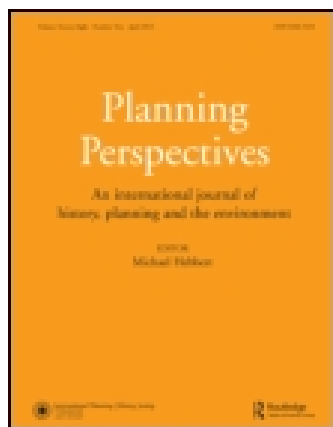


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Daniel Burnham and Australia's Federal Capital, 1893–1912

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Celebrated architect and city planner Daniel Hudson Burnham enjoyed a rise to fame in the aftermath of his widely acclaimed achievement as Director of Works for the World's Columbian Exposition, held in his adopted Chicago in 1893. Roughly in parallel with Burnham's rise, town planning movements were coalescing in Australia, and it would not be long until the Chicagoan's name was circulating in Australian professional circles. This is a pilot study broadly aimed at chronicling and interpreting Australian awareness of Daniel Burnham at the turn of the twentieth century. More specifically, it is concerned with the reception of Burnham's civic design ideals and why some believed them to be of antipodean relevance. Their Australian impact, however, is beyond the present study's scope. Reciprocally, this essay also surveys Burnham's knowledge of Australia. Special emphasis is given to Burnham within the context of the Australia's Federal Capital competition (1912), arguing that although the Chicagoan did not compete, he profoundly, albeit vicariously, impacted the capital's design.

Keywords: Daniel Burnham; town planning in Australia; Canberra; Walter Burley Griffin; Marion Mahony Griffin; Baguio; John Fitzgerald; John Sulman; George Taylor

Introduction

In 1911, the decade-old Commonwealth of Australia launched an international design competition for its Federal Capital, later named Canberra. Americans Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin famously won the contest the next year. Today, more than a century later, popular imagination has overlooked the fact that support for the decision to secure a plan for the capital by means of a competition was not universal. For some, there was a more direct and simple solution: award the job to pre-eminent American architect and city planner Daniel Burnham. With this proposition as its point of beginning, this essay is divided into three parts. First, it surveys how Burnham's work came to be known in Australia and why some believed it to be of antipodean relevance. It then reciprocally charts Burnham's knowledge of Australia and the country's enterprise to build a new capital. The essay concludes by arguing that although Burnham did not chose to enter the Canberra competition, he profoundly, albeit vicariously, impacted the Australian capital's design.

Burnham's visibility and appeal 'Down Under'

How did Daniel Hudson Burnham come to be known a hemisphere away from his adopted Chicago? As was the case in the USA, Burnham first entered Australians' ken owing to the

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wide acclaim he won as Director of Works for the World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893. Even before the fair closed, an Australian newspaper published a short biography of Burnham, sensationally titled 'He Built the White City: The Man Who Solved the Greatest Architectural Problem Ever Presented', replete with his portrait (Figure 1).¹ Alluding to his exposition work, the newspaper identified Burnham as the director of the 'greatest mechanical enterprise known to man'.² 'Perhaps no man living', it lauded, 'is better qualified' for the job.³ On 1 January 1901, eight years after the enormously successful fair's close, six of Great Britain's self-governing antipodean colonies federated to form the Commonwealth of Australia. The next day, a newspaper in Burnham's Chicago trumpeted that a 'new era' had dawned in Australia.⁴

Ambition, if not quite resolve, to construct a national capital *de novo* quickly arose amidst the ethos of Australia's political reconfiguration. Convened that May in the temporary national capital of Melbourne, a 'Congress of Engineers, Architects, Surveyors and Others Interested in the Building of the Federal Capital of Australia' hoped to galvanize interest in the enterprise.⁵ Scrutiny of the Melbourne gathering's proceedings reveals that although its designer's name is absent, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition – seen as an ideal city in miniature – lingered in Australian professional memory. Architect George Sydney Jones, for instance, advocated that the 'main cornices and main string holds' of the future capital's buildings, 'while not necessarily being of the same profile, should be at the same level'.⁶ This was precisely one of the mechanisms Burnham employed to achieve architectural harmony at 'The White City'. Campaigning for 'A Waterside Federal Capital', delegate A. Evans conjured 'the magnificent effect of the Chicago Exhibition Buildings [sic]'.⁷ Apart from its architectural beauty, Evans favourably attributed the exposition's ethereal, atmospheric qualities to 'the presence of fine sheets of water'.⁸ 'Imagine, if possible', he continued, 'the same design spread over a waterless landscape'.⁹ Evans, possibly a fair visitor himself, had fallen under the spell of the exposition's set-piece, 'Court of Honor'. This cross-axial terrace, although long demolished by 1901, was delineated with reflecting basins and gained spatial accentuation by the uniformly neo-classical buildings that aligned them. The east-west armature took the exposition's Administration building as its western terminus, with

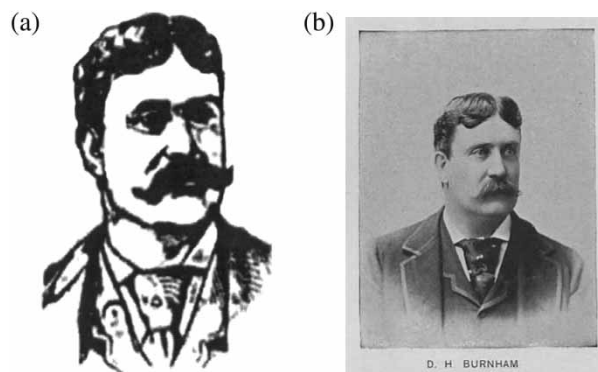


Figure 1. Left, sketch portrait of Daniel Burnham as published in a South Australian newspaper in 1893. Source: 'He Built the White City'. This is quite possibly the earliest image of Burnham to appear in Australia. Right, the photographic portrait of Burnham on which the sketch was based. Source: Bancroft, 1893.

the multi-storied structure also serving as a viewing platform. From here, the eye travelled east, following the aqueous corridor's trajectory, past a monolithic statue of the 'Republic', through a backdrop 'Peristyle' and across Lake Michigan's expanse to rest at the distant horizon – the nexus between the water's shimmering surface and the blue dome of the prairie sky. At the World's Columbian Exposition, Burnham believed that 'the people at large discovered the art of Landscape Architecture and were delighted'.¹⁰ Despite the Melbourne congress' early enthusiasm, however, Australia would wait another decade until its capital had a design.

In 1901, whilst Australians were debating what shape their capital might take, Daniel Burnham was appointed to the US Senate Park Commission and soon became its de facto chairman.¹¹ He was awarded this prestigious position largely owing to his World's Columbian Exposition success. Now, Burnham was to orchestrate the 'restoration' and expansion of Pierre Charles L'Enfant's 1791 foundational plan of Washington, DC. News of Burnham's new post eventually found its way into the pages of at least one Australian newspaper, albeit obliquely. Reviewing the February 1902 issue of *Century Magazine*, Hobart's *Mercury* alerted readers that its contents included an 'authoritative' illustrated article on Washington's improvements by 'Daniel H. Burnham, the architect of the Congressional Commission [sic]', providing another opportunity for Australian acquaintance with the Chicagoan.¹²

There would soon be another reason for Burnham to attract Australian attention, and one much closer to home. In 1904, the US government engaged him to modernize, that is, 'Americanize', the centuries old – and by American and Australian standards, antique – city of Manila, capital of their newly acquired Philippine colony.¹³ He was also to design a wholly new summer capital, Baguio. Although the idea of constructing a summer capital had originated with his Spanish predecessors, Burnham explained with American bravado: 'it was always mañana with the Spanish rulers, and they never got around to actual work on realizing the dream'.¹⁴ The Americans, taking their cue from their British counterparts in India, now set out to realize a 'Philippine Shimla'.¹⁵ Collectively, Manila and Baguio then amounted to one of the largest city building enterprises in the Orient. As such, the work would not escape Australian notice. The location and imperial purpose of these projects also reminds us that, in the early twentieth century, Great Britain held no monopoly on empire.¹⁶

'Down under' and approximately in parallel with Burnham's Philippines enterprise, a town planning movement was coalescing in Sydney.¹⁷ This was a time when Sydney, the state capital of New South Wales, 'was seeking to regionally, imperially, and globally position itself as a major economic player and particularly maritime metropolis through substantial infrastructural improvements and self-conscious civic design'.¹⁸ Radical local journalist, lawyer and politician John Daniel Fitzgerald was an especially passionate and outspoken town planning advocate, one well versed in Burnham's City Beautiful ideals.¹⁹ In 1905, Fitzgerald's town planning zeal led him to Manila, where he observed first-hand the ongoing implementation of Burnham's plan for the city. Fitzgerald probably first gained knowledge of Burnham while serving on New South Wales' Commission for the World's Columbian Exposition.²⁰ However, how, precisely, he learned of Burnham's Philippine activities is unclear. As Fitzgerald later distinguished the islands as Australia's 'near neighbour', perhaps it was the American colony's close geographic proximity that had attracted his scrutiny.²¹ Whatever his knowledge source, Manila's reality did not disappoint him and he would soon launch a campaign, almost single-handedly, to promote Burnham in the popular press. Australian awareness of the American architect would be limited to professionals no longer.

There was another catalyst for Australian media attention to Burnham. It was, however, a tragic one: the 1906 San Francisco earthquake with its subsequent fires. In its report on the disaster, tellingly sub-titled 'Designing a New City [:] "Most Beautiful in the World"', Adelaide's *Advertiser* optimistically reassured readers that 'steps are being taken to organise a movement for rebuilding [the city] on the plans of the architect, Mr. Daniel Burnham'.²² Like a proverbial phoenix, San Francisco was to be 'entirely rebuilt on new and modern as well as picturesque lines'.²³ (This plan was never realized.) As a testament to Burnham's stature, at least for this reporter, he needed no introduction.

In 1907, Fitzgerald furthered his town planning agenda and turned a critical eye to Sydney. He did not like the view. That May, he lamented what he termed Sydney's 'planlessness' in a national magazine, condemning the city's centre as 'crowded, embarrassed and choked by the narrowness of its planless thoroughfares' and its suburbs as 'reproducing the defects and the mistakes of the inner core of the city'.²⁴ Fitzgerald's criticism would prove unrelenting. That December, ghost writing in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, he urged Sydney to form a 'beautification commission' as a preliminary step towards alleviating its urban ills.²⁵ Alerting, if not introducing, Sydney to Burnham, Fitzgerald identified the architect as the beautification expert who had 'planned the improvements at Manila and in San Francisco' – the latter plan, he lamented, 'unfortunately will not be carried out'.²⁶

In 1908, Fitzgerald continued to use the newspaper as his town planning voice box. In April, he again featured Burnham. The Americans, Fitzgerald reported, 'have developed a specialist who is a kind of amalgam of architect, landscape gardener, and engineer'.²⁷ 'Such a one is', he continued, 'Mr. Burnham, who goes about the world planning cities'.²⁸ He then offered *Herald* readers a simple remedy for the city's urban ills: invite Burnham to 'visit Sydney and report on its improvement'.²⁹ 'The cost', Fitzgerald reported somewhat precisely, 'would not be more than £500, and the time lost by Mr. Burnham need not exceed three months'.³⁰ The source of his financial and time estimates is unclear; perhaps it was the architect himself? He also again pointed to Burnham's nearby Manila work as meriting Sydney's scrutiny. Like its Australian counterpart, ancient Manila was no *tabula rasa*. It was, as Fitzgerald put it, 'a huddled city', its density 'worse than Sydney[s]'.³¹ Burnham's 'seafront improvements' and 'treatment of the old Spanish walled city and the moat', however, gave 'promise of making a sweeping alteration in one of the worst cities in the East'.³² He also thought Burnham's San Francisco plan apt for Sydney as the two cities share a similar topography. 'Visitors are struck', Fitzgerald observed, 'with the resemblance in many respects of the two cities of the North and South Pacific "slopes"'.³³

In May 1908, Fitzgerald's critiques, along with campaigns by others (for his was not a lone voice), finally compelled the New South Wales government to appoint a Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs – launching Australia's 'first modern town planning inquiry'.³⁴ The new Commission assembled a reference library which eventually included, no doubt at Fitzgerald's urging, Burnham's Manila report.³⁵ In October, the Commission called Fitzgerald to give evidence before it. As the proceedings' minutes confirm, he inevitably directed the Commission's attention to Manila and then recounted his own experience there. Fitzgerald concluded by recommending that Sydney reclaim land from Darling Harbour within the city's larger, iconic Port Jackson. Afterwards, 'a wide zone around the reclaimed area', he explicitly instructed, should then be 'replanned on the lines of Burnham's plans of Manila and San Francisco'.³⁶

The Commission's minutes also reveal that he was not the only Australian to esteem Burnham. John Sulman, an architect and, at that time, effectively Australia's only town planning 'authority', referenced San Francisco's 'very fine' plan by the 'celebrated American architect, Mr. Burnham'.³⁷ He distinguished it as 'far more comprehensive than anything I have dared to suggest [for Sydney], although San Francisco is only about the same size as Sydney'.³⁸

When publically reporting the Commission's activities in October 1908, Fitzgerald contextually referenced the US Senate Park Commission, noting its membership included not only Burnham, 'the leading city planner of the United States', but also the 'famous sculptor, the late Augustus St. Gaudens, and a landscape artist, Mr. [Frederick Law] Olmsted, Jun [ior]'.³⁹ Writing in the *Herald* again in November and December, Fitzgerald continued promoting Burnham's Manila as a model for Sydney.⁴⁰ In the latter month, however, he boasted that Manila's 'level topography and shallow bay' made it 'not [as] capable of picturesque development as Sydney is'.⁴¹

In 1909, the Royal Commission released its final report. Almost predictably, the document references Burnham, 'the eminent American architect and town planner'.⁴² More than just mentioning him, the report quoted his rationale for city beautification: 'the delightfulness of a city is an element of first importance to its prosperity, for those who make fortunes will stay, and others come if the attractions are strong enough; and the money thus kept at home, added to that freely spent by visitors, will be enough to ensure continuous good times'.⁴³ Although unidentified in its report, the Commission had, aptly enough, extracted this quotation from Burnham's 'Report on Proposed Improvements at Manila'.⁴⁴ After the Commission report's release, Fitzgerald ceased promoting Burnham. It would, however, prove only a temporary lapse.

Also in 1909, John Sulman again publically lauded Burnham's San Francisco plan, this time in Sydney's *Daily Telegraph*. 'One of the chief merits of the splendid plan for the remodelling of San Francisco by the celebrated American architect, Mr. D. H. Burnham', Sulman enthused, 'was the way in which he utilised every bit of scenery and brought it into the scheme'.⁴⁵ Importantly, he included this praise in an essay on not Sydney's, but the Federal Capital's possible design. This would not be the last time Sulman linked Burnham with the capital building enterprise. Later that year, he suggested that were Australia to 'go abroad' for a design, 'the name of D. H. Burnham, of Chicago, the designer of the "White City," of the remodelling of San Francisco, and of the revival and improvement for Washington, at once suggests itself'.⁴⁶ He did, however, have a significant reservation about recommending the expert: Burnham was American, not British. 'Although Australian by environment', Sulman explained, 'we are essentially British in race, and a Briton would therefore be more in sympathy with our practical requirements and also our highest ideals'.⁴⁷

In January 1911, the Australian press renewed its attention to Burnham. This time, however, neither Fitzgerald nor Sulman was the news source. That month, a pair of Tasmanian newspapers published 'America in the Philippines: The Rebirth of Manila', overviews Burnham's 'comprehensive scheme' for the city's expansion and distinguishing him as the man 'than whom there is no higher authority on such matters [i.e. town planning] in the United States'.⁴⁸ This article actually first appeared the previous year in London's *Times*. The reprinted article was, moreover, but one instalment in a series, all published under the banner 'America in the Philippines'. 'Agitation for Independence and the Flag' appeared first, then 'Attitude of the Filipinos towards Their Rulers', followed by 'First Fruits of Education of the Natives'.⁴⁹ As the editors overlooked the first three articles and chose only to reprint the Manila account, perhaps

they saw not the Philippine capital itself, but the subject of town planning as having Australian, or at least Tasmanian, relevance.⁵⁰ One also suspects that the plight of the Filipinos behind the American 'imperial façade' might have held little interest for White Australia.⁵¹

By 1911, a decade after Federation, enthusiasm for building the new capital had at last gained momentum. That January, only days after the Tasmanian Manila reprints appeared, John Fitzgerald restarted his promotion of Burnham in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Like Sulman before him, he now shifted attention from Sydney to the Federal Capital.⁵² Responding to official proposals to 'offer a small prize for [the capital's] plans', Fitzgerald advocated an alternative design source.⁵³ He first authoritatively reminded his readers that Burnham was the 'greatest' of all the 'world's chief town planners'.⁵⁴ Fitzgerald then divulged that a 'suggestion' had been made, ostensibly by someone other than himself, that 'Burnham be "borrowed" and asked to cooperate with the many capable engineers and architects who are amongst us' to collaboratively produce a plan.⁵⁵ As he had done earlier when proposing Burnham visit Sydney, Fitzgerald had gone so far as to estimate that '£3000 would cover Mr. Burnham's fee and travelling expenses'.⁵⁶ As Fitzgerald's promotion of Burnham had been consistent and sustained, one might reasonably anticipate him to advocate simply engaging the architect to design the capital himself. To do so, however, would risk offending local practitioners by implying they were incompetent to the task. Nonetheless, elsewhere in its empire, Great Britain would soon directly commission an architect to design a new imperial capital on the subcontinent, New Delhi. Fitzgerald's use of the adjectives 'many' and 'capable', moreover, makes his description of the local professional scene an overstatement, if not placatory flattery. In actuality, Australian town planning expertise was in exceedingly short supply. This dearth was another motivation for the government's ultimate decision to secure a plan by means of a competition. Indeed, later that year, the Sydney-based journal *Building* reprinted its Canadian counterpart's negative view on the status of Australian town planning. Toronto's *Construction* bluntly contended there were few, if any, local professionals 'capable through practical experience of making an adequate plan for the capital city required by Australia'.⁵⁷ In fact, the magazine believed there were only five architects in all of the USA and Canada who had 'the practical experience required', one of whom was 'D. H. Burnham'.⁵⁸

Visionary architect William Hardy Wilson was another Australian who admired the Chicagoan. He also held the view that 'there were [then] no architects in Australia who knew enough about town planning to competently advise on the designs for a plan of the new city'.⁵⁹ In remedy, he 'hoped that Daniel Burnham' would be asked to 'give Australia a noble plan on which to found her capital'.⁶⁰ Seeking to create a distinctly Australian architecture which fused Occidental with Oriental traditions (an aim quite remarkable for the time), Wilson later voyaged to China. His esteem for Burnham compelled him to stop at Manila en route to study the American's improvements there. Like Fitzgerald earlier, he was not disappointed; Burnham had metamorphosed, as Wilson put it, 'a fever-breeding swamp' at the city's foreshore into 'a splendid entrance to Manila'.⁶¹

Burnham's Australian media reappearance was neither exclusively in association with the new capital nor with Fitzgerald. In March 1911, the *Herald's* London correspondent interviewed John Burns, a British parliamentarian and author of the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909, and solicited his views on Sydney's development.⁶² Burns, most fundamentally, urged the city to adopt a comprehensive plan. Allaying potential concerns as to such a plan's implementation expense, he assured readers that realization need not happen all at once.

Instead, a plan could be implemented incrementally ‘to be fitted piece by piece into place as the city grows – just as they might drop into place the pieces of a puzzle – as they are dropping into place at the moment the pieces Mr. D. H. Burnham has planned for Manila’.⁶³ By early 1911, then, Burnham was securely back in Australia’s ken.

Burnham and Australia’s Federal Capital competition

In April 1911, the Commonwealth launched an international competition to secure a plan for its Federal Capital.⁶⁴ The contest attracted controversy from its outset. Professional dissatisfaction that a layman – Minister for Home Affairs, King O’Malley – would serve as chief adjudicator led the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and other professional bodies to discourage, if not actually bar, their members’ participation. This move precluded most, but certainly not all, Australian and British professionals. Seemingly unfazed by the protest, O’Malley was resolute and the competition proceeded. Submissions were due in Melbourne on 31 January 1912. Less than a fortnight before the contest’s close, John Fitzgerald publicly expressed concern that many competitors would not have experienced the future capital’s site first-hand. He noted, albeit mistakenly, that ‘photographs’ of the site would be distributed to participants. Even so, Fitzgerald believed such images ‘will be of little value to even the most experienced city planner’.⁶⁵ Even the expert Burnham, he continued, ‘had to personally visit and survey the site before he proceeded to make his plans’ for ‘the new’ San Francisco and Manila.⁶⁶ Why Fitzgerald waited until the last minute to voice his concern is unclear. Perhaps he was attempting to pre-empt or undermine the imminent competition outcomes. Whatever his motivation, his warning fell on deaf ears.

Burnham possibly knew of Australia’s plans to build a new capital years before the actual competition. Australia’s protracted journey to Federation did not go unnoticed by the Chicago press. In February 1899, for instance, one newspaper reported that once Federation was achieved, Australia would build ‘a new capital’, excluding the ‘existing [colonial, soon to be state] capitals’, although no one then knew how the design would be procured.⁶⁷ We know with certainty that Burnham was aware of Australia’s plans to build a capital at least by October 1910. That month, he participated in the RIBA’s International Town Planning Conference at London.⁶⁸ Australian professionals received word of his involvement a little more than a fortnight before the competition launch (if not before). Reporting on the congress, *Building* noted that the USA had sent the ‘great architect’ Burnham as one of its representatives and that his ‘idealistic scheme for rebuilding Chicago’ featured in the conference exhibition.⁶⁹ Australia’s delegation was to include John Sulman. On a mission to brief the gathering on Australia’s plans to build a new capital, he prepared a paper titled ‘The Federal Capital of Australia’. Therein, believing local professionals (presumably including himself) lacked adequate town planning experience for the task, Sulman ‘strenuously advocated throwing open the planning of the Federal Capital to world-wide competition’.⁷⁰

For unknown reasons, however, Sulman did not make the voyage to London and his paper was not read owing to time constraints.⁷¹ Nonetheless, news of Australia’s imminent capital building enterprise was apparently in the ether at the august gathering. At the conference banquet, leading English architect Sir Aston Webb made a ‘toast of “Our Guests”’.⁷² After acknowledging Burnham’s presence, Webb next announced that ‘from Australia we have Sir George Reid’ (then High Commissioner to Great Britain). Reid, he enlarged, was in the

‘delightful position of representing a country which is actually going to produce a brand-new capital quite from the beginning, and we town planners are looking forward with the greatest interest to see what Australia will produce in the way of a capital’.⁷³ Although Sulman was absent, other Australian delegates probably spread the word concerning the imminent new capital. The conference’s List of Members records 11 other delegates with Australian addresses.⁷⁴ Of these, prominent Sydney architect George Sydney Jones is most notable; nearly a decade earlier, he had, as we have seen, vociferously participated in the Melbourne Federal Capital congress, and one can hardly imagine him remaining silent on the subject at the London conference.

The proceedings also reveal that at least two delegates were even aware of the much-contested site Australia had chosen for its capital, as well as its design implications. In their conference exhibition review, English architects and town planners H.V. Lanchester and Raymond Unwin curiously singled out Camillo Sitte’s layout of an Austrian summer resort as being of ‘special interest at the moment’.⁷⁵ For the pair, the source of this interest was that the resort’s lakeside site at Mariantal ‘resembles that chosen for the new Australian capital’.⁷⁶ ‘In both cases’, Lanchester and Unwin explained, ‘the river is dammed up to create a lake following the contour lines of the surrounding hills’.⁷⁷

In May 1911, on the heels of the Federal Capital contest launch, the Institute of Architects of New South Wales’ journal *Art & Architecture* focused its attention on the Federal Capital. That month’s issue included a condensed version of Sulman’s RIBA paper. As ‘there will be buildings of many kinds [at the new capital]’, the editors thought it instructive to ‘compare what is being done with the dreams of what may be’ and illustrated the issue with ‘designs prepared by men of different nationalities’.⁷⁸ A plan and perspective renderings of the Senate Park Commission’s Washington improvements and three images extracted from Burnham and Edward Bennett’s landmark *Plan of Chicago* (1909) were amongst the American examples reproduced. Most importantly that month, *Art & Architecture* urged the government to reconsider its controversial decision to rest final adjudication with O’Malley. The journal concluded its plea by quoting Burnham, ‘chief city planner of the world’: ‘knowledge brings desire, and desire brings action’.⁷⁹ ‘If the Commonwealth Government desire the best for the Federal City’, the magazine judged, ‘it is theirs to act’.⁸⁰

For Burnham, the Australian contest’s allure would have been multi-faceted. Responding to a toast made to him at the RIBA conference banquet, he commented favourably on the phenomenal proliferation of city planning commissions. After extolling their spread in the USA and Germany, he next remarked ‘[w]e hear of them, in Japan, in Australia’.⁸¹ Along with demonstrating his awareness of Australian town planning activity, his association of the two nations was not accidental. Burnham, like Hardy Wilson, perceived Australia and Japan as Oriental countries. After touring the Philippines and Japan in 1904, he reflected upon the experience: ‘The dive into the Orient has been like a dream. The lands, the people and their customs are all very strange and of absorbing interest. It surprises me to find how much this trip has modified my views, not only regarding the extreme East, but also regarding ourselves and all our European precedents. It will take some time to get a true perspective of it all in my mind’.⁸² The architect had clearly become intoxicated with the Orient’s charms. Now Australia was offering him the opportunity to design an Oriental capital.

Having already made substantial design revisions at Manila and Washington, Burnham was certainly well versed in the nuances of the capital city typology. Although no established

American planners entered the Federal Capital competition, for Burnham, Australia's capital nonetheless would have especially appealed as its site offered a *tabula rasa*, one far more expansive than Baguio's.⁸³ After all, until the Philippine summer capital enterprise, Burnham had been constrained to working within the fabric of extant cities. The Australian capital, moreover, was a project of far greater international visibility. Why, then, did Burnham not compete? This question becomes more compelling when one considers that, in 1903, despite then enjoying international prominence, Burnham did not consider himself above competitions. That year he submitted a competitive design for the US Military Academy at West Point, New York.⁸⁴ Even so, one surmises that entry in the Australian competition by an internationally renowned authority, despite the vociferous protest of numerous professional bodies, posed too great a career risk. Burnham's declining health, however, is the more pragmatic and probable reason. Even so, the celebrated Chicagoan would profoundly impact, albeit vicariously, the design of Australia's capital.

Burnham's impact upon the Griffins' prize-winning design

In May 1912, Australia's Minister for Home Affairs, King O'Malley, declared American architect and landscape architect Walter Burley Griffin's layout the competition's winner (Figure 2). Although submitted in Walter's name, the plan was actually designed collaboratively with his wife, Marion Mahony Griffin, at a distance in their native Chicago. As Fitzgerald predicted, the couple had never visited Australia; yet, ethereally, their layout fitted the site like a glove. After O'Malley announced the competition outcome, the press queried him for his reaction to learning the prize winner's identity. He tellingly answered, 'Mr. Griffin must be a pupil of Mr. Burnham, who laid out Chicago and remodelled Manila'.⁸⁵ The Minister, as we soon will discover, could not have been more correct.

The Griffins' entry was distinguished by its sensitive response to the site's physical features, especially its rugged landforms and watercourse. Indeed, this attribute was paramount to their design's success. Organized on a cross-axial scheme, the plan fused geometric reason with picturesque naturalism. When negotiating the fit of their geometric template with the actual site, the couple opted to venerate existing landforms. Hills, for instance, were not design impediments to be erased, but 'opportunities to be made the most of'.⁸⁶ Divining a linear correspondence between the summits of four local mounts, the couple inscribed and accentuated the alignment with a Land Axis. Anchored by Mount Ainslie at one end, the Land Axis extends some 25 kilometres to its other terminus, Mount Bimberi. By using its topographical features as axial determinants and visual foci, the Griffins sacralized the future city's site. The Molonglo River valley posed no less a design opportunity for the pair than did the site's landforms. Accordingly, they delineated a Water Axis across its Land counterpart at a right angle, aligning it with the river course, now remade into a continuous chain of basins and lakes. Through their design's structural dialogue with the locale's topographical idiosyncrasies, the Griffins appropriated the physical site itself as Australia's primal, enduring monument.

Enlarging their cross-axial geometry, the Griffins composed the city centre as a triangle, aligning its points with local summits. Concentrated within the triangle, public edifices are distributed in accordance with a systematic, topographically articulated political symbolism. Near the triangle's base, national cultural institutions line the northern margin of the central basin. At the triangle's northwest point, a hill became the nodal focus of the Municipal



Figure 2. The Griffins' competitive 'City and Environs' plan rendering for Australia's Federal Capital, 1911.
Source: National Archives of Australia.

Centre. Another summit punctuates the triangle's northeast point, becoming the city's Market Centre. Collectively, the two centres and cultural institutions represent the People. Across the ornamental waters at the basin's southern edge, an area gently rising to the triangle's apex becomes the Government Centre. The Judiciary, Legislative and other Departmental buildings are positioned at the foot of the hill, near the water's edge. Ascending towards the triangle's apex, one next encounters the Houses of Parliament midway up the hill. The summit is symbolically occupied not by the government but by the People. Here, at the highest elevation within the city's centre, the Griffins positioned a monolithic Capitol. Unlike its American namesake, however, this one was envisioned as a commemorative building to enshrine the achievements of Australian citizens.

Within the capital's ceremonial centre, a network of avenues radiates from the triangle's Capitol Hill apex. The hill itself is circumscribed by four concentric boulevards, named, respectively, Capital Circle and National, State and Australasia Circuits – physically and symbolically accentuating Capitol Hill as the epicentre of the federated nation. From this hub, the Griffins projected radial avenues or spokes, named for and geographically aligned with the actual locations of each outlying state capital. Two other radials, Commonwealth and Federal Avenues, delineate the triangle's sides and Constitution Avenue its base. Through this street configuration the Griffins spatially represented Australia's Federation. In a symbolism made legible by their names, the radial avenues gather in power from the sub-centre state capitals throughout the country and concentrate it within the national capital. In their Canberra design, Walter and Marion Griffin aimed ultimately for the national capital's landscape to be meaningful for all its citizens: 'By simply moving about the city, engaging in everyday life, the powers and responsibilities of government institutions together with the rights and responsibilities of each individual would become manifest'.⁸⁷

Although Daniel Burnham did not enter the Canberra competition, he did have a vicarious hand in the prize-winning design. It is well known that the Griffins' plan resonates with Burnham's City Beautiful ideals (amongst other sources), as most prominently expressed at the World's Columbian Exposition and Washington, DC. In his explanatory report prepared to accompany the couple's renderings, Walter himself, for instance, explicitly endorsed Burnham's work (although he did not name him). Liking the design of cities to 'exposition projects', he assessed that the best of these was the 'Columbian Exposition at Chicago, where the restriction to one colossal scale and single type of design around a rigidly formal enclosed court produced an impression outliving those of all subsequent experiments, or of perhaps any architectural ensemble of modern times'.⁸⁸ However, the Griffins' strategy to employ landforms as axial foci and use of topography to articulate their layout's political symbolism demonstrates their profound conceptual debt to another lesser known, if not overlooked, Burnham precedent: Baguio, summer capital of the Philippines (Figure 3).⁸⁹ An overview of Baguio's design enables one to discern and appreciate the links between the two Pacific capitals. Unlike his earlier work at Washington and parallel transformations at Manila, Baguio's site was a *tabula rasa*, allowing him to 'formulate [his] plans untrammelled by any but natural conditions'.⁹⁰ As he soon discovered, however, the site's natural conditions were formidable. Unlike Washington's (and later Chicago's) comparatively level canvas, Baguio confronted Burnham with a rugged terrain of topographical consequence.⁹¹ In response, he adopted the 'controlling principle' that his plan be 'obedient to nature'.⁹² Adhesion to this tenet did not preclude a formal layout. Burnham succeeded, quite unusually, in nestling a neoclassical City Beautiful plan



Figure 3. Burnham's plan of the City of Baguio, 1905.

Source: Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

within the terrain's warp and weft. Axes, for instance, were 'developed along ridges, valleys and hilltops'.⁹³ He effectively allowed landforms, not a predetermined template, to fix his layout's geometric alignments. Not unlike L'Enfant had done at Washington, Burnham considered Baguio's two higher plateaus to be pedestals beckoning governmental building ensembles. He allocated one summit to municipal government administration and the second to national; a 'long main axis, expended by an open green esplanade' linked the two hilltop groups.⁹⁴ 'The intention is', Burnham summarized, 'to carry through the lines of the streets to commanding points on the hillsides and thus permit the location of monumental buildings where they command a view down neighbouring streets, and count for their full value as an important element in the general effect'.⁹⁵ Crucially, he awarded visually commanding hilltops only to government buildings. Otherwise, to ubiquitously position 'formal architectural silhouettes upon the summits of the surrounding hills', Burnham cautioned, 'would make a hard skyline and go far toward destroying the charm of this beautiful landscape'.⁹⁶ Alternatively, he advocated situating 'buildings on the sloping hillsides'.⁹⁷ There, they would 'be seen against a solid background of green foliage' and gain 'the best possible setting without mutilating their surroundings'.⁹⁸ By crowning summits with monumental government ensembles and subsuming all other buildings to the verdant slopes, Burnham 'Americanized' Baguio's landscape. In his plan for the summer capital, Burnham took the rugged terrain as his medium for America's colonial message.⁹⁹ In the end, the architect himself believed Baguio to be 'something unusual among cities' (Figure 4).¹⁰⁰

How might the Griffins have gained knowledge of Baguio? Walter and Marion, practicing in close proximity in Chicago (first working together with Frank Lloyd Wright, next independently

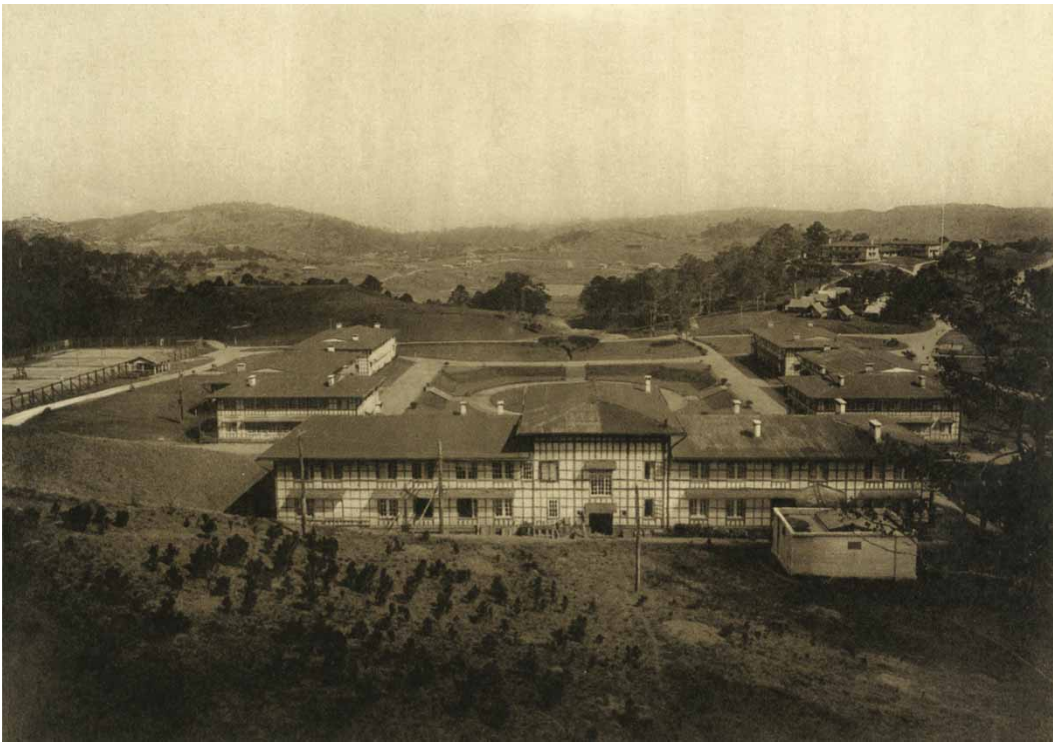


Figure 4. View of 'Government centre at Baguio—The Summer Capitol', ca. 1912.
Source: Author's collection.

and then, from 1909, collaboratively), inevitably possessed more than just a vague knowledge of Burnham's activities; his presence in Chicago's professional circles was well publicized and virtually inescapable. In fact, Griffin himself claimed his visits to the World's Columbian Exposition were catalysts for his own professional pursuits.¹⁰¹ More immediately, Burnham's Philippine commission was one of national prominence and heralded in the press.¹⁰² There is yet another impulse which possibly led the couple to study Baguio. In the early twentieth century, as we have seen, the Philippines and Australia were popularly considered to be Oriental countries (Figure 5). Like Hardy Wilson and Burnham, Walter (if not Marion) held this view – one imagines, much to the consternation of then White Australia. Even after later moving there, 'Australia is', Walter contended, 'an Oriental country'.¹⁰³ Australia's appeal possibly stemmed, most fundamentally, from the couple's wider Orientalist sensibilities. The 'Far East', by the time of the Canberra competition, 'previously perceived as an arena of imperialist domination, such as Burnham had known in the Philippines, had become a place of mystic attraction'.¹⁰⁴ Their perception of an Oriental Australia, together with its close geographical proximity to the Philippines, likely made consideration of Baguio seem logical to the Griffins.

If the Griffins undertook an effort to locate detailed information on Burnham's Philippine work, then they would not have had to look very hard. Burnham's Manila and Baguio

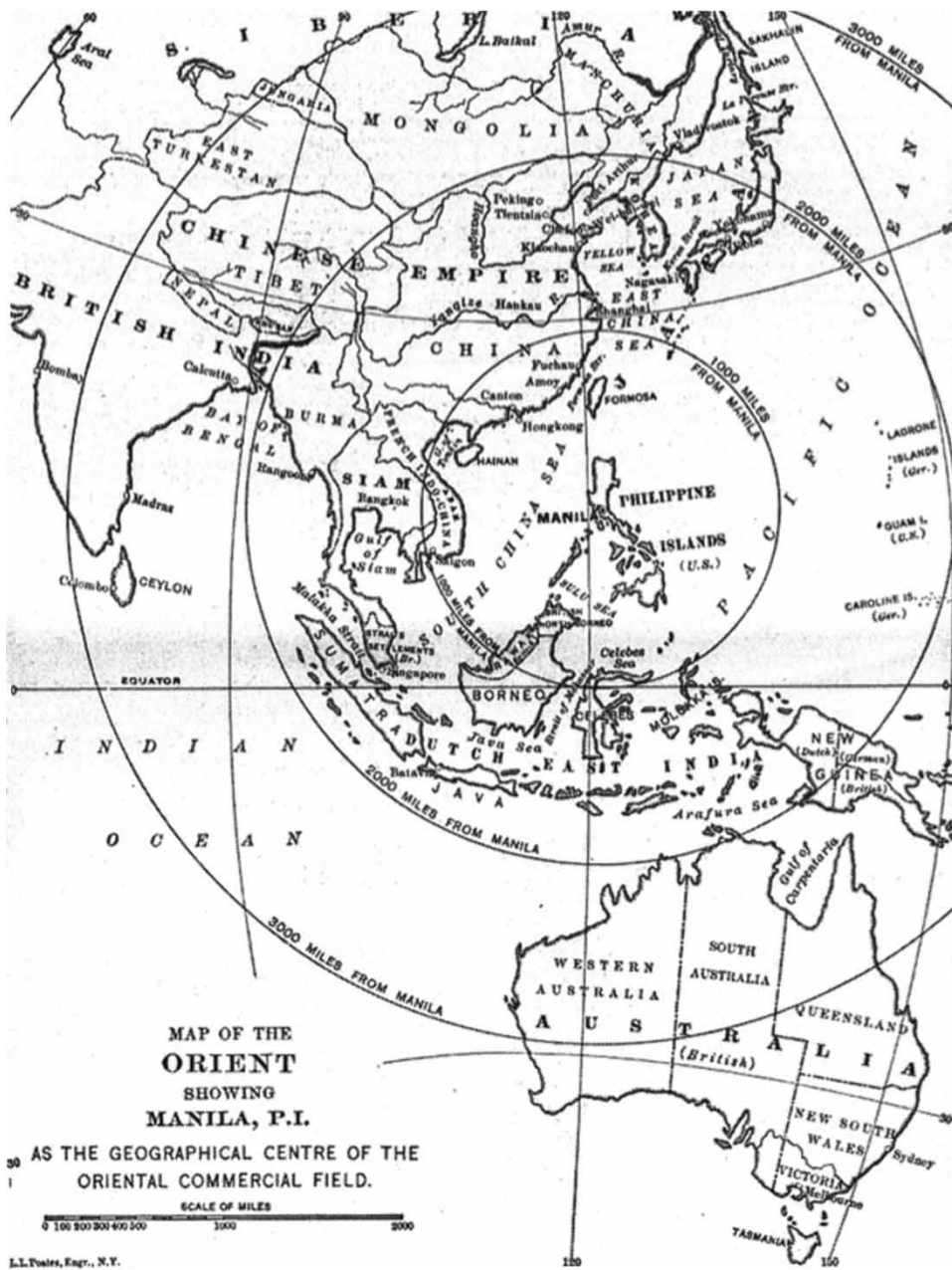


Figure 5. Map of the orient showing Manila, P.I.
Source: Barrett, 'Manila'.

reports were made readily accessible in 1906. That year both reports were wholly reprinted in the *Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects*.¹⁰⁵ As a member of the Institute's Illinois Chapter, Griffin was undoubtedly familiar with the volume. In 1909, Burnham himself returned attention to Manila and Baguio, reproducing his plans for these cities in his and Bennett's *Plan of Chicago*.¹⁰⁶

There is, however, another possible and somewhat surprising Baguio knowledge source, albeit an indirect one: the Griffins' former employer Frank Lloyd Wright. Up until the Canberra competition, the closest Marion came to representing an urban vision was a 1909 bird's-eye perspective she made of Wright's Como Orchards Summer Colony, a village, if not quite a miniature city (Figure 6). In his layout, Wright composed a collection of some 60 summer dwellings on a cross-axial plan, set amidst a dramatic valley in western Montana's Bitterroot Mountains. In a compelling response to the site's rugged topography, he chose to align its central axis 'dead-centre on the saddleback peak of El Capitán, the highest mountain' in the community's vicinity.¹⁰⁷ Although it is unclear as to whether or not Marion's contribution to the project was confined to delineation, this layout may have spawned Canberra's Land Axis.¹⁰⁸ As this rendering was 'her most ambitious representation of a building group', one suspects she would not have forgotten the project when collaborating with Walter on their Canberra layout, about two years later.¹⁰⁹ In turn, did the concept of axial alignment with a mountain peak originate with Wright, then little experienced at working at an expansive scale on broken terrain, so unlike the level Midwestern prairies? As the Griffins would later do when designing Canberra, might Wright have taken Baguio as his cue? Wright, always loathe to

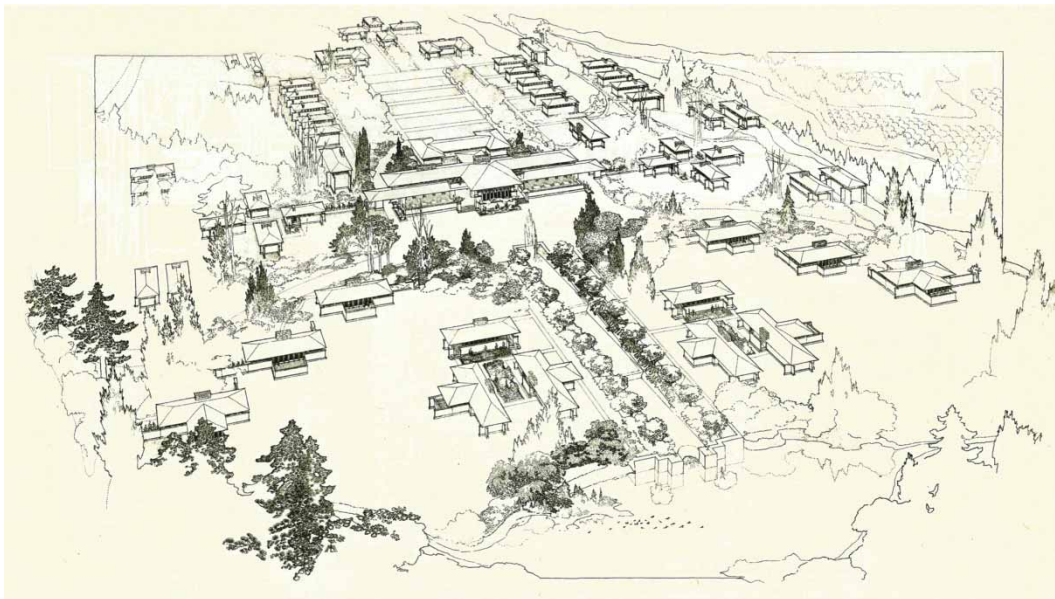


Figure 6. Aerial perspective view of Wright's Como Orchard Summer Colony, ca. 1909, Marion Mahony Griffin, delineator.
Source: Wright, 1910.

admitting precedents, nonetheless knew Burnham personally, affectionately remembering him as ‘Uncle Dan’ in his autobiography.¹¹⁰ Although he eschewed Burnham’s historicist architecture, he probably respected his town planning expertise. Around the time of the Como Orchards project, Burnham was especially visible in Chicago as one of the *Plan of Chicago* authors. Although not probable, it nonetheless remains possible that the young architect solicited the elder town planning authority’s advice on the Colony’s layout. If not, then the Griffins’ Baguio sources, of course, were no less accessible to Wright.

Finally, in January 1911, only months before the Australian competition launch, the couple received another timely cue, if not reminder. That month *Western Architect* surveyed ‘Manila, Old and New’, again directing scrutiny to the Philippines.¹¹¹ Regular readers of the Midwest-based journal, the Griffins undoubtedly did not miss this account. Before the year’s end, they would be at work on their Canberra submission – with Baguio amongst, if not foremost of, the capital city precedents ensconced in their collective imagination.

Epilogue

Although the Griffins had won the competition, King O’Malley notoriously set their plan aside in 1913. He replaced it with the government’s own Departmental Board plan, a composite of features cannibalized from other contest submissions. In March 1913, John Fitzgerald apparently learnt that O’Malley was contemplating adopting, as he put it, a ‘hotch-potch plan’.¹¹² He responded by urging the government to instead ‘bring a European or American planner to Australia to report on our capital scheme’.¹¹³ Sadly, Daniel Burnham was no longer available; he had passed away the previous June. Curiously, Fitzgerald seemed oblivious to the fact that O’Malley had already made up his mind. Canberra’s construction to the Departmental Board’s plan was then already under way. Perhaps he believed there was still enough time to intervene.

John Sulman later publically reflected on O’Malley’s controversial decision. When the Departmental Board’s plan was officially adopted in January 1913, Australian professionals protested directly to the Prime Minister.¹¹⁴ Amidst the outcry, Sulman had apparently urged O’Malley to consult ‘one of the leading town planners of the world like Sir Aston Webb or Daniel Burnham’ so that a fresh start on the capital could be made.¹¹⁵ Curiously, either Sulman was unaware of Burnham’s death months earlier or his memory was faulty. Nonetheless, his advice confirms his high regard for the Chicagoan. At the same time, it also reveals his outlook towards the Griffins’ plan to be tepid; he apparently saw no need to confer with the prize-winning plan’s authors. A fresh start was eventually made months later. It was not, however, the sort Sulman had in mind. That October, the Commonwealth appointed Walter Burley Griffin to be its Federal Capital Director of Design and Construction and restored the couple’s original plan.

Daniel Burnham left no written commentaries on the design of Australia’s Federal Capital. Word of the competition’s outcome presumably did not reach him before his untimely death in Germany on 1 June 1912, just eight days after the announcement of the prize-winner. When Australia learnt of Burnham’s passing months later, John Fitzgerald publicly eulogized that, with the architect’s death, the ‘loss to modern civic ideals will be severely felt’.¹¹⁶ The ‘new science of town planning’, *Building* mourned that October, has ‘lost one of its cleverest masters’.¹¹⁷ Australia would not soon forget him. The next year, Fitzgerald urged Sydneysiders:

‘We must, while providing for the future commercial development of the port, see that our shores are not entirely despoiled of their true beauty’.¹¹⁸ ‘So great a planner as the late lamented Daniel Burnham’, he remembered, ‘provided in Manila an alteration of commercial zones and beauty zones round the shores of Manila Bay’.¹¹⁹ In May 1914, coincident with the Griffins’ Australian arrival, fellow town planning advocate and *Building* editor George Taylor published *Town Planning for Australia*, one of the first domestic texts on the subject. Therein, he did not fail to laud Burnham, the World’s Columbian Exposition and the improvements at Washington DC.¹²⁰ Later that year, Taylor made an American town planning study tour. In San Francisco, a newspaper interviewed the visiting ‘expert’; Taylor boldly seized it as an opportunity to chastize its citizens for failing to implement Burnham’s plan. ‘You had Daniel Burnham here, whom we know in Australia better than you do; you had him plan a real city for you and then you threw his plans into the wastebasket’.¹²¹

Nearly a decade after Burnham’s death, the Chairman of Western Australia’s Town Planning Association, William Saw (effectively John Fitzgerald’s west coast counterpart), proselytized for town planning in Perth. He wrote what amounted to a primer on Burnham and Bennett’s *Plan of Chicago* in a local newspaper. Hoping to inspire, he poignantly invoked the late ‘eminent architect and town planner’ Burnham’s motto ‘always to make big plans’.¹²² ‘Aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram, once recorded, will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with growing intensity. Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us’.¹²³ Aiming high and thinking big are precisely what Australia had done when it resolved to construct a capital de novo.

Acknowledgements

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Notes on contributor

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Notes

1. “He Built the White City.” The article was reprinted in *Camperdown Chronicle*. On Burnham, see, for instance, his colleague and biographer Moore’s *Daniel H. Burnham*; Hines, *Burnham of Chicago*; and Schaffer, *Daniel H. Burnham*.
2. “He Built the White City.”
3. Ibid.
4. “Begin New Era in Australia.”
5. Inskip, *Proceedings of the Congress*. Also see Freestone and Nichols, “The 1901 Federal Capital Congress.”

6. Jones, "Some Thoughts Concerning the Federal City" in *Proceedings of the Congress*, 22–5 (quotation, 23).
7. Evans, "A Waterside Federal Capital City," in *Proceedings of the Congress*, 35–7 (quotation, 36).
8. Evans, "A Waterside Federal Capital City," 36.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Quoted in Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 2: 169.
11. See, for instance, "The Improvement of Washington City" and "The United States Senate Park Commission" in Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 1: 129–40 and 141–72.
12. "Reviews." Burnham's article is "White City and Capital City." The review also mentioned Moore's "The Improvement of Washington City."
13. Moore was the first to chronicle Burnham's Philippines work. See his "Far West and Far East: San Francisco, Manila, Baguio, 1904–1905," in *Daniel H. Burnham*, 1: 23–245. He also reprinted the Manila and Baguio plans and reports as appendices therein. On Baguio, see especially Reed, *City of Pines*.
14. "Plan Queen City."
15. *Ibid.*
16. On the imperial dimension, see, for instance, Brody, *Visualizing American Empire*; Doeppers, "Manila's Imperial Makeover;" Lico, "Imperial Imaginings" in his *Arkitekturang Filipino*, 197–363; Mario Manieri-Elia, "Toward an 'Imperial City,'" Morley, "The Cultural Expansion of America;" Sonne, "Imperial Representation on the Philippines: Manila and Baguio" in his *Representing the State*, 89–94; and Torres, "Configuring the Manila into an American City" in her *The Americanization of Manila*, 47–74.
17. On this period of Sydney town planning, see Freestone, "City Plans" in his *Designing Australia's Cities*, 118–41. Also see Gibbons, "Improving Sydney" and Hoskins, *Sydney Harbour: A History*, 206–13.
18. Freestone, "International influences on early metropolitan planning," 1.
19. On Fitzgerald see Nairn, "Fitzgerald, John Daniel" and Petrow, "Progressivism in Australia."
20. "The Chicago Exhibition Commission."
21. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: The Idealists and Artists."
22. "San Francisco Fire."
23. *Ibid.*
24. Fitzgerald, "Sydney: The Cinderella of Cities."
25. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: A Beautification Commission."
26. *Ibid.*
27. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: The Idealists and Artists."
28. *Ibid.*
29. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: Invite Mr. Burnham."
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: The Idealists and Artists."
34. Freestone, "International influences on early metropolitan planning," 1.
35. New South Wales et al., *Report of the Royal Commission*, xxi.
36. Fitzgerald, "Minutes of Evidence" (21 October 1908) in *Report of the Royal Commission*, 118.
37. Sulman, "Minutes of Evidence" (20 July 1908) in *Report of the Royal Commission*, 63. Sulman, Freestone assessed, "definitely saw himself as the 'originator' of town planning in Australia" and he "had few obvious heroes, but Daniel Burnham came close." See his "Sulman of Sydney," 47 and 60.
38. Sulman, "Minutes of Evidence."
39. Fitzgerald, "New Sydney" (2 October 1908).
40. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1908.
41. *Ibid.*, 25 December 1908.
42. New South Wales et al., *Report of the Royal Commission*, xxiv.

43. Sulman, "Minutes of Evidence."
44. Burnham and Peirce Anderson, "Report on Proposed Improvements at Manila," 633.
45. Reprinted in Sulman, *The Federal Capital*, 19. This title comprises a "series of 7 articles reprinted for Sydney's 'Daily Telegraph' between 6th and 13th March 1909." It was republished again under the same title in *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*.
46. Quoted in "The Federal Capital – What Next?" 39. In lieu of American Burnham, Sulman suggested Sir Aston Webb.
47. "The Federal Capital – What Next?" As Freestone identified, the next year Sulman nonetheless advocated the American in the pages of Sydney's *Daily Telegraph* (5 March 1910) as "just the expert necessary to sort out Sydney's metropolitan muddle." Freestone, "Sulman of Sydney," 60.
48. "America in the Philippines: The Rebirth of Manila," *Mercury* and the *Examiner*. The original article first was published in *The Times* of London.
49. "Americans in the Philippines: The Agitation for Independence and the Flag;" "Americans in the Philippines: The Attitude of the Filipinos towards Their Rulers;" and "Americans in the Philippines: The First Fruits of Education of the Natives."
50. According to Dr Stefan Petrow of the University of Tasmania, both the *Mercury* and *Examiner* were then beginning to take an interest in town planning and its Tasmanian application (personal communication, 4 October 2011). Whatever the reason for the article's Australian reprinting, the catalyst for its original London publication is also uncertain; Burnham's plan, then nearly six years old, was hardly news.
51. See Hines, "The Imperial Façade."
52. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: The Federal Capital."
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: Planning on a Virgin Site."
56. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: The Federal Capital."
57. "An Opinion from Canada," 70. The original is "The admirable plan of Australia . . ." As registered by its title, this editorial was critical of Australia's competition from two stand points. First, the magazine believed the prize money was too meagre to attract contestants with town planning competency. Second, it contended that "no adequate provision for expert adjudication of the competitive drawings" had been made. This, in turn, would "bar out the best professional men of Canada and the United States."
58. The other four were New York architects Cass Gilbert and Arnold Brunner, Canadian expatriate architect F. W. Fitzpatrick, and Frank Miles Day, a former president of the American Institute of Architects.
59. Wilson, *The Dawn of a New Civilization*, 81. Writing in the third person, Wilson penned this text under the pseudonym "Richard Le Measurer" as a semi-fictionalized memoir. "Le Measurer's" comments are here taken to reflect Wilson's actual views. Wilson may have enlarged his knowledge of Burnham and his work when visiting the USA in 1908. On Wilson, see Edwards, *William Hardy Wilson*.
60. Wilson, *The Dawn of a New Civilization*, 81.
61. Ibid., 96. Wilson's passport, included in the collections of the National Library of Australia, confirms he made the trip in 1921. See "Papers of Hardy Wilson, circa 1888–1957" (MS Acc07/82).
62. "Town Planning."
63. Ibid.
64. The authoritative text on the competition is Reys, *Canberra 1912*.
65. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: Planning the Capital." Curiously, instead of photographs, competitors were supplied with colour reproductions of Charles Coulter's "Cycloramic View of Canberra Capital Site." Fitzgerald also referenced Burnham and Manila two months later in "Local Government: Commerce and Vandalism."
66. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: Planning the Capital."
67. "Colonies Unite in Australia."
68. See The Royal Institute of British Architects, *Town Planning Conference*.
69. "Town Planning Congress."

70. John Sulman, "The Federal Capital of Australia" in *Town Planning Conference*, 604–10 (quotation, 605).
71. Despite his inclusion in the conference "List of Members," Sulman did not in fact participate. Instead, he sent his paper to the conference with the expectation it would be read to the gathering. See The Royal Institute of British Architects, *Town Planning Conference*, 53 and "Town Planning." Curiously, the next day the same newspaper erroneously reported that the paper had been read. See "Australia's Capital." The paper was to have been presented in a session devoted to "The Creation of Capitals for the entire Continent of Australia and for the New World of Africa" [Khartoum and Omdurman], chaired by "Field-Marshal Lord [Herbert] Kitchener of Khartoum." The Royal Institute of British Architects, *Town Planning Conference*, 403, 603. As Sulman was absent, Peter Harrison noted that Kitchener allocated the entire session to a paper on the planning of the African capitals. See Harrison, *Walter Burley Griffin*, 8. Sulman's paper was later published in the conference proceedings.
72. The Royal Institute of British Architects, *Town Planning Conference*, 105.
73. Ibid., 105. Also see Freestone, "Planning the Federal Capital."
74. Along with Sulman, participants with Australian addresses included Albert Selmar Conrad, Torrington George Ellery, Anketell Henderson, Joseph Talbot Hobbs, Percy Frank Hockings, George Sydney Jones, George Herbert Parry, Charles Henry Slayter, Hartley Sutcliffe, Joseph Sykes, and Henry W. Tompkins. See "List of Members" in *Town Planning Conference*, 30–57. Given that Sulman is listed, however, it is not certain as to whether or not all of these men actually attended.
75. The Royal Institute of British Architects, *Town Planning Conference*, 741.
76. Ibid., 741.
77. Ibid., 741.
78. "Some Designs having in View the Federal City."
79. "The Federal Capital," 275. The magazine drew its quotation from Burnham's RIBA paper, "A City of the Future under a Democratic Government." See The Royal Institute of British Architects, *Town Planning Conference*, 368–78.
80. "The Federal Capital."
81. The Royal Institute of British Architects, *Town Planning Conference*, 107.
82. Quoted in Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 1: 245.
83. Reps, *Canberra 1912*, 85.
84. Although unsuccessful, his participation in the contest had been at the government's invitation. See "The West Point Plan" in Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 1: 189–204.
85. "The Federal Capital." O'Malley made his decision upon the advice of the Federal Capital Designs Board. Earlier, the minister had appointed Tasmanian architect Conroy Inglis Clark the Board's secretary. Clark proved to be no mere administrator. In an interview shortly after the competition results were announced, O'Malley singled-out Clark as "one of the best architects today in Australia." Indicative of his esteem for Clark and suggestive that the architect was influential in the adjudication, O'Malley enlarged that Clark had spent the "last two years" working for "McKim, Mead and White of New York, the finest landscape [sic] architects in the world." The minister also noted that Clark "agrees with the majority [assessors'] report." See "The Federal Capital." Importantly, Charles Follen McKim was, along with Burnham, a member of the US Senate Park Commission. Around the time of Clark's employ with the firm, McKim was heatedly proselytizing to have the Commission's plan of Washington realized. Undoubtedly, Clark was immersed in, if not inculcated with, Burnham's City Beautiful ideals during his time with the firm. Consequently, he could have easily discerned the City Beautiful resonances to be found within the Griffins' plan and may have favourably influenced the decision to award it first prize. On the adjudication process see Reps, *Canberra 1912*, 86–101. Also see Koehler, "The Commission of Fine Arts."
86. Griffin, "The Plans for Australia's New Capital City," 9.
87. Weirick, "The Griffins and Modernism," 6.
88. Griffin, "Federal Capital Design No. 29 by W. B. Griffin – Original Report – Copy A, National Archives of Australia," (A1818, Item 13): 14–15. In his final published report, Griffin referenced

- "the Mall at Washington." Curiously, however, he omitted mention of the World's Columbian Exposition in this document. See Griffin, *The Federal Capital*, 5.
89. To the best of this writer's knowledge, Manieri-Elia was the first to link the Griffins' Canberra layout with Burnham's Baguio; Sonne followed. See Manieri-Elia's "Toward an 'Imperial City,'" 113 and Sonne's *Representing the State*, 93. Along with Baguio, the Griffins also considered L'Enfant's plan of Washington through a topographical lens. See Vernon, "Canberra: Where Landscape is Pre-eminent."
 90. "Plan Queen City."
 91. Burnham and Anderson, "Preliminary Plan of Baguio."
 92. Parsons, "Burnham as a Pioneer," 25.
 93. *Ibid.*, 26.
 94. Burnham and Anderson, "Preliminary Plan of Baguio," 405.
 95. Burnham and Anderson, "Report on the Proposed Plan of the City of Baguio," 153.
 96. *Ibid.*, 155.
 97. *Ibid.*, 155.
 98. *Ibid.*, 155.
 99. See Sonne, *Representing the State*, 93.
 100. Quoted in Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham*, 1: 245. Baguio was not the first time Burnham relied upon rugged landforms to fix his axial alignments. After surveying the site for the US Military Academy, for instance, he concluded "there is one axis superior to all others for a monumental treatment of this post". "When one stands on the balcony of the Observatory, from which is obtained a broad view of the Government domain and the surrounding country, this belief is confirmed, for this axis is the natural one in the landscape." Quoted in Moore, 1: 192.
 101. Then still a boy, Griffin attended the 1893 Exposition. "The thing that appealed to everybody," he later reflected, "the thing that made that exhibition last for twenty years in the minds of all people, was that it provided a place for everything and had everything in its place." Griffin, "A Eulogy of System," 66.
 102. "Plan Queen City."
 103. Griffin, "Standards for Furnishing [1923]," 271.
 104. Manieri-Elia, "Toward an 'Imperial City,'" 113.
 105. The reports were reprinted as Peirce Anderson had made a presentation on the two city layouts at the convention.
 106. Burnham also described the Philippine plans in the text; see Burnham and Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, 27–9.
 107. Weirick, "Motifs and Motives," 103.
 108. *Ibid.*
 109. *Ibid.*
 110. On Wright's "Uncle Dan" moniker and his introduction to Burnham, see Wright, *An Autobiography*, 149–53. Aguar also identified Burnham's Baguio as Wright's source for the Como Orchard Summer Colony layout. See Aguar and Aguar, *Wrightscapes*, 133–8.
 111. Parsons, "Manila, Old and New."
 112. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: The Capital Site."
 113. *Ibid.*
 114. See also, for instance, "The Creation of Canberra."
 115. See Sulman's retrospective, "Canberra."
 116. Fitzgerald, "Local Government: Daniel Burnham."
 117. "Daniel Hudson Burnham."
 118. Fitzgerald, "The Science of Town Planning," 98. Eventually in the 1920s, Sydney took up Fitzgerald's Manila-inspired suggestion and reclaimed land from Darling Harbour (albeit for more utilitarian than aesthetic reasons).
 119. Fitzgerald, "The Science of Town Planning," 98.
 120. Taylor, *Town Planning for Australia*, 32–5.

121. "Australian Expert Criticises Our Civic Center." After San Francisco, Taylor also visited Chicago. Experiencing that city at first-hand, his enthusiasm for Burnham's (and Bennett's) *Plan of Chicago* flagged. Taylor later reported to Australians that the plan remained unimplemented as it had not "given much consideration" to "the human element." "It is very aristocratic," Taylor assessed, "the little old woman in the wooden tenement is out of it; she represents the majority of the population, and she and those around her are moulding the future people of Chicago." See Taylor's "There!" 100. Also see Coburn's "Considering the People in the Back Streets."
122. Saw, "Lesson to Perth Citizens."
123. Ibid.

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