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Burnham's *Plan* and Moody's *Manual*

City Planning as Progressive Reform

Thomas J. Schlereth

Using Walter D. Moody's *Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago* (1911) as an early classic in the history of American planning promotional literature, this article explores the relations of Daniel Burnham's 1909 plan for Chicago, as translated by Moody into a more democratic medium, with the intellectual concerns of progressive reformers at the turn of the twentieth century. Special emphasis is given to the emerging profession of the civic promoter and his impact on urban planning.

Moody's manual provides the primary documentation for this study; the book's key ideas (e.g., belief in mass education, the efficiency movement, the efficacy of public relations in implementing public planning, the influence of the urban environment upon human behavior), as well as its deficiencies and legacies, are analyzed within the context of the intellectual history of the American city planning movement and in the history of the reform movement known as progressivism.

To Chicagoan Walter Dwight Moody, "the completion of the Plan of Chicago was the most important civic event in the history of the city." Moody maintained that if implemented, the 1909 metropolitan plan prepared by Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett¹ would enable Chicago to become nothing less than "the center of the modern world." No small claim for a city hardly seven decades old, but not atypical braggadocio for a midwestern metropolis already notorious for its special brand of civic and architectural boosterism.

Moody, a former general manager of the Chicago Association of Commerce and the first managing director of the Chicago Plan Commission (CPC), made his boast in a strangely titled, now largely unread work called *Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago: Municipal Economy*.² First published in 1911, this curious volume in the history of American city planning literature went through several editions during the decade (1911–1921) that Moody superintended the promotion of the Burnham/Bennett Plan. The book's misleading title prompted contemporaries as well as

a few modern scholars mistakenly to attribute the work's authorship to Charles Wacker, prominent Chicago brewer turned real estate developer, financier, civic leader, and first chairman of the CPC. Moody's middle and surname also occasionally prompted confusion with that of the popular Chicago evangelist Dwight L. Moody whose tabernacle and ancillary structures (bible college and institute, bookstore, radio station, etc.) still dot Chicago's near northside cityscape.³

The manual's author

Who was Walter Dwight Moody? Why did he write a best-seller and ascribe it to another man? What were the work's principal ideas? What might such ideas reveal about the philosophy and the practice of turn-of-the-century urban planning in Chicago and the nation? What might the intellectual history of this segment of the American city planning movement add to our understanding of the main currents of American intellectual history?

This article attempts to explore these questions through a textual analysis of Moody's widely promulgated book as an early classic in city planning promotional literature. While other historical data (e.g., correspondence, municipal archives, Chicago Planning Commission minutes) has also been consulted, the manual itself stands as the principal documentation that informs this study. Thus the man-

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ual's ideas—belief in mass education, progressivism, the efficiency movement, and environmentalism—are the focus of the analysis that follows. Concentrating primarily on Moody's text rather than his context, on what he wrote rather than what he did, this study interprets the manual as an important document both in the intellectual history of the American city planning movement and in the history of the many-faceted reform movement known as progressivism.

The occasional mistaken identity of Walter Dwight Moody with Dwight Lyman Moody contains one clue to the former's character. In his efforts in "putting the Plan across," W. D. Moody openly acknowledged that he did so with all the zealotry of "the clergyman and the pedagogue."⁴ In an era when many reformers had clerical backgrounds (e.g., Richard Ely or Graham Taylor) or personal religious motivations (e.g., John Bates Clark or Charles H. Cooley) behind their attempts to bring about social and political change,⁵ his evangelical fervor to promote urban planning as the redemption of American cities seems to put Moody perfectly in step with many of his fellow progressives.

Moody's career began, however, not in salvation but in sales. The title of one of his early publications can serve as a capsule biography. On a 1907 book cover, he proudly proclaimed himself as one of those "men who sell things," the book being the *Observations and Experiences of Over Twenty Years as a Travelling Salesman, European Buyer, Sales Manager, Employer*.⁶ Drummer, promotor, ad-man, business college teacher, showman, Moody personified the late nineteenth-century American whom Daniel Boorstin has symbolized as "the go-getter," and whom both Burnham and Wacker saw as "a hustler, a man who knows how to do things and to get the greatest amount of publicity out of a movement."⁷

To such a man the CPC entrusted the monumental task of making every Chicagoan fully plan conscious. The objective was to reach the one and one-half million citizens who could not afford the prohibitively expensive (\$25.00), lavish, limited first edition of two thousand copies of the plan published by the Commercial Club.⁸ Handsome though it was, filled with evocative sketches in both color and black and white by Jules Guerin and Jules Janin, Burnham and his Commercial Club associates recognized that the plan of Chicago was little more than sagacious advice from people with no official power. In accepting one of the limited edition copies, Mayor Fred Busse, who would later create the CPC, was careful to note that the plan's proposals were not "hard and fast" and would not necessarily result in immediate changes.⁹ The unofficial nature of the venture, however, inspired Charles Eliot, the retired president of Harvard, to write:

That a club of businessmen should have engaged in such an undertaking, and have brought it successfully to its present stage, affords a favorable illustration of the workings of American democracy. The democracy is not going to be dependent on the rare appearance of a Pericles, an Augustus, a Colbert, or a Christopher Wren. It will be able to work toward the best ideals through the agency of groups of intelligent and public spirited citizens who know how to employ experts to advantage.¹⁰

To promote the plan that they had had experts produce, the Commercial Club members, through their control of the CPC,¹¹ employed another expert. Walter Moody, a professional organizer and one of the new breed of public executives who made careers out of managing civic organizations, assumed this responsibility. As early as 1909 Moody had been approached by Charles D. Norton (later Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under William Howard Taft) to publicize the plan as the exclusive promotional property of the Commercial Club. When the Plan was presented to the city, and The Chicago Plan Commission, a public agency, was created by municipal ordinance, Moody's talent was again solicited—this time by the CPC's first chairman, Charles H. Wacker. Moody accepted the task of mobilizing a comprehensive promotional campaign to match the sweeping metropolitan scope of the plan itself.¹²

Although he never pretended to be a practicing planner like Burnham or Bennett, Moody considered his task of "the scientific promotion of scientific planning" to be equal in importance to whatever was accomplished on the drafting table or in the architectural office. He defined city planning as "the science of planning the development of cities in a systematic and orderly way." Furthermore, he divided city planning into "two distinct and widely separate scientific branches. The first, or technical branch, embraces architecture and engineering. The second, which is promotive, is likewise scientifically professional and could be truthfully termed the dynamic power behind the throne of accomplishment."¹³

The terms "scientifically professional" indicated another characteristic that Moody shared with many other thinkers of his era. As David Noble, Richard Hofstadter, and Charles Forcey have argued, many progressives believed strongly in the efficacy of the scientific method, guided by professional expertise, to achieve social change.¹⁴ Walter Moody shared this assumption, not only in his promulgation of the Chicago plan but also in his promotion of city planning as a profession. The special identity that Herbert Croly claimed for architects, that Frederick Winslow Taylor coveted for industrial engineers, and Louis Brandeis wished firmly established for lawyers and businessmen, Moody sought for city planners.¹⁵ Like Charles Mulford Robinson and John Nolen, his con-

McCutcheon, a friend of Moody, drew this cartoon for Moody's use in widening the exposure and appeal of the 1909 Plan of Chicago.



temporary colleagues in city planning, he endeavored to contribute to what has been called the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century "culture of professionalism." Moody's decade of work with the CPC, his numerous magazine and newspaper articles, and his two major books all were methods by which he sought to make the profession of city planning a vehicle of urban reform.¹⁶

The key to Moody's reformism was publicity. In debt to the social scientific advertising techniques he borrowed from the pioneering social psychologist Walter Dill Scott (a fellow Chicagoan who later became president of Northwestern University), Moody made his appeal for implementation of the 1909 Plan to each of the assorted interest groups and power blocs in Chicago.

Of the multiple constituencies to be persuaded of the necessity of the plan, Moody felt most confident of the city's capitalists. After all, had it not been an informal competition as to who would actually sponsor a city plan that encouraged the merger of Chicago's Merchants and Commercial Clubs? By the time the Commercial Club produced the Burnham Plan, its members had also invested over a half million dollars in the enterprise.¹⁷ Moody was less sure of the general electorate. His first major publication as man-

aging director of the CPC, therefore, sought to reach this city-wide, adult audience. A ninety-page, hard-bound reference work titled *Chicago's Greatest Issue: An Official Plan* was distributed to over 165,000 Chicago residents; these were property owners and tenants who paid \$25.00 or more per month in rent. The booklet is usually credited with countering the initial critiques of the Plan (such as George Eddy Newcomb's caustic *Chicago Replanned* [Chicago: Privately printed, 1911] and the protests of the Twelfth Street Property Owners Association), and with securing support for the passage of the first plan bond issue (the widening of Twelfth Street) proposed to the Chicago voters in 1912.¹⁸

The manual's origins

Within the first six months of administering the CPC, Moody moved to institute a city planning study program in the Chicago schools. Daniel Burnham had suggested this move believing that for comprehensive urban planning to succeed "children must grow up dreaming of a beautiful city." Burnham, who had been extremely disappointed when his 1905 plan for San Francisco failed to be implemented because of inadequate promotion and subsequent citizen apa-

thy, hoped to achieve this educational objective by lectures and the distribution of literature in the city schools.¹⁹ Moody had bigger plans. Believing that "the ultimate solution of all the major problems of American cities lies in the education of our children to their responsibilities as future owners of our municipalities and arbiters of their governmental destiny," he proposed introducing an accredited course on the Chicago plan into the city's public school curriculum. The course would be a part of Moody's program for "scientific citizen making."²⁰

To assist in such civic nurture, Moody wrote the first city planning textbook to be used in American schools. He named the text *Wacker's Manual*, because he believed that the people "should come to know intimately the individual who to a large extent held the destiny of the city in his hands." He felt it imperative for the populace to have the same confidence and knowledge about their plan leader, Charles Wacker (chairman on the CPC), as in their plan.

Influenced by the work of German educators who had been instructing children in urban planning since the 1880s, he designed his text and its accompanying teacher's handbook for use in the second semester of a civics course already operating in the final term of Chicago's public grammar schools. The eighth grade was selected because many contemporary educational psychologists contended that at that stage of growth children were most impressionable. Also, after grammar school many would drop out of the system. While writing the manual, Moody sought help from the University of Chicago faculty, the staff at the Chicago Historical Society, and the Art Institute. He persuaded Ella Flagg Young, city superintendent of schools, to have the Board of Education officially adopt and purchase (at 34¢ a hardbound copy) the 1911 first edition for use in the spring of 1912. Eventually over fifty thousand copies of *Wacker's Manual* were printed. They were read not only by Chicago school children but also by their parents.

While by no means as stunning as the plan in terms of diversity of pictorial media or aesthetic quality, the manual aspired to make as powerful a visual impact. The manual included over 150 charts, maps, and pictures—many reproduced from the plan. (The plan had 142 illustrations.) Similar to the parent plan, nearly a third of the manual's graphics were of foreign urban design. Color renderings in both Burnham's treatise (where they were largely the work of Jules Guerin)²¹ and Moody's textbook were hazy, subdued pastels, connoting a tranquil, sunlit, environment for Chicago which corresponds with an equally unreal absence of automobiles, pollution, and congestion in these visual utopias of Chicago's future.

Moody further modeled his 137-page primer along organizational lines roughly parallel to the 164-page,

octavo-size Plan. He divided the textbook into four major topics: (a) general urban planning philosophy and nomenclature (chapters 1–3); (b) a historical survey of city planning since antiquity (chapters 4–7); (c) Chicago's historical, geographic, economic, and civic development, including the origins of the 1909 Plan (chapters 8–10); and, (d) a detailed exegesis of the plan's main components—transportation network, street system, Michigan Avenue redevelopment, park system, and civic center (chapters 11–16).²²

Of the four media he produced in advancing the plan of Chicago,²³ Moody considered the manual to have the most long-range influence. Like previous American educational reformers Benjamin Rush, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and Francis Parker, he believed that the promise of a more enlightened, public-minded citizenry rested with the current school age generation. Moody had been an educator for several years in Chicago's LaSalle Extension University and he felt that his text "recognized the need for bringing out in the children of our cities a sharp, clear, vivid interest in those cities, in their history, their growth, in their present and their future."²⁴ As a consequence, the manual can be considered one of the earliest urban histories for use in the secondary schools. Moreover, given its visual and verbal coverage of the American and European urban built environment, the manual also introduced eighth graders to civic art and public architecture—areas of the fine arts that progressive educators usually found sorely neglected in most American classrooms.

Through his manual, Moody shared with fellow Chicagoans Francis Parker and John Dewey the desire to create a larger classroom by relating school and society. Like Parker and Dewey, Moody sought to adjust education, through the discipline of city planning, to the interests of young people and to tie what he called "civic learning" to the real world outside the classroom.²⁵ The Manual's injunctions to use the city itself as a part of the curriculum were perfectly consonant with Dewey's principles of integrating *The School and Society*. Although in actual practice he exhibited none of the innovative pedagogical techniques that Dewey and his followers advocated,²⁶ Moody completely agreed in theory with progressive education's concern to adapt schooling to fit the needs of the child rather than to the demands of tradition.

Perhaps the greatest common ground shared by Moody (as a promoter of planning education) and Dewey (as a proponent of progressive education) was the assumption regarding the correlation between education and politics. Just as Dewey in *Education and Democracy* (1916)—a major educational manifesto of progressivism—wrote "we may produce in the schools a projection in the type of society we should

like to realize and by forming minds in accord with it generally modify the larger and more recalcitrant features of adult society;" likewise, Moody, in *Wacker's Manual* (1911) proposed to "prepare the minds of our children to grasp and lay fast hold upon the science of city planning for the future glory of Chicago and the prosperity and happiness of all her people."²⁷

The manual's ideas

Along with providing a pioneering pedagogy for disseminating "the principles and practices of scientific planning," Moody also wrote his primer, quite unabashedly, in order to inculcate what he variously termed "community patriotism," "united civic interest," "civic patriotism" and "community virtue." In the manual building citizens and planning cities were synonymous since Moody saw the plan and its implementation across the cityscape as the artifactual evidence that "gave the people of Chicago a way to express in solid form their progressive spirit."²⁸

In an article in the *Century Magazine*, "White City and Capital City," Daniel Burnham specifically identified himself and his city planning with the progressive movement.²⁹ Architectural historian Thomas Hines has recently pointed out the ramifications of Burnham's reformist liberal Republicanism, particularly its influence on the shape and substance of the 1909 Plan.³⁰ Such progressivism became further pronounced when Moody translated the plan into a manual.

By progressivism, Moody and Burnham meant something more than the Progressive (or Bull Moose) Party formed in Chicago by the Republican insurgents who supported Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency in 1912. As contemporaries such as B.P. DeWitt (*The Progressive Movement*, New York: Macmillan, 1915) almost universally recognized, progressivism was a pervasive, many-sided crusade of uplift and reform, often inconsistent, often naive, and sometimes palpably conservative. This broad impulse toward criticism and change was increasingly conspicuous after 1900 and had quite dissipated by the mid-1920s; as Richard Hofstadter states, progressivism was not so much the movement of any one social class, or coalition of classes, against a particular class or group as it was a rather widespread and remarkably good-natured effort of a significant segment of the urban middle class to achieve within their areas of expertise (e.g., law, academe, politics, social work) a societal self-reformation.³¹ Accepting industrialization and urbanization as facts of twentieth-century American life, never seriously doubting the continued possibility of progress and prosperity, the majority of progressives sought the restoration of a type of modified economic individualism within a collective political democracy that was widely believed to

have existed earlier in America and to have become threatened by greedy corporations, corrupt political machines, and apathetic citizens.

As representatives of what might be called "main-line progressivism" Moody and Burnham shared this political and social temper that was, paradoxically, innovative and reforming as well as traditional and conserving. Given this brand of progressivism, they understandably had an affinity with local Chicago reformers such as Charles Merriam (political scientist at the University of Chicago) or Mayor Tom L. Johnson (who first enlisted Burnham in comprehensive planning for the city of Cleveland). With moderate social progressives such as George E. Hooker and Jane Addams, Moody and Burnham's cautious reformism had only partial acceptance. More radical social progressives like Graham Taylor or Florence Kelly questioned Moody and Burnham's lack of concern in both plan and manual for adequate neighborhood housing and social welfare. Chicago labor progressives like John Fitzgerald and militant socialists like Lucy Parsons considered almost all progressive reforms, including proposals such as the plan and the manual, as but "band-aid" remedies designed to bolster the city's corporate capitalist interests.³²

Moody, while basically a supporter of capitalistic individualism (he had been the Executive Director of the Chicago Association of Commerce before joining the CPC), also saw the need—perhaps in the interest of preserving capitalism—for greater social collectivization and municipal cooperation among individual citizens. Long-range, large-scale city planning would, he admitted, proscribe certain rights and prerogatives of the city dweller. Moody worried, however, that in early twentieth-century American cities such as Chicago, rampant individualism perhaps had gone too far and that the system's inherent atomism was rapidly destroying communal urban life.³³

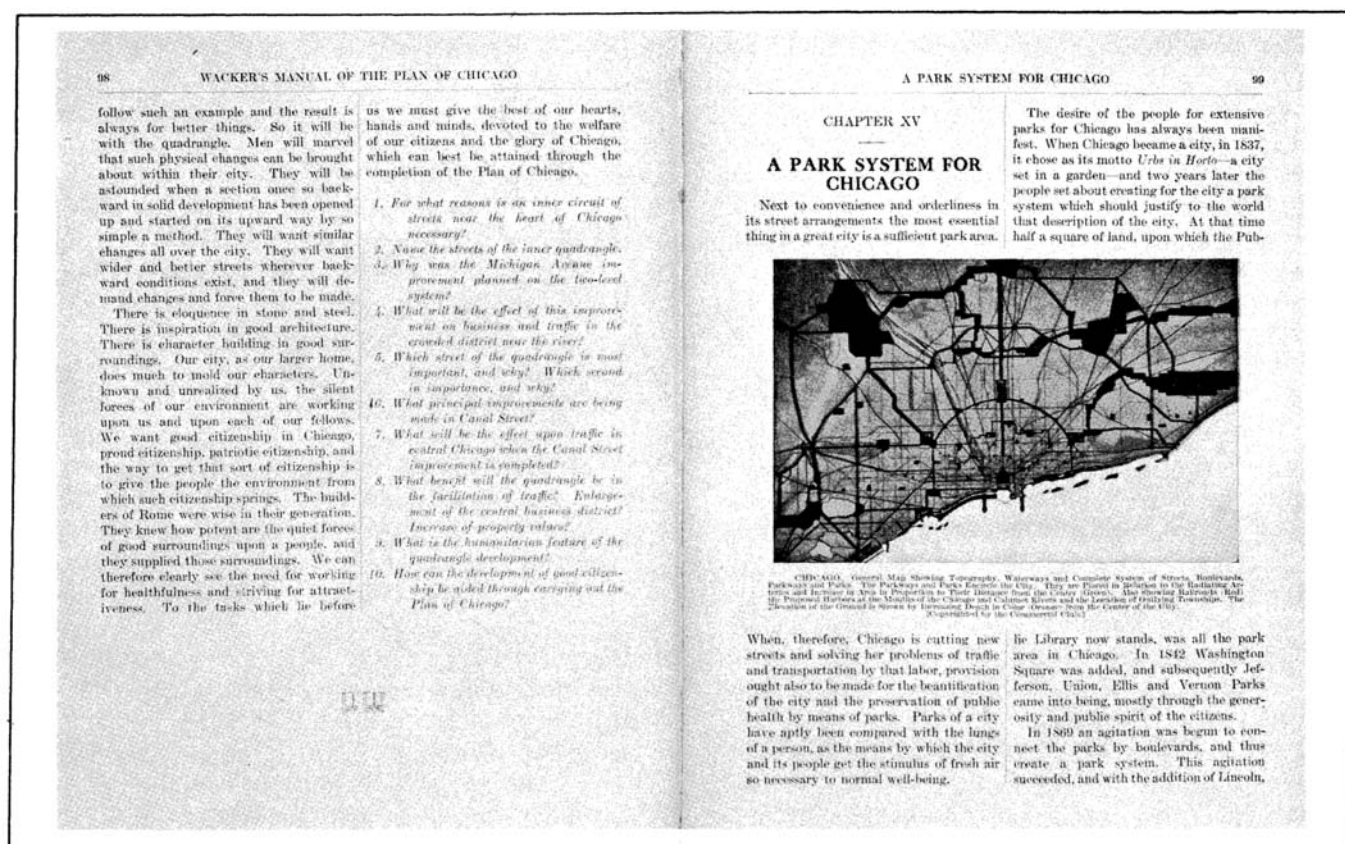
To meet this dilemma, Moody advocated major environmental and architectural change as a method by which to infuse his form of progressivism into the American city. Calling for planners to design a "New Metropolis"—an image bearing a strikingly resemblance to other "new" reform manifestoes being issued by fellow progressive publicists (e.g., Walter Lippmann's *New Republic* or Walter Weyl's *New Democracy*)—Moody espoused a politics that wished to conserve what was valuable from the past and also remain cognizant of the new challenges brought on by economic and urban concentration. In short, he argued in both the manual and in his later writings for a greater combination of central planning and voluntary individual cooperation. As his friend Bernard W. Snow summarized it in an address honoring the CPC in 1910: "Every generation has its burdens. To this is given the duty of curbing the individualism and establishing the collectivism of Democracy."³⁴

Walter Moody promulgated a political progressivism that historian Stow Persons has labelled neo-democracy.³⁵ Nonpartisan, believing in the political role of public opinion, anxious to separate electoral politics from public administration, Moody's writings are a perfect case study of an early twentieth-century neo-democrat in action. With his fellow progressives, Moody was willing to revise his original ideal of social progress as achievable solely in individualistic terms and to concede to the state (particularly via a strong executive and numerous public commissions) the rapid expansion of its functions and powers. Moody saw in neo-democracy a political philosophy which did not threaten the prerogatives of the expert. Like Walter Lippman, he did not fear either a big leader (especially if the leader were a Burnham) or bigness in business, labor, or government. The public relations man who translated the philosophy of a business client such as Burnham (who always insisted "Make no little plans. . .") could hardly see bigness as a bogey.³⁶ Nor could he deny the power of the word, especially the printed word, in shaping democratic political thought and action. A reformer who had written a half dozen books, over forty pamphlets, position papers, reports, and newspaper and magazine articles would not think otherwise.³⁷ Finally, insistent that change would come about by working through the established political system,

Moody concurred in the direct democracy principles of reformer Frank Parsons and maintained "that the ballot box always precedes the city planners."³⁸

Since the ultimate implementation of the Burnham plan depended upon widespread voter acceptance of each of its specific proposals, Moody saw his task as identical to that of Frederick C. Howe, who in *The City, The Hope of Democracy* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1905) had argued the necessity of linking all city planning reform with an extensive information and publicity program for adults and a comprehensive educational component for children.³⁹ Moody's *Wacker's Manual* and his adult primer *What of the City?* served these purposes. They also contain evidence of at least two other important intellectual currents of late nineteenth and early twentieth century America: a quest for efficiency and order in personal, commercial, industrial, and political activity, and the belief in the physical environment as a primary determinant of human behavior.

In a work subtitled "Municipal Economy," it comes as no surprise to find repeated pleas for greater centralization, the absolute necessity of eliminating all waste, the commercial value of beauty, and the civic efficacy of "good order, cleanliness, and economy."⁴⁰ In fact, many sections of Moody's tract could have been written by any number of Chicagoans—George Pullman, Marshall Field, Gustavus Swift—each of



Catechetical questions at the end of each chapter illustrate the "primer" nature of Moody's manual. Lavish graphics at chapter beginnings were intended to catch the reader's eye and attention.

whom sought to impose an entrepreneurial system on the industrial and commercial landscape. This "search for order" as historian Robert Wiebe labels late nineteenth-century American history,⁴¹ pervades the manual, a work that anticipates Walter Lippmann's *Drift and Mastery* in its demand for a "community patriotism to substitute order for disorder; and reason, common sense and action for negligence, indifference and inertia."⁴² Moreover, Moody's incessant arguments for the efficient use of public space strongly parallel Frederick W. Taylor's similar claims (published in the same year as the manual) for *The Scientific Principles of Management* in the organization of industrial space.

Moody took the making of Chicago into a centralized city rather than a group of overcrowded villages to be a basic premise of the Burnham plan. Chicago's street and highway pattern, railroad network, and cultural and civic activities would each have a center and, in turn, be a component of a new central city. The linchpin on this new urban core was a monumental civic center that would be to Chicago what the Acropolis was to Athens, the Forum to Rome, and St. Mark's Square to Venice—the very embodiment of the reformed civic life that Burnham and Moody hoped to see come to pass in Chicago. Although we have understandably lost sympathy for neo-classical expressions of institutionlized political power, the progressives felt that neo-classicism's unity, permanence, balance, order, and symmetry best proclaimed both the symbolic role and the functional role of public buildings and communal spaces. A civic center, a unified cluster of "vast civic temples" as Moody called Burnham's proposed building group dominated by a colossal municipal administration building,⁴³ would typify the permanence of the city, record its history, and express its aspiration for reform. In Moody's estimate, the civic center would "give life to the spirit of unity in the city."⁴⁴

Congestion and waste would be eradicated in the process of centralization. In his manual, Moody warned his young readers that "the *elimination of waste is the World's Greatest Scientific Problem*" (emphasis original); and in his manifesto for adults he suggested various ways by which scientific planning would solve this international dilemma: zoning controls, public health regulations, uniform building codes, and standardized construction materials and designs.⁴⁵ A pet Moody project was a proposal he outlined in a pamphlet titled *Fifty Million Dollars for Nothing!* where he discussed how the people of Chicago could obtain thirteen hundred acres of lakefront parks, playgrounds, and watercourses by recycling the city's garbage and waste material—old bricks and mortar, excavation soil, street sweepings, cinders, and ashes. In twelve years, estimated Moody, Chicago taxpayers would have new parklands along the

lakefront worth fifty million dollars, at no cost whatsoever.⁴⁶

As both Samuel Haber and Samuel Hays demonstrate in their investigations⁴⁷ of the scientific management and conservation movements, progressives like Moody, Burnham, and their associates became enthralled with the principles of rationalization, standardization, and centralization in civic life because they had already attempted to implement such principles in business life. Although they looked to Europe for their aesthetic inspiration—particularly to that of Baron Georges Eugene Haussmann and the French Ecole des Beaux Arts⁴⁸—their planning ideas reflected primarily the order and systematization they prized in their own businesses. For example, Frederic Delano, a Commercial Club Plan Committee member who had made his way up to the presidency of the Wabash Railroad at age twenty-two, maintained that, in his mind, "a comprehensive city plan represented a natural progression from his own idea of centralization of the Chicago passenger railroads."⁴⁹

During a decade that produced studies on waste and scientific management in education, churches, and private homes,⁵⁰ it is hardly surprising that Moody should refer to the Chicago plan as an instrument of "the City Practical" as opposed to the City Beautiful with which it was often confused.⁵¹ A rational, unified, efficient, scientific, practical plan, he insisted, was the sole way to order the chaos attendant to rapid urban growth.

To the elements of education and efficiency that have been suggested thus far as crucial to Moody's strategy for civic reform must be added a third feature: environmentalism. Like many of his generation, Walter Moody believed in a modified ecological determinism. He was taken with the emergence of American social science in the latter half of the nineteenth century and confident of its beneficial application to city planning. Thus, he maintained that the "physical conditions which make for good health, good order and good citizenship must be made clear to our children." Moody stated the conviction that "splendid material upbuilding" of the metropolis would yield "a social, intellectual and moral upbuilding of its people" as a simple environmental equation: "city building means man building."⁵² Following an evolutionary analog used earlier by Chicago novelist Henry Blake Fuller to explain the progressive development of "a higher type of Chicagoan" in cultural achievements, Moody predicted a parallel social evolution to follow upon the advent of social scientific urban planning in the "prairie city."⁵³

Such city planning could not come too soon in Moody's judgment. "The physical condition of people in the cities as compared with the people of the open country is deteriorating," he warned his young readers, because "city life is an intense life, many

times more wearing upon the nerves than country life." Quoting various social scientists, he also proposed that the unplanned and unkempt city "saps the energy of men and makes them less efficient in the work of life." Moreover, it was "this strain of city life which increases insanity and brings weaknesses of many kinds to shorten life and deprive people of their vigor."⁵⁴ Heady stuff for mere fourteen-year-olds but only one example of the manual's argument that the physical environment conditions public behavior.

Several of the manual's proposals to correct physical deterioration of urban dwellers bear a striking resemblance to the theories of American psychiatrist George M. Beard, discoverer of neurasthenia or "nervous weakness." Beard believed that environmental tensions, particularly when exacerbated by the stress of urbanization, modernization, and technological innovation, were the chief causal factors in the etiology of mental illness. In his most famous book, *American Nervousness*, Beard claimed that the incidence of mental disorders was unusually high (and growing even more so) in late nineteenth-century urban America. There had been no nervous exhaustion or physical deterioration, for example, in those cities of ancient Greece or Rome that Burnham and Moody held up as exemplary of ordered, planned, urban design. These ancient civilizations, Beard contended, lacked five characteristics peculiar to nineteenth-century civilization: steam power, the telegraph, the periodical press, the sciences, and the mental activity of women.⁵⁵ Beard felt America was a quarter century more advanced than any European country in each of these aspects of modernity.

Since at least the time of Benjamin Rush, American physicians had almost as a matter of course acknowledged that the unique pace of American life (e.g., its competitiveness, its religious pluralism, its lack of stability in social status) was somehow related to America's higher rate of mental illness. After the Civil War, two other ideas—the concept of evolution and the increase in the population and number of American cities—had been added to this traditional belief in the relationship between American civilization and psychological and physical health. Beard accepted and amalgamated both evolution and urbanization into his interpretation of American nervousness. He maintained that the conquest of neurasthenia need involve no change in man himself, just in his environment. The technology which had produced the telegraph, the railroad, and the factory had already begun to provide other technological innovations which helped to reduce the tensions of American experience. Beard cites as specific examples the elevator, the sewing machine, and the Pullman palace car.⁵⁶

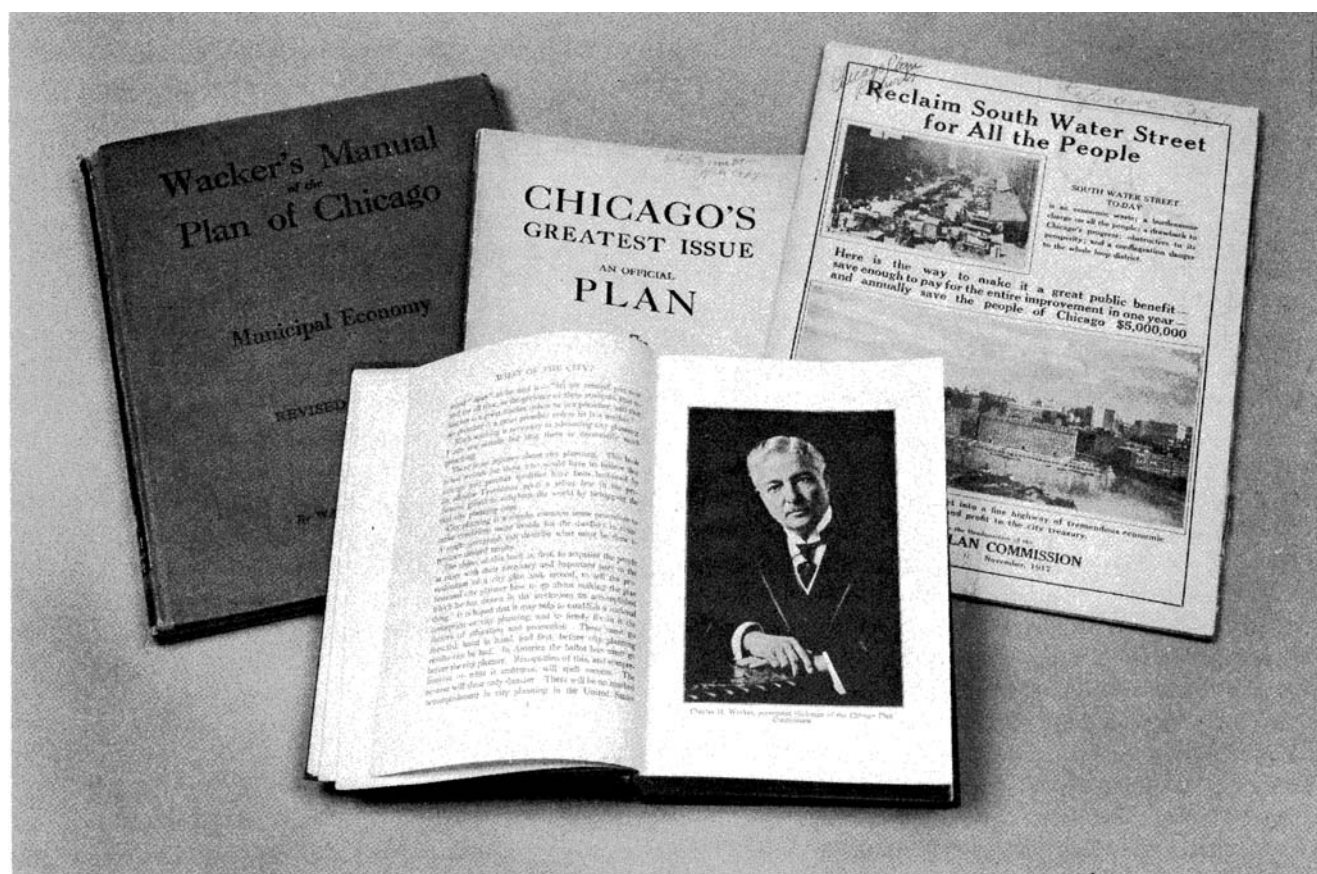
Although there is no evidence that he ever met or

read Beard, Moody shared Beard's belief in evolution and in urban neurasthenia. Like Beard, he looked to the continued advance of material and technological progress to offset evils of the American urban environment. City planning, in Moody's view, naturally provided one panacea whereby urbanites could overcome, or at least mitigate, ecological determinism. In the school text that he also called "a physical geography," Moody (with an analogy he borrowed from Frederick Law Olmsted) made a special case for how urban parks and forest preserves could be "compared with the lungs of a person, as the means by which the city and its people get the stimulus of fresh air so necessary to normal well-being."⁵⁷ Much like Olmsted who argued for orderly park design as a method of social control and urban reform, Moody envisioned the parks of the 1909 plan as crucial components in alleviating stress, overcrowding, and congestion. In the Chicago city parks, the masses supposedly would find an environment conducive both to activity and to contemplation.⁵⁸

The manual's deficiencies

Critics of Burnham's plan and Moody's manual complained, however, that the plan did not do enough to alleviate the social evils that afflicted numerous Chicagoans: lack of housing, schools, or adequate sanitation. Charges of elitism and lack of concern for public improvements at the neighborhood level were directed at a plan that, admittedly, dealt primarily with elaborate transportation systems, monumental aesthetic centerpieces, and symmetrical street façades. In several respects the Chicago that Burnham had planned and that Moody promoted was a metropolis for businessmen where, ironically, with the exception of the central business district, there were no carefully designated areas for commercial expansion throughout the rest of the city. Nor were there any model tenements for workers, much less model neighborhoods.

Not that Moody was oblivious to Chicago's housing or social problems. Slums were mentioned in both the manual and the plan but only briefly. Once in the plan, for example, it was suggested that "it is no attack on private property to argue that society has the inherent right to protect itself [against] gross evils and known perils" by imposing restrictions on overcrowding, enforcing sanitary regulations, and limiting lot coverage.⁵⁹ As Mel Scott has discovered, there is even assertion in the plan that if private enterprise cannot rehouse persons forced out of congested quarters, the city itself may have to do so "in common justice to men and women so degraded by long lives in the slums that they have lost all power of caring for themselves."⁶⁰ But this daring idea only



In his last planning treatise, *What of the City?*, Moody included a photograph of Charles H. Wacker for whom the Manual had been named.

appears as an afterthought in the Burnham/Moody philosophy of the city, tucked away surreptitiously, at best a very minor chord in a grand symphony of magnificent boulevards, imposing structures, and splendid parks. The housing concerns of other progressives in other cities (e.g., Lawrence Veiller and Jacob Riis in New York) did not exist in most of their counterparts of the Burnham/Moody persuasion in Chicago.⁶¹

Moody, as his writings reveal, had many of the myopias of the contemporary neo-democratic mind. He had little notion of the racial changes that were going to sweep over neighborhoods in a city such as Chicago. He was far too sanguine about the coexistence of the city and the automobile. Furthermore, he tended to exaggerate the beliefs that the conservation of wasted energy and resources alone would solve urban problems, or that ordered civic spaces, efficient circulatory systems, and grandiose natural landscapes would yield contented, prosperous, virtuous citizens. Had social problems been stressed more directly in Moody's translation of Burnham's plan, however, as they were in the St. Louis City Plan of 1907,⁶² perhaps nothing of the Chicago 1909 plan would have been implemented. So argues historian Robert Akeley, who is persuaded that if Moody had

not played down the social reform dimension of what would have eventually had to accompany any genuine municipal rejuvenation, the success of the physical proposals and the image of the plan as a comprehensive program of civic renaissance would have been seriously jeopardized. Akeley also feels that "Chicago planning salesmanship was based upon enthusiasm and commitment, rather than on calculated exploitation."⁶³

The manual's legacy

Moody assuredly was an enthusiast. "No one has ever equaled him in promoting city planning, convincing an entire metropolis of its value, and winning support of a particular plan from voters and public officials alike."⁶⁴ An ingenious and skillful propagandist, he promulgated the necessity of scientific city planning in ways other than through *Wacker's Manual*, Thousands of pamphlets, mailings, and circulars with titles like "Chicago Can Get Fifty Million Dollars for Nothing!" "Reclaim South Water Street For All The People," "Pull Chicago Out of the Hole—United Action Will Do It!" and "Economic Readjustment From a War to a Peace Basis" were his work.

As adroit with other communications media as he was with publications, he developed an extensive stereopticon slide library illustrating all aspects of the Burnham Plan and many examples of city planning throughout the world. Over the ten years that he gave slide-lectures on city planning all over Chicago and around the country, he estimated he had talked to approximately 175,000 people. Under his direction, the Chicago Plan Commission even made its own movie, *A Tale of One City*, a two-reeler contrasting the existing conditions of Chicago with the 1909 plan proposals. The first documentary film on city planning ever produced, it opened in Chicago (a city that in 1915 still hoped to become the movie capital of the country) to a sell-out crowd at the Majestic Theater. Shown in fifty theaters in the Chicago metropolitan area and then in other U.S. cities, over 150,000 people saw the film during its premier year of 1915.⁶⁵

Finally, in 1919 Moody wrote a 440-page treatise titled *What of the City?* where much of the history of the Chicago Plan Commission as well as his own history in the planning movement was recounted. Probably his most sophisticated analysis of Chicago city planning within the context of the national urban planning movement, the book's highly autobiographical content also reveals much about Moody the plan promoter; along with the manual it summarizes his main political and planning ideas. Whereas the manual had proselytized on the local level, *What of the City?* sought converts throughout the nation. Moody designed the former publication to reach the generation of the future, still occupying Chicago's classrooms; he prepared the latter book for the continuing adult education of his own generation throughout the country's cities.

To talk of converts and proselytizing recalls an initial characterization of Walter Moody made earlier in this article. W. D. Moody, it will be remembered, was occasionally confused with fellow Chicagoan D. L. Moody. A later historian of American city planning, while not mistaking the two men, aptly calls Moody an "evangelist of planning" whose "bible" was the 1909 plan, and who sought to spread that gospel of municipal reform "with the aggressiveness of a salesman and the fervor of a religious zealot."⁶⁶

Within this context Moody might also be compared to William Thomas Stead, editor of the *Anglo-American Review of Reviews*, who a decade earlier had written another municipal reform tract, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* Stead's best-selling exposé of municipal corruption and his program for urban reform included in a final chapter a comprehensive city plan to implement comprehensive civic reform.⁶⁷ A detailed comparison of Moody's primer and Stead's intriguing city plan for making Chicago "the ideal city of the world," while pertinent to this discussion, will not be done here; mention is made merely to suggest that

Moody's techniques were by no means novel to the Chicago reform effort that sought to improve the city by altering the cityscape.

Moreover, W. T. Stead, a Congregational minister who preached civic and social reform at rallies in the city's Central Music Hall in the wake of the World's Columbian Exposition,⁶⁸ could only have smiled with approval at one of Moody's last official acts to promote the Burnham plan. In early 1919, Moody wrote *Seed Thoughts for Sermons*, a seven-page appeal to the city's clergymen to recognize the humanitarian and social value of the *Plan of Chicago* that had been written a decade earlier. Numerous clergy followed Moody's injunction to preach the value of comprehensive planning to their congregations on January 19, 1919, the date chosen as "*Plan of Chicago Sunday*" throughout the city. Later that day was alluded to as "*Nehemiah Sunday*" because so many ministers had used Nehemiah's description of the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple as their text; many congregations also displayed the Chicago flag on their churches while others sang hymns such as "Work, For The Night Is Coming!"⁶⁹ W. T. Stead would have loved it.

The British reformer would also have endorsed Moody's career as a propagandist, particularly Moody's crucial role in effecting the transition whereby a private plan drawn up by a private club became a public ordinance to be implemented by a public commission which, in turn, hired as its managing director a former publicist for private enterprise who became a public civil servant who wrote a public school textbook. Stead, had he lived to see a copy,⁷⁰ would have also approved of Moody's manual, a book that can serve the historian as a tracer element in order to reveal some of the less familiar intellectual history of the vast effort surrounding the 1909 plan.

Thus the legacy of the Burnham plan and Moody's promotion of it is assuredly multiple. Simply in terms of actual alteration of Chicago's cityscape, it has been estimated that over three million dollars in public construction can be directly attributed to the inspiration of the plan and its purpose.⁷¹ Every major subsequent planning enterprise in the city of Chicago has had to react to its premises and its presence. For example, in the struggle to keep the city's lakefront, "forever, open, clear and free," historian Lois Wille credits Burnham, Wacker, and especially Moody with launching "the most energetic public information effort in the city's history."⁷²

While Moody's enthusiastic promotion of the changing, building, re-grouping, and restructuring the face of the American's urban landscape on the Chicago model did assume the dimensions of a real reform movement (or at least a significant planning and architectural arm of that movement), his progressivism in planning was not without its inade-

quacies. For instance, his own myopias (e.g., his overreliance on the premise that structured, orderly, public buildings, circulatory systems, and civic landscapes would result in an enlightened citizenry) and his unquestioned support of Burnham's retreat to the safety of the neo-classical womb as the recommended style for the new urban America reminds us of the strong conservative strain in his progressivism and the high degree of caution in that reform movement generally. This inconsistency, ambiguity, and paradox were also bequeathed to posterity via the 1909 plan and the 1911 manual.

On balance, however, Moody's numerous publications contributed positively to the early literature of the city planning profession. His prolific corpus, but especially the manual and his most mature work (*What of the City?*), sought consciously to provide the professional city planner with personal inspiration for the work in the decades ahead.⁷³ The manual also prompted an increased demand for the services of city planners in cities all over the nation thereby giving the emerging profession even greater visibility through the actual practice of its craft.⁷⁴

Finally, because of Moody's salesmanship of Burnham's idea, the Burnham plan became the paradigm for the American city planning movement for the next generation, the model of the City Practical that future planners and politicians in Chicago⁷⁵ and elsewhere built on, adapted, or rebelled against in their collective task of what Moody called the science of city planning and citizen building.⁷⁶

Notes

1. Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago Prepared Under the Direction of the Commercial Club During the Years 1906, 1907, 1908* edited by Charles Moore (Chicago: The Commercial Club, 1909); hereafter cited as *Plan of Chicago*. A modern edition, with an introduction by W. R. Hasbrouck, has been issued in the DaCapo Press Series in Architecture and Decorative Arts, Number 29 (New York: DaCapo Press, 1970).
2. Walter D. Moody, *Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago: Municipal Economy* (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1911), p. 3; hereafter cited as *Wacker's Manual*. As an example of a full-blown instance of Moody's proposed economic and cultural hegemony for Chicago, see his essay "Chicago Destined to Be the Center of the Modern world," *Municipal Engineering* 43:3 (September 1912), pp. 49–61, and also in *The Bank Man* 7 (November 1912), pp. 307–324.
3. See James Findlay, *Dwight Moody* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).
4. Walter D. Moody, *What of the City? America's Greatest Issue—City Planning, What It Is and How To Go About It To Achieve Success* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1919), p. 3; hereafter cited as *Moody, What of the City?*
5. Henry May, *The Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1949), pp. 182–234.
6. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1907). This handbook of "modern salesmanship" went through seventeen editions.
7. Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 5–88. Chicago Plan Proceedings, p. 86. When Moody accepted the position of Managing Director with the CPC, R. W. Butler, a member of the CPC wrote Daniel Burnham that "from this time forward the work will be pushed by the 'Chief of all Pushers'—Mr. Moody." Butler to D. H. Burnham, January 20, 1911, Burnham Papers, The Art Institute of Chicago.
8. The origins, underwriting, and unveiling of the plan have been copiously documented; see Ira Bach, "A Reconsideration of the 1909 'Plan of Chicago,'" *Chicago History* 2 (1973), pp. 132–41; Françoise Choay, *The Modern City, Planning in the 19th Century* (London: Studio Vista, 1969); Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1915); Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1922); Vilas Johnson, *A History of the Commercial Club of Chicago including the First History of the Club by John J. Glessner* (Chicago: Commercial Club of Chicago, 1977); Lewis Mumford, *The City in History, its Transformations; and its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961); John Reys, *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); and Lois Willie, *Forever Open, Clear and Free* (Chicago: Henry Regney, 1972).
9. Helen Whitehead, *The Chicago Plan Commission, A Historical Sketch, 1909–1960* (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1960), p. 3–9.
10. Charles W. Eliot, "A Study of the New Plan of Chicago," *Century Magazine* 79 (January 1910), p. 418; also see Perry Duis, *Chicago: Creating New Traditions*, (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1976), p. 49.
11. On the complicated machination whereby "an alliance of businessmen, planners and politicians, by persuasion, pressure and politics" set the 1909 plan in motion, consult Michael P. McCarthy, "Chicago Business and the Burnham Plan," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 63:3 (Autumn 1979), pp. 228–256.
12. Moody, *What of the City?* p. 329–32; *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1909, p. 3; *Chicago Record-Herald*, November 2, 1909, p. 2.
13. Moody, *What of the City?*, p. 21–22.
14. David Noble, *The Paradox of Progressive Thought* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1958); Richard Hofstadter, ed. *The Progressive Movement 1900–1915* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963); Charles Forcey, *The Crossroads of Liberalism, Croly, Weyl, Lippmann and The Progressive Era, 1900–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).
15. Chapter II, "The New Profession—City Planning," *What of the City?*, pp. 18–27.
16. Robinson (1869–1917) and John Nolen (1869–1935) also contributed to the literature of American city planning and the city planning profession. Robinson, who wrote three important books—*The Improvement of Towns and Cities* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), *Modern Civic Art* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), and *City Planning* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916)—was the first appointee to the first university chair of civic design (Harvard) in the United States. Nolen, a founder and later president of the American Institute of Planners, wrote *Replanning Small Cities* (New York: American City Bureau, 1912), *City Planning* (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1916), and *New Ideals in the Planning of Cities, Towns and Villages* (New York: American City Bureau, 1919). On the quest for professionalism, see Burton J. Bledstein's *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), pp. 80–128 and 287–332.
17. The most comprehensive assessment of the business community's involvement in the Chicago Plan is chronicled in Neil Harris's *The Planning of The Plan* (Chicago: The Commercial Club of Chicago, 1979), and Michael McCarthy's previously cited "Chicago Businessmen and the Burnham Plan," pp. 228–256.

18. W. D. Moody, *Chicago's Greatest Issue: An Official Plan* (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1911); Executive Committee, CPC, *Proceedings* (June 19, 1911), p. 237. Robert Akeley ("Implementing the 1909 Plan of Chicago: An Historical Account of Planning Salesmanship," University of Texas unpublished master's thesis: 1973) calculates (pp. 185–87) that there were eighty-six separate bond issues, totaling \$233,985,000 falling within the recommendations of the plan.
19. *Chicago Daily News*, October 26, 1910, p. 1; on Burnham's disappointment with the inadequate promotion of the San Francisco Plan, see D. H. Burnham to Willis Polk, April 22, 1909, Burnham Papers, Art Institute of Chicago.
20. W. D. Moody, *The Work of the Chicago Plan Commission During 1911* (Chicago: Address to the Commercial Club of Chicago, 1912), p. 10; *What of the City?* p. 50; "City Planning and the Public Schools," *American City* 6 (May 1912), p. 720.
21. On the visual pedagogy of the plan's illustrations, see Robert Brueggemann, "Burnham, Guerin, and the City as Image," in *The Plan of Chicago, 1909–1979* edited by John Zukowsky (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1979), pp. 16–28.
22. Historians of American city planning have traditionally interpreted the 1909 Burnham Plan to have had six basic objectives: (1) improvement of the Chicago lakefront from Winnetka on the north to the Indiana state line on the south, (2) creation of a beltway/highway system on the rim of the city, (3) relocation of railway terminals and development of a complete freight and passenger traction system, (4) acquisition of an outer park system and of parkway transport circuits, (5) systematic arrangement of streets within the city to facilitate movement to and from the central business district, and (6) promotion of centers of intellectual life and civic administration so related as to provide coherence and unity for the metropolis. Carl Condit, "The Chicago Plan," in his *Chicago, 1910–29: Building, Planning, and Urban Technology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 59–88.
23. In his highly autobiographical *What of the City* (p. 107–108), Moody listed his major educational achievements in advancing the plan as his work with the daily and the periodical press, his book on *Chicago's Greatest Issue*, the various lecture series he coordinated, and, of course, the *Wacker's Manual*.
24. *Wacker's Manual*, pp. 3–4. One product of Moody's teaching efforts was his ten-volume research series on *Business Administration: Theory, Practice and Application* (Chicago: LaSalle Extension University, 1910–11).
25. On Parker's progressive pedagogy see Jack K. Campbell's well-researched life, *Colonel Francis W. Parker, The Children's Crusader* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967) and Merle Curti's assessment (pp. 374–395) in his *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (Paterson, New Jersey: Littlefield Adams, 1965); for Dewey's impact in Chicago, consult Katherine Mayhew, *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).
26. Moody's inclusion of study questions (as many as sixty-seven in chapter 4), at the conclusion of each of the seventeen chapters, gave his text a highly catechetical tone reminiscent of the predetermined memorization, disciplined recitation, and rote learning that the progressive educators wished to eradicate.
27. John Dewey, *Education and Democracy*, p. 100–02; *Wacker's Manual*, p. 10. Another example of the progressives' interest in education and city planning reform can be seen in Randolph Bourne's discussion of the curriculum unit, "The City: A Healthful Place To Live" in *The Gary Schools* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), pp. 117–19.
28. *Wacker's Manual*, pp. 4, 8, 97.
29. D. H. Burnham, "White City and Capital City," *Century Magazine* 63 (February 1902), pp. 619–620; also see Burnham's speech, "A City of the Future Under a Democratic Government," *Transactions of the Town-Planning Conference, Royal Institute of British Architects* (October 1910), pp. 368–78.
30. Thomas S. Hines, "The Paradox of Progressive Architecture," *American Quarterly* 25 (1973), pp. 427–448. For Hine's extended treatment of this facet of Burnham see his biography, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), chapters 8 and 14.
31. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform, From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage, 1955), pp. 5–6.
32. William J. Adelman, "Robber Barons and Social Reformers," *Inland Architect* 24:3 (April 1980), pp. 12–15.
33. *Wacker's Manual*, pp. 140–45; *What of the City?* pp. 412–30; also see McCarthy, "Chicago Businessmen and the Burnham Plan," p. 233.
34. Commercial Club of Chicago, *The Presentation of The Plan of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1910, p. 29).
35. Stow Persons, *American Minds, A History of Ideas* (New York: H. Holt, 1958) pp. 349–352.
36. Burnham's famous credo—"Make no little plans, they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die"—is but another example of what David Burg calls "The Aesthetics of Bigness in Late Nineteenth Century American Architecture" in *Popular Architecture*, edited by Marshall Fishwick and J. Meredith Neil (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1978), pp. 108–114.
37. Consult Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, on the role of print in progressivism, pp. 186–197.
38. *What of the City?* pp. xi, 4; on Parsons, see Persons, *American Minds*, pp. 366–68. Other theorists of public opinion discussed in this context include A. Lawrence Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1922), and Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923).
39. *Wacker's Manual*, p. 45. Moody was particularly taken with Howe's critical study on Dusseldorf, Germany, because, in addition to insisting on constant publicity of plan purposes and educational programs, the Dusseldorf plan (like the Burnham plan) planned for city life a half century in the future and, perhaps best of all, it was a plan originally sponsored by the city's businessmen.
40. *Wacker's Manual*, p. 4.
41. Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search For Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang; 1967); an earlier study that buttresses the Wiebe thesis is Samuel P. Hayes, *The Response To Industrialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957).
42. *Wacker's Manual*, pp. 4, 17, 104, 8.
43. Burnham's proposed municipal building (see *Plan*, pages 115–118) was modeled, in part, after Richard Morris Hunt's administration building at the 1893 world's fair and the building that prompted Henry Adams to muse:

One sat down to ponder on the steps beneath Richard Hunt's dome almost as deeply as on the steps of Ara Coeli, and much to the same purpose. Here was a breach of continuity—a rupture in historical sequence! Was it real, or only apparent? One's personal universe hung on the answer, for, if the rupture was real and the new American world would take this sharp and conscious twist towards ideals, one's personal friends would come in, at last, as the winners in the great American chariot race for fame.
The Education of Henry Adams (New York: Modern Library, 1931). pp. 340–341.
44. *Wacker's Manual*, pp. 135–137.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 66–70; *What of the City?*, pp. 38–60. Moody was also something of a historic preservationist in that he opposed the destruction of old structures having aesthetic, historic, and functional utility. He always argued for "the value of perma-

- nency in city building," especially since there were "many sites within Chicago that, within the space of seventy years, have been occupied by three, four, or five different buildings." *Wacker's Manual*, p. 69.
46. *Fifty Million Dollars For Nothing!* (Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1916).
 47. Samuel Haber, *Efficiency and Uplift: Scientific Management in the Progressive Era, 1880–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Samuel P. Hayes, *Conservation and The Gospel of Efficiency* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959).
 48. On Haussmann see Howard Saalman, *Haussmann: Paris Transformed* (New York: G. Braziller, 1971).
 49. Michael P. McCarthy, "Businessmen and Professionals In Municipal Reform: The Chicago Experience, 1887–1920" (Northwestern University: unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1970), p. 106; McCarthy, "Businessmen and the Burnham Plan," *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society* p. 231.
 50. John Dewey, "Waste in Education," in *The School and Society*, edited by Jo Ann Boydston in *John Dewey: The Middle Works, Volume I: 1889–1924* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), pp. 39–56; Shailer Mathews, *Scientific Management in the Churches* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912); Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "The Waste of Private Housekeeping," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 48 (July 1913), pp. 91–95.
 51. On the differences between these two modes of planning see John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965); pp. 331–339, and William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1964), pp. 40–54; Moody's argument for the Burnham plan as primarily one of the "City Practical" can be found in *What of The City?*, pp. 15, 93.
 52. *Wacker's Manual*, pp. 4, 145, 80–81.
 53. Henry Blake Fuller, "The Upward Movement in Chicago," *Atlantic Monthly* 80; "Chicago's Higher Evolution," *The Dial* (October 1, 1892), pp. 205–206; *Wacker's Manual*, pp. 80–81.
 54. *Wacker's Manual*, p. 133.
 55. *American Nervousness* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), p. 96; also see Beard's *Sexual Neurasthenia (Nervous Exhaustion): Its Hygiene, Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment, With a Chapter on Diet For The Nervous*, edited by A. D. Rockwell (New York: E. B. Treat, 1884), p. 238n.
 56. Charles E. Rosenberg, *No Other Gods: On Science and American Social Thought* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1976), p. 107.
 57. *Wacker's Manual*, p. 97.
 58. Geoffrey Blodgett, "Frederick, Law Olmsted: Landscape Architecture of Conservative Reform," *Journal on American History* 62:4 (1976), pp. 869–889; Michael McCarthy, "Politics and the Parks: Chicago Businessmen and the Recreation Movement," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 65:2 (1972), pp. 158–172; Peter J. Schmitt, *Back To Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).
 59. *Plan of Chicago*, p. 105.
 60. Scott, *History of American City Planning*, p. 108; *Plan of Chicago*, p. 109.
 61. Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and The Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1880–1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962), pp. 217–256.
 62. Civic League of St. Louis, *A City Plan for St. Louis* (St. Louis: Civic League, 1907).
 63. Akeley, "Implementing The 1909 Plan," pp. 52, iii.
 64. Scott, *History of American City Planning*, p. 139.
 65. *What of the City?* p. 108.
 66. Scott, *History of American City Planning*, p. 140.
 67. William T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1894), pp. 421–442. Akeley, "Implementing The 1909 Plan" (p. 31), recognizes one similarity between the two reformers in noting that both saw the Chicago citizenry as "full of a boundless elan and full of faith in the destiny of their city."
 68. On Stead in Chicago, see Joseph O. Baylen, "A Victorian's 'Crusade' in Chicago, 1893–1894," *Journal of American History* 51:3 (December 1964), pp. 418–434; also "Stead in the Slums," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, November 12, 1893, p. 1.
 69. *Chicago Tribune*, January 19, 1919, p. 1.
 70. Stead perished aboard the *Titanic* when it sank in 1912.
 71. Robert L. Wrigley, Jr., "The Plan of Chicago: Its Fiftieth Anniversary," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 26 (February 1960), p. 37.
 72. Lois Wille, *Forever Open, Clear and Free: The Struggle for Chicago's Lakefront* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1972), p. 88.
 73. Moody, *What of the City?*, p. x.
 74. Chappell, "Chicago Issues: The Enduring Power of a Plan," p. 14; Scott, *American City Planning*, p. 139.
 75. In Chicago, some of the most important progeny that have followed in the wake of the 1909 Burnham Plan are: *Harbor Plan of Chicago* (1927); *The Outer Drive Along the Lake* (1929); *The Axis of Chicago* (1929); *Building New Neighborhoods: Subdivision Design and Standards* (1943); *Master Plan of Residential Land Use of Chicago* (1943); *Planning the Region of Chicago* (1956); *Development Plan For The Central Area of Chicago* (1958); the *Comprehensive Plan* (1966); *Chicago 21* (1973); and *Riveredge Plan* (1974). A summary of several of the Post-1909 plans are also found in a report written by J. T. Fink, entitled *Grant Park Tomorrow* (1979). (All works listed here published by the Chicago Plan Commission.).
 76. *Wacker's Manual*, p. 8.