] The United States Census Bureau, "Arizona Population of Counties by Decennial Census: 1900 to 1990," accessed April 22, 2017, https://www.census.gov/population/cencounts/az190090.txt.

[70] Grady Gammage, Jr., *The Future of the Suburban City: Lessons from Sustaining Phoenix* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2016), 97.

slowed precipitously during World War II, however, creating a pent-up demand for housing that only increased as the conflict ended and GIs all over the country returned to civilian life.

The FHA insured loans to improve or purchase homes based on adherence to certain construction standards and subject to an appraisal of a home's value. FHA loans had a longer repayment period and lower interest rates because lenders were exposed to less risk. FHA and, by 1944, Veterans Administration (VA) programs "substantially increased the number of American families who could reasonably expect to purchase homes."[72] The FHA and VA emphasis on standardization inspired builders to streamline floor plans, materials and construction techniques. This, along with enhanced coordination among land acquisition, building, and sales efforts, meant that by the late 1940s in Tempe, "a subdivision could be laid out and its houses built and sold in less than a year."[73] The city could not annex land fast enough to accommodate the fevered pace of homebuilding. "In mid-1953, there were about 200 homes in various stages of construction within the city boundaries, and another 200 houses being built in areas adjacent to the city" whose owners clamored for municipal services.[74] It was "common practice" for the FHA to place a higher value on development-ready land if park space

[71] Vander Meer, *Desert Visions,* 81-2.

[72] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier,* 205.

[73] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 14.

[74] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 16.

was included in the subdivision plan, which was often touted as an economic benefit to municipalities and those who would eventually purchase the homes.[75]

Their neighborhoods may largely have been built under the influence of FHA standardization, but the suburbs closest to Phoenix exist "outside the suburban 'norm,'" Philip VanderMeer contends. Tempe, Mesa, Scottsdale and Glendale "developed . . . into semi-independent, unique communities, with independent features" because they began "as agricultural satellites, separate from but dependent on Phoenix for important urban functions and services."[76] As the distance between Tempe and other cities shrank, the commercial core along Mill Avenue that had defined the city for so long was patronized less and less. Gerald Ray Stricklin found that the increasing area covered by the city, rather than physical deterioration of historic downtown structures, was to blame for the flight of traditional commerce from the old central business district.[77] Trip length and "intervening opportunities" for shopping discouraged customers who lived in newer parts of Tempe, and the new U.S. 60 highway both divided Tempe into northern and southern sections and made for easier access to larger retail attractions in Phoenix.[78]

The ease of automobile travel, which encouraged dependence on Phoenix and facilitated suburban growth, also led to "leapfrogging," the development of non-

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[75] Kenneth E. Daane, *The Economic Implications of the Regional Park System in Maricopa County* (Tempe: Arizona State University, March 1964), 47.

[76] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,* 221.

[77] Gerald Ray Stricklin, "Transition in the Tempe, Arizona Central Business District" (MA thesis, Arizona State University, 1976), 129.

[78] Stricklin, "Transition in the Tempe, Arizona Central Business District," 128-9.

contiguous neighborhoods on unincorporated land. This tendency was exacerbated by an increase in paved Maricopa County roads, from seven total miles in 1915 to seventy-seven fifteen years later.[79] As early as 1953, residents worried that Tempe's distinctive identity would be lost to the "ground swallowing monster" of unplanned growth extending from Phoenix.[80] Leapfrog development continued in Phoenix into the 1950s and was blamed for a variety of problems, from crime and industrial blight to greater expense in providing city services.[81] Phoenix officials felt compelled to annex land continuously to fill in the gaps, which "city finances and public attitudes" made difficult.[82] Tempe's *1967 General Plan* explicitly discouraged "leapfrogging and raw land speculation" to save money, minimize conflicting land uses and preserve property values.[83]

In the 1960s, Tempe established a Planning Department to delineate a future border as protection against Phoenix, and formulated its "Proposed School-Park Policy" to outline a collective identity in the face of rapid growth. The School-Park Plan recalls the "magic lands" examined by John M. Findlay: Disneyland; Stanford Industrial Park; Sun City, Arizona; and the Seattle World's Fair of 1962. These were "planned districts that imparted a sense of community and stability to an urban region characterized by

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[79] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,* 51.

[80] "Identity Endangered," *Tempe Daily News*, January 20, 1953, 2.

[81] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,* 175.

[82] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,* 176.

[83] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan* (Scottsdale: Van Cleve Associates, 1967), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 1999.29.312.35, 34.

explosive growth and rapid change."[84] In this study, I hope to illustrate that Tempe's neighborhood parks were planned, at least in part, for just this purpose. They were distributed throughout a rapidly developing planning area to act as a series of anchor points in a newly urbanized, suddenly confusing place.

The rapid conversion of agricultural land into residential subdivisions generated great unease in the Salt River Valley from the beginning of the 1960s through the end of the study period.[85] The changing relationship between Tempe residents and the land around them tapped into what Adam Rome calls "anxiety about the social consequences of a profound demographic change—if the city continued to swallow up the country, would Americans forget the 'agrarian' virtues which had made the nation great?"[86] Tempe had started as an agricultural supply town, and its ties to the land were complex. Even as its economy relied less on surrounding agricultural lands as suburbanization advanced, its identity was still firmly attached to the "frontier values" associated with the Salt River Valley and commemorated in Tempe in numerous ways. Residents both old and new would wrestle with the implications of their competing frontier ideologies amid the backdrop of parks, growth and open space.

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[84] John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 5.

[85] Gerald Marvin Hermanson, "Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County, Arizona, 1950-1980" (MA thesis, Arizona State University, 1968), 2.

[86] Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 123.

Methodology and Primary Sources

This study would not have been possible without access to a broad selection of primary sources. Most useful among these are the city records and documents directly related to Tempe parks. These include the proceedings of the Tempe Parks and Recreation Board; minutes from meetings of the Tempe City Council and its Parks and Recreation Committee; monthly reports from the Tempe Parks and Recreation Department; reports from various city-sponsored committees; and letters from concerned citizens to the officials and appointees they perceived as having the power to implement—or to reverse--change. Compiling these stacks of ephemera required time, luck, and fortunate connections with knowledgeable people. There are almost certainly more such papers forgotten in an office closet or uncatalogued in a donated collection somewhere in Arizona.

Only a handful of Tempe parks and recreation records from the period of 1949 to 1957 could be located for use in this study. Documents that predate the formation of the city Parks and Recreation Department in 1958—mostly associated with the Parks and Recreation Committee, a citizens' advocacy group—were stored for years in the home of Edna Vihel, a Tempe recreation advocate. Transferred to the city at some point, the records were reportedly discarded when, in the late 1960s, city government offices assumed temporary quarters in a strip mall while the new City Hall building was being built.[87] While this is a terrible loss for a researcher, the story of Tempe's first steps toward developing a park system can be pieced together using materials created to

[87] Edna Vihel, interview by Diane Matsch, March 11, 1987. Interview OH-120, transcript, Tempe History Museum Oral History Collection OH-120, 5.

promote Tempe's suitability for residential and industrial development, many of which refer to parks; maps and land ownership documents; aerial and conventional photographs; and newspaper items, especially from the *Tempe Daily News*. Information about park acquisition and development was important to the growing community, earning regular front-page newspaper space well into the 1960s.

Gray Literature

Rapid growth in Tempe and other area municipalities inspired city and county leaders to professionalize their management approaches to a variety of issues, among them parks and open space. This resulted in a fascinating body of gray literature: policies, plans, surveys, reports, studies, and committee and symposium proceedings. I have analyzed this group of documents in detail and attempted to relate them to available primary sources.

The "Proposed School-Park Policy" is linked to Tempe's stated goal of planning a park space in as many of the city's square-mile sections as practicable. As modest a goal as this seems, it was not easy for municipalities to achieve this level of forethought in the face of rapid growth in land area and population. The city formally presented the "Proposed School-Park Policy" in 1967, but the concept had been publicized in the local newspaper in the 1950s, discussed among city personnel since the early 1960s, and was first implemented in Tempe in 1964.[88] It seems obvious that partnering with school districts on site acquisition, development and equipment might save taxpayers money at

[88] City of Tempe, "Proposed School-Park Policy," 1967, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

the outset and minimize costly duplication of services over the life of a facility. What is less apparent is that schools could serve as placeholders for parks under this plan: few would argue that schools were any less necessary than streets or sewer lines, while consensus on the need for neighborhood parks was not always so easy to achieve. The School-Park Plan dominated parks development in Tempe through the end of the study period. When read closely, the "Proposed School-Park Policy" offers clues about the role of parks in a city whose dimensions, culture, and identity were rapidly changing.

The *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference* report was the product of the fifth annual meeting of a group that convened annually in the latter half of the 1960s to explore solutions to issues that arose from rapid growth. The topics of discussion for the 1969 meeting were "Community Beautification, Community Safety and Housing and Urban Development Programs."[89] Predictably, the conference addressed the "cores of decay" developing in parts of fast-growing Tempe, especially the downtown area. Somewhat surprisingly, the problems of "filth, ugliness and squalor" were not attributed to expanding economic or ethnic diversity, as insinuated in some other primary sources; nor were they pinned on increased population density or the loss of agricultural mores. Instead, the committee contended that "Americans who learned in the frontier era to 'conquer' nature now need to learn new techniques of cooperating with nature," curbing the urge to profit from development at all costs.[90]

[89] *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference,* 1969, Tempe History Museum, 2006.68.118, 1B.

[90] *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference,* 2B.

The 1970 document *"A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study, Maricopa County, Arizona: An Evaluation of Recreational Land Use and Environmental Resource Conservation"* was prepared by the Maricopa Planning and Zoning Department for the Maricopa Association of Governments (MAG). Concerns about rapid suburbanization and increased mobility that were ubiquitous at the time are reflected in the report, so much so that the inventory undertaken by the study committee did not simply cover "the central urbanized area": instead, "investigations were also made within a 100-mile radius of central Phoenix."[91] The document highlights the need to maintain an "ecological balance" in regard to land use.[92] It claims that mere "vacant land"--itself an intriguing choice of term--cannot "supply the ecological, physical, or social needs for open space" in a changing environment.[93] Open space was framed as a different thing entirely. It was "a functional land use in itself" that did not have to succumb to development, but could help direct and contain it.[94]

These gray literature sources explore the intersection of agricultural heritage, community identity, urban expansion, and development of city-sponsored services, and are core documents for this study. Another pertinent but more narrowly-focused document is a 1970 report officially entitled the *Open Space Study*, but referred to by city

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[91] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study, Maricopa County, Arizona: An Evaluation of Recreational Land Use and Environmental Resource Conservation* (Phoenix: The Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Department, September, 1970), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2006.9.1443, Preface, paragraph two.

[92] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, i.

[93] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 5.

[94] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 5.

officials and personnel—as well as within the text of the report itself--as the "Master Plan" for the Tempe park system.[95] Other useful sources take a wider view. The first volume in the massive context study *Hayden Flour Mill: Landscape, Economy, and Community Diversity in Tempe, Arizona* is a detailed exploration of the agriculture-oriented infrastructure that influenced Tempe's landscape and culture, and continues to do so even after having been obscured by later development.[96] The engaging case study by the Morrison Institute for Public Policy, "Hits and Misses: Fast Growth in Metropolitan Phoenix," examines many of the themes explored in this paper: annexation, development at the urban fringe, and the impact of "frontier values" on the identity of urban desert cities.[97] It also details how growth influences park and open space policies. Lastly, Scott Solliday's *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study* has proven indispensable to subsequent historians of suburbanization in Tempe. His detailed knowledge of residential and commercial development in the city from 1945 to 1960--and of the agricultural and industrial economies it supplanted, displaced or conflicted with--provides perspective for examining the city's explosive expansion from 1949 to 1975.[98]

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[95] Keith D. Hollinger, *Open Space Study*, prepared by A. Wayne Smith and Associates (Tempe: City of Tempe, April 22, 1970).

[96] Vargas, et al., *Hayden Flour Mill.*

[97] Morrison Institute for Public Policy, *Hits and Misses: Fast Growth in Metropolitan Phoenix* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2000). http://www.asu.edu/copp/morrison/hitsandmisses.pdf.

[98] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 8.

Definition of Study Period, Scope, and Organization

In 1949, local businessman and property developer Ken Clark gave ten acres of raw land to the municipality of Tempe. The site would later be named Clark Park after its generous donor. It took ten years for the city to achieve any significant development of the park space, so even most long-time Tempe residents do not realize that Clark Park predates Daley Park, commonly cited as the oldest of the city's neighborhood parks. Even though Clark Park was a mere dirt lot for most of its first decade, the title "park" was bestowed on the parcel from the time it was donated to the city. This established a pattern that was replicated without fail for the duration of the study period. A parcel did not become a park only after being graded, landscaped, outfitted with play and sports equipment, and named; it was a park from the moment the city acquired the land and stated its intent to develop it into public recreational open space.

In this study, parks are examined as part of an evolving strategy for responding to rapid suburban growth. The neighborhood park is the basic building block of Tempe's park system, and is the type of park on which this study concentrates. In the 1950s, residents of new subdivisions clamored for easy-to-access neighborhood parks, which stood in contrast to the seasonal, pay-to-play model of Tempe Beach Park. These parks also came to be seen as necessary to the city's recreation programs, which initially were based at Tempe's handful of elementary schools. Although the desire to create a program of formal recreation offerings was the impetus for acquiring park space in the early part of the study, city-sponsored recreation programs are not examined outside that limited context.

Tempe's early reaction to rapid growth after World War II is the focus of Chapter 2 of this study. To stave off the encroachment of nearby Phoenix, Tempe sought to expand its boundaries through annexation and population growth. The city did not anticipate incoming residents' infrastructure needs, however, or have a sustainable plan in place to pay for them. Parks were a particular sticking point. The open areas that rural children had used for play were being converted to subdivisions, and new suburban residents expected access to neighborhood park space, but Tempe leaders were reluctant to take responsibility for acquiring, developing, and maintaining a system of parks. Concerned residents and business leaders banded together to convince the city that parks deserved the same planning attention that sewers, streets, and sidewalks received.

Chapter 3 tells the story of Tempe's ambitious neighborhood park plan. The city released its first comprehensive planning document, the *General Plan*, in 1967. A key element of that document was the School-Park Plan, which advocated for building each new Tempe neighborhood around a school-park complex. Pairing parks with schools would help Tempe reach its goal of building a park in every square mile of the city. In the 1960s and 1970s, the planned array of neighborhood parks provided structure for both a growing city and a new community identity.

The School-Park Plan was partly intended to acculturate Tempe residents to rapid growth, but the implications of suburban development were not clear until subdivisions jumped over Baseline Road into the Kyrene agricultural district. Chapter 4 looks at how parks fit into the tensions between Tempe's agricultural heritage and its new urban form,

examining questions of open space, land use conflict, and changing identity as the center of the city moved ever southward.

The study period ends in 1975, the year in which Kiwanis Park was completed. Tempe had become "landlocked" the previous year, surrounded on all sides by other municipalities and no longer able to expand its borders through annexation. A new Tempe *General Plan* was released in 1978, and exhibited an obvious turn away from a growth-based planning mindset. Tempe planners reinforced their support for neighborhood parks and the School-Park Plan, while shifting their long view of park planning to providing an open space network that would connect all of Tempe's public space assets.[99]

Much has been written about the iconic Tempe Beach Park, and Kiwanis Park, innovative when it was developed, was featured in numerous parks and recreation publications. Studies of parks have been conducted for Phoenix and Mesa, but I can find no investigations of Tempe's effort to develop a park system for a growing and changing population during the city's period of rapid growth. I will begin to rectify that situation with this study.

[99] City of Tempe, *General Plan 1978* (Tempe, AZ: City of Tempe Planning Department, 1978), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 1995.13.2, 39.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY CITY PARKS AND MANAGEMENT, 1949-1963

"It is my desire to co-operate in the development of a wholesome College residential city."

--E.W. Hudson on the sale of Daley Park land, 1950[100]

World War II had just ended, and Tempe was poised at the brink of an explosion. Discharged military personnel stayed in Arizona after training at local bases, planning to attend Arizona State College on the GI Bill. Most of them brought families with them. Tempe's population more than tripled between 1950 and 1960, from 7,684 to 24,897, and new subdivisions encroached on the farmland that had underpinned the area's economy.[101] Similar growth was happening all through the Salt River Valley. Tempe leaders were fearful of their city being swallowed by its burgeoning neighbor Phoenix, the population center of the area. Concerned parties began fretting over dangers to Tempe's autonomy and identity in the 1950s, and attempted to establish protective boundaries by promoting growth and annexing land. Accelerating growth marked the beginning of Tempe's southward residential and commercial shift, steering business away from the downtown commercial core.

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[100] E.W. Hudson to Hugh E. Laird, March 3, 1950, TCC Roll 122, Tempe, AZ.

[101] City of Tempe, "Tempe Population Growth," accessed March 25, 2019, https://www.tempe.gov/government/community-services/tempe-history-museum/tempe-history/population-growth.

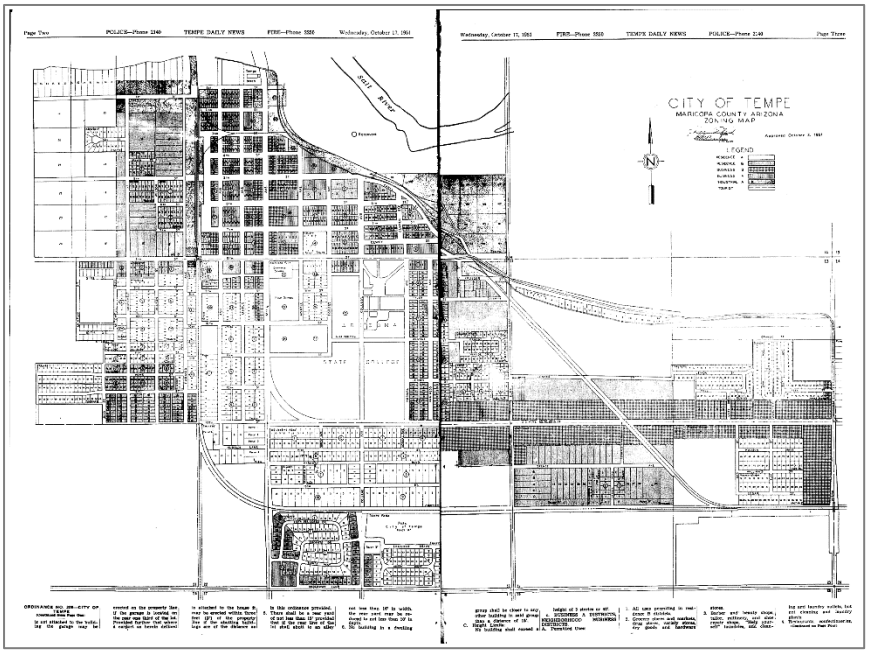

Figure 3. Tempe zoning map, 1951, Tempe History Museum

People in newly built neighborhoods expected suburban amenities, which Tempe made ambitious plans to provide. Residential development quickly exceeded the city's ability to keep pace, however, causing a scramble for infrastructure funding options. The city promoted bond issues and courted industries in an effort to pay for new infrastructure. City leaders proposed devoting hundreds of acres farmland, located several miles south of the city in the Kyrene agricultural district, to industrial development. The area was close enough to Tempe to appeal to potential workers, but was also thought to be far enough away to avoid noise and pollution concerns.

Arranging for water, sewer and street infrastructure was Tempe's initial civic concern, but parks quickly joined the mix. Tempe Beach boasted the largest swimming pool in the state and hosted softball league practices and exhibition games, but it did little

to satisfy the everyday recreation needs of the many young families moving into Tempe's new homes. The development of Tempe's neighborhood parks from 1949 to 1963 was based on a combination of opportunism, foresight, and the rumblings of a citizenry that increasingly found outdoor recreation options lacking in the growing city. As residents and business owners banded together to lobby city government for formal outdoor recreation programs and dedicated spaces in which to implement them, Tempe made its first efforts to fund and manage a neighborhood park system.

Recreation in a Changing Environment

Edna Vihel spent her young adult years in the slow-moving Tempe of the 1930s. When she returned with her family in the summer of 1950, the town was completely different. Growth in Phoenix had exploded since the end of World War II, igniting development in Tempe a few years later. New subdivisions rolled out to the east and south of the small downtown, displacing farm fields and citrus orchards. Membership in the Tempe Chamber of Commerce climbed, gratifying civic leaders; at the same time the Chamber, which was deeply engaged in the improvement of infrastructure and services and acted as a liaison between the populace and the City Council, could hardly form committees quickly enough to address the needs of Tempe's expanding citizenry. The city eagerly promoted its attractiveness to young families like the Vihels, but did not quite know how to deal with them once they had arrived.

The Vihel family purchased a home in the brand-new University Estates neighborhood, just across Broadway Road from the future Daley Park site.[102] There was little for their school-age children to do in their new, unfinished neighborhood. In the summer of 1951, Edna Vihel thought she had discovered a recreation solution. When she dropped her older children off at the inaugural "Treasure Troopers" morning program, however, she found the site "was just swarming with children."[103]

When Tempe was smaller, children did not lack for summer recreation. Because of the hot climate, swimming at the edge of the Salt River was a longstanding tradition. A "bathing club" was established at the river's edge in 1893.[104] Point of Rocks, at the base of Tempe Butte, boasted a swimming hole and a sandy stretch of beach.[105] There, Jack O'Connor remembers that he and other little boys swam nude in the river, enjoying the shade of overhanging trees.[106]

These rustic recreation sites were nothing like Tempe Beach, the swimming spot that supplanted them. Repeating a familiar pattern, a committee of residents came together to issue a bond, which would pay for construction of the first Olympic-sized swimming pool in Arizona.[107] Tempe Beach opened in July 1923 and attracted patrons

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[102] Maricopa County Recorder's Office, "Special Warranty Deed," recorded October 27, 1950, Docket 636, Page 352.

[103] Vihel, interview by Diane Matsch, 5.

[104] *Tempe Daily News*, August 12, 1893, 3, column 4.

[105] "Let's Have a Bathhouse," *Tempe Daily News*, April 22, 1910, 3.

[106] Jack O'Connor, *Horse and Buggy West: A Boyhood on the Last Frontier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 138.

from across the Salt River Valley.[108] The fundraising committee deeded the park land to the city shortly after the opening, but Tempe Beach was leased and managed by the Chamber of Commerce. Sporting a grassy picnic space but rarely referred to as a park, Tempe Beach was instead operated and promoted as a regional tourist attraction. Nobody seemed to mind paying the entry fee: the pool was busy from mid-April to mid-September every year, and Tempe Beach had "been self-supporting ever since its founding."[109] The recreation area was so enmeshed with the city's identity that in the late 1940s, being appointed to the Tempe Beach Committee was a coveted honor for Chamber of Commerce members.[110]

Tempe Beach was not the only option people had when they needed to cool off and expend energy. Tempe and the surrounding agricultural district were laced with canals and irrigation laterals. The artificial waterways were lined with tall trees and grasses, and children could be found splashing in them or playing on their shady banks on any hot day when school was not in session. Swimming and playing in canals could be risky, though. The water they contained was always in motion, and local newspapers reported drownings with sobering regularity. The parents moving into Tempe's new subdivisions were not inclined to allow their suburban children to play in canals, and

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[107] City of Tempe, "Park Locations: Tempe Beach Park," Accessed April 9, 2018. http://www.tempe.gov/Home/Components/FacilityDirectory/FacilityDirectory/176/3542?npage=3.

[108] "Tempe Beach 40-Years Old Friday A.M.," *Tempe Daily News,* July 11, 1963, 1.

[109] "Tempe Beach to Begin '49 Season Friday at Noon," *Tempe Daily News,* April 14, 1949, 1.

[110] "Bankhead Takes C of C Presidency, Outlines Plan, Names Committees," *Tempe Daily News,* January 18, 1949, 1.

residents of Tempe's newly built neighborhoods chafed at the dearth of nearby park space.[111]

The type of neighborhood park that the growing city lacked grew out of the "reform park" concept. Dominating parks planning in the first thirty years of the twentieth century, the reform park was focused on counteracting the deleterious effects of urban living. An offshoot of this broad therapeutic goal, the neighborhood park was intended to direct children's play away from streets that were crowded with traffic, people, and potential temptations. In older urban areas, neighborhood iterations of the reform park were tucked into the densely populated residential areas of the city, with such spaces ideally accessible by foot to every city-dwelling child.[112] Since the 1930s, the goal of park placement and design had shifted away from social reform. Parks were scattered through neighborhoods as simply part of the urban landscape, and were increasingly considered "a function of government."[113]

In spite of this nationwide trend toward municipal sponsorship of parks, Tempe's leadership had expressed ambivalence about taking responsibility for recreation facilities. Edna Vihel recalls that "they didn't consider parks and recreation part of the City's business, and frankly told us so."[114] Parks advocates in Tempe felt differently, and their arguments reflected the conflict inherent in Tempe's changing status. Congratulating a

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[111] "Summer Recreation, *Tempe Daily News*, May 3, 1957, 2.

[112] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 81-2.

[113] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 103.

[114] Vihel, interview by Diane Matsch, 6.

newly formed recreation advocacy committee, the editor of the *Tempe Daily News* recalled the freeform play enabled by the access to "open country" that was typical of the old agriculturally-oriented Tempe.[115] Activities like roaming in fields and shooting marbles in quiet streets were common in a rural community, but unstructured outdoor play made suburban parents uncomfortable. The "multiplying subdivisions" along the city's borders were anonymous, and potentially dangerous.[116] They were full of what Carl Abbott calls "domestic immigrants" who were unfamiliar with their new community's culture.[117] New residents could hardly be asked to shoulder all of the blame for this, however; Tempe was growing so quickly that its leaders had no clear vision of what their city was, or what they wanted it to become.

Annexation and Rapid Growth

If Tempe was growing quickly, Phoenix seemed to be exploding. The problem this presented for Tempe was rooted not in the increase in the larger city's population, but in the rapidity with which Phoenix was annexing land. Development around Phoenix in the 1930s and 1940s had proceeded in "leapfrog" fashion, leaving subdivisions and industrial areas scattered through the unincorporated areas surrounding the city.[118] Citing the dangerous lack of municipal services--including parks--characteristic of leapfrog development on unincorporated land, Phoenix undertook to "expand the city as far and as

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[115] "A Salute in Order," *Tempe Daily News*, April 24, 1956.

[116] "A Salute in Order," *Tempe Daily News*, April 24, 1956.

[117] Carl Abbott, *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America*, Histories of the American Frontier (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 167.

[118] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions*, 174.

quickly as possible" through the 1950s, annexing county land at a rapid clip.[119] This immediately stoked fears among Tempe leadership. *Tempe Daily News* editor Francis "Frank" Connolly served on the Tempe City Council from 1954 to 1956, and frequently used the newspaper's editorial page to channel city management concerns. "To let our growth be determined by the natural needs of the moment would be all right," he wrote, "if the Phoenix tide wasn't coming in."[120]

American cities grew in the nineteenth century by incorporating neighboring areas with established populations into their boundaries, as Chicago did when it annexed the "pleasant residential villages" to its south.[121] Many of the cities that experienced their greatest growth after World War II also did so through annexation, but with a key difference. As in Tempe, they expanded their boundaries not to acquire existing householders, but to accommodate people eager to establish households in newly built neighborhoods. Orderly annexation allowed cities and towns to influence the quality and characteristics of new development and to contain the cost of extending city services.[122]

The most convenient solution to the problem of encroachment by Phoenix was for Tempe to mount its own annexation campaign, to "push out our boundaries as rapidly as possible."[123] Tempe's first annexation of county land had occurred under Ordinance 184

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[119] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions*, 175.

[120] "Identity Endangered," *Tempe Daily News*, January 20, 1953, 2.

[121] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 142.

[122] Morrison Institute for Public Policy, "Hits and Misses," 37.

[123] "Identity Endangered," *Tempe Daily News*, January 20, 1953, 2.

on December 12, 1944, with the incorporation of just over fourteen acres.[124] A pattern developed through the early 1950s in which new subdivisions were annexed as they were being built, and city services were extended to the area some time afterward, although homeowners often had to pay on their own for asphalt street paving and to have their properties connected to city water and sewer service.[125]

The inadequacy of this practice became apparent on annexed land just east of downtown Tempe. Home to the city's newest subdivisions, which were platted on small lots and appealed to budget-minded buyers, the homes being built north and south of what is now the Apache Boulevard corridor between Rural Road and McClintock Boulevard were served by the city water system, but city sewers did not yet extend to the area.[126] Concerned about the sewer system's inadequacies, City Council commissioned a report that detailed the dangers presented by homes "entirely dependent on cesspools and septic tanks," as well as nearby properties on contiguous but unannexed land that still relied on "outdoor latrines."[127]

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[124] City of Tempe, "Annexation Listing," after January 13, 1983 (date of the last ordinance listed in the document), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2006.9.51.

[125] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 16-17.

[126] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 18.

[127] "Report of City Sewer System Survey," *Tempe Daily News,* December 11, 1954, 7. The 1950 property restrictions associated with the land platted for the first phases of the Hudson Manor neighborhood, where Hudson Park would later be developed, include specifications for septic tanks to be used "Until such time as sewers may be available." When sewer service was supplied to the neighborhood, the tanks must be abandoned and "sanitary conveniences" connected to the new sewers. Maricopa County Recorder's Office, "Declaration of Restrictions," Hudson Manor Unit 2, recorded January 23, 1950, Docket 492, Page 362.

Rapid growth meant that Tempe could no longer follow a model of "coping with the needs of the moment."[128] In April 1958, the city annexed 3,426 acres--almost five and a half square miles--of land, doubling the area of the city. In a remarkable feat of foresight and planning, the city was in a position to provide water and sewer services to the entirety of the annexed area, bucking the trend in surrounding municipalities to "increase their corporate limits first and find out how they're going to offer metropolitan services later."[129] This planning victory depended in large part on convincing Tempeans to adequately fund new infrastructure for the city.

Paying for Municipal Services

Tempe's ability to build and finance the most basic infrastructure had, since the beginning of the decade, been outstripped by the rapid pace of residential development.[130] The City Council realized that existing residents could not underwrite the complete cost of extending sewer and water service to soon-to-be developed areas. Instead, new public infrastructure would have to be planned for, with the costs to be covered by issuing bonds or by rolling fees into the price buyers paid for properties in new subdivisions.[131] The city must also exert control on "new additions" so that "up to date municipal services" could

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[128] "Report: Rapid Growth Causes Water Problem," *Tempe Daily News*, June 8, 1955, 3.

[129] "A Bigger Tempe," *Tempe Daily News*, April 14, 1958, 2.

[130] The 1950 property restrictions associated with the land platted for the first phases of the Hudson Manor neighborhood, where Hudson Park would later be developed, include specifications for septic tanks to be used "Until such time as sewers may be available." When sewer service was supplied to the neighborhood, the tanks must be abandoned and "sanitary conveniences" connected to the new city sewers. Maricopa County Recorder's Office, "Declaration of Restrictions," Hudson Manor Unit 2, recorded January 23, 1950, Docket 492, Page 362.

[131] "Report of City Sewer System Survey," *Tempe Daily News*, December 11, 1954, 7.

be provided from the outset.[132] The unanticipated need for better water delivery, especially, was generated by a growing population that increasingly used evaporative coolers and washing machines, and by the industries that the city had been actively courting.[133] Growth was desirable, but it must be balanced with the city's ability to finance infrastructure and build it in a timely manner.

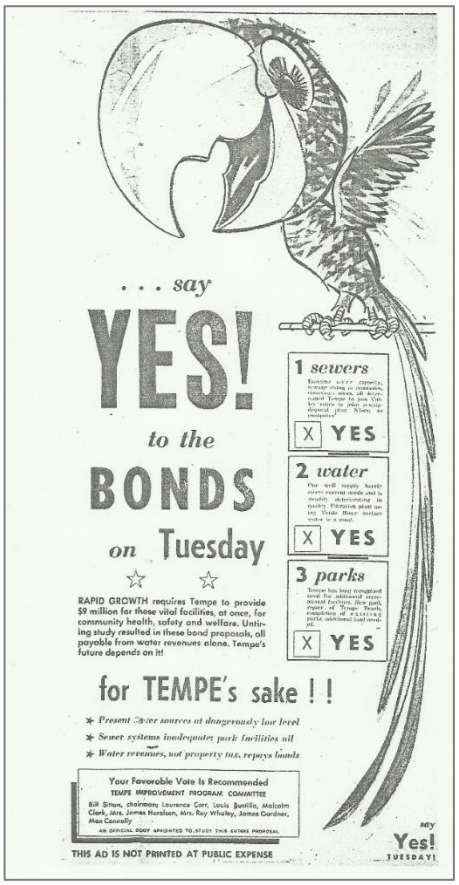

Figure 4. Promoting municipal bonds, Tempe Daily News, 1963

[132] "Report of City Sewer System Survey," *Tempe Daily News*, December 11, 1954, 7.

[133] "Report: Rapid Growth Causes Water Problem," *Tempe Daily News*, June 8, 1955, 3.

Tempe voters approved nine bond issues to fund infrastructure and city services between 1948 and 1960.[134] The revenue bond passed in 1948 funded expansion of the water and sewer systems. The city had little trouble convincing residents to support revenue bonds, paid back with fees to be collected from future water and sewer customers. General obligation bonds required more persuasion as to the urgency or desirability of the items that would be funded, as they resulted in higher taxes for real property owners. In 1951 Tempe proposed its first general obligation bond issue, for $149,000, alongside a separate revenue bond question. The bond was meant to pay for a variety of items: replacement of worn-out fire department, police department and street maintenance equipment; expansion of the library and jail; a new railroad crossing signal; and various administrative projects. In addition, $33,500 of the general bond amount was to be devoted to a "City Parks Project."[135] Only those who were registered voters and owned real property in Tempe were permitted to vote in the bond election; furthermore, they had to visit City Hall during a 10-day period and register specifically for that vote.[136]

Bond issues were an effective way to fund municipal infrastructure, but municipalities could never be sure of a positive outcome when bonds went up for a vote. City leaders sought to broaden Tempe's tax base as a more reliable foundation for

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[134] City of Tempe, *Prospectus and Call for Bids*, 6. Approved revenue bond issues: 1948, $320,000, sewer and water; 1951, $143,000, sewer and water; 1955, $890,000, sewer and water; 1960, $1,300,000, sewer and water. Approved general obligation bond issues: 1951, $149,000, city maintenance, library, jail, police and fire equipment, and parks; 1958, $65,000, fire equipment; 1958, $50,00, parks and recreation; 1959, $85,000, street improvement; 1960, $350,000, sewer improvement.

[135] "General Bonds," *Tempe Daily News*, May 10, 1951, 1.

[136] "Council Asks Approval of Two Bond Issues," *Tempe Daily News*, April 13, 1951, 1.

funding public works. Victor "Vic" Palmer was hired as Chamber of Commerce Secretary in 1952, the organization's first paid employee.[137] In this capacity he acted as manager of the organization.[138] Palmer was directly responsible for Tempe Beach operations, as well as being tasked with promoting Tempe to prospective residents and business interests.[139] With the Chamber's small 1954 publicity budget, he mounted a classified advertisement campaign "in four Midwest periodicals" that netted "2,000 inquiries about Tempe."[140] Partnering with Arizona State College personnel, Palmer produced a promotional brochure later that year to lure more residents and commercial concerns to the city.[141]

Looking to Phoenix as its model, Tempe also sought to enlarge its industrial footprint. Tempe's industrial history began in 1874, when Charles T. Hayden established a flour mill powered by the Tempe Irrigating Canal, which drew water from the Salt River.[142] For decades, almost all industry in Tempe was, like the flour mill, devoted to processing and distributing the agricultural products of the surrounding area.[143] Wages

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[137] Tempe Chamber of Commerce, "A Look Back: 110 Years of Supporting Tempe's Business Community," June 21, 2018, accessed February 27, 2019, https://tempechamber.org/blog/look-back-110-years-supporting-tempes-business-community-0.

[138] "Palmer Will Take Over New City Job," *Tempe Daily News*, February 28, 1958, 1.

[139] "60 Attend October's C of C Meet," *Tempe Daily News*, October 21, 1952, 1.

[140] "C of C Going All Out for Top Publicity," *Tempe Daily News*, June 10, 1954, 1.

[141] "20,000 Copies of New Brochure About Tempe Off the Presses and in the Mails," *Tempe Daily News*, August 10, 1954, 1.

[142] City of Tempe, "Timeline," accessed March 25, 2019, https://www.tempe.gov/government/community-services/tempe-history-museum/tempe-history/timeline.

[143] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study*, 28-9.

and spending power were low for the agricultural workers who comprised much of the workforce in Tempe and the Kyrene agricultural district. The city needed to attract high-wage earners to the area to make its tax base diversification plan work, and modern industrial workers fit the bill.[144]

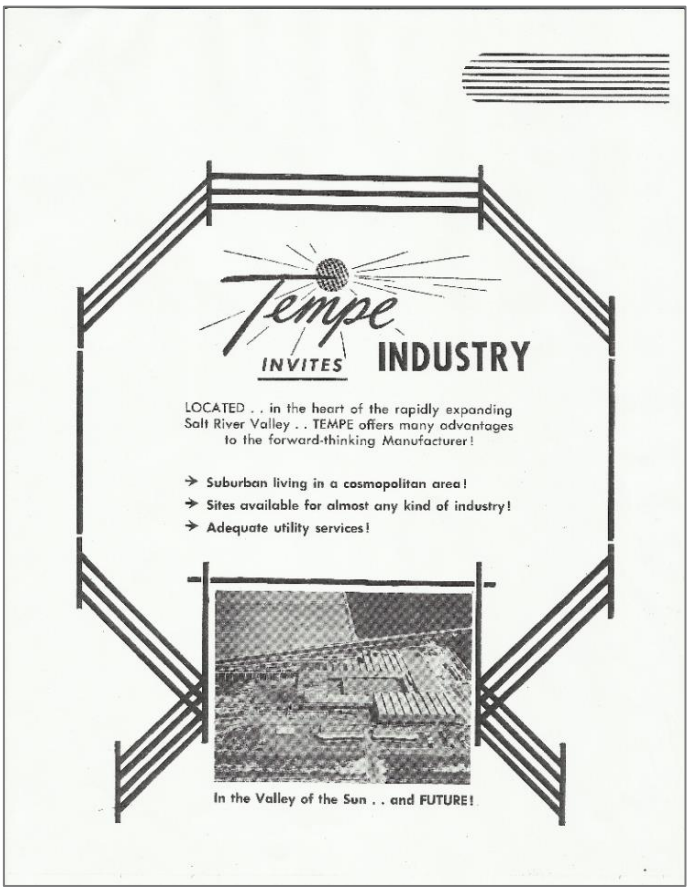

Figure 5. "Tempe: An Invitation to Industry," 1957, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University

[144] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,* 90.

In 1953, the Chamber of Commerce sponsored an Industrial Development subcommittee.[145] The committee took on the task of attracting "light, small industries" to Tempe in 1954.[146] The Chamber and other city boosters began courting industry in a coordinated fashion in the mid-1950s. Bullet points in "Tempe: An Invitation to Industry," a booklet distributed by the Chamber of Commerce in 1957, excitedly made the city's case. The brochure also highlighted Tempe's newly enacted, "modern" zoning: "designed with manufacturers in mind," it promised to minimize conflicts with other land uses.[147]

City boosters made a parallel pitch to residents, addressing concerns about pollution, land use conflicts, and the employment of unskilled laborers from outside Tempe.[148] The *Tempe Daily News* ran an advertisement that equated industrial development with a "progressive community."[149] An editorial in the same newspaper warned that, without a viable "industrial and commercial core" Tempe would be a mere bedroom community, void of identity.[150] The campaign lasted into the 1960s, with a chart in the "Industrial Development" section of the Tempe Comprehensive Planning Program

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[145] "Complete C of C Committees Listed," *Tempe Daily News*, February 23, 1953. The other subcommittee under the Chamber's Economic Development Committee was for promotion of agriculture.

[146] "Committee Will Survey Local Area," *Tempe Daily News*, May 28, 1954.

[147] Tempe Chamber of Commerce, "Tempe: An Invitation to Industry," 1957, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-Tempe.20, 5.

[148] Tempe Chamber of Commerce, "Tempe: An Invitation to Industry,"12. The promotional booklet noted that, while "there is rarely a surplus of available labor" in Tempe, Pima Indians living on a nearby reservation were "noted for their dexterity . . . are eager to participate in any program which will increase the earnings of the Reservation or its members."

[149] "Community Progress Depends on YOU!," *Tempe Daily News*, September 9, 1955, 5.

[150] "A Dormitory City?," *Tempe Daily News*, June 1, 1955, 2.

highlighting the additional jobs, from dressmakers to newsboys, created by every 100 industry positions.[151] Each of those new employees could be counted on to spend money in Tempe.

The Penn-Mor Manufacturing Corporation opened a plant on land that was soon annexed, and the O'Malley Investment Company built the city's first light industrial park not far from residential areas in Tempe, but heavy industry was steered into areas outside the city limits.[152] The Kyrene agricultural district extended south from Baseline Road almost to the Gila River Indian Community, and was generally bounded on the west by present-day 56th Street / Priest Drive and on the east by Price Road. The area was named for the town site of Kyrene, originally located near the western edge of the district and straddling what is now Chandler Boulevard. The old town site and shipping depot were situated alongside the first commercial rail line constructed in the Salt River Valley, which had been routed north from the town of Maricopa and reached Tempe in 1887.

The Salt River Project's Kyrene Steam Generating Plant opened five miles south of downtown Tempe in 1952.[153] Capitol Foundry, the first heavy industry concern in the Kyrene district, opened in 1954.[154] The foundry produced the steel balls used to grind

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[151] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Tempe, Arizona, Report Number Seven: Industrial Development,* September 1966, Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2006.68.127, Figure 8.

[152] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 31.

[153] "Kyrene Plant Dedication Saturday," *Tempe Daily News,* June 6, 1952.

[154] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 30. The foundry has been in continuous operation since then, and currently operates under the name ME Elecmetal.

ore in copper mining, linking it to one of the pillars of Arizona's statewide economy.[155] The railroad marked the foundry property's western boundary, the electrical generating plant was just to the east, and the El Paso Natural Gas Company line crossed the parcel, all factors that made the foundry site—and the Kyrene district as a whole—attractive to manufacturers. By 1956, a steel fabricating plant and a chemical processing plant were in operation in the still overwhelmingly agricultural area.

News coverage of each of these Kyrene industrial ventures took care to link them to Tempe, even though they were all well beyond the city limits. The "Tempe area" was commonly cited as both the location of these plants and the beneficiary of their economic output. "Big business had come to Tempe," declared a celebratory newspaper story about Capitol Foundry.[156] Another article asserted that the culvert pipe being produced at a different Kyrene plant would be "carrying the 'Made in Tempe' stamp to cities, villages and farms throughout Arizona."[157] This promotional effort did not simply forge an association between Tempe and the Kyrene district in residents' minds: it also put Phoenix and other nearby communities on notice. Tempe may not be prepared to rush into annexation commitments, but Kyrene was already an extension of the city, and the agricultural district's new industrial elements helped Tempe lay claim to its future boundaries.

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[155] "Tempe Area Gets New Industry; Foundry Planned," *Tempe Daily News*, April 25, 1952.

[156] "New Industrial Plant Shown Monday," *Tempe Daily News*, October 25, 1955.

[157] "New Firm Joins Kyrene District," *Tempe Daily News*, June 9, 1955.

Advocating for Parks

City leaders worked to ensure that the Kyrene district was appealing to industrial corporations for its amenities and favorable zoning, but they also had to make sure that Tempe's neighborhoods were attractive to the managers and skilled workers who would staff the new plants. By 1957, the city could use parks as one of its lures. "Recreation is important!" proclaimed the promotional booklet "Tempe: An Invitation to Industry," published that year.[158] The brochure displays photos of the Tempe Beach pool, filled with swimmers, and a freshly landscaped Daley Park. Although the booklet noted that the city had five parks, what it did not reveal was that the other three park properties—later to be named Clark, Jaycee and Hudson—were indeed owned by the city, but were in the early stages of development. The city's somewhat inflated claim highlights the fact that parks were a stabilizing force, a cultural component that could be used "to alleviate some of the 'overnight' character" of a fast-growing suburb.[159]

What would one day be Clark Park may have been unnamed and unimproved in 1957, but the city's acquisition of the site is what spurred Tempe park advocates into action. Kenneth S. Clark, a Tempe businessman, and his wife Mary Elizabeth Clark purchased land for future residential development in January 1945.[160] The tract lay "at the southwest edge of the city."[161] The Clarks donated the park parcel to the city in 1949.[162]

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[158] Tempe Chamber of Commerce, "Tempe: An Invitation to Industry," 9.

[159] William S. Dobriner, *Class in Suburbia* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), 87.

[160] "Quit-Claim Deed." Mullen, Robert L., Charlotte Mullen, Kenneth S. Clark and Mary Elizabeth Clark. Book/Docket 456, page 253.

[161] "Beach Committee Plans Park Work," *Tempe Daily News*, March 10, 1949, 1.

In response to the donation, representatives from Tempe's business community organized the Parks and Playground Board in June 1949. Sporting goods store owner Joe Selleh was appointed chairman of the new committee, which requested funds from City Council to develop the new park site.[163] The group, soon renamed the City Parks and Recreation Board, was comprised of representatives from several organizations: the Tempe Union High School District, the Tempe Grammar School Board, the Woman's Club, the American Legion, City Council, and the Chamber of Commerce. Tempe citizens were invited to attend the Board's meetings.[164]

Tempe obviously saved money in the short term when it was given park land, but donated parcels also presented the city with unique problems. In the case of Clark Park, the donated site lay far outside the areas that were being developed for residential use. Some grass and trees had been planted by 1955, but further development was on hold: "The city population in the area does not warrant extensive development at this time."[165] People living in nearby new subdivisions were advised to use Tempe Beach for their neighborhood recreation needs, a thirty-minute walk from the Clark Park site.[166]

While the donated Clark Park languished at the edge of the city, Tempe leaders concentrated park development resources on a plot the city had purchased. The land for

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[162] City of Tempe, Memorandum from Ronald E. Pies to Mayor and City Council, "Park Inventory," December 12, 1969, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30, 1.

[163] "Council Begins Consideration of '49-'50 Budget," *Tempe Daily News*, June 10, 1949, 1.

[164] "Parks Board Meet is Called Tonight," *Tempe Daily News*, July 6, 1949, 1.

[165] "Parks to Get Playground Equipment," *Tempe Daily News*, December 8, 1955, 1.

[166] "Parks to Get Playground Equipment," *Tempe Daily News*, December 8, 1955, 1.

what later became Daley Park was in a prime location. City leaders drafted a plan for long-range development, and residents were encouraged to throw their support behind the new park. Homebuilders started selling custom and semi-custom homes south of Arizona State College in the early 1950s. Around 1958, Tempe real estate agent Karl S. Guelich advertised three new neighborhoods near the new Tempe city park. University Heights, which had begun construction in 1955, bordered the east side of Daley Park.[167] Broadmor Vista and Broadmor Estates were located south of Broadway Road and sited a few blocks away from the park. The nearby city park was mentioned in the very first line of the promotional literature for the new, upscale neighborhood.[168]

"Forty acres, including a park" were annexed into Tempe in February 1951, after the subdivision plat for the area was approved.[169] E.W. Hudson committed to selling Tempe the land for what would become Daley Park in October 1950, drawing up terms that made the sale amount payable in five equal installments and due in full by December 1954.[170] The city was able to pay the full price of $8,686.63 in October 1951.[171] Tempe voters had approved a general bond earlier in the year which allocated funds specifically

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[167] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study*, 18.

[168] "Advertisement for the Subdivisions of Broadmor Vista, Broadmor Estates and University Heights," c. 1955, Tempe History Museum, 2004.19.65.

[169] "Subdivision Annexed by City Council," *Tempe Daily News*, February 9, 1951, 1.

[170] "Escrow Instructions to Phoenix Title and trust Company," October 23, 1950, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 122.

[171] E.M. Barbre, City Clerk & Treasurer, to Phoenix Title & Trust Company, October 3, 1951, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 122.

for that purpose.[172] The city had more big plans for the bond money, promising voters that it would "open the way for a city-sponsored parks program."[173]

With high-end homes being developed at the park parcel's edges, planning for park improvements got underway almost immediately. In December 1951 the City Council appointed a committee to plan landscaping in the park. All of the committee members were city employees or Council members, except for Bob Svob, who was in charge of grounds maintenance at Arizona State College.[174] Work on Daley Park landscaping was to be accomplished in stages, and a park designer would be engaged to draw up a development plan.[175]

Volunteer labor and material contributions helped Tempe stretch its parks development budget and fostered a sense of community investment in parks. In 1956, the city obtained three palm trees from Arizona State College to transplant in Daley Park.[176] The Tempe Woman's Club was another reliable contributor to parks and recreation interests, helping to fund lighting for the Daley Park softball diamond.[177] The Tempe Junior Chamber of Commerce, or Jaycees, set aside $150 toward Daley Park improvements in 1952, the first of the group's many contributions to improvements at the park.[178] The Jaycees assumed an even larger role a year later, when Tempe acquired land

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[172] "General Bonds," *Tempe Daily News*, May 10, 1951, 1.

[173] "General Obligation, Revenue Bonds Get Approval by Voters," *Tempe Daily News*, May 16, 1951, 1.

[174] "Council to Remodel Jail; District 40 Ready to Go," *Tempe Daily News*, December 14, 1951, 1.

[175] "Committee Holds Session to Plan Park Development," *Tempe Daily News*, December 28, 1951, 1.

[176] "Park Improvements Made During Week," *Tempe Daily News*, February 4, 1956, 1.

[177] "Daley Park Light Cost is $2,767," *Tempe Daily News*, May 4, 1957, 1.

for a park on West Fifth Street, where residential development was just getting started.[179] The Jaycees took on the park as a "club project," agreeing in 1960 to lease the property from the city for a twenty year term and submitting a long-range development plan.[180]

City Council authorized an "$18,000 parks development program" in February 1953 to upgrade Tempe Beach, continue improving Daley Park, and commence development at the newly acquired site of what would be Jaycee Park.[181] Most other parks and recreation issues, however, were left up to coalitions of interested parties. By 1954 the push for organized recreation and the lack of facilities for hosting new programs reached a critical level. Thirty interested people, "representing all major civic, service and church organizations, met at city hall" to discuss implementing a youth recreation program.[182] Edna Vihel spearheaded the campaign and secured an official 60-day summer recreation program.[183] City Council committed a $1,000 budget to the program, which was also meant to cover its new director's salary.[184]

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[178] "Jaycees Donate $650 to Youth Groups in Tempe," *Tempe Daily News*, November 18, 1952, 1.

[179] Parcel 17 gift of Mary Byrle McKinney; Parcel 20 purchased from State of Arizona for $5,530, prorated between Parks Dept. and City Yard. Funds probably supplied by May 1951 general bond for parks development, per *Tempe Daily News* 5/16/1951.

[180] City of Tempe, Memorandum form Parks & Recreation Department to City Manager L.S. Cooper, April 12, 1962, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 8. The Rotary Club committed to a similar park development project in 1968.

[181] "City Progresses in High Gear As Tempe Council Approves Paving and Park Program," *Tempe Daily News*, February 12, 1953.

[182] "30-Member Recreation Committee Plans Local Youth Recreation Program." *Tempe Daily News*, January 28, 1954, 1, in Tempe History Museum History Files TH 130.

[183] "Edna Vihel is Tempe '1955 Citizen of the Year,'" *Tempe Daily News*, April 5, 1956, 1.

[184] "Dr. Mildred Stevens New recreation Coordinator; Limited Summer Program," *Tempe Daily News*, June 12, 1954, 1.

Tempe's increasing level of responsibility for parks and recreation was one of a number of ways in which city government was changing. Hugh Laird started his fourth term as Tempe's mayor in 1952.[185] The owner of Laird & Dines Drug Store, one of the city's oldest businesses, Mayor Laird was fond of conducting city negotiations "over one of the drug store's counters" rather than in city offices.[186] Tempe was typical of the "reluctant suburb" of the 1950s and 1960s, in that municipal government was the site of a clash between the old guard of the former agricultural community and a new, younger contingent, whose members had largely come from elsewhere and had received their college educations in Tempe.[187] Parks development and management was a component of this clash, and a main topic in the 1956 City Council election. One slate of Council candidates ran on a platform of building on Tempe's early attempts at parks planning. Parks could not be just "well-located," the city must also look to improving them.[188] Other candidates promised park development tailored to individual sites, an aspiration that would be repeated throughout the study period but that rapid growth made difficult to fulfill.[189]

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[185] Before conversion to city charter government in 1964, Tempe's mayor was selected by fellow members of City Council rather than by a popular election.

[186] "Hugh Laird Starts Fourth term as Mayor of Tempe and 23rd Year on City Council," *Tempe Daily News*, July 11, 1952, 1.

[187] Dobriner, *Class in Suburbia*, 127-8.

[188] "Tempe is Now a Fine City! Let's Keep It That Way!," advertisement, *Tempe Daily News*, May 21, 1956, 7.

[189] "Candidates for the Independent Party Nominations Ask Your Support," *Tempe Daily News*, April 2, 1956, 8.

In February 1958, Tempe created a dedicated Parks and Recreation Department, appointing Vic Palmer as director. Palmer had been deeply involved with Tempe's recreation program since the early 1950s, and as head of the Chamber of Commerce had run Tempe Beach Park since 1953. In his new position, Palmer was responsible for supervising "the growing city parks system" and for addressing the "lag" in parks planning and development identified by City Council candidates in the last election.[190]

The Parks and Recreation Department came online just in time to deal with an increase in issues resulting from haphazard parks planning. In 1956, installation of grass for a softball diamond at Clark Park had been delayed due to the lack of water mains in the area.[191] Development of the park proceeded so slowly that neighbors felt ignored by the city.[192] Hudson Park, at three acres in size, was too small to accommodate recreational facilities like baseball diamonds that would have tied it in to the larger community.[193]

Indian Bend Park illustrated the critical need for an effective park system plan in Tempe. The builder of a subdivision on Tempe's border with Scottsdale donated the park site to the city in 1961.[194] City leaders were concerned about providing adequate park

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[190] "Tempe Parks, Recreation Head Named By Council," *Tempe Daily News*, February 14, 1958, 1. Palmer retired from that position in 1962 due to ill health, and died a year later at the age of 60.[190]

[191] "Park Improvements," *Tempe Daily News*, May 8, 1956, 1.

[192] City of Tempe, "Tempe City Council Minutes, October 26, 1967," Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30. As late as 1967, Clark Park needed further development to bring it up to the standards set by other parks, and was still considered to lie near the outskirts of the city.

[193] City of Tempe, "Results from Tour Taken January 13, 1964 to Determine Needed Repairs and Improvements on Park Areas," Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30, 5.

space in northern areas of Tempe, where annexation was no longer an option. The Indian Bend Park location reflected the tendency for park planners to settle for anything amid "intense competition for urban space."[195] Such struggles typically ensued when expanding municipalities approached each other's limits, and the borders of Tempe and Scottsdale had met for the first time just five years previously.[196] The Indian Bend Park site was compromised from the beginning: it was close to a Scottsdale sewage treatment plant, and roads in the vicinity were in poor repair. Parks and Recreation Director Joe Salvato, who had succeeded Vic Palmer in 1963, attributed the troubles that almost immediately plagued the park to a lack of "community pride," but civic conscience could never entirely make up for poor planning on the part of the city.[197]

Property-owning Tempe voters passed three bond issues, totaling $9,000,000, in October 1963.[198] $500,000 of the funding was designated for completion of existing parks and the acquisition of new park land. Passage of the bond would help the city

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[194] City of Tempe, Memorandum from R.G. Welman, Director of Public Works, to the Public Works Committee, "Policies for Park Land Acquisition," January 4, 1962, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30. The developer planned the subdivision under an FHA 213 project loan program that allowed for smaller individual lots within the subdivision if the plat included a public park dedicated to the municipality. Under the terms of the program, initial development of the park area would be the builder's responsibility, but the city was responsible for additional improvements.

[195] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 121.

[196] "City Annexes 400 Acre Area to North; Tempe, Scottsdale Limits Are Joined," *Tempe Daily News*, September 17, 1956, 1.

[197] City of Tempe, "Parks and Recreation Board Meeting Minutes," October 2, 1968, Tempe City Clerk's Office Electronic Records Collection. Indian Bend Park was in such bad condition by 1966 that planners recommended the city abandon it. Indian Bend Park was partially closed in 1967--equipment was removed and the restrooms were closed—but the city ultimately retained it. (City of Tempe, AZ, "Parks and recreation board Meeting Minutes," January 13, 1970, Tempe City Clerk's Office Electronic Records Collection.) The park was rehabilitated and enlarged in the early 1970s, after the sewage treatment facility was decommissioned.

[198] "Slate Bond Meets," *Tempe Daily News*, October 12, 1963, 1.

address its parks needs for the near future, but the Parks and Recreation Department needed to develop a long-term park planning strategy that would allow it to take advantage of low-priced or gifted land, control where parks were located, and have enough money left over to develop each park site completely and in a timely manner. The city's new emphasis on comprehensive planning would give it the tools to attempt the task.

CHAPTER 3

THE SCHOOL-PARK PLAN: PARKS, GROWTH AND COMMUNITY LEGIBILITY, 1962-1975

"Tempe cares about parks. They serve as our community's playground and gathering place. Parks are at the heart of all of our neighborhoods and help enhance the quality of life for our residents. That's why we have about one park per square mile in Tempe."

--"Parks Capital Improvements Plan," City of Tempe, 2018[199]

By 1962, Tempe and the agricultural area around it were experiencing a crush of growth that bewildered residents and worried city leaders. A new suburban form developed seemingly overnight, replacing the familiar, easily navigable square-mile grid with winding streets and cul-de-sacs. Between 1950 and 1960, Tempe's population more than tripled.[200] Because of Tempe's physical proximity to Phoenix, city leaders were thinking about growth in proactive, if still uncertain, ways, tackling issues that many municipal governments in the area would not feel pressed to consider until the 1970s.

Tempe established a dedicated Planning Department in 1962.[201] Three years later the department hired consultants to help devise the city's first comprehensive guidelines

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[199] City of Tempe, "Parks Capital Improvements Plan," accessed September 13, 2018, https://www.tempe.gov/city-hall/community-services/parks/parks-capital-improvements-plan.

[200] The population increased from 7,684 to 24,897 in those ten years. City of Tempe, "Tempe Population Growth," accessed February 11, 2019, https://www.tempe.gov/government/community-services/tempe-history-museum/tempe-history/population-growth.

[201] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Tempe, Arizona, Report Number Ten: Toward Sound Land Planning and Development: Guidelines for Decision-Making,* January 1968, Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2006.68.130, 13. Before this, planning was a function of the combined

for growth, an effort that resulted in the *1967 General Plan.*[202] With the *General Plan* in place, Tempe could mark its eventual boundaries, familiarize residents with the city's future dimensions, and encourage controlled and contiguous development as the city grew. Planners also hoped to achieve an optimal mix of neighborhoods, public open spaces, and the businesses and industries that would better subsidize city services and infrastructure. "Sound, comprehensive planning, based on ambitious but attainable goals," was the key to preventing "engulfment and loss of identity," according to the *General Plan*.[203]

One of those ambitious but attainable goals was Tempe's farsighted "Proposed School-Park Policy." Developed alongside the *General Plan,* the policy was meant to fuel the city's "one park per square mile" land use planning goal, signaling that Tempe was committed to developing a park system adequate to serve its growing population. The city's commitment to the School-Park Plan was a key element in outlining a community form that was easy to understand, both for new residents and for old-timers who were losing their familiar town. Tempe's new parks plan focused on distributing public park spaces evenly throughout the newly outlined cityscape. Parks would serve as anchors not only for the new neighborhoods in their designated square miles, but for the new suburban identity in which Tempeans were encouraged to participate.

Board of Adjustment-Zoning Commission, supervised by City Council; the Planning Department created in 1962 was distinct from these (which had themselves been decoupled), and supervised by the City Manager.

[202] League of Women Voters of East Maricopa, "Live—Learn—Earn in Tempe: A Know-Your-Town Study," September, 1966, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-G Tempe.14, 15.

[203] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan,* 6.

One Park per Square Mile: Making the New Suburban Form Legible

Tempe was not too far into its residential growth spurt when the *Tempe Daily News* commented on the City Council's park development plans as of 1955, praising the new Daley Park. The editorial called for a similar space in every new neighborhood, "to be spotted throughout the new parts of the city, which will grow up around these recreation areas."[204] Twelve years later, a map entitled "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" featured prominently in Tempe's *1967 General Plan*. The map depicts a city of the future, plotted out on land that was not yet annexed and superimposed on the framework that had evolved in support of agriculture.

On the map, the railroad tracks and sweeping canals look ghostly, but the square-mile blocks that form the grid of land survey sections are boldly delineated. Thirty school-park complexes are arrayed at neat intervals within every square mile, each one defining a neighborhood. The school-park symbols look like sturdy pickets; integrated with the old framework of the grid, they could support the webs of curvilinear suburban streets being drafted by developers and approved by the city. The "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map calls to mind C.J. Dyer's 1888 "Illustrated Map of Early Tempe," which shows a tidy street grid superimposed on green cropland and stretching all the way to a full, blue Salt River. Town boosters passed copies of the promotional map along to family members and acquaintances in other territories, states and countries. When Tempe was new, the Dyer map encouraged people to envision their own square of green in the

[204] "A Start on Parks," *Tempe Daily News*, July 30, 1955, 2.

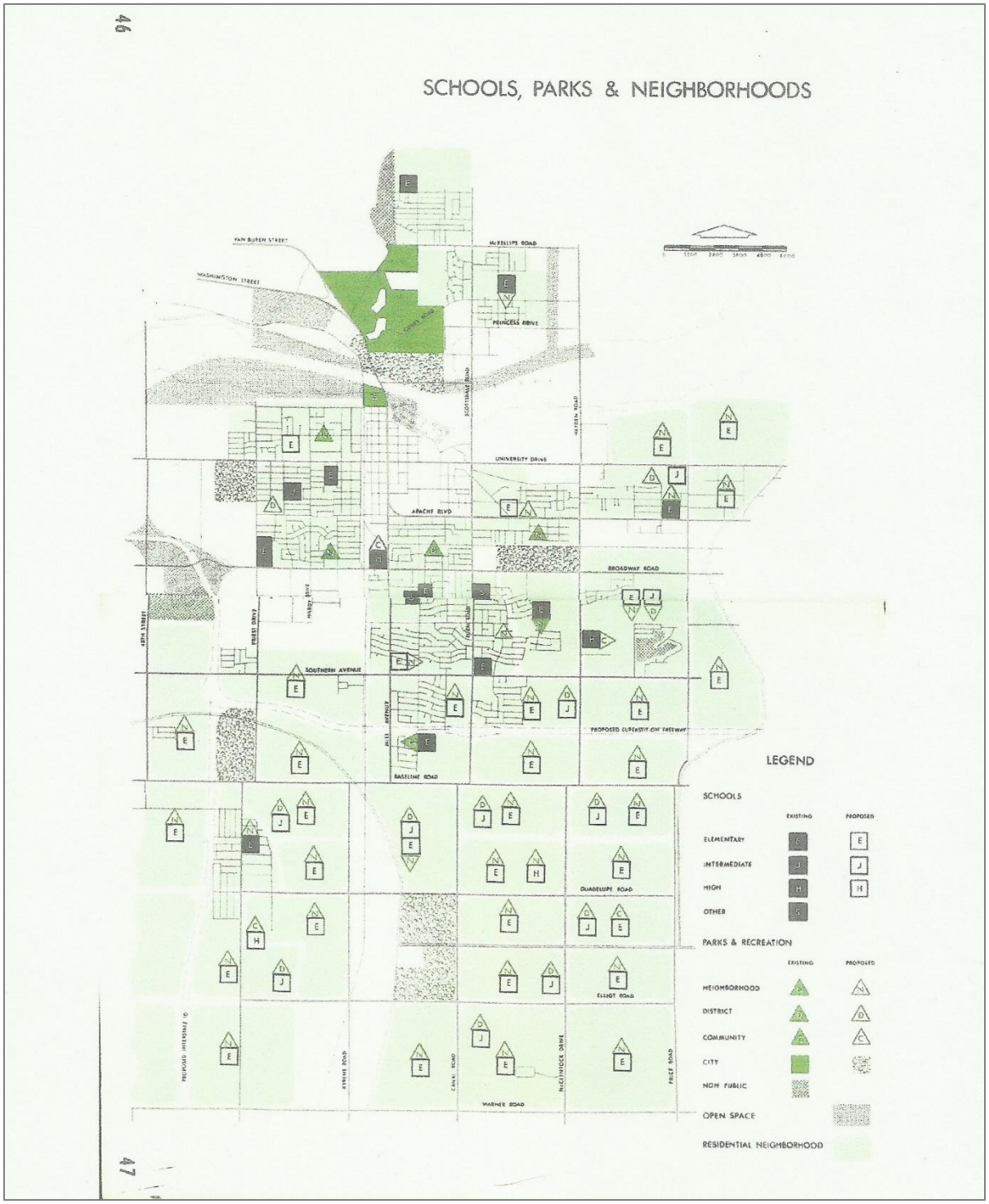

Figure 6. "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map, from the Tempe *1967 General Plan*, Tempe History Museum

desert. The “Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods” map, depicting an imagined Tempe that was built upon parks, encouraged modern-day residents to do much the same.

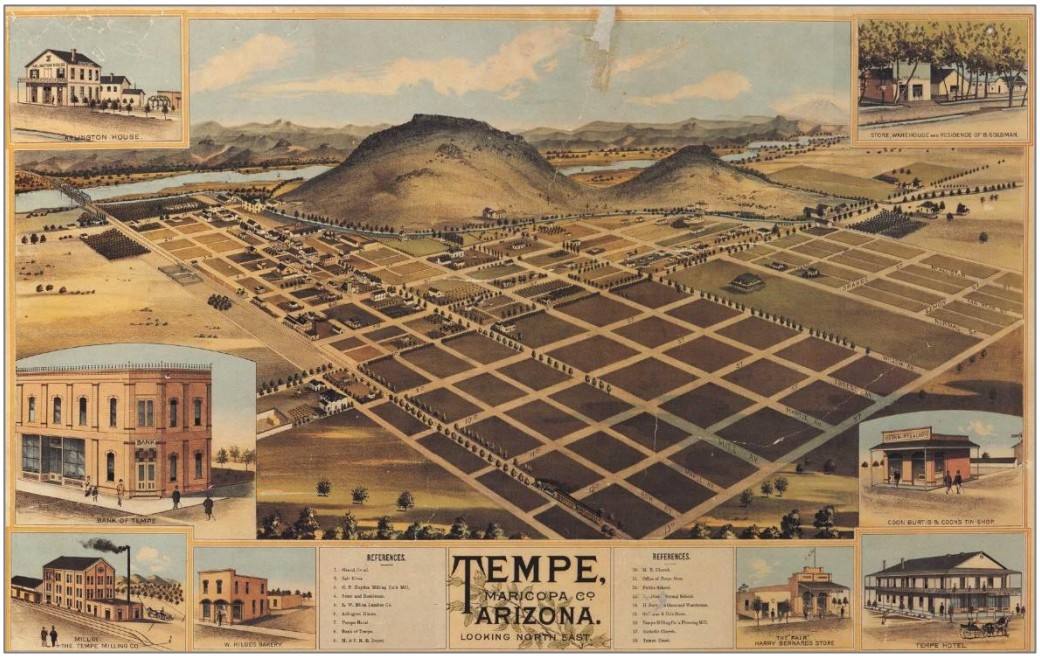

Figure 7. Illustrated map of early Tempe by C.J. Dyer, 1888, Tempe History Museum

The “Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods” map is the graphic representation of the “one park per square mile” concept that guided Tempe’s planning vision after its first disjointed forays into parks development. When the municipal planning area was built out, most Tempe residents would have a neighborhood park within walking distance, helping to define that part of the city. “Growth in greater Phoenix took place so rapidly between 1940 and 1970, and with so few controls,” writes John M. Findlay, “that people seemed eager to embrace any spatial pattern that appeared to offer a semblance of order

on the landscape."[205] In Tempe, the fact that this ordering structure came in the form of public parks enhanced the familiarizing effect. As "legible public spaces within the city," contends urban historian Konstanze Sylva Domhardt, parks and other intentional green spaces can define both city form and social interactions.[206]

The one-park-per-square-mile goal echoed a familiar grid, one that influenced both Tempe's streetscape and the contours of the agricultural holdings that still surrounded the city for miles on all sides. The predominance of the grid in American land use goes back to the Land Survey Ordinance of 1785, the federal government's initial plan to survey lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and make the resulting homestead plots legally available for sale. It was this effort that made gridded layouts the norm in "Anglo-American cities" established in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[207]

The Homestead Act was signed into law in 1862, and Maricopa County was surveyed and divided for homesteading five years later.[208] For surveys, an initial point acted as the anchor for mapping. The east-west axis of the survey was its baseline, and the north-south axis was its principal meridian. These lines intersected at a marked spot called the initial point. Arizona is divided into townships that are numbered in reference

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[205] Findlay, *Magic Lands*, 162.

[206] Konstanze Sylva Domhardt, "From the 'Functional City' to the 'Heart of the City': Green Space and Public Space in the CIAM Debates of 1942-1952," in *Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Dorothee Brantz and Sonja Dümpelmann, 133-156 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 151.

[207] Culver, "Confluences of Nature and Culture," 554.

[208] Arizona Professional Land Surveyors, "Initial Point."

to the baseline. Part of the Arizona survey baseline runs through Tempe.[209] The row of townships directly north of the baseline was designated "1 North," and the row immediately south of it "1 South." Ranges were numbered in a similar way to indicate the relative position of a township west or east of the principal meridian, and townships were typically divided into thirty-six one-square-mile (640-acre) numbered sections.[210] Anyone who farmed or ranched in Tempe would have been familiar with the township, range and section numbers of the land they owned or worked, and these designators are still used in the transfer of land today.

The square-mile sections of the land survey have had a profound effect on the urban form of the Phoenix metropolitan area. The grid layout organized land ownership, and gave a sense of structure to rural space, in large portions of the American West.[211] In Phoenix and its environs, the irrigation infrastructure made the geometry of right angles especially noticeable. "While the main canals necessarily followed the topography, the laterals and ditches were organized in a grid system, conveying a sense of order and mastery over this natural environment," writes Philip VanderMeer. "Trees along the canals—cottonwoods, ash, eucalyptus, and mesquite—made a vivid impression on

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[209] Art Thomason, "Arizona Landmarks, Street Names a Lesson in History," *The Arizona Republic*, February 13, 2012, accessed April 13, 2017. http://archive.azcentral.com/centennial/news/articles/2012/01/30/20120130arizona-landmarks-street-names-history.html.Baseline Road, "the Phoenix metro area's longest uninterrupted road," follows the alignment of the survey baseline.

[210] Daley Park, for example, is located in Township 1 North, Range 4 East, Section 22, or T1N R4E SEC 22.

[211] Robert Fishman, "The American Planning Tradition: An Introduction and Interpretation," in *The American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy*, edited by Robert Fishman (Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000), 2.

observers."[212] Most of these signifiers of order in the rural environment disappeared when developers cleared land for residential neighborhoods. Rows of trees were cut down and disposed of, ditches filled in, and irrigation laterals covered. New construction blocked the vistas that used to stretch between main roadways.

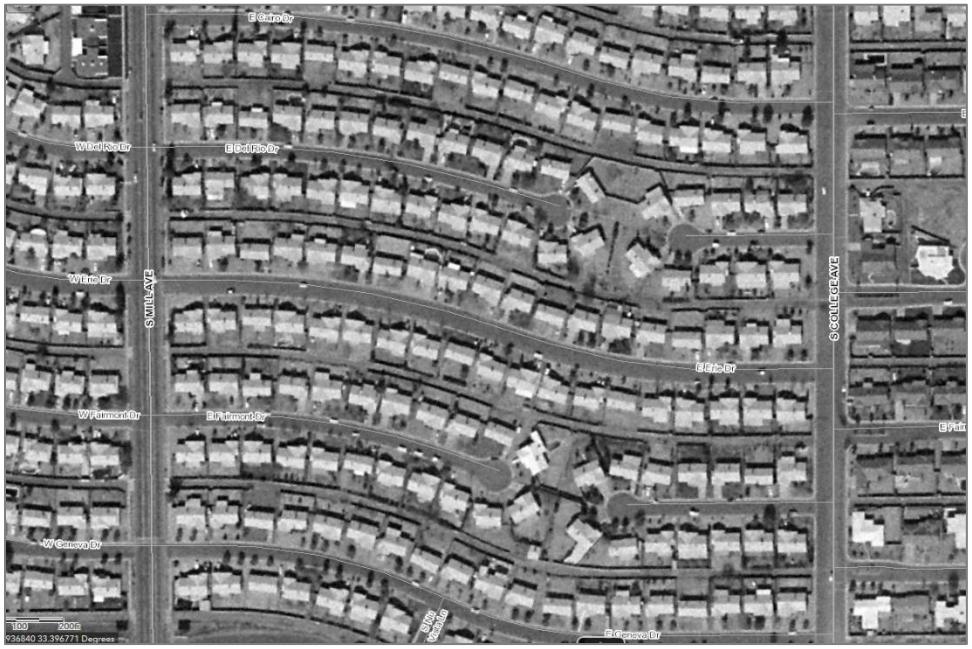

Figure 8. Nu-Vista subdivision, 1969, Maricopa County Flood Control District

The Nu-Vista subdivision plat marked the first significant departure from Tempe's traditional neighborhood form, which had echoed the section-line grid on a smaller scale. Begun in 1960 at the southern edge of residential development, near the northeast corner of Mill and Southern Avenues, Nu-Vista at a glance recalls the modified-grid plan typical of 1950s development. A closer look reveals that several of the

[212] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions*, 53-4.

streets are interrupted by back-to-back cul-de-sacs, dividing the development into "small, secluded neighborhoods with little through traffic."[213] The new insularity of its neighborhoods would prove to be a main component of Tempe's city planning strategy.

In Tempe, the Nu-Vista subdivision was the first example of the profound change in neighborhood form sweeping through the United States. "Inevitably there are divisions, where on one side of the street there is a grid pattern and on the other, the curvilinear pattern of subdivisions," observe Cynthia L. Girling and Kenneth I. Helphand. "Found across the nation, this hiatus in geometry marks a specific period, circa World War II. Even in small towns, the suburbs start at the curves."[214] The depiction of existing neighborhoods on the "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map corroborates this. The city showed mostly squared-off residential street patterns north of Broadway Road, but the neighborhoods being built in the mile-wide band between Southern and Baseline Roads all adhered to the new, labyrinthine suburban pattern. Few roadways spanned the width of each new subdivision, much less the square-mile sections in which they were ensconced. Curving interior streets often terminated in T-intersections and cul-de-sacs.

Each neighborhood's street pattern was a puzzle that outsiders would find difficult to navigate, especially if they were used to the grid, but the maze-like patterns had a purpose. First proposed in 1929, not long after automobiles began to dominate personal travel outside the urban core, the aptly-named "street net" was meant to discourage through traffic and slow automotive travel within the neighborhood,

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[213] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study*, 23.

[214] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park*, 36.

minimizing conflicts between drivers and pedestrians, especially children at play.[215] Careful lot planning and strategic "clustering" of homesites sites also reduced the expense of water, sewer and electrical infrastructure. This appealed to cities like Tempe that struggled to keep up with infrastructure needs, especially as developers committed to building larger subdivisions with more housing units.

Whether grid-like or curving, the street patterns of Tempe's existing neighborhoods are visible on the "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map, while the undeveloped spaces are blank except for their future parks and schools. The public spaces depicted on the map are placeholders for a future city that was seen as inevitable, even though in reality it was still as abstract as the icons on the map. The concept of parks in 1960s Tempe was meant to connect new development with the traditional rural framework, and to help calm people's fears about uncontrollable growth. The neighborhood park can be seen as an attempt to replicate "the comforts of the village ideal with its green center," a culturally familiar space around which to build a community.[216] This kind of public space is legible to anyone, from the old settler whose accustomed agricultural landmarks are being dismantled to the new homeowner who is overwhelmed by the bareness of dirt yards and treeless streets. To fully implement its plan, the city would have to persuade residents to "buy in" to its parks vision.

[215] Clarence A. Perry, "The Neighborhood Unit," 34, *The Codes Project*, http://codesproject.asu.edu/node/11.

[216] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park*, 39.

Comprehensive Planning and Community Buy-In

"Because Tempe virtually is hemmed in on the west by Phoenix, on the north by Scottsdale and the east by Mesa, Tempe's growth will have to be southward," a local journalist declared in 1965. "And for this, Tempe is planning ahead."[217] A "Regional Planning Committee" had convened in 1955 to "plan the ideal growth for Maricopa County and get the residents to support the program."[218] Although managed growth was not the norm in 1960s metropolitan Phoenix, Tempe undertook a similar plan.[219] The city had annexed thousands of acres of undeveloped property between Broadway and Baseline Roads between 1960 and 1962.[220] Tempe leaders were aware that the city's growth in land area was limited by the fact that it was surrounded by other rapidly growing municipalities.[221] Delineating the city's future borders was a priority.

The city established a stand-alone Planning Department in 1962.[222] The department was divided into "Current Planning" and "Advanced Planning" sectors.[223] Planning Director Harry Higgins approached the Parks and Recreation Board the

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[217] Farrell, Dennis, "Tempe Envisions City of 120,000: Southward Expansion Planned," *Phoenix Gazette,* July 7, 1965, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-Tempe Newsclippings 1965-1969.

[218] "New County-Wide Master Planning Program Initiated," *Tempe Daily News*, January 22, 1955, 1.

[219] Luckingham, *Phoenix,* 191.

[220] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study,* 24.

[221] Even though Chandler was a tiny town and not considered a limiting factor in the early 1960s, by 1974 its annexation of land in the Kyrene district ended Tempe's southward growth and made it a "landlocked" municipality.

[222] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Ten*, 13.

[223] League of Women Voters of East Maricopa, "Live—Learn—Earn in Tempe," 12.

following year, asking to be included in parks planning discussions and letting the Board know that soon, his department would implement an "urban planning program."[224] The Planning Department's "Tempe Planning Program" outlined a planning area that extended from the corporate limits to Warner Road three miles south, and from Price Road on the east to the proposed Interstate 10 alignment on the west. The planning area included "17,000 acres of undeveloped land, either idle or in agricultural use."[225] In 1965, using funds from a federal Urban Planning Assistance Program grant, Tempe commissioned a series of nine comprehensive studies exploring factors like land use, economic activity, industrial development, and housing characteristics, with the goal of developing a template for orderly, quality growth.

The release of the *1967 General Plan* for Tempe warranted a two-page special report in the *Arizona Republic*. The article noted that Tempe's population was expected to almost triple by 1985, to around 150,000 people. The city's older zoning regulations were subject to almost endless interpretation and revision in the face of exploding residential, commercial and industrial development, according to planners. Development of a housing code was one of the "top priority items" in the plan, along with revised zoning that would be "enforceable."[226] The new *General Plan* would ensure that Tempe had appropriate influence over how neighborhoods were planned, including the siting of

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[224] City of Tempe, "Parks and Recreation Board and Council Committee Meeting," October 1, 1963, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 8.

[225] Jerry Eaton, "Top Priority for Tempe Growth: Zoning Ordinance, Housing Code," *Arizona Republic*, September 10, 1967, A-18.

[226] Jerry Eaton, "Top Priority for Tempe Growth."

parks and schools, by codifying its control of land use and the "quality of site development."[227]

The *1967 General Plan* was considered novel by *Arizona Republic* editors and was at the forefront of city planning in the Salt River Valley, but it was already familiar to people in Tempe. The city took care to publicize the preliminary comprehensive study process and ask for residents' input.[228] Seventy-five delegates—a selection of residents, business representatives, municipal professionals, and community leaders--served on CITY, the "Committee to Improve Tempe Year-Round," formed in 1966 to review the study reports and develop "a comprehensive set of long-range goals expressing the aspirations and potentials of the Tempe community."[229] The goals prioritized citizen involvement, balanced growth, effective city government, individual opportunity, and "unity of civic pride and purpose" in a city increasingly defined by opposites: "established principles and new concepts, long-time residents and newcomers, older sections and newly-developing areas."[230]

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[227] Jerry Eaton, "Top Priority for Tempe Growth: Zoning Ordinance, Housing Code," *Arizona Republic*, September 10, 1967, A-18. Mesa and Scottsdale, facing similar issues of rapid growth and lack of oversight, also adopted city plans in 1967. Phoenix, whose "leapfrog" growth pattern was one of the factors that inspired Tempe's focus on city planning, would not develop a comprehensive land use and development plan until 1972. Although this seems late compared to the smaller cities that surrounded Phoenix, the Arizona Archives Online "Historical Note" on the Phoenix General Plan collection supports a 1970s time frame.

[228] "Comprehensive Plan Key to a Better Tempe," *Tempe Progress: Official Publication of the Tempe Chamber of Commerce,"* June 1966, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-Tempe General, 2.

[229] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan,* 7.

[230] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan,* 7.

The *1967 General Plan* acknowledged that these opposing forces represented a significant upheaval of culture in Tempe. "The subdivision of land is the first step in the community-building process" that would have to be undertaken as the agricultural landscape was being erased.[231] Using subdivisions as anchors, Tempe aimed to develop a tiered system of parks and recreation facilities, intended to serve every resident, in which neighborhood parks comprised the primary "service level." In keeping with the National Recreation and Park Association standards mentioned in planning documents from the mid-1960s to the end of the study period, the city planned for one acre of neighborhood park space per 1,000 residents. To achieve this benchmark and its "one park per square mile" goal, the *General Plan* recommended that each of these parks be centrally located within a neighborhood—usually comprised of more than one subdivision—be within a half-mile walk for all intended users, and "wherever possible, should be integrated with an elementary school."[232] Sited away from major roadways, the school-park complex could "become the focal point of neighborhood social, cultural and recreational activities for all age groups."[233]

School-Park Complexes

City-sponsored pairing of parks with schools was unusual, but not innovative. American cities had implemented various iterations of the school-park concept since the

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[231] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan,* 73.

[232] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan,* 49.

[233] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Tempe, Arizona, Report Number Five: Community Facilities* (Scottsdale, AZ: Van Cleve Associates, July 1966), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2006.68.125, 13.

late 1890s. The earliest school-park complexes were not developed in tandem—instead, they involved the repurposing of unused space around existing schools, mostly in urban settings, into dedicated recreation space managed by parks professionals. The first school-park complex in the Salt River Valley, built by the end of the 1940s, paired Phoenix's Bethune Elementary and the adjacent Alkire Park.[234] The development of schools and public recreation facilities alongside each other was an established practice in the Phoenix area by the 1960s. Thanks to lax planning controls, residential development on the periphery of incorporated Phoenix had badly outpaced planning for parks and other municipal infrastructure. Faced with the annexation of already-built residential areas and acknowledging its lack of appropriate park acreage, Phoenix opted for a remedial plan: aiming for the "most intensive use" of future public space, with "a goal of achieving multiple-use of every available recreation facility."[235]

The Maricopa County park system, famous today for its large, natural open spaces, was in the neighborhood parks business alongside Phoenix. As ill-planned growth hopscotched over unannexed lands outside Phoenix in the 1950s, the county government developed dual-purpose school grounds to bolster its planning goal of a suite of "green parks" throughout the Salt River Valley.[236] By the early 1970s there were school-park complexes in Scottsdale, Glendale and Chandler.[237] Multiple use of public facilities was

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[234] "Unified Complexes of Parks, Schools Spring Up in Valley," *The Arizona Republic*, September 24, 1972, 28-A.

[235] Collins, *The Emerging Metropolis*, 132.

[236] Collins, *The Emerging Metropolis*, 136.

[237] "Unified Complexes of Parks, Schools Spring Up in Valley," *The Arizona Republic*, September 24, 1972, 28-A.

recognized as a desirable strategy on a regional level as well. The Maricopa Association of Governments (MAG) in 1970 advocated pairings of "schools and parks, flood control dams and water recreation, utility corridors and trails, flood control structures and sanitary landfills" as conservation measures, acknowledging the growing popularity of jointly planned or operated facilities and predicting that they would "eventually become mandatory" as development progressed.[238]

In 1954, the *Tempe Daily News* mentioned what it called a "park-school proposal," reporting that the Tempe Elementary School District had asked the city to sell a portion of the seventeen-acre Daley Park site for a badly needed elementary school.[239] The proposal did not come to fruition, and Broadmor Elementary School was instead built further south.[240] In Tempe, the coordinated development of school-park complexes had first been suggested in 1962 by Public Works Director R. G. Welman, whom the city had tasked to explore park land acquisition ideas. Welman presented the concept as a "fairly new idea" that had met "with some degree of success" in West Coast municipalities.[241] In fact, a 1953 study found that most of the schools built in California since 1945 had been designed for "school-community use."[242]

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[238] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park Recreation and Open Space Study*, 5.

[239] Council Approves New City Plumbing Code Thursday, District 3 Seeks Discussion About Sale of Park Site," *Tempe Daily News*, March 12, 1954, 1.

[240] "Rosetta Farley McMillion-DeForest, *A History of Tempe School District No. 3: 1874-1991* (Tempe: Tempe Unified School District No. 3, 1993), 55.

[241] City of Tempe, AZ, Memo to Public Works Committee from R.G. Welman, Director of Public Works, "Policies for Park Land Acquisition," January 4, 1962, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[242] Iris C. Chester, "The Park-School Plan in Arizona," MA Thesis, Arizona State College, 1953, 51.

Tempe's "Proposed School-Park Policy" made its official debut in 1967 alongside the *General Plan*. The city made repeated efforts to tie schools and parks together in residents' minds. The distribution of various versions of the "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map was one aspect of this effort. The city ensured that most newly-built neighborhoods in the city would feature access to parks in accordance with the city's plan by emphasizing the school-park-neighborhood tie to developers, reminding them that it had the power to regulate the way public-use parcels were arranged in a neighborhood by denying subdivision plats that did not meet its design and land-use conditions.[243] Promoting school-park complexes to residents as a responsible use of city resources was perhaps the most pervasive acculturation tactic.[244] Implementation of the School-Park Plan would "offer the community the greatest possible benefits from its investments in public expenditures" by making relatively basic and inexpensive neighborhood parks the foundation of the city's recreation program, and pooling its resources with local school districts to develop them close to school properties.[245]

The most immediate advantage to the city in partnering with school districts was to minimize the cost of acquiring park land. The School-Park Plan stipulated that land for school-park complexes should be purchased well in advance of development--"before private or public buildings are erected thereon or any real estate development is

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[243] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Ten*, 21.

[244] City of Tempe, "Proposed School-Park Policy," 1. The fiscal benefit of joint school-park planning was a frequent topic in Parks and Recreation Board and City Council meetings, especially pertaining to the city's ability to leverage the "developer cost," or unimproved, per-acre land price typically offered to the school district for school sites.

[245] City of Tempe, "Proposed School-Park Policy," 1.

started."[246] The city could typically realize savings by purchasing land from developers in subdivisions where an elementary school parcel was already set aside. All city entities involved with parks--the Parks and Recreation Department, City Council, the Parks and Recreation Board, the City Manager—took note when a homebuilder purchased land for development. If siting a park in the potential development fit into the park system plan, the city approached the builder with a park site proposal.[247] Using such methods, Tempe acquired the land for Selleh Park at the developer's cost, not bothering to have it appraised because the land was so clearly priced below market value.[248]

Tempe could also save money after land was acquired by planning holistic, integrated school-park complexes with school districts, rather than planning separate facilities that just happened to be contiguous. The city claimed that it would be easier to get federal money for school-park complex development: schools and parks had access to different federal funding programs, increasing the level of financing available and potentially speeding development of the entire park system. Together, the city and school district would develop and follow a master site plan for the school-park complex and negotiate shared, clearly delineated obligations for its development, maintenance, and supervision of activities on the property.[249] Shared "toilet facilities, arts and crafts rooms, recreational storage rooms and related facilities" would have outside entrances and be

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[246] City of Tempe, "Proposed School-Park Policy," 4.

[247] City of Tempe, "Memorandum from Parks and Recreation Department to City Manager Leland Kraft," October 7, 1966, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library, Box 2 Folder 1.

[248] City of Tempe, "City Council Meeting Minutes," April 11, 1968, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[249] City of Tempe, "Proposed School-Park Policy," 5-6.

placed in mutually accessible areas on the properties.[250] In its ideal form, the school-park complex was thoroughly integrated with the surrounding neighborhood.

Cultural Effects of the School-Park Plan

The School-Park Plan changed the way Tempe residents interacted with neighborhood parks. Although none of Tempe's existing neighborhood parks fronted on a major roadway--Jaycee Park and Indian Bend Park were situated next to secondary roads, and Clark, Daley, and Hudson Parks were sited alongside interior neighborhood streets--all of Tempe's existing parks except for Daley Park could be seen from well-traveled thoroughfares, and even Daley Park could be reached by walking in a straight line from adjacent Broadway Road.

Cyprus Park marks the transition between early, opportunistic park acquisition and the new planned development strategy.[251] The park site was part of the Cyprus East development just north of the alignment for the proposed U.S. Highway 60, which was notable as the first Tempe subdivision built south of Southern Avenue.[252] Cyprus Park was the first city park to be situated within a neighborhood that employed the new suburban street pattern. The park site was donated to the city by Cox Home Builders.[253] Tempe did not repeat the mistakes it made with the donated Indian Bend Park site. This

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[250] City of Tempe, "Proposed School-Park Policy," 2.

[251] In 1998 the park was renamed Hollis Park for Burt and Lesley Hollis. Because "Cyprus" is how it is referenced in documents from the study period (although it is also frequently misspelled "Cypress"), it will be referred to as Cyprus Park throughout this study.

[252] Henry Fuller, "Rosy Prediction for Tempe Growth," *The Arizona Republic,* May 31, 1964, 1-E, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library.

[253] Maricopa County Recorder's Office, "Cyprus East Plat Map," Book 99, Page 30, June 14, 1962.

time, planners had a better idea of where the park should be located and how it should function, but they were not as clear about who would, or should, be using it. Even though Cyprus Park was sited well within the subdivision, the park was still partly visible from Southern Avenue a couple of blocks to the north, and was readily accessible on foot from what would soon be one of the city's busiest arterial roads.

Cyprus Park was the first public open space to be planned for this burgeoning area.[254] Even before the empty park site was graded, Tempe had created a list of amenities it planned to install at the park, one of which was a lighted baseball diamond.[255] It did not take long for people in Cyprus East to start feeling possessive of their neighborhood park. In June 1965, 220 residents signed a petition protesting the installation of ballpark lighting, requesting that it instead be installed "in some other more compatible location" such as Jaycee Park. The petition cited the hazards that more intense use of the park by people from outside the neighborhood might cause: parking issues during organized sports events, the nuisance of bright lights and noise, and the endangerment of children due to increased traffic. The petition also makes plain a desire to reserve "the entire park" for less intensive uses like picnicking and family play.[256]

Residents' feelings of park "ownership" may have been tied to the conflicted nature of neighborhood public space. Jan Gehl contends that public space exists on a

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[254] Cyprus Park was not initially planned as part of a school-park complex; Hudson Elementary School did not open next to the park until 1967.

[255] City of Tempe, "Results from Tour Taken January 13, 1964 to Determine Needed Repairs and Improvements on Park Areas," Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30, 9.

[256] "Petition, Cypress [sic] East Subdivision," June 10, 1965, TCC Roll 30.

privacy spectrum. Outdoor residential areas like yards and gardens are semi-public, visible but with customary limitations on access. “The communal spaces in the neighborhood are somewhat more public” than outdoor household spaces, while centrally-located, completely accessible areas like town squares are entirely public.[257] Parks are legally and administratively akin to the town square, but are viewed by residents of the neighborhoods in which they are situated as quasi-public, communal neighborhood space, especially when they are located deep within a neighborhood rather than at its periphery.

Figure 9. The “semi-public” suburban backyard in Tempe, 1957, Tempe History Museum

The tension between park neighbors and the larger community was exacerbated by the School-Park Plan development strategy. Combined with the new suburban street

[257] Jan Gehl, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, trans. Jo Koch (New York: Van Nostrand Rheinhold Company, 1987), 61.

scheme, the newly activated "one park per square mile" plan anchored parks deep inside residential areas. As depicted on the "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map, Tempe's future park spaces would not be as easy for casual users to find, hidden as they were from the major roadways that followed the land survey section lines. Subdivisions were so densely veined with sinuous streets, and parks so securely nestled into square-mile sections of residential development, that potential users unfamiliar with a neighborhood could hardly hope to find the park hidden within.

Accessibility provides clues about the users for whom a park is intended. Girling and Helphand maintain that "one must look at the location of open spaces to see how, and whether, access is facilitated and encouraged, to examine how 'open,' or exclusive, any place may be."[258] Tempe sought to prioritize access to neighborhood parks for residents within a half-mile walking radius. This effectively excluded people who did not already know about a particular park by obscuring their view of it, and their ability to easily locate it, from the periphery of the neighborhood. The city made this clear in its comprehensive planning strategy: "non-residential activities in the interior of a residential neighborhood should be restricted to those serving only residents of the immediate area," while those intended for more general use should be sited along arterial roadways.[259] In this way, almost every city park acquired between 1964 and 1975 was framed as belonging to a particular neighborhood.

[258] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park*, 17.

[259] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Ten*, 41.

This ownership effect was exacerbated by the inward orientation of Tempe's new subdivisions, another significant difference from the older grid-form neighborhoods. The houses that remain along Mill Avenue, Broadway Road, and other older parts of Tempe face the main street, but houses at the borders of newer neighborhoods back up to busy roadways, separated from them by a strip of commercial development or a block wall. FHA recommendations were intended to maximize profitability for developers, maintain property values and enhance the insurability of mortgage loans. With these ideals in mind, the FHA recommended the inward-orientation regime for "protection" of the neighborhood. "Plan lots to face into the tract rather than on uncontrolled land," the agency advised developers. "Screen objectionable views and traffic. Limit entrances and discourage main through traffic."[260]

The inward orientation of suburban neighborhoods that FHA guidelines so heavily promoted in the mid-twentieth century was originally intended not to bolster developer profits and home values, but to cultivate neighborhood cohesion and identity.[261] Clarence Perry's 1929 "neighborhood unit" planning concept proposed a distinct way of organizing space for urban residential living.[262] The neighborhood unit placed an elementary school with park-like grounds at the center of planned residential space. Neighborhood boundaries were defined by the distance from which a person could

[260] Federal Housing Administration, "Successful Subdivisions," accessed at *The Codes Project: An Anthology of Regulations That Have Shaped Urban Form*, http://codesproject.asu.edu/node/16, 12.

[261] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan,* 37.

[262] Clarence A. Perry, "The Neighborhood Unit," accessed at *The Codes Project,* http://codesproject.asu.edu/node/11, 34

reasonably walk to the school and its park setting.[263] Galen Cranz maintains that early school-park planning directly influenced the development of Perry's model.[264] Tempe planners referred to the neighborhood unit concept in the *General Plan* and the School-Park plan, equating the size of a typical neighborhood to the area served by an elementary school.

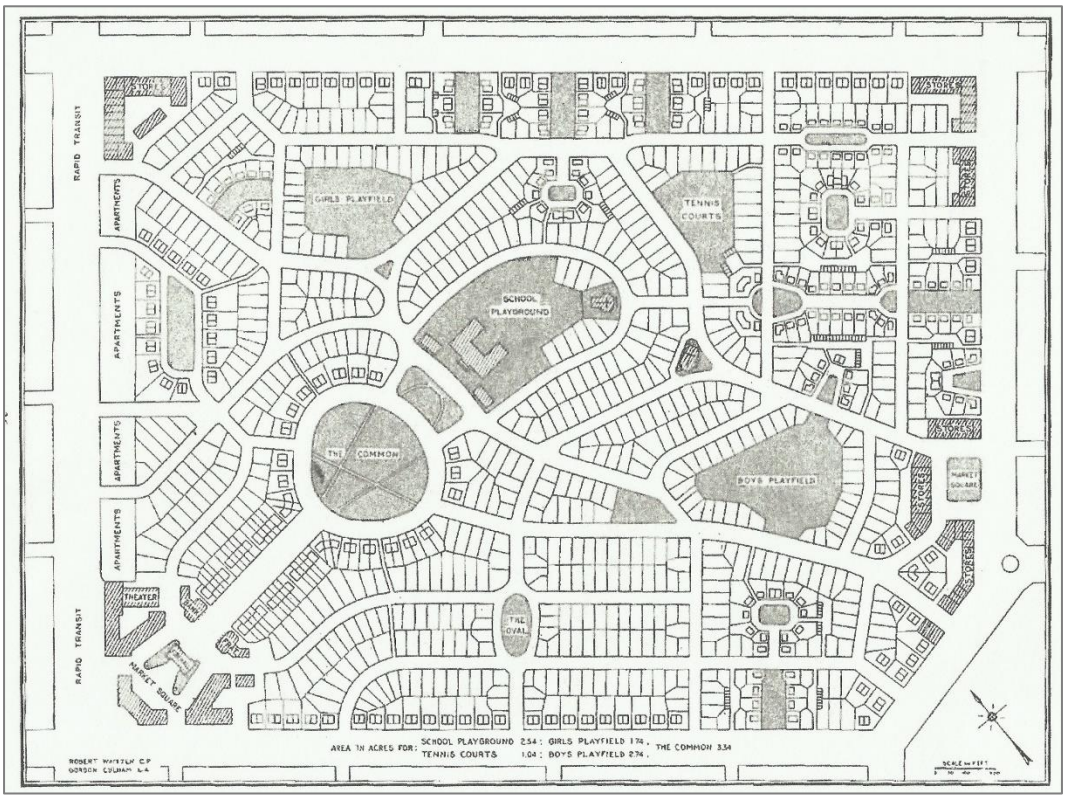

Figure 10. Clarence Perry's "Neighborhood Unit," 1929, The Codes Project

[263] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park*, 41.

[264] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design*, 120.

In the next three decades Perry's concept was reimagined many times, most famously in the partially completed "new town" at Radburn, New Jersey, in which parks were the "backbone" of the planned community.[265] The painstaking placement of homes--all of them facing interior green areas--was out of the ordinary even in 1957, nearly thirty years after Perry proposed his concept.[266] The Radburn plan paired a central park area for each "superblock," a section of the larger development, with a continuous linear park that connects the superblocks with each other. Radburn neatly illustrates how green space can act as a funnel, whether to entice people out of certain areas or invite "outsiders" in.[267] As in Tempe, the typical post-World War II suburban form derived from such "new town" designs situated green space so that it excluded outsiders as effectively as it facilitated community identity among neighbors.[268]

[265] Clarence N. Stein, "Toward New Towns for America," in *The Suburb Reader,* ed. Becky M. Nicolaides and Andrew Weise (New York: Routledge, 2006), 176.

[266] Stein, "Toward New Towns," 176.

[267] Domhardt, "From the 'Functional City' to the 'Heart of the City,'" 143-4.

[268] Becky M. Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, eds., *The Suburb Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 164.

Figure 11. Selleh Park and Curry Elementary School complex, 2016, Maricopa County Flood Control District

Turning a neighborhood inward may cause residents to orient themselves in the same direction, but it could not guarantee that they would actually get to know one another. Social interaction is promoted when people in a community have traits in common, and Tempe's post-war suburbs were indeed largely homogeneous during the study period. Race-based ownership and occupation restrictions were written into deeds in Tempe until at least the mid-1950s, FHA policies effectively segregated neighborhoods by race, and until the early 1970s only one Tempe homebuilder, Hallcraft Homes, openly engaged African-American new-home buyers.[269] Additionally, Tempe's

[269] Jared Smith, *The African American Experience in Tempe* (Tempe: Tempe History Museum and African American Advisory Committee, 2013), 42-3.

neighborhoods were segregated by income, especially when they were newly built.[270] A "Suburban Problem Solving" study conducted by Arizona State University between 1968 and 1970 found that Tempeans were overwhelmingly white, mostly Republican, and were similar in terms of marital status. Eight out of ten self-identified as "middle class."[271]

While these similarities may seem to have created an environment ripe for the creation of a new community identity, other factors worked to hinder the process. In Tempe, the fact that the majority of residents were quite new to the city presented a particular problem: "With 62 percent of the population having lived in the city less than six years, Tempe is annually confronted with integrating newcomers into the community."[272] Considering that many of those new residents ended up living in new subdivisions, it made sense for city planners to rely on neighborhood-focused forms of community identity-building. Jan Gehl argues, however, that the daily interactions that used to occur in busy public areas, or "between buildings," bringing people from different neighborhoods together, had been planned out of post-war residential developments.[273] Linkages between neighborhoods were as important for building community as were the focal points within them.[274] In Tempe those linkages were

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[270] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study*, 18.

[271] Dickinson L. McGaw, *Suburban Problem Solving: An Information System for Tempe, Arizona.* Papers in Public Administration No. 20. (Tempe: Institute of Public Administration and Survey Research Center Arizona State University, 1971), 3-4. 91% of sample members were white, 51% were Republican as opposed to 37% Democratic, 75% were married.

[272] McGaw, *Suburban Problem Solving*, 83.

[273] Gehl, *Life Between Buildings*, 49.

impeded by the very planning priorities that ensured the city could provide the kind of park system that no other municipality in the Salt River Valley had committed to developing.

The "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map depicted park-focused neighborhoods as connected to each other through the framework of the old agricultural grid, like the squares on a quilt, but the map did not reflect conditions on the ground. Parks were increasingly isolated within neighborhoods. Neighborhoods were separated from each other by widened streets carrying more traffic. As growth surged southward through the Kyrene agricultural district, farmland was being converted to subdivisions and corner strip malls at a rate that shocked recent transplants and long-term residents alike. While residents were divided over whether their community should retain a "rustic and western" identity or should assume "a modern, technologically oriented" one, many Tempeans were troubled on some level by the loss of agricultural land.[275]

[274] Gehl, *Life Between Buildings*, 55.

[275] McGaw, *Suburban Problem Solving,* 99.

CHAPTER 4

"FRONTIER VALUES": AGRICULTURAL HERITAGE, LAND USE CONFLICT AND A CHANGING CITY, 1967-1975

"It's good to have land under your feet, believe me."

--Louise Henness, Tempe native, 1987[276]

The city's "Proposed School-Park Policy" and the urban planning priorities of the *1967 General Plan* were meant to give fast-growing Tempe structure and legibility. Parks were a physical and philosophical replacement for the agricultural landscape that had defined Tempe's landscape and culture up to the 1960s, and that was steadily disappearing through the 1970s.[277] While the "one park per square mile" concept looked appealing on paper, and most park-based neighborhoods seemed to be fulfilling their individual community-building purposes, the School-Park Plan began to seem inadequate only a short time after it was rolled out. In the face of rapid residential development, Tempe found it difficult to fund the acquisition of park land or to adequately develop the parks it already owned.

The School-Park plan was inextricably linked with the accelerating encroachment of subdivisions on productive land. The conversion of land to subdivisions threatened

[276] Louise Henness, interview by Peggy Shavely, June 19, 1987. Interview OH-108, transcript, Tempe History Museum Oral History Collection OH-108, 2.

[277] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design*, 232-3. The reform park, from which the neighborhood park descended, was especially associated with the restoration of rural community values in the face of urban stressors.

more than just farms and fields. It also endangered the agrarian cultural values that had been retained as a major part of Tempe's identity through the phase of rapid growth. The phrase "frontier values" would have been familiar to many in the Salt River Valley in the 1960s and 1970s. The term was at the forefront of local culture, inspiring academic analysis and sparking debate among city planners and citizen committee leaders. Tempe also engaged in an ongoing relationship with its small-town Arizona roots: reenacting Old West scenarios, celebrating long-time residents, and naming city parks for community pioneers. All of these activities helped create a cultural narrative connecting the booming city to its frontier past.

In the meantime, growth proceeded so rapidly that Tempe planners were forced to look beyond individual neighborhoods as planning units and pay more mind to how the city should function as a whole.[278] It was evident that southward development was happening much more quickly than had been projected in the *1967 General Plan*, prompting the city to prepare an emergency update in 1971 to "bring the Plan into focus with the current situation."[279] Encroaching neighborhoods started to conflict with profitable heavy industries, which city leaders of the 1950s had thought were safely tucked away in the corners of the Kyrene agricultural district. As the city annexed the last available contiguous land along its borders and became "landlocked" in 1974, people in Tempe had to think of new ways to finance, plan and think about parks.

[278] City of Tempe, *1971-72 General Plan Update*, prepared by Simon Eisner and Associates (City of Tempe: 1971), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 1.

[279] City of Tempe, *1971-72 General Plan Update*, 1.

The Complexity of Frontier Values

"The founding vision" of Phoenix, according to Philip VanderMeer, was that of "a modern American community resting on a prosperous agricultural hinterland."[280] Tempe's vision of itself had long been the same. As subdivisions filled in the square mile sections north of Baseline Road, Tempe could still guard the foundations of its agricultural identity as long as the bountiful Kyrene district stretched out to the south. By the early 1970s, though, land in that area was rapidly being converted to residential use. Tempe's population increased from 24,897 in 1960 to 63,550 in 1970, and jumped to 93,822 just five years later, in 1975.[281] Most of those additional residents ended up living on what used to be the fields and pastures of Kyrene.

Like much of the Salt River Valley, Tempe in the early 1970s was caught between two "religions": what people liked to characterize as rugged individualism was the "old, traditional" faith, while the gospel of growth was modern and "widely hailed."[282] In spite of the rapid conversion of agricultural land to residential use, the identity of the Salt River Valley was still steeped in frontier mythology. In November 1975, the Center for Public Affairs at Arizona State University and the Arizona Council on the Humanities and Public Policy[283] collaborated on a one-day conference. Tasked

[280] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions,* 89.

[281] City of Tempe, "Tempe Population Growth," accessed March 8, 2019, https://www.tempe.gov/government/community-services/tempe-history-museum/tempe-history/population-growth.

[282] Charles S. Sargent, "Arizona's Urban Frontier: Myths and Realities," in *The Conflict Between Frontier Values and Land-Use Control in Greater Phoenix: Report on a Conference Held at Arizona State University, November 22, 1975*, ed. Charles S. Sargent, 4-23 (Tempe: Center for Public Affairs, Arizona State University, 1976), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2006.9.718, 4.

with developing a theme for the event, the Council polled Valley residents about their concerns. "Out of a mass of expressions of dissatisfaction, anxiety, and frustration," organizers detected a theme and planned the conference around it: “Frontier Values Under the Impact of Change."[284]

The questions posed by the conference, which explored growth, land use, pluralism, and “community responsibility,” offer a portrait of a booming metropolitan area coming to terms with a new, more inclusive identity.[285] In the twentieth century, Phoenix built a “free-enterprise,” entrepreneurial identity based on the “dynamic individualism” that is one aspect of frontier values.[286] As a result, while the city grew and its population diversified, Phoenix leaders struggled to incorporate community concerns into governance and policymaking, and failed to engage residents who did not necessarily have the means to bring their concerns to the table.[287] This individualistic identity stood in contrast to the experiences of the Salt River Valley’s early settlers. Their agricultural communities “were all the creation of group, not individual, endeavor. Common interests were stronger than the rugged individualism” that was exhibited mostly by people who were not interested in staying in one place. Although the lone operative is more

[283] Currently Arizona Humanities, the Arizona affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

[284] Charles S. Sargent, ed., “The Conflict Between Frontier Values and Land-Use Control in Greater Phoenix: Report on a Conference Held at Arizona State University, November 22, 1975” (Tempe, AZ: Center for Public Affairs, Arizona State University, 1976), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2006.9.718, 1.

[285] Sargent, “The Conflict Between Frontier Values and Land-Use Control,” 1.

[286] Abbott, *How Cities Won the West,* 282.

[287] Abbott, *How Cities Won the West,* 282.

frequently celebrated in retellings of the frontier story, both the free-roaming individualist and the agrarian society are important to the frontier myth in Arizona.[288]

Figure 12. Jaycees Western Days bank "holdup," 1956, Tempe History Museum

As a community, Tempe retold both individualistic and communal versions of its Arizona frontier story. The Tempe Jaycees organized frequent frontier-themed events, including a "Western Week" featuring gun "battles," bank "robberies," and mock raids on Scottsdale and Mesa.[289] Arizona State University fielded a rodeo team whose logo featured Sparky in a cowboy hat and bandana.[290] The city's first celebration of "pioneers" occurred in 1958, with eight old settlers being feted at a "Western barbecue" held at

[288] Sargent, "Arizona's Urban Frontier," 15.

[289] "JC Rustlers Shoot, Hang, Raise Heck!," *Tempe Daily News*, February 20, 1954, 1.

[290] "Sun Devil Rodeo Team Truck," photograph, c. 1955, Tempe History Museum Alfred Thomas Collection, 1999.14.698.

Tempe Beach.[291] The most enduring way in which Tempe honored its frontier values was in the naming of parks, which the city situated squarely on the agrarian side of the myth.

The *Tempe Daily News* first suggested a park naming protocol in 1954. With the city's population growing but its agricultural surroundings still intact, the editorial proposed that Tempe park spaces honor "former or present residents whose selfless devotion to the cause of civic betterment would make them appropriate recipients of this distinction."[292] Almost as soon as he was elected to City Council in 1966--when residential development was poised to cross Baseline Road and surge into the Kyrene district--William LoPiano started championing the idea of naming parks for pioneers.[293] Naming public spaces like parks for significant people is a common culture-building practice. Simply joining with other community members in calling a place by its name situates a person within a shared identity, and tying that place to a person who is civically or historically significant to the community intensifies the effect.[294]

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[291] "Old-Timers Take Bow at JC Barbecue, Show on Sunday," *Tempe Daily News*, February 24, 1958, 1. The most recent arrival had been in Tempe for fifty-two years. The Old Settlers' Association reunion is still held annually in Tempe, recognizing any resident who has lived in the city for thirty years or more.

[292] "Name Our Parks," *Tempe Daily News*, August 17, 1954, 2. *Tempe Daily News* editor Francis "Frank" Connolly was involved formally and informally with several park-related committees, and served on City Council from 1954 to 1959. Clark, Daley, Palmer, Escalante, Meyer, Selleh, and Daumler Parks were named for civic contributors during the study period.

[293] City of Tempe, "Minutes of Regular Council Meeting," February 9, 1967, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30. The new elementary school in Hughes Acres was named for Agnes Meyer, a teacher still employed by the school district, and her husband Albert Meyer, a long-time school bus driver. The Parks and Recreation Board recommended that the new neighborhood park be named after the Meyers as well. LoPiano advocated for naming parks after early settlers instead, declaring that "this is the biggest park the City has purchased in a number of years and it is incumbent on the Council to name the park after a pioneer."

[294] Derek H. Alderman, "Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes," in Peter Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Brian Graham, 195-214 (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008), 196, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/lib/asulib-ebooks/detail.action?docID=438418.

Amid extended debates over whether parks should be named for accomplished citizens, adjacent schools, or the neighborhoods in which they were located, LoPiano continued to lobby for pioneer commemoration. When he was elected mayor in 1974 the pioneer naming policy was firmly in place. Few of the pioneers for whom public recreational spaces were named during the study period had a physical connection to the park land, indicating that LoPiano and likeminded Tempeans were trying to create an overarching community narrative, grounded in a frontier agricultural myth particular to Tempe and meant to compensate for the disappearing agrarian vista.[295]

At one point in the debate, the Parks and Recreation Board recommended naming parks for more recent pioneers "rather than older pioneers who have few or no family yet living."[296] This unusual request emphasizes how recent Tempe's frontier history was in the 1960s and 1970s. Many residents of fast-growing Tempe could still "remember the town from its infancy," and stood as links to Tempe's fading frontier culture.[297] Even residents of more recent vintage had a role to play as agricultural land in Tempe disappeared: David Glassberg maintains that the collective memory of a place can actually be solidified as people witness its destruction and work to make sense of the loss.[298]

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[295] Six parks were intentionally given pioneer names during the study period, but only Susanna Petersen had a sustained association with the park site named for her. The city also bestowed pioneer names on Joyce, Arredondo, Cole, Scudder, and Redden Parks. The Escalantes were a pioneer Tempe family, but this fact was not acknowledged in the park naming process.

[296] City of Tempe, "Parks and Recreation Work Study Session," January 22, 1969, Tempe City Clerk's Office Electronic Records Collection.

[297] William Overend, "The Vale of Tempe—With Mingled Pride and Regret," *Arizona Days and Ways*, November 1, 1964.

Agrarian Culture and Vacant Land

The perception that the old Tempe was being "gobbled up" was likely exacerbated by the fact that farmland was already graded and level, meaning that developers could quickly build entire neighborhoods on it.[299] Agricultural property holders had little choice about what to do with their land as development encroached. Land values appreciated most rapidly in metropolitan areas experiencing the fastest growth, adding to the development pressure.[300] "You knew what you could make farming it. You knew what they were offering you for it," said one owner of a large property. "Often the interest off the money was more than you were making farming."[301] Even if an owner wanted to continue farming or grazing activities, it became far more difficult to do so "in the midst of subdivisions."[302]

The human values of rural areas were informed by what people shared: a connection to the land and a commonality of pursuits related to it. There was a difference between long-time residents, who were invested in the community, and "rootless" newcomers who eschewed agrarian values and lacked the connections needed to maintain stable communities.[303] As new suburbanites flooded in, they changed the character of the

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[298] David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 18.

[299] Hermanson, "Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County," 6.

[300] Richard J. C. Munton, "Farming on the Urban Fringe," in *Suburban Growth: Geographical Processes at the Edge of the Western City,* ed. James H. Johnson (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), 204.

[301] John Lassen, interview by Julie Christine, August 25, 1987. Interview OH-109, transcript, Tempe History Museum Oral History Collection OH-109, 31.

[302] John Lassen, interview by Julie Christine, 32.

[303] Findlay, Magic Lands, 49.

city. “Well, you’d lost the community,” said one landowner who grew up in the Kyrene district, “the tight community spirit that we used to have.”[304] Although suburbs are exhaustively critiqued as homogeneous, to longtime residents of formerly rural areas the new neighbors seemed to “share nothing in common other than adjacency on a common plot of land.”[305]

Interestingly, the loss of agricultural land had cultural implications for Tempe’s relative newcomers as well, although they differed from those of people with an intimate connection to the land. A constituent who had just moved into a new house wrote to Tempe Mayor William LoPiano about the impending sale of a nearby agricultural property: “Visitors are always surprised, and then very pleased to see a farm in the middle of Tempe, and an unbroken skyline too!!” Agricultural space, the writer continues, “is a plus-factor for the area, and the reason many bought homes near it.”[306] Other suburb dwellers appreciated the picturesque aspects of agricultural production. Louise Henness was born on her family’s Tempe farm, and allowed sheep to be grazed on the property while awaiting its sale and development. “The people just had a fit when we decided we were going to build on it,” Henness recalled of residents in nearby, recently built neighborhoods, who seemed to regard her land as a quaint public attraction.

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[304] Tommy Owens, interview by Michelle Henry, July 22, 1987. Interview OH-111, transcript, Tempe History Museum Oral History Collection OH-111, 23.

[305] Edgar Bingham, “Rural Perspectives on Urban Expansion: A Neglected Dimension in Planning,” in *Planning Frontiers in Rural America: Papers and Proceedings of the Boone Conference, Boone, North Carolina, March 16-18, 1975,* 63-68, ed. Burton L. Purrington and Ole Gade (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1976), 67.

[306] Mr. and Mrs. R.J. MacMullin to William J. LoPiano, July 16, 1974, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library, Box 2 Folder 5.

"They just lost their, you know, the fun of watching the sheep in the pasture. Shame on us for destroying their fun."[307]

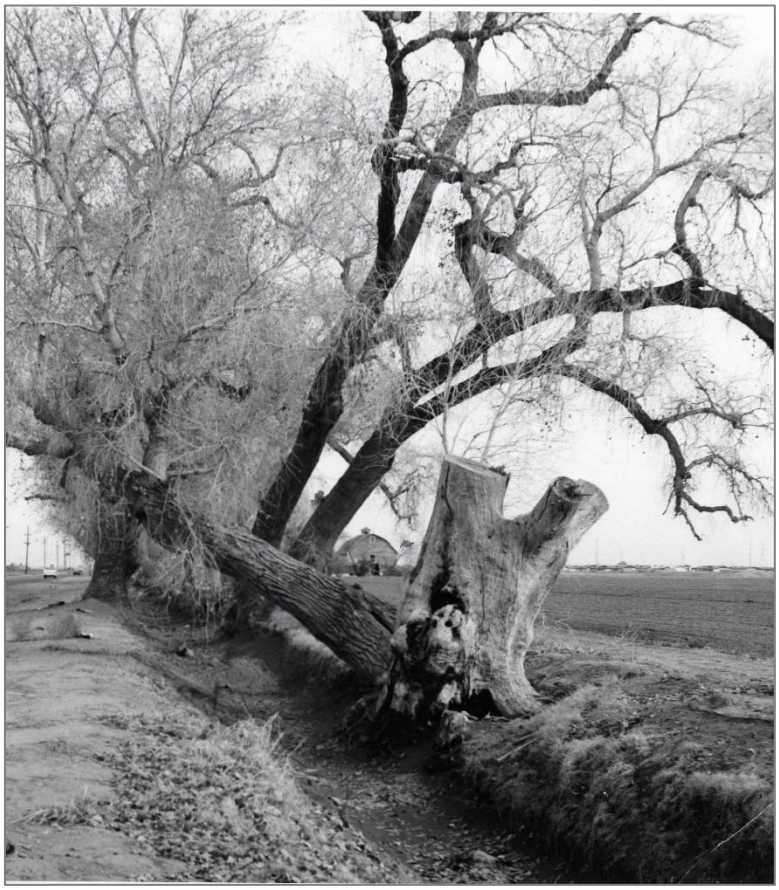

Figure 13. Farm at Guadalupe and Price Roads with new homes in background, c. 1975, Tempe History Museum

While agricultural property owners wrestled with when it was most advantageous to sell their land, they often allowed it to revert to bare dirt. It made little sense to devote slim resources to raising crops on land that would soon be converted to residential use.[308]

[307] Louise Henness, interview by Peggy Shavely, 22-3.

[308] Munton, "Farming on the Urban Fringe," 208.

The incidence of vacant agricultural land could also increase because encroaching urbanization raised values for land that was not next in line for development, but that would be converted to urban use in the next few years. The rising value raised taxes to levels that some owners could not afford to cover, so they sold to developers or aggregators and the land lay unused.[309]

Communities experiencing rapid transition from an agricultural to a suburban landscape often exhibited something akin to horror at the sight of formerly productive farm fields and grazing lands lying vacant and unproductive. That land was lying vacant did not mean that the food supply was in danger. In Maricopa County, crop production actually rose through the 1950s.[310] Farming operations simply shifted from urbanizing areas to places further from the development fringe.[311] In spite of this, as Adam Rome writes, "the doubts about the wisdom of building houses on prime farmland persisted. For the doubters, the issue usually was a matter of culture."[312]

In the mid-1960s, when rapid growth was at its height in Tempe, Gerald Marvin Hermanson conducted a study on the conversion of land in Maricopa County from agricultural to urban uses. The terms Hermanson used to describe agricultural land in the otherwise dispassionate introductory chapter to his study were far from neutral: "good"

[309] Munton, "Farming on the Urban Fringe," 207.

[310] Vander Meer, *Desert Visions*, 155.

[311] Hermanson, "Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County," 47.

[312] Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside*, 123.

and “valuable,”[313] “desirable” and “productive.”[314] They contrast sharply with the language describing what happens when agricultural land stopped being used to grow food and was rendered vacant: the prospect was “demoralizing” to those who had coaxed crops from that land or raised animals on it, and the land became “unsightly” and prone to “deterioration” in the estimation of everyone else.[315]

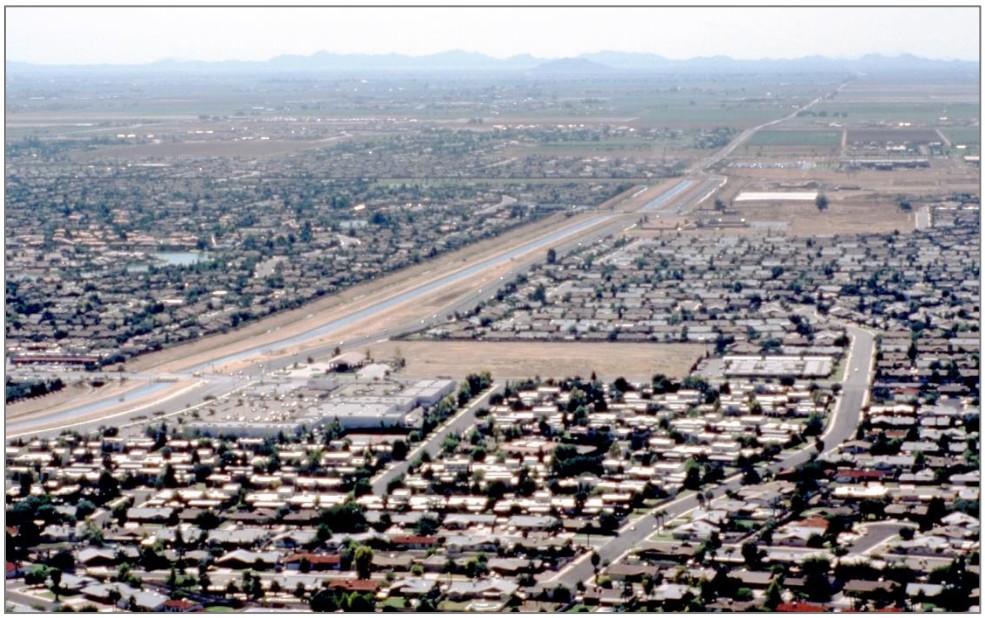

Figure 14. Looking south from Price and Baseline Roads, 1975, Tempe History Museum

Hermanson called the boundary between urban and agricultural land at the outside edges of metropolitan areas a “buffer zone.”[316] His description of what actually happened

[313] Hermanson, “Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County,” 5.

[314] Hermanson, “Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County,” 7.

[315] Hermanson, “Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County,” 7.

[316] Hermanson, “Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County,” 3.

in that zone made it sound far more volatile: it was "under a constant state of siege."[317] More than thirty years later, misgivings about rapid urbanization were much the same: a report on the topic from the Morrison Institute used words like "invasion" and "consumption" to describe land conversion in the much-expanded Phoenix metropolitan area of the late 1990s.[318]

Rapid Growth and Land Use Conflict

When Tempe started campaigning to develop an industrial district in the Kyrene agricultural area, city leaders could not have envisioned that agricultural land would be consumed by development so rapidly. The area south of Baseline Road and just east of Kyrene Road was entirely devoted to agricultural production until 1952, when construction began on a steel foundry facility. Capitol Foundry opened in 1954 to produce the steel balls used to grind ore in copper mining.[319] It employed between 250 and 499 workers in 1966.[320] The foundry was located on a thirty-five-acre, wedge-shaped parcel, sandwiched between commercial railroad tracks on its western boundary and the Western Canal at its eastern edge. It remained the only non-agricultural land use in this

[317] Hermanson, "Urbanization of Agricultural Lands in Maricopa County," 4.

[318] Morrison Institute for Public Policy, "Hits and Misses," 2.

[319] Solliday, *Tempe Post-World War II Context Study*, 30.

[320] League of Women Voters of East Maricopa, "Live—Learn—Earn in Tempe," 36. This report does not specify why a range, rather than a specific number, of employees is noted for many of the companies on this list.

square mile until after May of 1969.[321] At that time, most of the land around it was annexed by Tempe, making the foundry property a county island.[322]

The heavy industrial district that was so eagerly anticipated by city leaders in the 1950s and 1960s had not turned out as planned. Twelve square miles of the Kyrene district lay within the Tempe Planning Area.[323] In 1966, planners recommended that approximately 1,040 acres, or just over 1.6 square miles, "be designated for future development of extensive, heavy industry."[324] At the time industrial concerns owned 270 acres in the Planning Area, but only one hundred of those were being used for industrial production.[325] As subdivisions started to "sprout" throughout the Kyrene district in the mid-1960s, the *1967 General Plan* recommended striking a balance between neighborhood needs and the economy.[326] "Each zoning, land use and subdivision proposal should be carefully evaluated to determine its influence on the long-term economic stability and livability of adjacent lands," the *General Plan* recommended.[327]

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[321] Maricopa County Historical Aerial Photography, "Tile 1969o 18, January 2, 1969," accessed April 7, 2017, http://gis.maricopa.gov/MapApp/GIO/AerialHistorical/index.html; City of Tempe, AZ, "Annexation Listing" after January 13, 1983, THM RC, 2006.9.51.

[322] City of Tempe, "Annexation Listing," Ordinance 558, May 1, 1969, Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection 2006.9.51.

[323] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Seven*, 51.

[324] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Seven*, 53.

[325] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Seven*, 51.

[326] "Tempe Eagerly Eyes the Future," *Arizona Republic*, March 5, 1967, C-1, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-Tempe Newsclippings 1965-1969.

[327] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan*, 34.

Land use controls directly contradicted the frontier ethos, but were the only way to ensure controlled development.[328]

Mediating conflict between residential and industrial land uses was especially critical. The comprehensive planning report on industry acknowledged that "blighted" manufacturing facilities could harm nearby housing areas.[329] Even otherwise benign industrial operations could increase traffic and affect the value of adjacent properties. Heavy industries in Kyrene were highlighted for special concern: even when protected by setbacks and screening tactics, they were noisy and highly visible, requiring "careful attention to location and control."[330] Tempe was determined to solicit "Maricopa County's cooperation in preventing proliferation of scattered and unrelated urban uses in unincorporated portions of the planning area" when the *1967 General Plan* was published, but there was little to be done about existing intensive operations sited on what remained county land.[331]

Areas of deterioration were a growing issue for Tempe city leaders in the late 1960s. Mill Avenue, the commercial core since Tempe's founding, was in a shocking state of decline. Commercial activity had been moving southward since the early 1960s, the historic character of its street front had been shorn away when the highway through

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[328] Charles S. Sargent, ed, "Arizona's Urban Frontier: Myths and Realities," 7.

[329] City of Tempe, "Existing Industries," in *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Tempe, Arizona, Report Number Seven: Industrial Development* (Scottsdale, AZ: Van Cleve Associates, March 1966), Figure 6.

[330] City of Tempe, "Existing Industries," Figure 6.

[331] City of Tempe, *1967 General Plan*, 34.

downtown was widened, and buildings were allowed to fall into disrepair.[332] Parked motorcycles lined the street and counterculture businesses took advantage of low rents. One official was blunt with his passengers as they drove over the Salt River into Tempe, warning them, "I want you to close your eyes now and not open them up again until I tell you."[333]

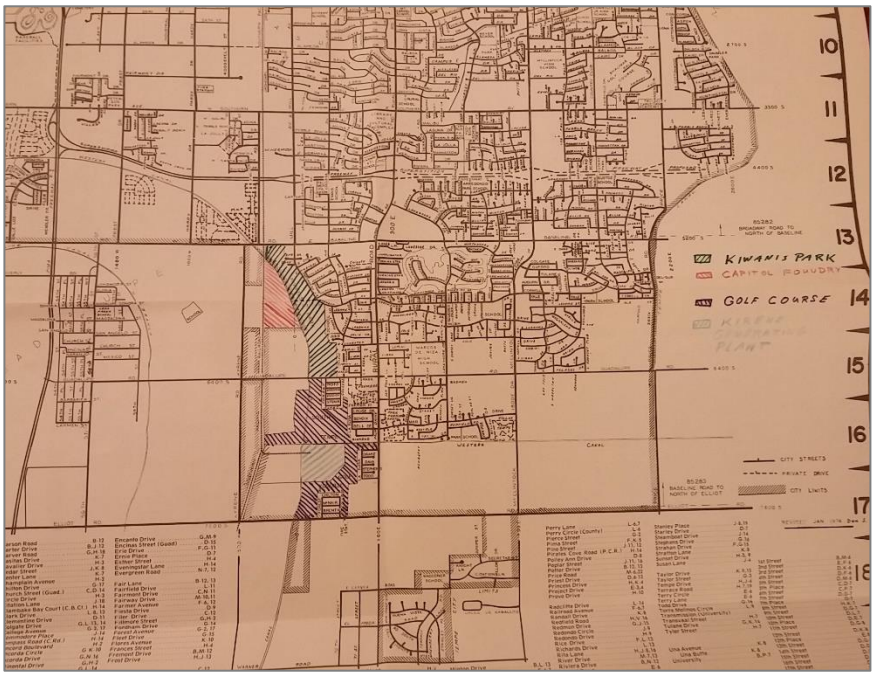

Figure 15. Map of Capitol Foundry and Kiwanis Park, 1974, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library

This may explain why Ronald Pies, hired to oversee Tempe's growing Parks and Recreation program in 1969, reacted as he did when Mastercraft Homes submitted a

[332] William J. LoPiano, interview by Ron McCoy, May 31, 1988, Mill Avenue Oral History Project, Tempe History Museum, 1999.0000.291, 3.

[333] Dave R. Merkel, interview by Ron McCoy, April 5, 1988, Mill Avenue Oral History Project, Tempe History Museum, 1999.0000.291, 1-2.

subdivision plat to the city in 1970 that "showed development going all the way down the bank of the canal with a 5-acre park buffering the foundry."[334] Mastercraft Homes had not acted surreptitiously: Tempe planning maps from 1967 and 1969 classified the land east of the foundry as "residential."[335] The homebuilder purchased the parcels it planned to develop at the beginning of 1970.[336] The Mastercraft plan to build a neighborhood there accorded with Tempe planners' assertion that residential development must be encouraged in Kyrene if Tempe were to "achieve its population potential."[337] Still, Pies was appalled when he "saw the Capitol Foundry at the time on the western border, and a housing development rapidly approaching that." Pies and City Manager Kenneth McDonald "knew that what we were developing there was a future slum."[338]

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Mastercraft neighborhood plat from a "frontier planning" standpoint is the inclusion of the five-acre park. Capitol Foundry was "an around-the-clock operation" and "inherently noisy," according the plant's manager.[339] If planned properly, a park could have stabilizing effects in the most

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[334] Glen Law, "Tempe park to Include Lake, Mountain," *The Arizona Republic*, July 8, 1974, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-Tempe, Newsclippings 1970-1975.

[335] "City of Tempe & Tempe Elementary Schools," in "Tempe Tomorrow: Present and Future Growth of Tempe," 1968, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-Tempe.12. The "Schools, Parks & Neighborhoods" map also classified the land as residential.

[336] Maricopa County Recorder's Office., "Easement for Highway Purposes," Recorded March 3, 1970, accessed April 7, 2017, https://recorder.maricopa.gov/UnOfficialDocs2/pdf/19700037354.pdf. The easement granted to Mastercraft Homes by the sellers of the parcel in February 1970 stated that the land was in escrow.

[337] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Seven*, 53.

[338] Ron Pies, interview by Scott Solliday, June 5, 1996. Interview OH-154, transcript, Tempe History Museum Oral History Collection OH-154, 7.

[339] G.G. Tenney to City of Tempe Planning and Zoning Commission, February 18, 1970, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library, Box 5 Folder 4.

problematic neighborhood. According to Adam Rome, "recreation was tied in the minds of many Americans with a number of profound social issues;" if residents were allowed adequate exposure to open space and recreation, these problems could be mitigated.[340] The idea that "low-income, densely populated" neighborhoods in the Salt River Valley should be retrofitted with open space pointed to concerns about delinquency and urban deterioration.[341] As Pies and McDonald feared, a neighborhood park was inadequate for this task: to mitigate noise issues alone required a 1,500-foot space between the heavy industrial complex and the planned subdivision.[342] Without a much more ambitious buffer, the Mastercraft neighborhood stood to be compromised before the first home was completed.

The Utility of Open Space

The open space model of park development and usage, which Galen Cranz contends gained currency in the mid-1960s, was originally meant to address social tensions in densely populated cities, but was quickly reinterpreted for other environments. As perceptions of the lack of safety in urban public spaces increased, open space was proposed as a way to safely bring people together.[343] Urban open space programming took advantage of large public spaces and prioritized performances,

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[340] Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside*, 126.

[341] Maricopa Association of Governments. *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 15.

[342] Glen Law, "Tempe Park to Include Lake, Mountain," *The Arizona Republic*, July 8, 1974, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Library, CE EPH DTO-Tempe, Newsclippings 1970-1975.

[343] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design*, 137.

festivals, and outdoor activities that would appeal to diverse groups of city dwellers.[344] Open space in the suburbs was a different thing entirely. "Suburbs are seen as almost all open space—yards, lawns, gardens," argue Cynthia L. Girling and Kenneth I. Helphand.[345] Suburban open space is often not entirely open to the public. It exists in an intermediate zone, visible but not always accessible.

In Maricopa County, which was undergoing rapid urbanization and where municipal leaders were trying to contextualize the loss of agricultural lands, open space fit into a variety of categories. For decades in the Salt River Valley, the cultivated fields, grazing lands, and farms that separated cities and towns from each other did not just act as a powerful reminder of each community's agrarian origins, they also sufficed as a form of open space. "Open space, in its broadest possible meaning, is a land or water surface upon which man has little or no constructional development and which is open to the sky—that is, provides an uninterrupted view," the Maricopa Association of Governments (MAG) stated in *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study,* prepared in 1970.[346] This makes sense in what Carl Abbott calls the "visible cities" typical of western North America.[347] In this region, wide vistas are "an active physical and cultural force."[348]

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[344] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design,* 139.

[345] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park,* 17.

[346] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study,* 5.

[347] Abbott, *How Cities Won the West,* 277.

[348] Abbott, *How Cities Won the West,* 275.

Before the residential boom, in Tempe as in Phoenix, spacious areas were abundant and easy for most people to reach. "People only had to walk a short distance to be in the country, the air was clean, and there was little to obscure the vista of desert mountains," notes historian William S. Collins.[349] But as residential building expanded and land values rose, the "constant absorption" of farmland into the urban fabric was cause for increasing concern.[350] Threatened agricultural areas were no longer "sufficient to supply the ecological, physical, or social needs for open space," MAG declared.[351]

For planning, MAG grouped open space into three "purposes"—parks and recreation use, land and resource conservation, and historic or scenic preservation--reflecting the realization that open space is as functional as residential, agricultural, or industrial space. Because open space had an agreed-upon value to the community, it could not simply be set aside. Just as with other land uses, it must be "provided, preserved and developed."[352] As opposed to vacant land, which was divested of its utility, open space was "functional" and served a particular, critical purpose.[353] It met the needs of "all the people of the area" that surrounded it, not just certain groups.[354] In Tempe, the Parks and Recreation Department acknowledged both current land use pressures and its agricultural heritage in its overarching planning goal: "assuring that Tempe will always

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[349] Collins, *The Emerging Metropolis,* 128.

[350] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 74.

[351] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 3.

[352] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 3.

[353] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 5.

[354] Maricopa Association of Governments, *A Park, Recreation and Open Space Study*, 3.

have adequate open spaces and that the total environment of the community can maintain some of its original characteristics."[355]

The attention devoted to open space in Tempe had its roots in local circumstances, but it was linked to national trends. One of these larger concerns was "the science of ecology'" according to the *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference* report.[356] A body of "urban doomsday" literature--centered on runaway human population and environmental collapse that to many critics were manifested in the spread of the suburbs--had been accumulating since Rachel Carson wrote *Silent Spring*.[357] The idea of ecology, however, was still new to mainstream discourse in the late 1960s.[358] The members of the Leadership Conference committee saw the "natural beauty movement" as an opportunity to engage with "the problems of the city where most of us live."[359] Even in the Kyrene district, land would soon be in short supply, and people could no longer just move away from environmental degradation, urban deterioration, and an expanding population. "Americans who learned in the frontier era to 'conquer' nature now need to learn new techniques of cooperating with nature," the Leadership Conference committee declared.[360] "Tempe has now reached the end of frontier planning."[361]

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[355] City of Tempe, "Parks and Recreation Department Highlights1975-1976," newsletter, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library, 4.

[356] City of Tempe, *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference*, 2B.

[357] Bingham, "Rural Perspectives on Urban Expansion," 63-4.

[358] Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside*, 124.

[359] City of Tempe, *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference*, 3B.

[360] City of Tempe, *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference*, 2B.

A Park System in Transition

In a rapidly developing suburb, cooperating with nature did not mean leaving it to its own devices. Instead, the *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference* report described the natural elements in the human-created environment as "amenities," components that addressed the "humane and esthetic considerations" of urban planning.[362] As a land use planning tool, open space could be used to direct growth and to address the environmental and social deficits created when agricultural land was converted to subdivisions. Tempe's School-Park Plan was devised to enable parks development until the city was built out, but accelerating growth and the increasing cost of land forced the city to reconsider its land acquisition and parks development strategies.

The priority under the School-Park Plan was to acquire park land in a predictable and economical manner, and to worry about development later.[363] Tempe had often been able to obtain land in platted subdivisions at the developer's cost.[364] Sometimes developers allowed the city to pay for park sites on an installment plan.[365] As land values increased, developers were less willing to strike deals that were favorable to the city.

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[361] City of Tempe, *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference,* 1B.

[362] City of Tempe, *1969 Tempe Leadership Conference,* 3B.

[363] Gordon Robbins, "Tempe Plan on Parks—Buy First, Then Develop," *The Arizona Republic,* March 5, 1972, B-5, Tempe History Museum 2002.10.301.

[364] City of Tempe, "Park Site Purchase in Suggs Royal Palms Unit 10," January 14, 1971, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[365] City of Tempe, "Recommended Site for Neighborhood Park in Section 26, T1N, R4E," July 22, 1966, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30. City Councilmember Joseph Dwight even found an 1890 subdivision plat for the "Hermosa Tract" that dedicated four acres of land for park purposes; after two years of legal proceedings, the state Superior Court found Tempe to be the legal owner of the land that became Diamond (later renamed Dwight) Park.

Frustrated at their inability, "through already existing tax revenues, to provide for the acquisition of lands necessary" for neighborhood parks, city leaders passed a "facility tax" ordinance requiring homebuilders to either dedicate park land to the city or pay a stipulated fee per dwelling unit to a parks fund.[366] Most developers were incensed at the move—some accused the city of deliberately trying to slow growth--and the tax was ultimately struck down in court.

While the city struggled to afford the acquisition of new park sites, people in Tempe noticed that development of existing parks was "spread too thin."[367] Parks were outfitted minimally, with grass and children's play equipment, as soon as possible after acquisition, but city leaders fielding comments from frustrated residents "emphasized that people want their parks developed for use now."[368] Working adults had more leisure time than ever before, and older people were retiring earlier and staying active longer, but Tempe's park model still focused on young children and their primary caregivers.[369] Parks in Tempe needed to be more accessible, and better planned to suit the needs of a variety of residents.

Tempe had access to federal matching funds for both land acquisition and park development, but securing that money required that a development plan be in place for

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[366] City of Tempe, Ordinance No. 659, September 9, 1971, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[367] Lorine Morris, "Park Development, More Land is Goal of Tempe P&R Department," *Tempe Daily News*, November 17, 1970, 1.

[368] City of Tempe, "City Council Meeting Minutes," January 16, 1973, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Electronic Records Collection.

[369] City of Tempe, *1971-72 General Plan Update*, 117.

each park to be funded.[370] To increase the likelihood of obtaining federal grant money, coordinate park development efforts with federal and state agencies, and work toward developing a park system that could serve Tempe's entire population, the city embarked on a master planning program for parks in 1969.[371] The resulting *Open Space Study*, commonly referred to as the "Master Plan," debuted in 1970.

Education was the stated main objective of the new Master Plan. "The public must be made aware of the true nature and extent of their environmental problems and recreation needs," the *Open Space Study* contended, "and then exposed to realistically conceived methods of improving the situation."[372] The *Open Space Study* reoriented the community buy-in model that had been prioritized in the School-Park Plan, which was based on neighborhood connections. Now, Tempe residents were encouraged to engage with a city-wide community by pledging to pay attention to the environment, give the entire park system their financial support, and raise the quality of recreation for all residents.[373]

The *Open Space Study* indirectly addressed conflicts between open space needs and residential and commercial development efforts. The desires of growth-oriented "free enterprise" had a largely negative impact on the city's park development plans, but this need not continue to be the case.[374] Outlining a parks and open space planning

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[370] Joe Salvato to Michael Goodwin, January 8, 1968, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[371] A. Wayne Smith to Kenneth McDonald, June 9, 1969, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[372] Keith D. Hollinger, *Open Space Study*, prepared by A. Wayne Smith and Associates, April 22, 1970, 4.

[373] Hollinger, *Open Space Study*, 3.

philosophy would enable Tempe to delineate open space needs and stand firm when land use or parks acquisition conflicts arose. The need for open space and the priorities of profit-making entities would inevitably conflict, but the city could "help shape the efforts of private enterprise" through the Master Plan to support both developer profits and public recreation space.[375]

Kiwanis Park

Nowhere in Tempe did developer priorities and the city's land management goals conflict more seriously than on the parcel of land just east of Capitol Foundry. A large regional park would be an ideal buffer between the foundry and the Mastercraft Homes project: a planning study released in 1968 recommended this tactic to lessen the negative impact of land use conflicts.[376] In addition, the new *Open Space Study* highlighted the need for a large city park. Tempe needed to act decisively to acquire the land and draw up a plan to secure development funding.

[374] Ed Douglas to Tempe City Council, July 13, 1973, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[375] Hollinger, *Open Space Study*, 4.

[376] City of Tempe, *The Comprehensive Planning Program, Report Number Ten*, 31.

Figure 16. Undeveloped Kiwanis Park site with Capitol Foundry in background, 1973, Tempe History Museum

Parks and Recreation Director Ronald Pies conveyed the urgency of the situation to City Council in May 1971, stating that the department had already outlined a development plan and scheduled meetings with federal representatives to discuss matching park funds.[377] Pies received approval to pursue negotiations for the park land, and the city reached a purchase agreement with Mastercraft Homes in August for Tempe's first regional park site.[378] Tempe leaders took care to not to dismantle the community buy-in they had cultivated for a citywide park system, assuring residents that

[377] City of Tempe, "City Council Minutes," May 20, 1971, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[378] Kenneth A. McDonald to E.A. Kerber, August 6, 1971, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

the large park was not a replacement for neighborhood parks and would not endanger its commitment to the one-park-per-square-mile plan.[379]

Tempe successfully pursued a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation Grant of $382,307.20 to cover half the cost of the land for Kiwanis Park, and was granted another $137,500.00 for development of the site.[380] Continuing its tradition of partnering with civic organizations when developing parks, Tempe accepted a total of $42,500.00 in donations from the Kiwanis Club during park construction.[381] The city projected that $2.5 million dollars would have been invested in the park by the time it finished developing the 125-acre facility with "a tennis center, equestrian facilities, major swimming complex, hiking trails, ball fields, shuffle board center and nature-oriented displays."[382] *The Arizona Republic* reported that a "90-feet-high mountain" would be built up at the park's western edge to fortify the foundry buffer.[383] The barrier actually topped out at a still-impressive thirty-five feet high.[384]

Protecting the Mastercraft neighborhood from the effects of heavy industry was important to Tempe, but it was also a priority for the company that operated Capitol

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[379] Gordon Robbins, "Tempe Plan on Parks—Buy First, Then Develop," Arizona Republic, March 5, 1972, B-5, Tempe History Museum, 2002.10.301.

[380] City of Tempe and East Maricopa Natural Resource Conservation District, *Measure Plan, Kiwanis Park Water-Based Recreation Facilities RC&D Measure*, October 1976, 3.

[381]City of Tempe and East Maricopa Natural Resource Conservation District, *Measure Plan*, 3.

[382] Robbins, "Tempe Plan on Parks."

[383] Glen Law, "Tempe Park to Include Lake, Mountain," *The Arizona Republic*, July 8, 1974, Hayden Arizona Collection, Arizona State University, CE EPH DTO-Tempe, Newsclippings 1970-1975.

[384] William J. LoPiano to Mrs. Paul L. Singer, August 30, 1974, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library, Box 2 Folder 4.

Foundry. The plant's operators wanted "protection from surrounding residents so that they will not be termed a public nuisance."[385] Midland-Ross Corporation, the foundry's parent company, donated 27.32 acres of land on the southwest corner of Baseline and Kyrene roads, just north of the foundry, to the city in 1973. The terms of the sale required that Tempe zone the land as industrial to protect that flank of the foundry property, sell the rezoned land within two years, and use the profits to ensure the complete development of Kiwanis Park as a buffer zone.[386] Tempe publicized the arrangement as a commitment from the foundry to the stability of the nearby neighborhood. Executives from Midland-Ross attended groundbreaking ceremonies for the park.[387]

The sweeping, 125-acre Kiwanis Park offered Tempe a jumpstart on development of a diversified park system. Tempe's developing open space goals were formulated in light of a growing acknowledgement of diverse populations. Planners stated in the *1967 General Plan* and again in the 1971 update that housing must accommodate residents across a range of income levels. The *Open Space Study* offered a profile of "Mr. Average Tempean," but pointed out that as the city's population rose, its demographic characteristics could be expected to broaden. The best way to diversify park offerings so as to satisfy "the public that is the City" was to fit them into an integrated system of open space.[388]

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[385] City of Tempe, Memorandum from City Manager to Mayor and City Council, July 19, 1972, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[386] Maricopa County Recorder's Office, Deed, Docket 10450 Book 306, December 26, 1973.

[387] "Work Starts on First Phase of 120-Acre Kiwanis Park," *Tempe Daily News*, January 18, 1974, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[388] City of Tempe, *1971-72 General Plan Update*, 1.

In a nod to the city's pioneer heritage, and perhaps in a bid to connect this wide-open park space in the southern reaches of Tempe to the old downtown, Kiwanis Park was to be outfitted with a special suite of fixtures. "The park will eventually include replicas of Hayden's Ferry, Hayden Butte and the old Tempe Bridge," the *Tempe Daily News* reported, "carrying out its Tempe historical theme."[389] Despite its historical accoutrements, the regional park was a new kind of park for a new kind of city. Together with the public golf course being developed to its south, Kiwanis Park comprised "a green open space two miles long and approximately a quarter to a half mile wide," wrote Mayor LoPiano, stretching through what had become "the heart of Tempe."[390]

[389] "Work Starts on First Phase of 120-Acre Kiwanis Park," *Tempe Daily News*, January 18, 1974, Tempe City Clerk's Office Microfilm Roll 30.

[390] William J. LoPiano to Mrs. Paul L. Singer, August 30, 1974, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library, Box 2 Folder 1.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Tempe Mayor William LoPiano called Kiwanis Park "an example of how good planning and concern for persons not yet residents of our City can turn potential liabilities into assets which will benefit Tempe many years into the future."[391] Kiwanis Park is still not as famous as the legendary Tempe Beach Park, nor as well-known in the Salt River Valley as the city's newer waterside attraction, Tempe Town Lake. Kiwanis Park, however, has become the reliable centerpiece of Tempe's suite of park facilities. Still the largest non-specialty park in Tempe, it does much of the heavy lifting for city-wide cultural and recreational events.[392] It has also excelled at the purpose for which it was initially proposed. When standing in the group picnic area on the western edge of the park, one can hear clanks and hisses from the foundry, muffled by the barrier hill and mingled with the shouts of children. The neighborhood on the eastern side of the park showcases rows of modest-sized, well-kept homes.

Rapid growth began in Tempe soon after the end of World War II, but it took some time for the city to exhibit the concern for residents' changing needs that LoPiano commended thirty years later. Tempe leaders encouraged growth, but did not anticipate the fiscal and logistical realities of providing needed infrastructure for new

[391] William LoPiano to Mrs. Paul L. Singer, August 30, 1974, William J. LoPiano Papers, Arizona State University Library, Box 2 Folder 1.

[392] Only Rio Salado Park, a habitat preserve next to Tempe Town Lake, and Tempe's portion of Papago Park are larger.

neighborhoods. Neither did they foresee that people buying homes in those new neighborhoods would lobby with such fervor for accessible city park space. Juggling opportunities to acquire park land with the limited ability to improve it afterward, the city managed to develop a modest selection of city parks through the 1950s by encouraging individual volunteers and accepting contributions of time and materials from civic groups. The establishment of a dedicated Parks and Recreation Department in 1958 formalized Tempe's commitment to parks, and the formation of a city Planning Department in 1962 enabled it to act on an ambitious plan for siting public park spaces throughout the city.

Tempe implemented a comprehensive planning program in 1965 in an attempt to guide the quality of new development. The resulting *1967 General Plan* called for orderly annexation of land, enforceable city zoning policies, and a mix of residential, commercial and industrial development that would sustainably subsidize city services. Tempe also released a "Proposed School-Park Policy" that paired public park spaces with elementary schools and framed them as the focal points of neighborhoods, with the eventual goal of siting a neighborhood park in each square mile of the city. Tempe leaders publicized the School-Park Plan exhaustively, taking care to link parks, schools and neighborhoods in residents' minds. With the familiarity of public parks as a main support, the city created a framework on which to build a new community identity as a suburban city.

The legacy of the School-Park Plan remains clear twenty-five years after the last school-park complex was added to Tempe's park system.[393] It is hard to overstate the significance of the School-Park Plan to both the recreation fabric of contemporary Tempe and the physical form of the city. Although the overall focus of park system development in Tempe shifted to open space near the end of the study period, the system's school-park underpinning and the city's one-park-per-square-mile goal were acknowledged and reinforced in Tempe's *General Plan 1978*, the *Tempe 2000 General Plan*,[394] and the *City of Tempe Parks and Recreation Master Plan 2001*.[395] Tempe still promotes its park system as having fulfilled the city's one-park-per-square-mile promise.

School-park complexes remain the anchors for Tempe neighborhoods, but their utility as multi-use facilities is now compromised. The perceived need for greater security means that schools are surrounded with tall metal fencing and security gates, and children in Tempe no longer play in city parks during recess time. While parks and schools do not have the relationship that they were designed to enjoy, parks and their host neighborhoods are as close as they ever were. Residents of Tempe's neighborhoods still feel possessive of "their" public parks, as evidenced at a recent meeting for the city's "Arts in the Parks" program. Although the event to be hosted at a neighborhood park in the southern part of Tempe was designed to attract people from throughout the park's

[393] The Campbell Park site, adjacent to Kyrene de las Manitas Elementary School, was acquired in 1994.

[394] City of Tempe, *Tempe 2000 General Plan—Preliminary* (Tempe: City of Tempe Department of Community Development, 1988), Tempe History Museum, 2002.10.462, 45.

[395] City of Tempe, *City of Tempe Parks and Recreation Master Plan 2001*, prepared by Leon Younger & PROS (Tempe: City of Tempe Community Services Department, 2001), Tempe History Museum Redevelopment Collection, 2002.10.462, 13.

square-mile service area, only people residing in the homes immediately surrounding the park attended the planning meeting. Many of them expressed apprehension when they learned that the event was not intended for neighborhood residents alone.[396]

Questions about which people neighborhood parks are meant to serve take on added urgency as Tempe's population density increases and the cost of housing rises. The city began anticipating density issues as soon as the municipality became landlocked in 1974. High-density multi-story development has grown beyond the downtown core, moving eastward along the alignments of University Boulevard and Apache Boulevard. People living in the Hudson Manor neighborhood are especially cognizant of the effects of new high-rise housing. Residents at a recent meeting to discuss multi-story development at Apache Boulevard and Oak Street expressed concerns about increased neighborhood traffic.[397] Tempe planners did not disagree, noting that nearby Hudson Park might be overwhelmed with high-rise residents looking for recreation space that was not provided in the planned complex.[398]

Increasing population density and accompanying rising housing costs are also correlated with an increase in the number of people experiencing homelessness in Tempe, many of whom find shelter in neighborhood parks.[399] Tempeans have been sharply

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[396] The author attended the meeting described in December 2018.

[397] City of Tempe, "City of Tempe Development Commission Review Meeting," May 23, 2017, 3, https://www.tempe.gov/Home/ShowDocument?id=50810.

[398] City of Tempe, "City of Tempe Development Commission Review Meeting," May 23, 2017, 5, https://www.tempe.gov/Home/ShowDocument?id=50810.s not

[399] Benjamin Cooper, "Is Tempe Seeing a Wave of Gentrification?," *The State Press,* November 18, 2018, http://www.statepress.com/article/2018/11/spmagazine-gentrification-in-tempe-today

divided over the city's recent decision to hire armed security personnel to patrol ten of the city's park areas. The city states that it is responding to park users' concerns about such issues as disorderly behavior and excessive trash, and many residents agree, but another group of residents sees the action as a bid by Tempe to "police the homeless population" and make unilateral decisions about who is allowed to use parks.[400]

When Tempe planners initially realized that issues of increasing density, land use conflict, and a diversifying population called for a broadening of its park system development plan, the city shifted its planning priority from neighborhood parks to open space. Tempe's *General Plan 1978* continued the push for the development of an open space system that the "1971-72 General Plan Update" had first proposed. While the early 1970s update made a vague distinction between parks and open space, the 1978 open space plan explained the difference: open space was a means of connection, and might make innovative use of disparate spaces such as Tempe's "remaining natural areas," canal banks, and utility easements.[401] The *General Plan 1978* visualized "a citywide system of interrelated parks, open space, pathways and greenbelts."[402] Taking advantage of the previously ignored public spaces that "criss-cross" Tempe meant that more residents could access parks that were previously hidden in the centers of Tempe's

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[400] Paulina Pineda, "Armed Private Security Will Soon Patrol Some Tempe Parks as 'People Are Fed Up,'" *The Arizona Republic*, October 23, 2018, https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/tempe/2018/10/23/tempe-council-votes-hire-g-4-s-private-security-firm-patrol-parks/1734720002/.

[401] City of Tempe, G*eneral Plan 1978,* 21.

[402] City of Tempe, G*eneral Plan 1978,* 24.

neighborhoods. By 1988 the city specifically linked the role of open space to "quality of life in an urban environment."[403]

Faced with a dearth of land remaining in a natural state, Tempe concentrated on developing multi-use paths and trails as connecting elements in its open space system. The city now has eight fully-developed multi-use paths: one spanning the El Paso Natural Gas Company line easement, another along Indian Bend Wash, a linked series of paths around Tempe Town Lake, and five paths along canal embankments.[404] The canal paths do not just link elements of the city's modern and growing open space system, they also link residents to the city's agricultural past. The canals themselves are the only vestige of the old agrarian culture evident along Tempe's portion of the Western Canal multi-use path. As it continues eastward between Chandler and Mesa and into Gilbert, though, evidence of farmsteads and irrigated fields remains.[405] The loss of agricultural and desert land has continued to concern residents and planners in the Phoenix area, a worry still largely centered on the unique identity of the desert metropolis.[406]

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[403] City of Tempe, *Tempe 2000 General Plan—Preliminary* (Tempe: City of Tempe Department of Community Development, 1988), Tempe History Museum, 2002.10.462, 45.

[404] City of Tempe, "Multi-Use Paths and Bridges," accessed March 25, 2019, https://www.tempe.gov/government/public-works/transportation/bicycle-pedestrian/multi-use-paths-and-bridges-completed.

[405] Jason Franz, "Cycle: Ride the (Mostly) New and Improved Western Canal Path," *Phoenix New Times*, June 22, 2011, accessed March 25, 2019, https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/arts/cycle-ride-the-mostly-new-and-improved-western-canal-path-6556538. The article was written soon after the Chandler portion of the trail was completed, but the elements of the agricultural landscape that persist along the path largely remain as described by the author.

[406] Morrison Institute for Public Policy, *Hits and Misses*, 37.

Tempe was reluctant, in the early 1950s, to take responsibility for funding and maintaining parks. After that difficult start, the city aimed to fully integrate parks into its community identity. Its park system is now part of a suite of public amenities that make Tempe "uniquely identifiable."[407] In turn, the city sought to shape community identity through park system planning. Parks "can build community pride and spirit if made a priority of the City," and can be made to reflect residents' "vision and values."[408] By the time Tempe debuted the *City of Tempe Parks and Recreation Master Plan 2001,* Tempeans thought of their parks as the early community advocates of Clark and Daley Parks would have wished them to: they were "integral to a vital community."[409]

[407] City of Tempe, *Tempe 2000 General Plan—Preliminary*, 72.

[408] City of Tempe, *City of Tempe Parks and Recreation Master Plan 2001*, 2.

[409] City of Tempe, *City of Tempe Parks and Recreation Master Plan 2001*, 9.

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APPENDIX A

TEMPE PARKS ACQUIRED DURING STUDY PERIOD

Park Site Acquired by City	Park Name	Name Derivation	Associated School	Land Annexed by City	Park Site Acquisition Method and Cost
1949	Clark	Kenneth Clark, businessperson And land developer	None	March 10, 1955 Ord. 230 or 239	Gift of Kenneth S. Clark and Mary Elizabeth Clark
1951	Daley	Ed Daley, long-serving Tempe City Manager	None	February 8, 1951 Ord. 207	City purchase, $10,610.60. Agreed to sale terms October 1950; paid for land in full October 1951
1953	Jaycee	Civic organization. The park land was leased to the Jaycee organization in 1960	None	July 9, 1953 Ord. 222	Parcel 17, gift of Mary Byrle McKinney. Parcel 20, city purchase from State of Arizona for $5,530
1954	Hudson	E.W. Hudson, Tempe pioneer and land developer	None	February 28, 1950 Ord. 200	Unknown
1961	Indian Bend	Nearby Indian Bend Wash	None	March 14, 1960 Ord. 312	Gift of Developer, Layne Development Company, c. June 1961

Park Site Acquired by City	Park Name	Name Derivation	Associated School	Land Annexed by City	Park Site Acquisition Method and Cost
1962	Cyprus/ Hollis	Named Cyprus Park during study period, after previous land owner Cyprus Mine Corporation	Hudson Elementary, opened September 1967	c. 1961, ordinance not clear (possibly Ord. 372)	Gift of developer, Cox Home Builders, via Cyprus Mines Corp. Dedicated to city on subdivision plat recorded in 1962
1964	Palmer	Vic Palmer, first Parks and Recreation Director	Evans Elementary, site acquired December 1965, opened September 1966	July 13, 1961 Ord. 359	City purchase, $16,260.59
1964	Escalante	Brothers Cipriano and George, and their cousin Gabriel, three members of one family, killed in WWII combat	Thew Elementary, opened Sep 1958	January 20, 1959 Ord. 294. Land for Thew Elementary was annexed earlier	City purchase, $47,500.00.
1966	Meyer	Agnes and Albert Meyer, school district employees	Meyer Elementary, opened September 1965	March 17, 1960 Ord. 313	City purchase, $56,749.00
1967	Joyce	Fred Joyce, Tempe pioneer and land developer	Carminati Elementary, opened September 1971	c. 1961, ordinance not clear (possibly Ord. 372)	City purchase, $30,020.72

Park Site Acquired by City	Park Name	Name Derivation	Associated School	Land Annexed by City	Park Site Acquisition Method and Cost
1968	Selleh	Joe Selleh, recreation advocate and businessperson	Curry Elementary, opened September 1969; Connolly Middle, under construction 1971	March 17, 1960 Ord. 313	City purchase, $44, 415.30
1969	Rotary	Civic organization, help fund park infrastructure	Ward Elementary, site acquired 1972, opened January 1974	May 1, 1969 Ord. 558	City purchase, $24,195.60
1969	Diamond /Dwight	Named Diamond Park during study period during study period	None	October 23, 1969 Ord. 582	Land dedicated as park when first subdivision plat filed, December 12, 1890
1970	Petersen	Susanna Petersen, ranched and farmed the current park site and surrounding land	None	February 9, 1956 Ord. 253	50-year lease agreement from International Order of Oddfellows
1971	Daumler	Kenneth Daumler, businessperson and recreation advocate	None. Tempe Canal separates park from Roosevelt School in Mesa. (Mesa had proposed a school-park complex)	May 1, 1969 Ord. 558	City purchase, $29,689.00

Park Site Acquired by City	Park Name	Name Derivation	Associated School	Land Annexed by City	Park Site Acquisition Method and Cost
1972	Arredondo	Alejandro and Josefa Arredondo, Tempe pioneers	Arredondo Elementary, opened September 1972	December 28, 1967 Ord. 513	Gift of developer, Hallcraft Homes
1972	Cole	W.W. Cole, former Tempe Mayor, member of a pioneer family	Bustoz Elementary, site acquired 1973, opened January 1974	May 1, 1969 Ord. 558	City purchase, $13,083.00. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) granted 50% of $26,166.00 total cost
1971	Kiwanis	Civic organization, helped fund park infrastructure	None. Aguilar Elementary is nearby, but the park and school are not a true complex	May 1, 1969 Ord. 558	City purchase, $382,307.20. BOR granted 50% of $764,614.40 total cost
1972	Scudder	Benjamin and Rebecca Scudder, Tempe pioneers	Rover Elementary, opened September 1975	May 1, 1969 Ord. 558	City purchase, $18,000.00. BOR granted 50% of $36,000.00 total cost
1973	Redden	James Redden and family, Tempe pioneers	Kyrene del Norte Elementary, opened September 1973	May 27, 1971 Ord. 652	Gift of developer, Hallcraft Homes

Note: Tempe acquired the Canal/Hallman Park property during the study period in 1961, but it was a special use park and not within the scope of the study.