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Burnham Before Chicago: The Birth of Modern American Urban Planning

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 made Daniel Hudson Burnham a national figure. The country's best architects, artists, and landscape designers—whose talents he had marshaled to create the fair—acknowledged his leadership and administrative skills.¹ The American Institute of Architects chose him as their president. Harvard and Yale—both of which had refused him admission as a student many years earlier—each awarded him an honorary degree, as did Northwestern University.

Newspapers, magazines, and professional journals alike justifiably gave him much of the credit for creating the great “White City” that had attracted the attention of the world. His fellow Chicagoans regarded him with new respect as the person who had brought fame and honor to their city.

Burnham reaped the benefits of his new status as he resumed the practice of architecture. Important clients sought out his reorganized firm of D. H. Burnham and Company with commissions that within a few years made him a wealthy man.² While architectural design and execution required much of Burnham's attention, his interests broadened to embrace the problems of groups of structures in their urban setting and, finally, the layout and redevelopment of entire cities. The Burnham who entered the fair as an architect emerged as an urban designer and city planner.

These activities culminated in the Chicago Plan of 1909. That lavishly published report described and illustrated a host of civic improvements that, if realized, would have transformed the city into a midwestern metropolis combining the glories of modern Paris and Vienna with those of ancient Rome.

In reviewing Burnham's career as a planner, I will not refer in depth to his acknowledged masterwork, the Chicago Plan. I feel much like an author commissioned to write a book on the *Titanic* with the stipulation that he omit the final chapter dealing with the events of the ship's maiden voyage. The analogy is appropriate, for Burnham was truly an American titan, towering over his contemporaries in the new field of city planning and dominating any company in which he appeared.

Yet, just as lesser ships navigated the seas in the era of the *Titanic*, there were other planners on the American scene. We can understand Burnham's achievements—and shortcomings—only if we look at the contributions of these planners at the time Burnham developed



his concepts of city planning. While Burnham—to extend the metaphor—served as a beacon, guiding many in their search for solutions to urban problems, he was also a mirror, absorbing and reflecting images produced by those whose lesser brilliance has been dimmed with time.

In his last major statement on urban planning—his address in 1910 before the International Town Planning Conference convened by the Royal Institute of British Architects in London—Burnham almost totally ignored the accomplishments of other American planners. Summarizing the development of the modern planning movement in his country, he mentioned only the projects in which he had been involved:

The inception of great planning of public buildings and grounds . . . was in the World's Fair in Chicago. The beauty of its arrangement and of its buildings made a profound impression. . . . As a first result . . . the Government took up the torch and proceeded to make a comprehensive plan for the future development of the capital. . . . Then came the plan of Manila, capital of the Philippines, made under Mr. Taft. . . . Then came Cleveland, Ohio, which State passed a special law in order to allow large towns to employ expert Commissioners, who are to design the public thoroughfares and parks. . . . Then came San Francisco, where an association of private men undertook to back the work. And then came Chicago, where the work was undertaken by the Commercial Club.³

Only in passing did Burnham refer to what he asserted were the “many hundreds of Plan Commissions at work . . . throughout the land.” The entire passage, even with this qualifier, is so self-serving, ungenerous, and (if one accepts his biographers’ analyses of him) uncharacteristic that one is tempted to attribute it to haste, ill health, and the forgetfulness of advancing age rather than to arrogance.⁴

Before tracing Burnham’s own remarkable contributions to the modern American planning movement, it might be well to consider the work of his contemporaries and how they may have influenced Burnham’s own ideas.⁵ Perhaps the most influential was Charles Mulford Robinson, a journalist in Rochester and Philadelphia who supported the efforts of municipal art societies that had been organized in many American cities by the late nineteenth century. Robinson became the most articulate and persuasive spokesman for this movement.⁶ His first book, *The Improvement of Cities and Towns* (1901), and a subsequent work of 1903, *Modern Civic Art*, were so popular that they went through several editions.

Although Robinson championed all kinds of civic embellishment efforts, he stated his belief that the goal for every city should be “a well thought-out, artistically conceived general plan.”⁷ Rather than limit the scope of municipal improvements only to beautification projects, he approved of proposals to move factories and workers to the suburbs, to construct model tenements, and to adopt and enforce housing codes. He also suggested the administrative device to achieve a well-planned city: a commission of professionals. Besides an architect, a landscape architect, a sculptor, and an engineer, he recommended the inclusion of a “member who would not stand for engineering alone, nor for sculpture alone, but for all these together and comprehensively, as one who has made a special study of the general science and art of city-building.”⁸

No one at the time fitted this description better than Robinson himself. He soon began a consulting career that, through 1909, took him to at least eighteen cities. He had, however, a greater facility with words than with design, a field in which he had no training. His Denver

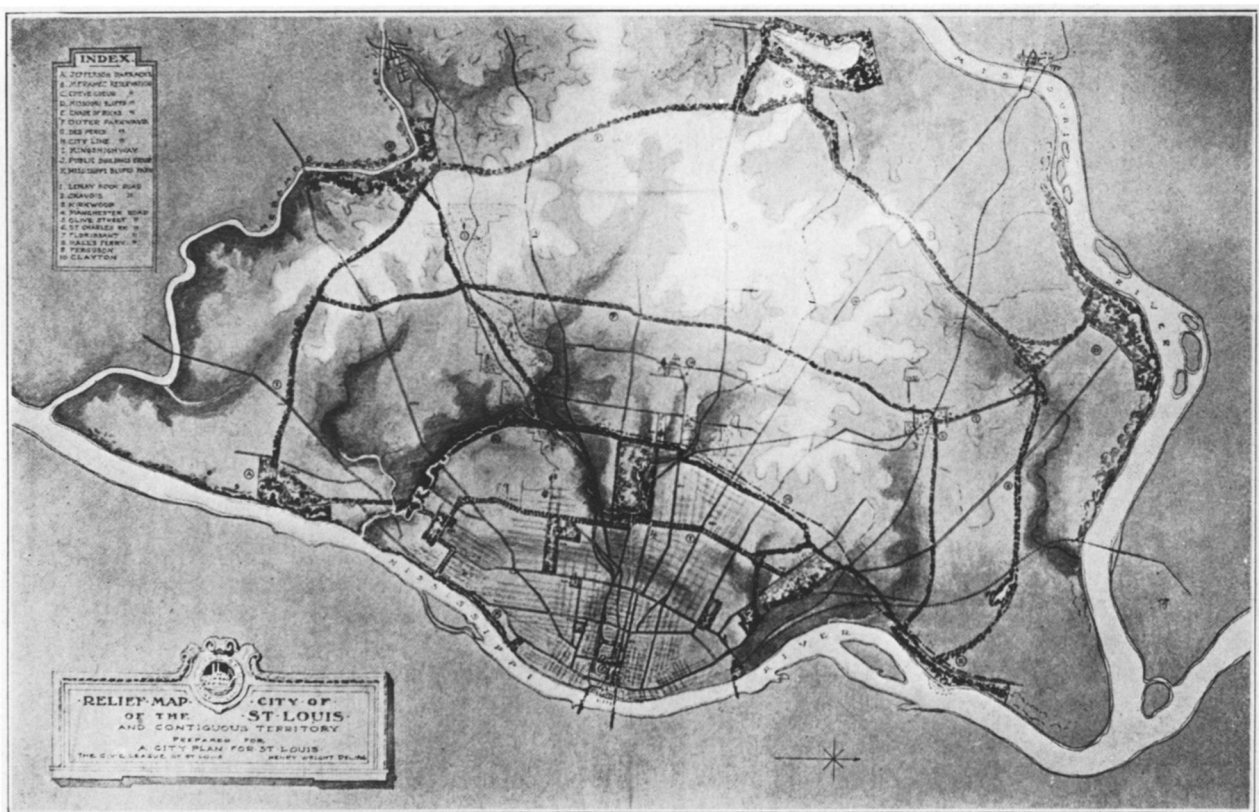


Figure 1. Civic League of St. Louis. *A City Plan for St. Louis*, rendered by Henry Wright, 1906. (From *Architectural Record* XXI [May 1907]: 341.)



Figure 2. Horace Trumbauer, C. C. Zantzinger, Paul P. Cret. *The Philadelphia Parkway* (Fairmount Parkway), 1907–08.

proposal of 1906, while it introduced the concept of a civic center to that city, needed drastic modification by Arnold Brunner and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and, later, by Edward H. Bennett, Burnham's associate in the Chicago Plan.⁹

While several of Robinson's reports, like that for Denver, focused on a single element of the city, many others embodied the more comprehensive approach he advocated in his books. Most of them tended to be conservative in their recommendations. Interestingly enough, in his Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Ridgewood, New Jersey, plans of 1908, he included proposals for new radial streets whose awkward connections with the underlying existing grid systems betrayed his lack of design training.

Robinson's verbal talents were better utilized when he joined Austin Lord, Albert Kelsey, Charles Lowrie, and H. A. MacNeil to form the Columbus, Ohio, Plan Commission. In 1908 they issued a handsome, attractively printed, well-illustrated, and understandable report.¹⁰ It advocated a general development strategy for major thoroughfares, parks, and parkways focused on a civic center composed of state, county, and city buildings. Recommendations ranged from these large-scale proposals to such details as removal of overhead wires, the creation of outlying shopping centers, trolley passenger waiting rooms, schools, and neighborhood recreation centers. The report included an old design by Kelsey, evidently done in Paris in 1898, for a public toilet concealed in the base of a monumental sculpture and fountain.

Busy as he was, Robinson continued his journalistic endeavors. He wrote a number of long articles for the *Architectural Record* describing and commenting on planning studies for Washington, Cleveland, St. Paul, Boston, St. Louis, Harrisburg, and Baltimore, along with more theoretical works concerning such matters as the planning of streets in business districts.¹¹ If Burnham read Robinson's articles and books (and this is probable), he undoubtedly would have found much with which he could agree. Indeed, Robinson drew on Burnham's work as sources for many of his statements of principles and techniques.¹²

Another early planner, John Nolen, began what would be a long and influential career at this time. In 1906 he prepared a plan for Savannah, Georgia, to be followed a year later by a more elaborate proposal for Roanoke, Virginia.¹³ After completing a plan for San Diego in 1908, he began work on similar studies of Madison, Wisconsin, and Little Rock, Arkansas.¹⁴

Like Burnham, Nolen knew of Haussmann's drastic municipal surgery that had grafted an entirely new face on the ancient visage of Paris. Although he included an illustration of these accomplishments in his San Diego report, he proposed no such sweeping changes for the city. Instead, he suggested the development of one tier of blocks leading at right angles from a waterfront esplanade as a series of civic squares to be known as the Paseo, within which were to be placed a casino, the art museum, and the aquarium.

The other major formal element of the San Diego plan was the inevitable civic center. Located a few blocks inland, it was to consist of four buildings—city hall, courthouse, post office, and an opera house—symmetrically arranged around an open square. Around the central area, connected to the existing but largely undeveloped Balboa Park, was to be a system of smaller recreational facilities. To link them together, Nolen planned a series of boulevards and parkways following alignments that skirted sections of the city that had already been developed.

Among the smaller cities of the country that pioneered in planning during this era was Grand Rapids, Michigan. In 1907 two well-known architects, Arnold Brunner and John

Carrère, submitted a plan that, like Nolen's work, accepted the basic rectilinear outlines of the standard midwestern grid. They, too, advocated a system of parkways following stream valleys to provide a kind of green girdle for the town. Their civic center also was fitted into the downtown grid where one older radial sliced awkwardly through the central plaza. The Brunner-Carrère plan, otherwise unremarkable, is worth noting because it at least recognized the problem of housing for middle- and lower-income families. Their recommendations dealt only with the appearance of such structures. Nevertheless, in an era when architect-planners largely ignored housing altogether, this at least represented the beginning of a concern for what eventually came to be seen as a central focus of urban planning efforts.¹⁵

While Burnham may have examined many plans for small towns, he must have studied with far more care two reports for major urban centers. Both became available to him in 1907 and contained proposals of the scale that he contemplated for his own metropolis.

The Boston report came from the Committee on Municipal Improvements of the Boston Society of Architects.¹⁶ Its publication costs were underwritten by several of the city's most important commercial organizations. It was not a comprehensive plan but a compilation of major projects developed independently by several of Boston's leading designers. One of its proposals called for the creation of inner and outer boulevards to provide circumferential connections to Boston's fan-shaped pattern of major thoroughfares, a system that Burnham used in his Chicago Plan, although with far greater symmetry. Another proposal detailed a plan for new streets in the Fenway neighborhood of the Back Bay. Previously reclaimed by filling, much of the area known as Fenway Park had been an early project of the city's ambitious park program of the nineteenth century.

Several versions of a more elaborate project appeared. These called for the creation of a large island in the Charles River and its development for residential, civic, or recreational purposes. Burnham's own proposals for the Chicago waterfront were equally ambitious, involving the creation of new sites by extensive filling and dredging operations.

One illustration in the Boston report may have reminded Burnham of a project he surely had seen taking shape: the great Kingsway in London slashing a broad avenue through the tangled pattern of existing streets to connect the Strand with the Oxford-Holborn Street axis to the north. In his Chicago report, Burnham used another illustration of this project as one of several examples from abroad that he felt demonstrated the physical and financial feasibility of such municipal surgery.

In contrast to this civic design scrapbook, the plan for St. Louis (fig. 1) addressed a host of issues and proposed a comprehensive and long-range development program. Although no single figure dominated its preparation, two talented individuals aided the several committees of the Civic League: George Kessler, best known then for his park work in Kansas City late in the nineteenth century, and the young Henry Wright, later to become famous for his collaboration with Clarence Stein in such projects as Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn.

In most respects the St. Louis plan resembled those of its period. As a central feature it incorporated an imposing civic center designed by a special commission appointed in 1904. It also endorsed another previously approved project: the development of Kingshighway as the major crosstown thoroughfare to connect three district parks, as well as the much larger Forest Park near the center. Another boulevard proposal originated with the Civic League. The suggested route followed the Des Peres River on the south, curving northward to parallel

Figure 3. *Plan for Central Washington, D.C., 1901.* (From *Report of Senate Park Commission* [Daniel H. Burnham, Chairman], Washington, D.C., 1902.)

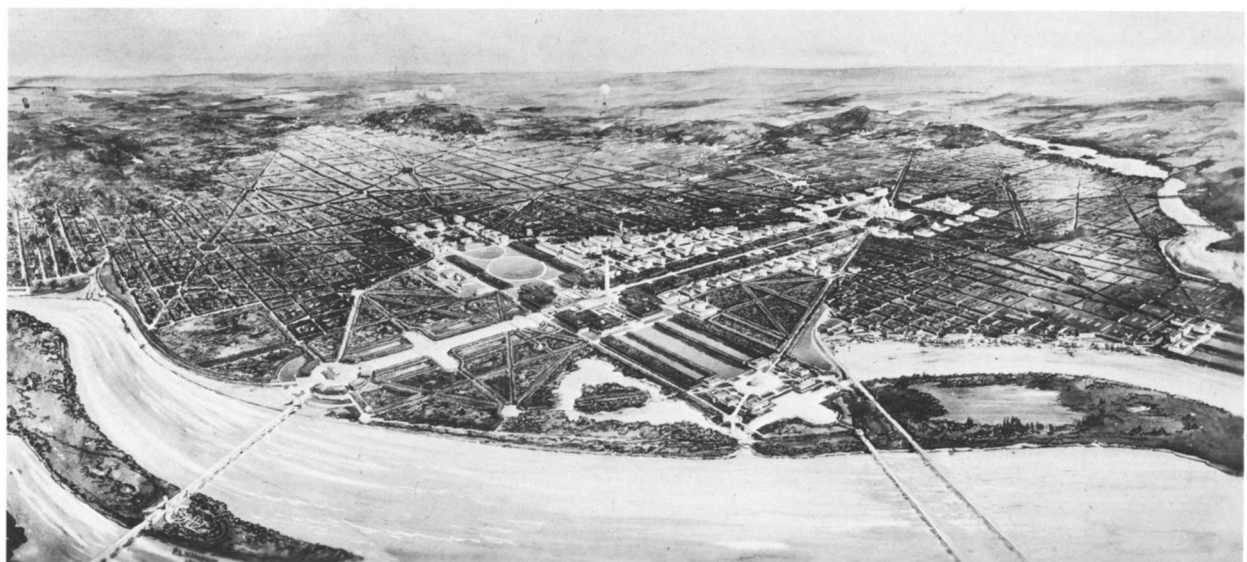
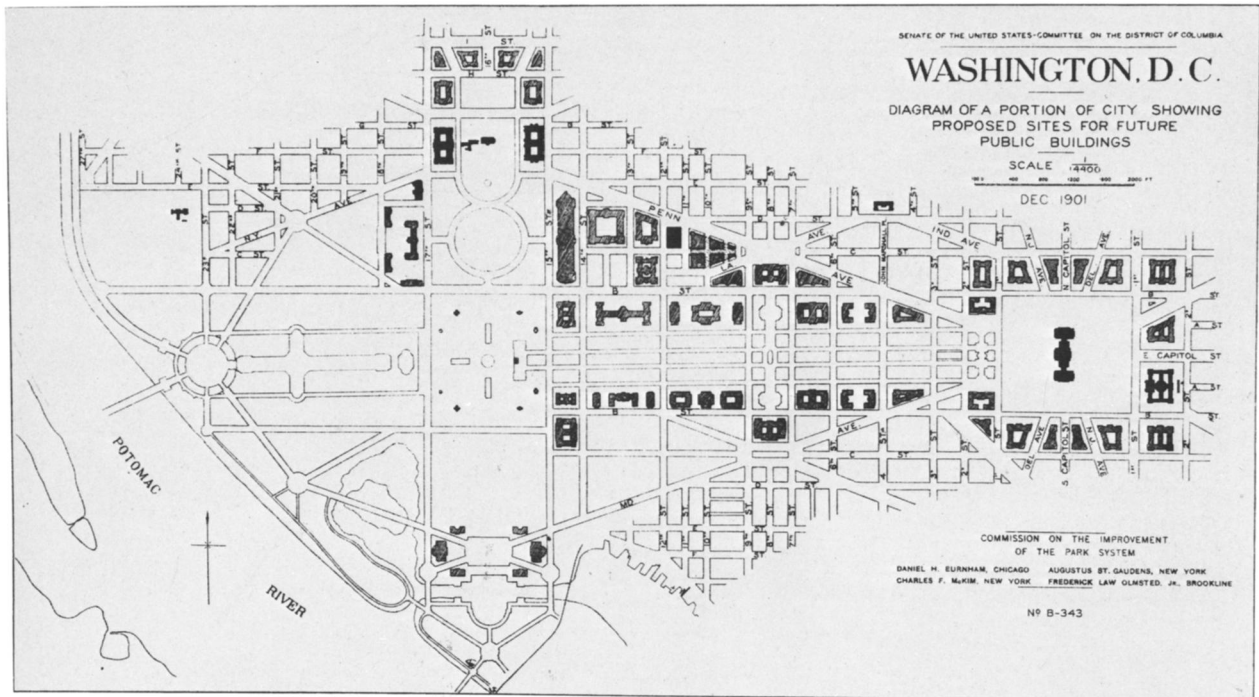


Figure 4. *View of the Washington Plan, rendering for Senate Park Commission, 1902.*

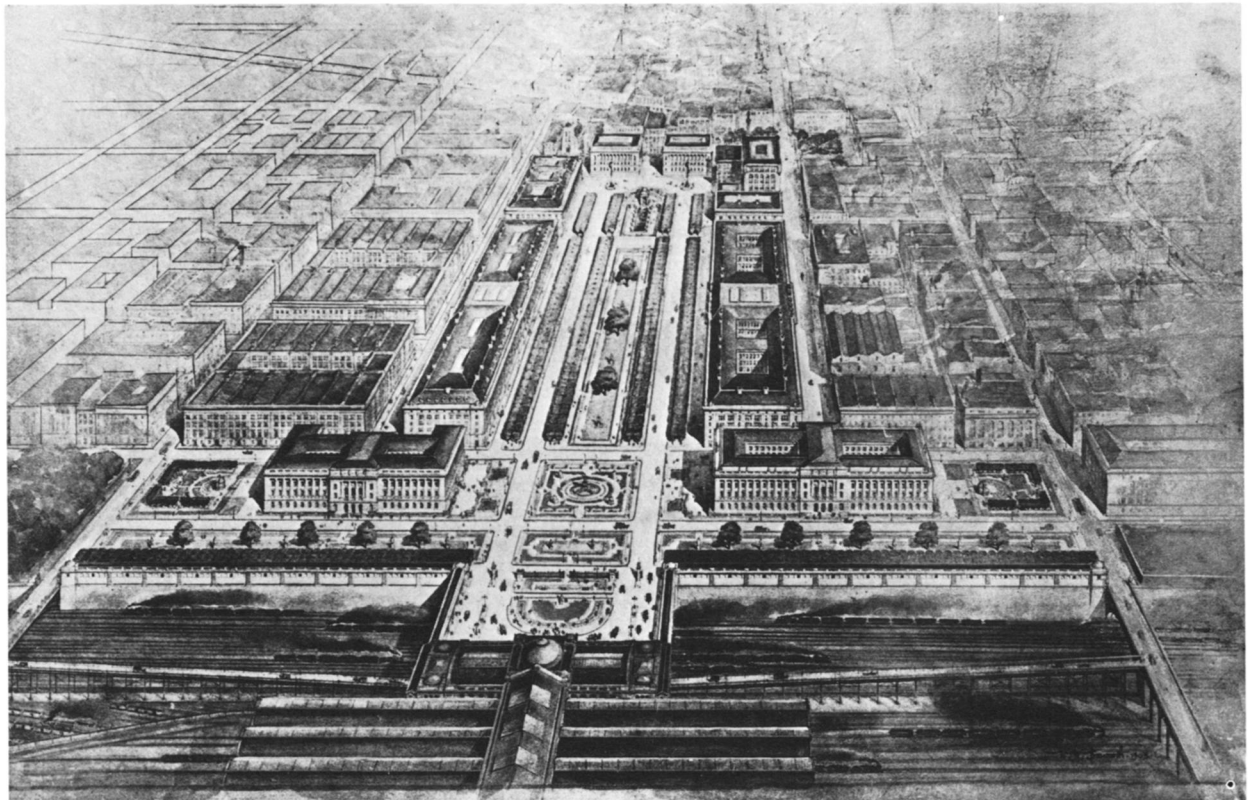


Figure 5. *The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland, Birdseye View Looking South*, rendered by W. W. Bosworth, 1905. Photo courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago, The Burnham Library of Architecture.

Kingshighway. Beyond this, the league proposed two other suburban loops to link several large parks and reservations designed to serve the entire region.

To illustrate the fact that similar proposals had been made for other cities, the league reproduced several handsome color plates of such places as Chicago and Providence. This technique soon became a standard approach as groups concerned with city planning sought to stimulate interest in their proposals by comparisons with those suggested or under consideration elsewhere. Municipal rivalry was thus used consciously to promote public improvements by appeals to civic pride.

Also in the spirit of the time, the league proposed a massive redevelopment of the Mississippi waterfront. The report illustrated the St. Louis levee and nearby mercantile district as it then appeared, together with a photograph of the Algiers waterfront. The league design for this area called for a long park to be developed on the roof of a continuous strip of warehouses. Beyond, buildings needing water and railroad transportation would provide a backdrop for the scene, as well as a uniform façade line along the business district paralleling the river. Again, the Algiers waterfront, with its arched entryways to warehouses and loading facilities, was used to illustrate how the results might one day appear.

The distinctive feature of the St. Louis plan may have been based in part on the so-called Model City exhibit at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, where several typical municipal buildings of almost domestic scale had been constructed along a single street and around a little public square. In the 1907 report, the Civic League advocated the development of many such centers, each to serve a single neighborhood. Referring rather confusingly to these as "civic centers," the report defined them in these words:

The term . . . refers . . . to the grouping of the various public, semi-public and private institutions which have for their object and aim the mental, moral or physical improvement of the neighborhood in which they are located. Used in this sense, a civic center would comprise, among other things, a public school, parochial school, public library branch, public park and playground, public bath, model tenement, social settlement, church, homes of athletic or social organizations, police station and fire engine house.

In words foreshadowing those later to be used by Clarence Perry in his well-known and widely followed formulation of the neighborhood-unit concept, the report described the advantages of such a series of community focal points. Moreover, it not only included an illustrative plan of a typical center but also identified the locations in the city where it should be developed. The majority of these sites were in the poorer and more crowded areas of St. Louis. This part of the report concluded with a moving passage pointing out that the Civic League regarded the creation of a system of these neighborhood focal points of the highest importance.¹⁷

No plan of its period placed as much emphasis on working-class problems as did this document. Consequently, it seems odd that the report did not deal with housing at any length. It only stated the desirability of locating at each neighborhood center a model tenement, presumably to be constructed by some philanthropic organization.

It may have been such timidity that in 1908 moved a major spokesman for urban reform, Benjamin C. Marsh, to condemn the overwhelming preoccupation of planners with civic beautification. In his article "City Planning in Justice to the Working Population," Marsh stated a position shared by a growing number of urban activists:

All public improvements should be scrutinized with a view to the benefits they will confer upon those most needing such benefits. The grouping of public buildings, and the installation of speedways, parks and drives, which affect only moderately the daily lives of the city's toilers, are important; but vastly more so is the securing of decent home conditions for the countless thousands who otherwise can but occasionally escape from their squalid, confining surroundings to view the architectural perfection and to experience the aesthetic delights of the remote improvements.¹⁸

Marsh might have been even more severe in his criticism had he noted that many proposed improvements would reduce the supply of housing for low-income families because of the need to remove existing structures. He could have cited the three new radial approaches recommended first in 1903 and repeated by a special commission three years later to provide vistas to Cass Gilbert's recently completed Minnesota Capitol in St. Paul.¹⁹ He could have noted as well the Fairmount Parkway development in Philadelphia, which connected the city hall, at the center of Penn's great grid, with the art museum, an undertaking discussed continuously since 1892 (fig. 2).

Although Fairmount Parkway was to be one of the few—if not the only—major planned radial boulevards in America to be carved through an existing grid, it was not for lack of effort on the part of the nation's planners. We cannot understand Burnham's work without examining this phenomenon; it may give us some insight into our own attitudes, too.

In every generation and in every profession an issue, technique, or theory emerges to capture the attention and focus the efforts of its practitioners. One scarcely needs dates on printed planning reports to place in time those of the 1920s with their emphasis on zoning, or those of the 1950s with their concentration on slum clearance and redevelopment, in which superblocks replaced the existing fine-grained street patterns. The equivalent vogue in the era of Daniel Burnham was that for the radial boulevards.

Planners justified radial systems on several grounds, the primary one being that they aided in the creation of multiple vistas to and from civic plazas or sites for monumental buildings. For those with less-sophisticated perceptions, however, the planners argued that better access to all parts of the city and the relief of traffic congestion were equally compelling reasons for their establishment. Clearly, Burnham and other architects simply regarded them as vital for aesthetic purposes.

A New York architect, Julius F. Harder, cited both aesthetic and functional reasons in the pages of *Municipal Affairs* when, in 1898, he proposed four grand boulevards to be pushed through Manhattan's grid street system from an enlarged Union Square. Harder illustrated several European city plans to make his point, including one of the central part of Washington as the sole American example of a model street system.²⁰

Another reason for creating new thoroughfares was advanced by Robinson in 1903, and subsequently echoed by Burnham in his Chicago Plan; it was obviously based on a knowledge of Haussmann's tactics in Paris. Robinson asserted:

It has been found that often there is no better way to redeem a slum district than by cutting into it a great highway that will be filled with the through travel of a city's industry. Like a stream of pure water cleansing what it touches, this tide of traffic, pulsating with the joyousness of the city's life of toil and purpose, when flowing through an idle or suffering district wakes it to larger interests and higher purpose.²¹



Figure 6. Daniel H. Burnham and Peirce Anderson. *Plan of Proposed Improvements to Manila*, 1905. Photo courtesy The Art Institute of Chicago, The Burnham Library of Architecture.

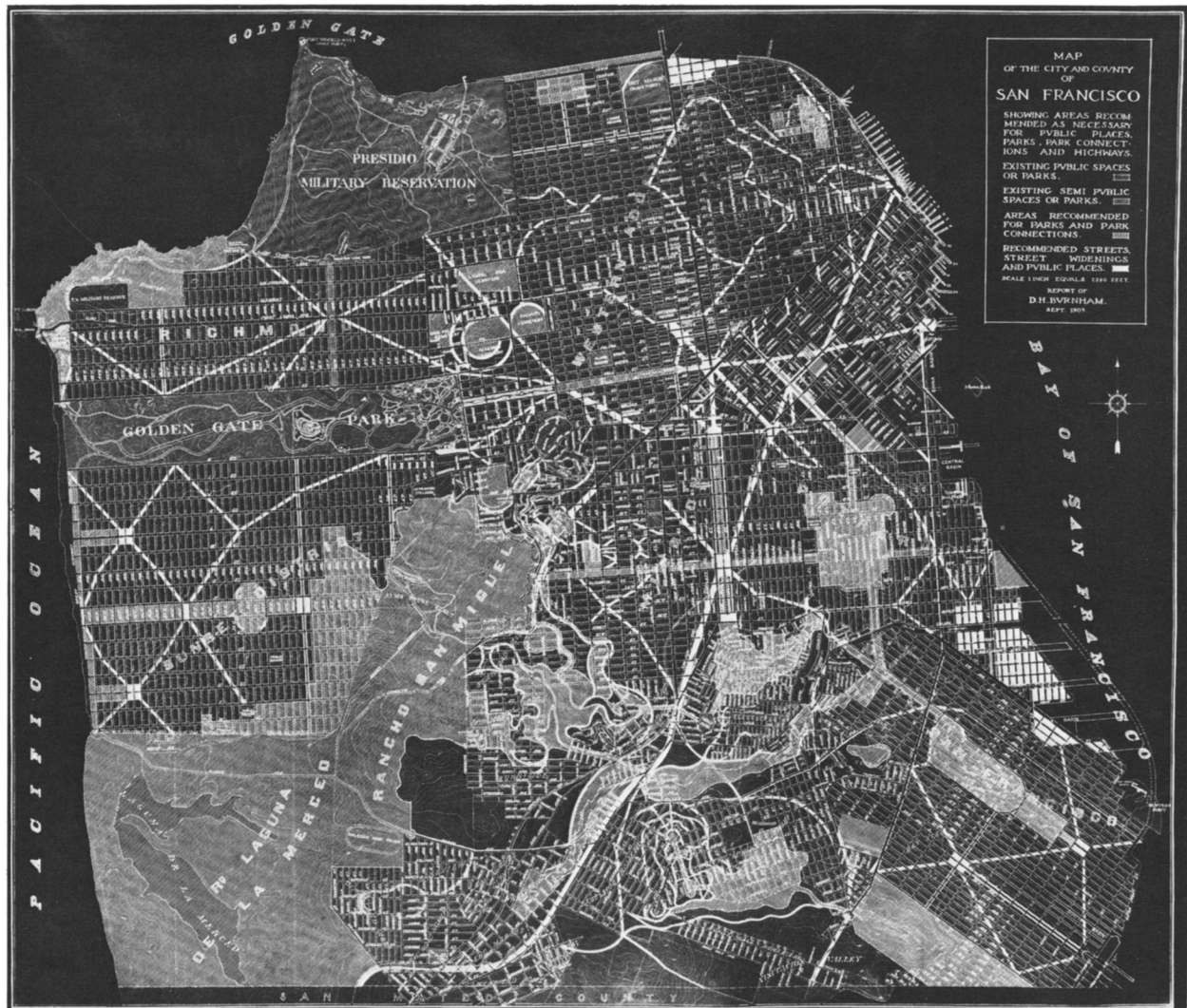


Figure 7. Map of the City and County of San Francisco Showing Areas Recommended as Necessary for Public Places, Parks, Park Connections and Highways. (From Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Report on a Plan for San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1905.)

Earlier, Robinson had pointed out:

There is only one American city which has been laid out as a whole on an artistic design. . . . That city is Washington. . . . Of the others, the proudest boast of the “gridiron” plan . . . is the very dubious one of regularity. This system has not even economy of intercommunication to recommend it, since the traveler has two sides of a right angled triangle to traverse to any destination that is not on his own street. The vistas granted by diagonal avenues do much for the beauty of cities, as one sees abroad or in Washington. Their points of intersection and the centers whence they radiate make adornment easy with parks, circles, plazas, and statues.²²

It was in Washington in 1901 that Burnham found a unique opportunity to apply his concepts of planning on a grand scale and in a truly national arena. Equally important for his later work, his Washington project led to his first European visit. In Paris and other cities in northern Europe and Italy, he saw developments that he had known through books, journal articles, and conversations with his better-traveled colleagues.²³

The Washington project (figs. 3, 4) originated in a series of informal proposals put forward in 1900 at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Architects, held in that city. The institute’s secretary, Glenn Brown, who had earlier published his own proposals for replanning the monumental core of Washington, recruited several others, including Cass Gilbert, to do likewise. Brown succeeded in arousing the interest of Senator John McMillan, chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, to pursue the subject. McMillan, in turn, arranged for the use of the Senate’s contingency funds to finance the work of what was called the Senate Park Commission. Burnham agreed to serve as chairman, joined by Charles McKim, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and the sculptor Augustus St. Gaudens.²⁴

More than a century earlier, Pierre Charles L’Enfant had designed the basic Baroque framework on which the city grew—at first slowly and then, following the Civil War, with far greater speed. His plan called for a great axial boulevard, flanked by major buildings, running westward from the Capitol to intersect a second major axis, extending southward from the White House. The intersection was to be marked by a monument to President Washington, but poor soil conditions led to its location well to the east and slightly south of the spot indicated by L’Enfant.

Related to this monumental central composition of reciprocal vistas was a system of imposing radial boulevards that led to secondary but important concentrations of activity grouped around a variety of public squares and plazas. L’Enfant planned a grid pattern to back up the radial boulevard system. The intersections of the two provided additional sites for statues, fountains, parks, and small civic spaces.

Federal officials had done little to seize this splendid opportunity for civic grandeur. Indeed, they had done much to subvert the intentions of its planner. Uncomfortably close to the centerline of the Mall, the Smithsonian Institution thrust its red bulk into this strategic open space. It had smaller companions to the east and west. The Congressional Greenhouse, erected at the base of Capitol Hill, lay just off the axis of the city’s most imposing building. To the west stood the old building of the Department of Agriculture, on a line with the Smithsonian and between it and the Washington Monument. Far worse was the railroad station of the Baltimore and Potomac. Congress, in a burst of misplaced generosity, granted it a site on the north side of the Mall at Sixth Street. Its train shed extended southward almost to the center of

the Mall, beyond which ran the tracks and yards. Between the Mall and Pennsylvania Avenue—L'Enfant's intended grand ceremonial connection between the legislative and executive nodes of the capital—there was a jumble of nondescript buildings. The largest was the old Central Market, whose leftover scraps of fish, meat, and vegetables gave the neighborhood a distinctive aroma.

The members of the Senate Park Commission began work in 1901 by taking what must have been the first design junket in American history: an extended tour of Europe. At Burnham's insistence, it was organized by Charles McKim and Charles Moore, Senator McMillan's assistant and committee clerk. In the shadow of great European examples of urban planning and civic architecture, they discussed, argued, sketched, and photographed, agreeing on the major elements of their plan on the return voyage. Many of the details were refined in a studio on the floor above the McKim, Mead and White office in New York. Models showing the city as it existed and as it might be were constructed in Boston under Olmsted's supervision, while Moore directed a small staff in Washington.

The results were displayed at what must have been the country's first city planning exhibit, at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in January 1902. A long and copiously illustrated report was released the same day; leading newspapers and periodicals were furnished with special drawings that could be clearly reproduced. Large colored renderings, some by Jules Guérin, who would later produce similar dazzling illustrations for the Chicago Plan, helped federal officials and the general public to understand the sweeping recommendations of the commission.

The plan centered on the Mall axis, which was tilted slightly southward to run directly to the Washington Monument. Beyond, on recently filled land, the commission proposed a long reflecting pool, culminating in a memorial to Abraham Lincoln. From this point a new bridge crossed the Potomac, leading to Arlington Cemetery. At the eastern end, a series of public buildings around the perimeter of the Capitol grounds was suggested to provide a suitable architectural frame for this massive structure in an area where at that time only the Library of Congress had been constructed. Wholesale redevelopment of the triangular space between the Mall and Pennsylvania Avenue would make possible the location of a variety of buildings to house major federal and district activities, while at the same time removing the principal eyesore of the central city.

The Washington Monument was to be provided with a formal terrace, while the axial views down the Mall were to be reinforced by several parallel rows of trees on either side of a broad expanse of turf. Stimulated by Burnham's plea, the railroad president agreed to remove the railroad station so that a rail tunnel could be constructed under Capitol Hill to bring the railroad to a new union terminal north of the Capitol. The commission planned to continue the central axis west of the Washington Monument by means of a shallow reflecting basin flanked by formal landscaped gardens reminiscent of the style of Versailles. As its termination, the commission designed the Lincoln Memorial within a circular drive. From it would diverge the approaches to a new bridge spanning the Potomac and a parkway following the bank of the river.

The plan included numerous other recommendations for the improvement of the city, including the expansion of the park system to embrace the Rock Creek Valley, the replanning of the area fronting Lafayette Square, and the development of the new railroad terminal. Such a plan had no American precedents; it established a method of approach and a pattern of

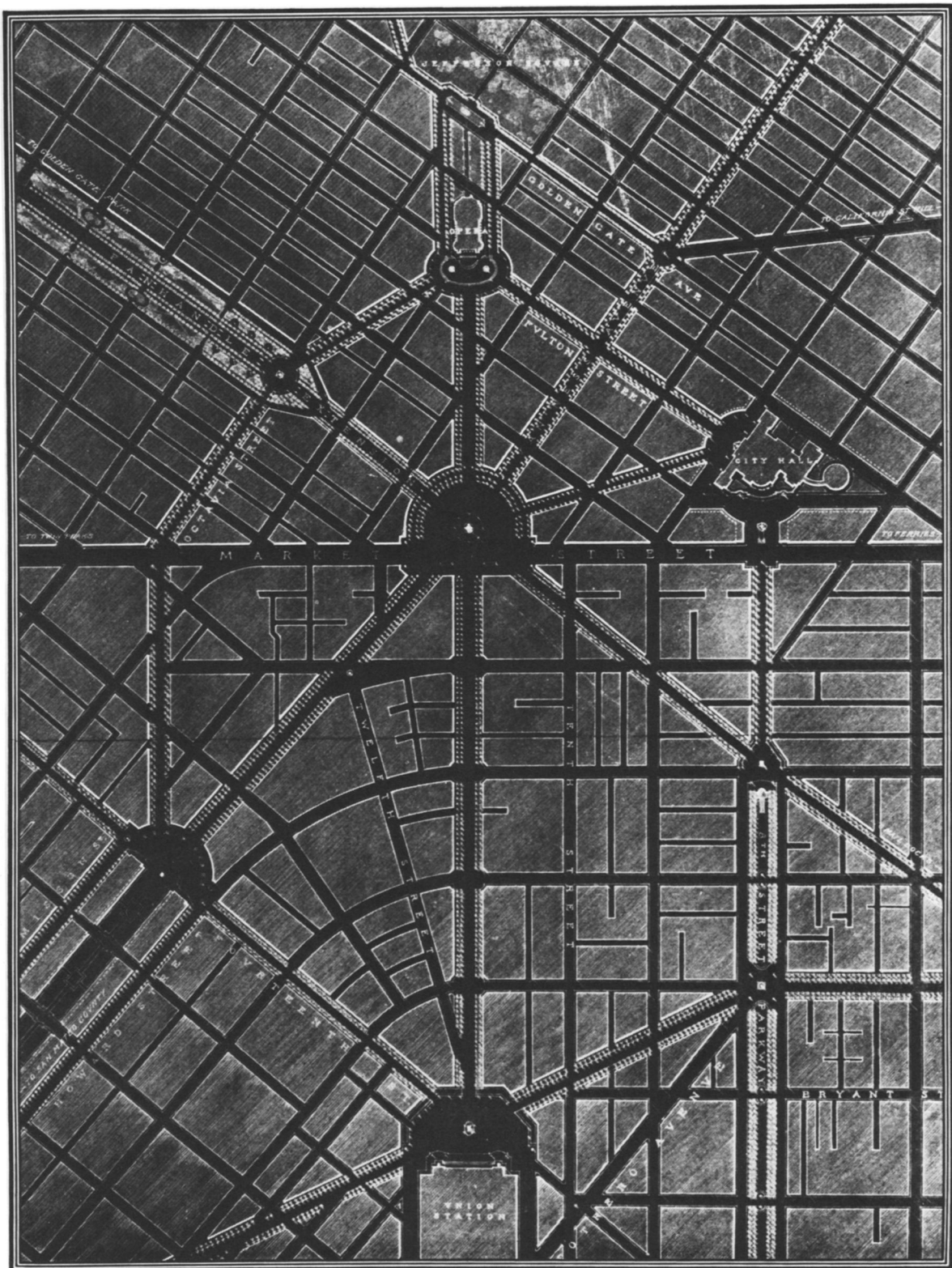


Figure 8. *Plan of the Civic Center for San Francisco.* (From Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Report on a Plan for San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1905.)

presentation that was soon to be widely imitated throughout the country. Its impact was all the more powerful because, with the support of President Theodore Roosevelt, several new buildings were constructed almost immediately in conformity with its outlines.

Despite overwhelmingly enthusiastic approval throughout the nation, the plan was not realized without controversy. Representative Joseph Cannon of Illinois, then the dictatorial Speaker of the House, fought bitterly to prevent the Lincoln Memorial from being located on the reclaimed tidal flats of the Potomac River. He told Elihu Root that "so long as I live I'll never let a memorial to Abraham Lincoln be erected in that God-damned swamp."²⁵ Yet, one by one, new buildings and park improvements, including the Lincoln Memorial, were located as the commission had recommended.

In one sense, however, it was all too easy. The essential framework of the impressive city that gradually emerged in three dimensions early in this century had been established by the L'Enfant plan when the site lay vacant. I believe that Burnham and other City Beautiful planners did not fully grasp the difference between building a typical American grid city and building on this unique foundation that merely needed adequate structures to express the design concepts of its original planner. Far less was possible in a fully or partly developed city with fragmented land ownership and inadequate government. The problems were quite different in a city entirely dependent on a local tax base to finance improvements and on a municipal legislature to appropriate funds. Washington, D.C., was not subject to this dependency.

Paris, of course, was the example to which the planners could point, as they did at almost every opportunity; it was a city that had been comprehensively redeveloped in an amazingly short span of years. The influence of Paris on Burnham cannot be overstated. Moreover, his high regard for Haussmann, who had rebuilt it in less than two decades, bordered on reverence.²⁶ Of the many foreign cities illustrated in his Chicago Plan, only a picture of Paris as reconstructed by Haussmann occupied an entire page. References to Paris in the index are outnumbered only by references to Chicago itself. Burnham visited Paris in 1906 and again in 1907.²⁷ On his return to Chicago from his second trip, he must have read with deep interest a four-part, exhaustive study of the history of Paris, including Haussmann's accomplishments, that began in the July issue of *Architectural Record* and that is cited in his Chicago report.²⁸

Burnham included in the Chicago Plan an illustration showing a comprehensive study for the further improvement of Paris, and several theoretical circulation diagrams prepared by the ingenious French architect-planner Eugène Hénard. He knew of Hénard's work as early as 1905. Hénard's later studies would have come to his attention through the State Department, to which he wrote in 1907 requesting help in obtaining material he referred to as of special importance dealing with "pre- and post-Haussmann Paris."²⁹

While Burnham may not have read the words, he surely would have subscribed to the sentiment written in 1899 after the first national meeting of municipal art societies:

Of all modern cities, Paris, more than any other, deserves the title of "The City Beautiful." With its clean paved streets, with its public places surrounded by buildings in harmonious style and decorated with statuary . . . with its river so beautifully bridged . . . it comes nearer than any other to reaching the idea which is the object of the municipal art movement, "The City Beautiful."³⁰

It was this ideal that Burnham was to pursue in all of his planning projects.

After the Washington project, Burnham was deluged with requests for his services; he was able to comply with only a few. In 1902 he agreed to work with John Carrère and Arnold Brunner on a special commission to design a civic center for Cleveland (fig. 5). The following year this commission submitted a so-called Group Plan for a great mall extending from a proposed railroad station near Lake Erie to one corner of the city's public square. Flanking the mall and its secondary cross axis, they located a city hall, county courthouse, library, federal building, and two other unspecified sites ultimately developed for the Board of Education and the Public Auditorium.³¹

Under the energetic leadership of Cleveland's progressive mayor Tom Johnson, work began almost immediately with the acquisition and clearance of the dismal tenements, bars, and decaying commercial and industrial buildings then existing. The near unanimous backing by civic leaders and major business interests led Burnham to believe that major projects of this kind could be successfully carried out elsewhere.³²

Work on three other projects, all involving entire cities, soon occupied Burnham's attention. Because they were far from Chicago and under way simultaneously, he found assistance necessary. In selecting younger associates for his projects, he demonstrated his abilities to inspire persons of talent and energy.

In May 1904, at the invitation of San Francisco's former reform mayor James Phelan, Burnham met the members of the newly formed Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco and agreed to prepare a plan for the city.³³ That fall he returned with Edward Bennett, an English architect trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, installing him in the cabin on Twin Peaks built at Burnham's request. The two architects spent several weeks touring the city, sketching, photographing, and discussing various possibilities. Leaving Bennett to continue the project, Burnham sailed for the Philippines, where he had agreed to prepare an improvement plan for Manila and to design the summer capital of Baguio on a virgin site some 150 miles away.

Using Washington as the example, Burnham and his junior partner, Peirce Anderson, described and justified a radial system to be superimposed on the existing irregular pattern of Manila (fig. 6). A second map revealed the details of a proposed Sea Boulevard extending the length of the waterfront. The plan also showed the location of a group of public buildings south of the historic Inner City facing a semicircular plaza from which two of the radial boulevards diverged. On the west, the group looked to the sea and a great esplanade extending into the harbor on land to be reclaimed for this purpose. Libraries, museums, an exposition building, and other semipublic structures were to be erected on two gently curving thoroughfares leading to the northwest, where three bridges crossed the river that divided the city.

The Baguio plan, unencumbered by existing development, used many of these elements of formal planning but in a far more symmetrical fashion. Its central axis began at the group of public buildings situated high above the valley. This axis continued through an esplanade to the business and main residential quarter and, beyond, to a complex of municipal buildings at the apex of a triangle formed by two intersecting streets. Burnham's original plan was subsequently modified. Although the formal treatment of the central axis remained, a number of curving streets were introduced at the perimeter in recognition of the irregular topography.³⁴

Burnham thought the government would carry out his plans, using them for either Baguio or Manila. He recruited William E. Parsons, a graduate of Yale and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, to fill the position as government architect. Both Parsons and Governor Cameron Forbes kept Burnham informed of progress on the two projects. Although very few of the radials were pushed through Manila, as Burnham proposed, his belief in the feasibility of this kind of radial street planning was evidently reinforced by news that several of the park, boulevard, and civic-center improvements had begun.

Later in 1905 Burnham submitted his plan for San Francisco (figs. 7-8). The report, which ran to nearly 200 large-format pages, included dozens of photographs, sketches, and maps.³⁵ Burnham saw the solution to the problem of San Francisco's grid system in "a broad, dignified and continuous driveway skirting the water edge and passing completely around the city." From it and leading to an "inner circuit boulevard"—what he termed "the perimeter of distribution"—many new boulevards and existing or widened grid streets would provide direct connections to major focal points. He used Eugène Hénard's diagram of Paris to illustrate the principle.

Although he stated his goal as a plan "which shall interfere as little as possible with the rectangular street system of the city," his proposals for new thoroughfares indicated his obsession with radial boulevards. A few of these can, perhaps, be justified on functional grounds, and a few others as essential for aesthetic purposes. Many, however, particularly in the outlying neighborhoods, seem little more than geometric exercises to provide graphic consistency.

Certainly, Burnham's curious treatment of the enormous hillside site occupied by the Presidio has no rational or artistic explanation. His proposals for the many steep hills in the city seem more reasonable even if equally ambitious. He advocated acquisition of each hilltop for park purposes, use of circular roadways at the hill's base, and several terraces and winding paths. Telegraph Hill was shown as a typical example.

Where Market Street terminated at the foot of Twin Peaks, Burnham planned a series of formal terraces, colonnades, and statues. To the north he designed an enormous amphitheater, whose location reminded him of "the stadium in the hills at Delphi . . . and the theater of Dionysos." Nearby he placed an Athenaeum, dominated by "a colossal figure symbolical of San Francisco." On the "courts, terraces, and . . . shelters" below he would locate "some few of the greatest works of art." The terraces, he noted, could "be modeled on similar terraces in the Villa Hadrian."

He combined these echoes of the classical world with a Parisian touch for development around his inner ring. Its center lay where Burnham proposed to extend the Panhandle, an existing eight-block parkway leading from Golden Gate Park, to an intersection with Van Ness Avenue at Market Street. Around this core, at varying distances, he located several large civic squares and sites for major public buildings linked to one another and the central square by radial penetrations and a ring boulevard.

The plan contained many other suggestions. Perhaps the most farsighted was a recommendation that as new boulevards were constructed, the city should develop a subway system. Brief references also appear to such matters as schools, cemeteries, hospitals, churches, and the water-supply system.

Civic leaders of San Francisco responded enthusiastically to the plan. Newspaper editorials commended the recommendations; even the reactionary mayor, Eugene Schmitz, added his

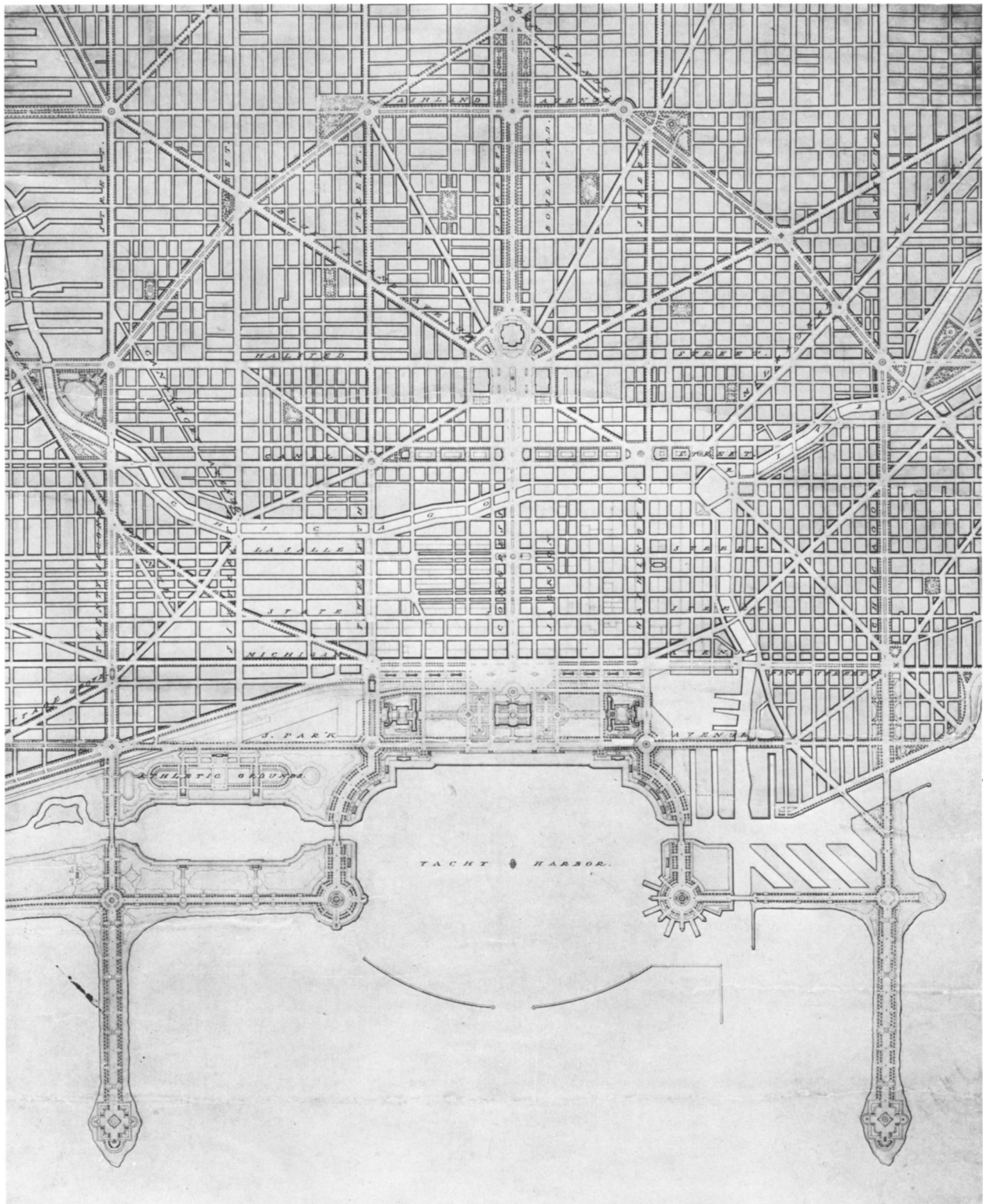


Figure 9. Chicago. Plan of the complete system of street circulation; railway stations; parks, boulevard circuits and radial arteries; public recreation piers, yacht harbor, and pleasure-boat piers; treatment of Grant Park. (From Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, Chicago, 1909, pl. 110).

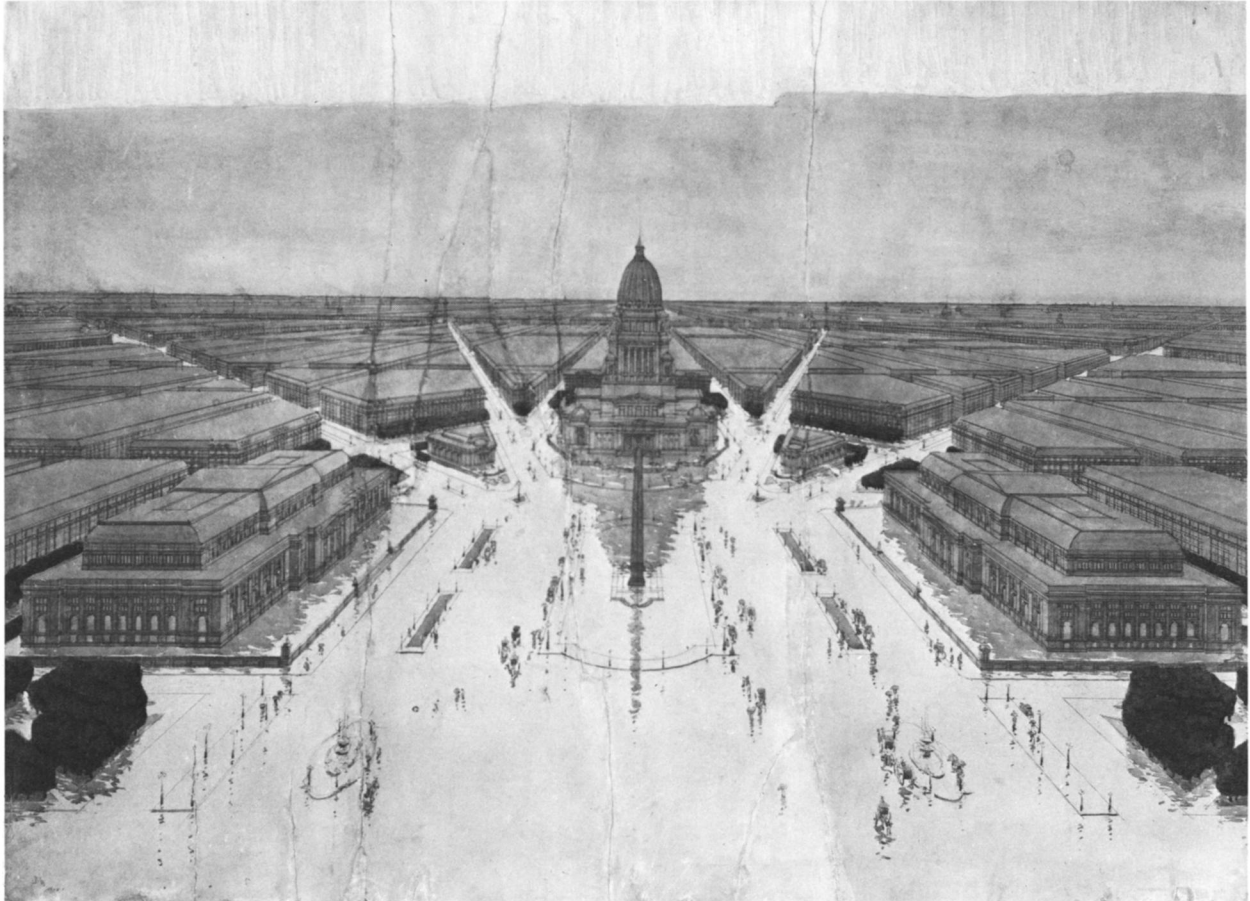


Figure 10. *Chicago. View, looking west, of the proposed Civic Center Plaza and buildings, showing it as the center of the system of arteries of circulation and of the surrounding country, rendered by Jules Guérin. (From Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, Chicago, 1909, pl. 132).*

support. Herbert Croly wrote a long and laudatory article about it in the *Architectural Record*, insuring it national prominence.³⁶ Then came the disastrous earthquake of 1906.

The wholesale destruction of a city seems to offer a unique opportunity for extensive replanning. For a variety of reasons, this almost never occurs; San Francisco, like the London of 1666, was not one of the exceptions. Although officials pleaded with Burnham to come to the city and head a special commission to supervise rebuilding, business pressures and health problems forced him to decline. In the end, San Francisco rebuilt on its prefire pattern. I am not persuaded that this was altogether a misfortune.

This is not the note on which to end, for Burnham's achievements elsewhere had already earned him a place in the pantheon of American planners. His most elaborate and carefully studied planning study had yet to be completed: the lovingly crafted, skillfully composed, lavishly illustrated plan for Chicago of 1909 (figs. 9–11). He regarded it as the culmination of his life's work.

One feature of the Chicago Plan and of its preparation needs to be emphasized: It reflected Burnham's remarkable abilities to incorporate in an integrated plan separate and seemingly unrelated proposals developed by other individuals or groups. He also used his own earlier studies; the replanning of the lake shore originated in his preliminary designs prepared in 1896 with Charles Atwood.³⁷

For some of his ideas, he drew on the amazingly farsighted street and transportation proposals advanced between 1893 and 1903 by James F. Gookins. One of the founders of the art society in Crosby's Opera House, Gookins was partly responsible, therefore, for the establishment of the present Art Institute.³⁸ Recommendations of the Special Park Commission for metropolitan Chicago in 1904 provided much of the basis for the park proposals of 1909. Frederic Delano and the Commercial Club's Committee on Railway Terminals provided useful suggestions that Burnham revised.

The Senate Park Commission plan for Washington also combined the best features of the many proposals for replanning that city. Burnham's accomplishments are not at all diminished by this characteristic. Indeed, I regard his ability to use, with discrimination, the work of others as a measure of his greatness. He knew how to select professional assistants and to learn from his peers. He revered McKim, who had much to teach him. He picked the ideal assistant in Edward Bennett, who, like William Parsons, was to enjoy a distinguished career as a planner in his own right. From the Olmsted, he learned concepts of both naturalistic and formal landscape design that he combined in his plans with considerable skill.

Burnham possessed unusual administrative talents and organizational skills, which he used to best advantage in undertakings involving associates who were themselves national figures with strong ideas and reputations to maintain. He drove himself as hard as he did them. In all of these joint efforts where he served as leader, there seems to have been remarkably little controversy or prolonged disagreement.

If the Senate Park Commission plan had been his sole accomplishment, Burnham would deserve to be forever honored for fashioning the monumental core of Washington. We can scorn the endless pediments and all the other aspects of applied archeology of which the modernists disapproved. But, because the scale was right, the vision generous, the major elements of central Washington so correct, even horrors like the Rayburn Building, if they do not exactly fade into insignificance, become neutralized by the powerful composition of mass and open space.

Burnham addressed himself to what he perceived as the whole city, convinced that it could be the greatest of all works of art. At the same time, he saw the city as an efficient machine for building prosperity and supplying services. His comprehensive approach brought a new dimension to urban planning.³⁹

His sense of integrity led him to refuse professional fees for his civic work in Washington, the Philippines, San Francisco, and Chicago. He felt that public duty was both a privilege and an obligation. Furthermore, he believed that if he received no compensation other than expenses, he was free to submit recommendations unencumbered by any financial obligation to either official or civic clients.⁴⁰

More than any individual, Burnham made urban planning respectable in circles previously untouched by the more narrowly focused efforts to promote municipal art or improved recreation. He moved easily among corporate heads, railroad tycoons, bank presidents, merchant princes, and high public officials. He convinced these leaders of the world of affairs that long-range comprehensive planning deserved as much support and participation as the interests of their own enterprises.

Finally, Burnham changed the focus of American planning. The Chicago Plan covered many aspects of the city that other plans had only lightly touched, such as rapid transit and railroad terminal relocation. Although it is usually regarded as the high point of City Beautiful planning, the Chicago Plan thus marked, as well, the beginning of the emphasis on the City Practical.

Burnham recognized that no effective planning for the city could be accomplished without drawing into the effort the human and physical resources of the entire metropolitan area. The Chicago Plan was notable, too, for the remarkably perceptive and thorough analysis of the legal powers already existing and those needed in the future to guide and control urban redevelopment and expansion.

The plan's quality of presentation, handsome format, arresting color plates, clear diagrams, and understandable text set a standard that all other planners would try to emulate, just as the Washington plan represented in its day a quantum leap forward in excellence of presentation. Burnham thus brought to the American scene compelling visions of the city as it might be, expressed for Washington and Chicago by the splendid renderings of Jules Guérin and others. No one examining these drawings or reading Burnham's words emerges from the experience with his vision unaltered or his pessimism intact.

In the end, it may be this inspirational quality of Burnham's work—the city expressed as a design metaphor—that remains as a more lasting contribution than specific plans and proposals. If time revealed that major elements of his plans were impossible or hopelessly expensive to carry out, if he failed to address the city's social problems, if eventually it was seen that even his vision was flawed in many ways, his documents served their purpose in rallying the support of diverse interests in the cities he planned to improve, embellish, and make more efficient. Burnham of Chicago, in short, was a giant among men and a credit to his place.

1. Even before the fair opened, a testimonial dinner in Burnham's honor was held in New York, a city that itself had hoped to be the setting for the fair. Attended by dozens of architects, artists, and leaders of industry, business, finance, and the professions, the dinner marked Burnham's arrival on the national scene. The event, with a list of the participants, is

described in C. Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham, Architect, Planner of Cities*, Boston, 1921, I:69–80. See also a similar treatment in T. S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner*, New York, 1974: 113–16. These two studies of Burnham and his work, the first by one of his close friends and associates, are indispensable to an understanding of American planning at the beginning of

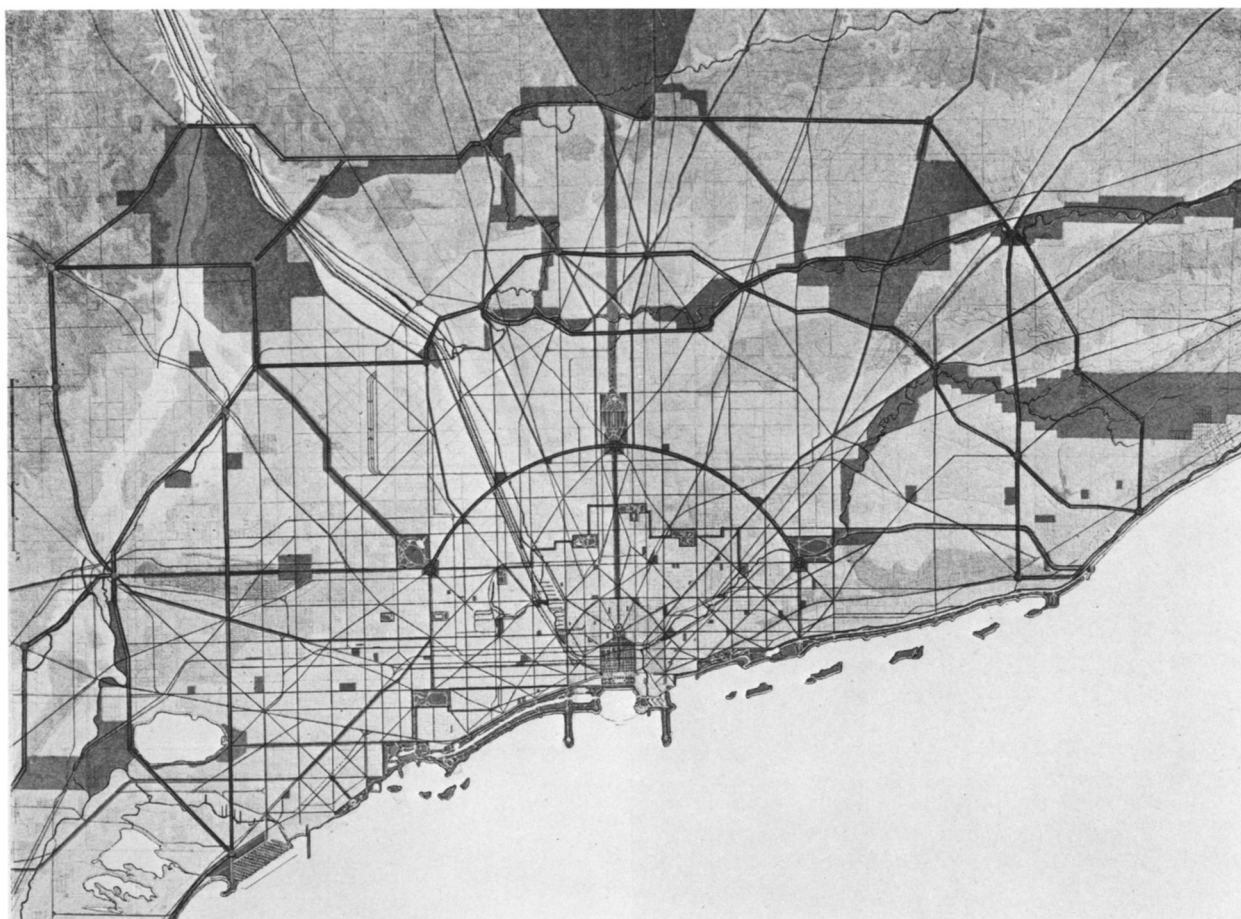


Figure 11. *Chicago. General map showing topography, waterways and complete system of streets, boulevards, parkways, and parks.* (From Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, Chicago, 1909, pl. 44).

the twentieth century. The literature on the Columbian Exposition is extensive, two of the most recent studies being D. F. Burg's *Chicago's White City of 1893*, Lexington, Ky., 1976, and R. R. Badger's *Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition & American Culture*, Chicago, 1979.

2. Moore (note 1), I: 82–83. For a discussion of Burnham's architectural practice following the fair, see Hines (note 1): 268–311.

3. D. H. Burnham, "A City of the Future under a Democratic Government," in Royal Institute of British Architects, *Transactions*, Town Planning Conference, London, October 10–15, 1910, London, 1911: 369–70. In his Chicago report of 1909, too, Burnham followed the same pattern, illustrating only those projects he had directed or to which he had contributed; see Burnham and E. H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, Chicago, 1909: 22–28.

4. Burnham arrived in London with his paper still incomplete and perhaps only in outline. See his diary entries for October 10, 11, and 12, 1910, referring to time spent in London preparing his address and to medical attention needed for a foot ailment, in Moore (note 1), II: 136–37.

5. There is a growing literature about these early planners, whom I virtually ignored in the concluding chapter of my book *The Making of Urban America*, Princeton, 1965. See, for example, J. Hancock, "John Nolen: The Background of a Pioneer Planner," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* XXVI (Nov. 1960): 302–12; W. H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City*, Columbus, Mo., 1964; M. Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890*, Berkeley, 1969: 1–100; two articles by J. A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," *Journal of Urban History* II (Aug. 1976): 415–34; and "Impact of Sanitary Reform upon American Urban Planning, 1840–1890," *Journal of Social History* XIII (Fall 1979): 83–103; S. K. Schultz and C. McShane, "To Engineer the Metropolis: Sewers, Sanitation, and City Planning in Late-Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* LXV (Sept. 1978): 389–411; P. Marcuse, "Housing Policy and City Planning: The Puzzling Split in the United States, 1893–1931," in *Shaping an Urban World*, ed. by G. Cherry, New York, 1980; and Wilson, "The Ideology, Aesthetics and Politics of the City Beautiful Movement," in *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800–1914*, ed. by A. Sutcliffe, New York, 1980: 165–98.

6. Robinson produced three articles about urban problems and solutions for the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1899. All were titled "Improvement in City Life," with the third having the subtitle "Aesthetic Progress." The opening paragraphs credit the Chicago Fair of 1893 with having "immensely strengthened, quickened, and encouraged" the "subsequent aesthetic effort in municipal life," but point out that the municipal improvement movement had earlier origins "arising out of the larger wealth, commoner travel, and the provision of the essentials of life." The fair, Robinson asserted, thus "gave tangible shape to a desire" to overcome "the shortcomings of our cities, from the aesthetic point of view" (*Atlantic Monthly* LXXXIII [June 1899]: 771–85).

7. C. M. Robinson, *Modern Civic Art*, New York/London, 1903: 285.

8. *Ibid.*: 281.

9. Robinson described his plan and the circumstances of its preparation in "Opening the Center of Denver," *Architectural Record* XIX (May 1906): 365–67.

10. A complete list of Robinson's reports apparently has never been compiled. The Cornell University Library has a number of them, while others are referred to in an important extended

summary of the state of American planning up to World War I: G. B. Ford (ed.), *City Planning Progress in the United States, 1917*, Compiled by the Committee on Town Planning of the American Institute of Architects, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, Washington, D.C., n.d. While in some cases the dates of the completed reports are in doubt, the following list is in approximate chronological order, followed by the names of a few other cities, for which no date can be assigned without further study. 1905: Detroit, Mi., and Colorado Springs, Co.; 1906: Denver, Co., Honolulu, Ha., and Oakland, Ca.; 1907: Des Moines and Dubuque, Io., and Watertown, N.Y.; 1908: Cedar Rapids, Io., Columbus, Oh., Ft. Wayne, In., Sacramento, Ca., Jamestown, N.Y., and Ridgewood, N.J.; 1909: Pittsburgh, Pa., and San Jose, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara, Ca.; 1910: Waterloo, Ia.; 1911: Binghamton, N.Y.; 1912: Colorado Springs, Co.; 1913: Alton, Il., Raleigh, N.C., and Topeka, Ka.; date unknown: Greensboro, N.C., Lancaster, Pa., Omaha, Ne., and Peoria, Il. Robinson also served from 1908 to 1918 as secretary of the Rochester Civic Improvement Committee and as Professor of Civic Design at the University of Illinois.

11. Robinson, "The Street Plan of a City's Business District," *Architectural Record* XIII (Mar. 1903): 234–47; "New Dreams for Cities," XVII (May 1905): 410–21; and "Ambitions of Three Cities," XXI (May 1907): 237–346.

12. It would be interesting to know if the two ever met or corresponded. I have found no record of this in the studies of Burnham's biographers, but they may not have regarded this as a matter of importance to be noted.

13. The Savannah plan was not published. At least some of the drawings submitted to the city are among the Nolen Papers in Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. The scope of his Roanoke plan is summarized in Nolen's letter of transmittal to his client, the Roanoke Civic Betterment Club: "I have pleasure in sending you today . . . my Report on the Remodeling of Roanoke; two General Plans to the scale of 800' to the inch; two diagrams illustrating proposed Groupings of Public Buildings; a plan of Public Reservations and Thoroughfares to the scale of one mile to the inch, and a sheet of sections illustrating my recommendations as to the character of Main Thoroughfares. Together these form a complete presentation of my views and suggestions for the consideration of your Club."

14. Nolen's other early planning reports included a public building study for Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in collaboration with Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., in 1909, and plans for Glen Ridge and Montclair, New Jersey, in 1909. For a complete list of Nolen's plans, other writings, and articles about him and his work, see J. L. Hancock (comp.), *John Nolen: A Bibliographical Record of Achievement* (Program in Urban and Regional Studies), Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., 1976. Most of the materials cited by Hancock, together with maps, drawings, etc., can be found among the Nolen Papers in Cornell's Olin Library. His life and work are covered in detail in Hancock's "John Nolen and the American City Planning Movement: A History of Culture Change and Community Response, 1900–1940," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1964.

15. A. W. Brunner and J. M. Carrère, *Preliminary Report for a City Plan for Grand Rapids*, Grand Rapids, Mi., 1907.

16. Boston Society of Architects, *Report . . . by Its Committee on Municipal Improvement*, Boston, 1907.

17. "The Committee, when it first undertook the investigations . . . was animated by a theoretical belief in the value of civic centers, and by an ill-defined feeling that such institutions would tend towards the development of better citizenship. A more careful study of existing conditions, however, has

convinced us that these institutions are absolutely essential features in the wholesome development of a large city of today. The indiscriminate herding together of large masses of human beings ignorant of the simplest laws of sanitation, the evils of child labor, the corruption in political life, and above all, the weakening of the ties which bind together the home—these are dangers which strike at the very roots of society. To combat them the government must employ every resource in its power. Schools and libraries, playgrounds and public baths, by developing their minds, training their bodies and upbuilding the character of a people, furnish the foundation upon which a nation's welfare depends" (Civic League of Saint Louis, *A City Plan for Saint Louis*, St. Louis, 1907).

18. *Charities and the Commons* XIX (Feb. 1, 1908): 1514. For a useful summary of Marsh's many other activities as a writer, reformer, and houser, see Scott (note 5): 80–90. It should be noted that Nolen, a person of essentially working-class origins, was not unaware of the housing problem. In his plan of 1909 for the well-to-do commuting suburb of Montclair, New Jersey, he included a short section entitled "Better Housing for People of Small Means." In it he observed that "there is . . . a considerable population of Italians and negroes, attracted by the opportunities that are offered for work. It is pleasant to think of these people employed in the country; but when one sees their homes, they appear little better off than in the slums of a great city. This condition is a standing reproach." His solutions lacked the bite of his analysis, for while he advocated the creation of "model tenements for . . . [the] . . . working population," he specifically rejected the use of public action in favor of private initiative, stating that "it would not be difficult to obtain funds for such a purpose, and, as experience has demonstrated, the enterprise can be placed on a good business basis" (J. Nolen, *Montclair: The Preservation of Its Natural Beauty and Its Improvement as a Residence Town*, Montclair, N.J., 1909). The strong differences in opinion as to priorities in urban planning that divided architect-planners from those chiefly concerned with housing and working-class problems continued for many years. It was explored briefly by Peter Marcuse (note 5). Scott (note 5) also dealt with this issue in the early chapters of his splendid book on the background of modern American planning. The neglect of housing as a major focus in city planning before the 1929 Depression is reflected in a long and thorough survey of the status of American planning prepared by Theodora and Henry Hubbard of Harvard University and published in 1929. Based on extensive questionnaires, a field study conducted by Howard Menhinick, who visited 120 cities, and examination and analysis of hundreds of planning reports and other publications, this valuable compilation of material on the subject not only lacks a chapter on housing but contains only scattered and brief references to the topic. It is clear that through the decade of the 1920s housing and planning were regarded by professionals as almost wholly separate fields, a condition that has still to be fully rectified. See T. K. Hubbard and H. V. Hubbard, *Our Cities To-Day and To-Morrow: A Survey of Planning and Zoning Progress in the United States*, Cambridge, Ma., 1929.

19. Cass Gilbert suggested the general outlines of the plan in December 1903. In 1906 a special commission, which included Gilbert as one of its members, submitted a more detailed proposal. It is illustrated in Robinson, "Ambitions of Three Cities" (note 11); and W. Wheelock, "Re-Setting Minnesota's Capitol," in Robinson (ed.), *The City Plan*, a special civic broadside appearing in *Charities and the Commons* XIX (Feb. 1, 1908): 1547. It is in this latter article that Gilbert's proposal of 1903 is mentioned. Gilbert was no stranger to grand planning. At the

request of Glenn Brown, secretary of the American Institute of Architects, Gilbert presented a plan for central Washington at the AIA convention of 1900. For a full description of this event and illustrations of the plans presented at that time, see J. W. Reys, *Monumental Washington*, Princeton, 1967: 84–92. Gilbert, after working for the firm of McKim, Mead and White, established his practice in St. Paul, where, in 1900, he won the competition for the design of the Minnesota Capitol. He was later elected President of the American Institute of Architects.

20. J. F. Harder, "The City's Plan," *Municipal Affairs* II (Mar. 1898): 24–45.

21. Robinson, "The Street Plan of a City's Business District" (note 11): 247. Burnham's (or Charles Moore's) words in the *Plan of Chicago* echo this concept: "The electrification of the railways within the city . . . will serve to change radically for the better the dirt conditions in . . . [slum neighborhoods]; but the slum conditions will remain. The remedy is the same as has been resorted to the world over: . . . the cutting of broad thoroughfares through the unwholesome district" (Burnham and Bennett [note 3]).

22. Robinson, "Improvement in City Life: III. Aesthetic Progress" (note 6): 772.

23. Burnham's only previous European trip took place in 1896, when he visited the French and Italian Riviéras, Malta, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine, Turkey, and Greece (see Moore [note 1], I: 117–28; and Hines [note 1]: 135–37).

24. The background of this project, how it proceeded, the reaction to it, and its consequences—all rather more complex than what is summarized here—is fully explored in my *Monumental Washington* (note 19). Other studies of Washington's development containing material on the Senate Park Commission and its work can be found in these more recent publications: M. Cable, *The Avenue of the Presidents*, Boston, 1969; F. Gutheim and W. E. Washburn, *The Federal City: Plans and Realities*, Washington, D.C., 1976; and National Capital Planning Commission, *Worthy of the Nation: The History of Planning for the National Capital*, Washington, D.C., 1977.

25. Cannon's words, as recalled by Root, are quoted in P. C. Jessup, *Elihu Root*, New York, 1938, I: 279–80.

26. Burnham expressed his admiration for Paris and his view that it served as the great exemplar for planners and urban designers in a letter to a younger friend ready to set off for Europe: "In Paris note the use of accents on the centers of vistas, especially the columns, the arches and corner buildings. Note the ease and perfection of the circulatory street system. It would be a good thing to keep a Paris map on your table, get your points of compass firmly fixed in your head as you study it, and never come in or go out without glancing at the map to direct or correct you. Remember, the city as a whole, as one grand design, is the major study and try to get the key and see how everything works out and is related. . . . I find it important to look down upon Paris. You get a very fine far-off view from St. Germain, another of vast importance from St. Cloud and the greatest from the Eiffel Tower. Spend a lot of time up there, map in hand; every minute of it will pay. After thus studying Paris you will not be able at first to recall it except as a confused mass. But later on when problems great and small come up in your own work, details will suddenly jump up in memory and be of great help to you." This passage is identified as a letter from Burnham of unspecified date in W. E. Parsons, "Burnham as a Pioneer in City Planning," *Architectural Record* XXXVIII (July 1915): 17. It may well have been sent to Parsons himself.

27. Moore (note 1), II: 1, 43–44.

28. E. R. Smith, "Paris, Topographical Transformation Under Napoleon III," *Architectural Record* XXII (July 1907): 121–

33; (Sept. 1907): 227–38; (Oct. 1907): 369–85; and (Nov. 1907): 490–506.

29. Letters to Huntington Wilson dated February 5 and October 7, 1907, as quoted in Hines (note 1): 323. Hénard's fascinating career is the subject of P. M. Wolf, *Eugène Hénard and the Beginning of Urbanism in Paris, 1900–1914*, New York, 1968. Between 1903 and 1906 Hénard published in eight "fascicules" his *Etudes sur les transformations de Paris*. A paper prepared by him describing his general development plan for Paris was read at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Architects in 1905. At the London Conference in 1910 Hénard delivered a paper at the same session addressed by Burnham. Burnham may have met Hénard in Paris on one of his several visits, possibly as early as 1901 when the French designer was already well known and respected. Hénard's place in the modern planning movement is reviewed in F. Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*, New York, 1969. Among his other contributions was the invention of the traffic circle, or at least the notion that at such places all vehicular traffic should take a circular, counter-clockwise direction. At an early date he also developed the concept of multi-level streets; some of Burnham's ideas for Michigan Avenue may have been stimulated by Hénard's profusely illustrated studies.

30. G. Kriehn, "The City Beautiful," *Municipal Affairs* III (1889): 594. A useful study would be an examination of the influence of Parisian planning on the American scene. Admiration for what Haussmann had accomplished was widespread. As early as 1869 the *Chicago Times* referred to him in an article complaining about the irregularities of street widths in Chicago and called for the adoption of a long-range plan so that "all streets, and public buildings and improvements should conform to the idea that Chicago is not only a great city now, but that it will become a vastly greater one" (*Chicago Times*, July 10, 1869, as quoted in B. Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, New York, 1940, II: 318). In the 1908 special issue of *Charities and the Commons* (note 19), approving references to Paris and the work of Haussmann appear in several articles. Almost every planning report that appeared in the United States prior to World War I contained a reference to Paris, often with one or more illustrations as an example of outstanding planning. In the Chicago Plan Burnham made explicit his admiration for Haussmann, and his words also suggest that, perhaps unconsciously, he aspired to the same esteem he attributed to the planner of Paris: "Haussmann began a career which has established for all time his place among the city-builders of the world. As if by intuition he grasped the entire problem. Taking counsel neither of expediency nor of compromise, he ever sought the true and proper solution. . . . The world gives him credit for the highest success" (Burnham and Bennett [note 3]: 18).

31. Cleveland, Ohio, *The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland. Report Made to the Honorable Tom L. Johnson Mayor and to the Honorable Board of Public Service by Daniel H. Burnham, John M. Carrère, Arnold W. Brunner, Board of Supervision*, [Cleveland], 1903. The best account of the Cleveland project is in Hines (note 1): 158–73. For contemporary descriptions and appraisals of the project, see "The Grouping of Public Buildings at Cleveland," *Inland Architect and New Record* XLII (Sept. 1903): 13; H. Croly, "The United States Post Office, Custom House, and Court House, Cleveland, Ohio," *Architectural Record* XXIX (Mar. 1911): 196; and P. Abercrombie, "Cleveland, A Civic Center Project," *Town Planning Review* II (Apr. 1911): 131.

32. Burnham must have found the circumstances of his association with Cleveland both novel and appealing. Hines described how Johnson had endorsed the concept of a civic

center after an 1895 contest for the design of such a complex held by the Cleveland Architectural Club. After his election in 1901 he supported the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce and the Cleveland chapter of the AIA to secure state legislation "that would allow the governor to appoint a commission of three experts, financed by the state, to advise Ohio cities on questions of urban planning. Though worded in general terms, the measure was proposed at the instigation of the citizens of Cleveland and was ultimately destined to apply primarily to that city. The legislature promptly passed the bill, and on June 20, 1902, Governor Nash announced the appointments recommended by Mayor Johnson" (Hines [note 1]: 160). Each of the three members received \$5,000 a year while the project was in the planning stage and \$2,000 for life as a permanent body. By an ordinance passed in 1902 the city expanded their authority to include "the supervision and control of the location of all public, municipal, and county buildings . . . within the limits of said city, and . . . [to] have control of the size, height, style, and general appearance of all such buildings for the purpose of securing in their location and erection the greatest degree of usefulness, safeness, and beauty" (cited in Hines [note 1]).

33. Burnham addressed a large meeting of civic leaders on his first visit to San Francisco in the spring of 1904. He outlined in general terms what might be accomplished in planning the city. The response was extremely favorable; while an editorial in the *San Francisco Chronicle* hinted at difficulties, it noted that Burnham's proposals were truly inspiring: "It is not the plans which present difficulties, but the execution. . . . As one looks at the beautiful eminences once so easily available for public purposes and adornment, there comes a deep feeling of regret that at the birth of San Francisco there was present no L'Enfant to lay down the lines of its growth" (cited in Hines [note 1]: 179). The perceptive editorial writer recognized, as Burnham seemingly did not, that Washington and San Francisco presented two quite different sets of problems for any planner with Baroque inclinations. The events leading to Burnham's acceptance of the San Francisco commission are summarized in Hines, *ibid.*: 174–80.

34. The Manila and Baguio reports were not published. Their text appears, apparently in full, in Moore [note 1], II: 179–202. For Burnham's work in the Philippines, see *ibid.*, I: 230–45, consisting largely of extracts from Burnham's diary; Hines [note 1]: 197–216; and Parsons (note 26): 13–31. Parsons's work in refining the details of both plans as well as the buildings he designed is reviewed in A. N. Rebori, "The Work of William E. Parsons in the Philippine Islands," *Architectural Record* XLI (Apr. 1917): 305–24; and (May 1917): 423–34. Parsons also prepared plans for the cities of Cebu in 1912 and Zamboanga in 1916, both of which are illustrated in the second part of Rebori's article. Both made extensive use of radial boulevards.

35. Burnham and Bennett, *Report on a Plan for San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1905.

36. Croly, "The Promised City of San Francisco," *Architectural Record* XIX (June 1906): 425–36. The article was written before the earthquake and fire, but Croly added a postscript pointing out that the disaster, "deplorable as it was, offers San Franciscans a chance to improve the lay-out of the city at a much smaller expense than would formerly have been required, and it is to be hoped that certain steps in the direction of the realization of the scheme, which would have been postponed for years, can now be taken immediately" (p. 436).

37. Moore (note 1), II: 98–111, which includes the text of Burnham's address to the Merchants' Club of Chicago on April 13, 1897, describing his concept. See also Hines (note 1): 313–17.

38. Carl Condit described the ambitious scheme developed by Gookins in his *Chicago, 1910–29. Building, Planning, and Urban*

Technology, Chicago/London, 1973: 61–63.

39. A modern critic noted both the deficiencies of Burnhamesque planning and how it led to a broader approach: “There was a lot of Baron Haussmann and precious little democracy in these vast geometries of befountained plazas and intersecting boulevards. Light, air, and foliage were concentrated around hypothetical water-gates and imaginary civic centers, never around housing or schools. Few of these schemes had any relation to the basic needs of the community.” Yet, as he conceded, the plans of this era “played a vastly important role in introducing the concept of planned reconstruction into the popular mind. However pompous and autocratic the solutions, they were at least admissions that real problems did exist, and that local governments did have the power to exercise some sort of control over the urban environment. Moreover, as the movement matured, it involved many well-intentioned souls who were forced by the struggle itself to realize that the problem was much more than one of simple face-lifting. The movement was also to gain important accretions from the ranks of the social and welfare workers, who were increasingly aware of the relation between the physical environment and crime, delinquency and

ill-health. Their insistence upon such factors had a salutary effect upon the movement as a whole, and playgrounds, schools, and clinics began to appear alongside ornamental drinking fountains and statues of Spanish War dead” (J. M. Fitch, *American Building: The Forces That Shape It*, Boston, 1948: 134–35). A contemporary of Burnham voiced more technical criticisms of Burnham’s wholesale use of radial thoroughfares in a paper at the London Conference of 1910 in a session that Burnham chaired (see R. Unwin, “The City Development Plan,” in Royal Institute of British Architects, *Transactions* (note 3): 247–65; and, in the same publication, H. V. Lanchester and Unwin, “Notes on the Exhibits”: 734–44. According to Moore ([note 1], II: 139), Burnham chaired the session, although *Transactions* (p. 282) indicates the discussion following the papers was led by Justice Neville. In any event, Burnham doubtless heard or read Unwin’s paper. One can only imagine the lively argument that might have taken place between these two distinguished planners.

40. In Cleveland Burnham agreed to accept his fees only because his less affluent colleagues on the commission persuaded him to do so (see Hines [note 1]: 162, 169–70).