

Introduction

I need to apologise. First I need to apologise to Edward Bennett the co-author of the 1909 Chicago Plan and driving force behind its realisation. I have written him out of the story in this paper – not through malice but through ignorance.

Secondly, I apologise to Frank Lloyd Wright for not bringing him and his work into this paper. Writing this has been a little like plaiting – weaving interrelated themes together to make a stronger cord but my skills are not such as to allow me to wind yet another theme through the others – as important and far reaching as that theme would have been. Perhaps I will do that in another paper.

Thirdly, I apologise to Thomas Adams – founding father of the UK Town Planning Institute as well as of the American Planning Association – who I gave a much smaller part in this history than I had intended to when I embarked upon it.

Finally, I apologise to you, the audience. This is, I have discovered, a work in progress and the more I look into this subject the more I find avenues to be explored. I have quoted Robert Browning in the written version of the paper and I will quote him again at the outset:

Grow old along with me! The best is yet to be

This paper is written for delivery to the American Planning Association in Chicago at a time when the world looks to a Chicagoan politician to, it seems, solve all its problems. The paper is designed to examine Daniel Burnham's 1909 Plan for Chicago and the cross resonances between Chicago and England that this Plan drew upon – and caused – not to examine the works of Barack Obama.

But even here Daniel Burnham proves to be the seer that some feel he is. The first typed copy of the Plan seems to look down the years ahead:

In the middle of the nineteenth century Chicago numbered fewer than thirty thousand people: the number was scarcely a hundred thousand ten years later when a son of Illinois was nominated in Chicago and elected President of the United States, the first of a long line of presidents to come from region whose domination in national affairs was then foreshadowed.

President Obama in turn shows that he is a fan of Daniel Burnham. In launching the far seeing *Vision for High Speed Rail in America* this April, he said:

*"Make no little plans." That's what Daniel Burnham said in Chicago. I believe that about America: Make no little plans. So let's get to work.*¹

So we start with the clarion call to all planners:

footnote

¹

Kelvin MacDonald is Senior Visiting Fellow at the Department of Land Economy, Cambridge University; Specialist Adviser to the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee; Policy Adviser to the Royal Town Planning Institute; and runs his own policy development consultancy – Spatial Effects Ltd. (www.spatialeffects.co.uk). He is a Member of the Chartered Institute of Housing and a Fellow of the Royal Town Planning Institute and of the Royal Society of Arts.

*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, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency. Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be order and your beacon beauty. Think big.*²

“Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?”²

In fact this phrase leads directly into the first of the points that I want to make in relation to these cross currents of influence and to the starting point of the idea of writing this paper. In Chicago you are celebrating the centenary of Burnham's Plan. In the UK, we are celebrating – albeit in a much more English way – the Centenary of the first piece of legislation to bear the words ‘Town Planning’ – the 1909 Housing, Town Planning etc. Act.

On 12th May 1908, the UK's President of the Local Government Board, rose to his feet in the House of Commons and introduced the Housing, Town Planning etc. Bill. He did so with stirring words: *The object of the Bill is to provide a domestic condition for the people in which their physical health, their morals³, their character, and their whole social condition can be improved by what we hope to secure in this Bill. The Bill aims in broad outlines at, and hopes to secure, the home healthy, the house beautiful, the town pleasant, the city dignified, and the suburb salubrious. It seeks, and hopes to secure, more homes, better houses, prettier streets, so that the character of a great people, in towns and cities and in villages, can be still further improved and strengthened by the conditions under which they live.*³

Five months earlier⁴ – and a little under 4000 miles away – Daniel Burnham outlined his objectives for the City of Chicago in a speech⁴ (supported by lantern slides) to members of the Commercial Club. Thomas Adams (of whom, more later) wrote later: *For a time the effect of the Chicago Plan was to create great enthusiasm among advocates of the “City Beautiful”.*⁵

So, in one continent a Government Minister is promising the nation a house beautiful whilst across the Atlantic the notion of beauty is attached not to the dwelling but to the city itself. This difference in the scale of ambition between nations provides one starting point for this look at the cross currents and cross influences that have winged across the Atlantic to shape the way the plan.

It is clear that the work of Daniel Burnham and, in particular, the Chicago Plan did influence UK planning thought from the outset. This brings us to our second 1909 anniversary. This was the year in which the first planning school in the world – the Department of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool was founded. Its very name shows its focus on planning almost as architecture on a large scale. As planning historian Stephen Ward pointed out in his 2004 book *Planning and Urban Change*:

footnote

² The phraseology was not invented by Burnham – but used to good effect by him. Niccolo Machiavelli is attributed as writing: *Make no small plans for they have no power to stir the soul* and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe stated: *Dream no small dreams for they have no power to move the hearts of men.*

³ 25th January 1908

*There was also a growing interest in the American 'City Beautiful' planning approach, largely introduced via the new Civic Design Department at Liverpool. Major plans such as that by Daniel Burnham for Chicago were reviewed in the professional press.*⁶

A key part of that professional was the Department of Civic Design's journal, *Town Planning Review*, founded in 1910 under the editorship of Patrick Abercrombie, who, thirty years later was to produce the ground breaking Greater London Plan of 1944. It is interesting to surmise – because I can find no evidence – the extent to which the approach taken in the 1909 Chicago Plan later influenced Abercrombie. Certainly there was the use of illustrations of how places might be when the plan was implemented and certainly there was the willingness to take a bold approach to re-modelling areas – both issues I will cover in the next section.

Just over twenty years later, Thomas Adams in his hugely influential 1932 book *Recent Advances in Town Planning* introduced another generation of British planners to the concept of the city beautiful:

*The inspiration towards the promotion of beauty in modern cities originated with the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. The design, grouping and landscape setting of the buildings erected for the fair under the guidance of Daniel H. Burnham and Frederick Law Olmstead were so finely conceived and executed that they aroused the people of Chicago to a realization of the opportunities they had for improving their city on a grand scale. They consequently set to work to raise the funds and to organize a movement to prepare a great plan for the city.*⁷

The illustrations to the book included two showing the plans for – and the execution of – the remodelling of Wacker Drive.

However, this paper risks jumping ahead too fast. Stephen Ward's book brings us back to the point about the breadth of national visions:

In sharp contrast with the small-scale suburban emphasis of the 1909 Act, however, most such American plans were intended as major exercises in civic boosterism. One can sense a slightly disparaging tone in the use of civic boosterism but perhaps it was envy that the UK was going to have to wait thirty or so years until Patrick Abercrombie produced similar visions for great cities.

Design Influences

Design was, for Daniel Burnham, almost the king. I say almost because there is an interesting statement in Burnham's handwritten notes for that talk to the Commercial Club. Burnham writes – we do not know whether he actually said it – that:

*We do not forget that attractiveness is almost as important as commerce and manufactures, but we believe that mere attractiveness should give way where it conflicts either or both of them.*⁸

We shall see later that one reading of the 1909 Chicago Plan is that Burnham viewed design both as an end in itself but also as a means to other ends – notably for the creation of value and for the creation of a higher moral order.

We can tell directly from Burnham's original notes for that presentation to the Commercial Club that Burnham drew heavily on European influences – Nero's Rome, Haussman's Paris, Vienna, and Sir Christopher Wren's 1666 plan for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of London as well as the plan for Washington⁹.

Burnham had visited European cities with Olmsted and New York architect Charles McKim as part of a commission in 1902 to plan for the reconfiguration of the Mall in Washington. He also knew London at that time as the architect of one of that capital's major departmental stores – Selfridges (which is also celebrating its centenary this year – our third 1909 anniversary).

The plans that Burnham admired all seem to have one common characteristic, the remodelling of the street pattern to form a grand concept of the city beautiful. [To me, how like a corner of Haussmann's Paris does the Flat Iron Building look].

It is interesting in this context that we know that one of the lantern slides that Burnham showed the Commercial Club was one of Kingsway in the centre of London. Kingsway was driven through a much older part of London in 1900. Relevantly, the new road was on two levels, the lower one containing a tram line which closed finally in 1952. As with many influences it is hard to pinpoint and one inspirational moment but it must be relevant that Burnham drew upon this otherwise little known scheme to illustrate the potential not only of re-aligning axes but of two level roads.

Of course, exercises in grant visioning draw their critics. Jane Jacobs wrote that:

*The Chicago Fair snubbed the exciting modern architecture which had begun to emerge in Chicago and instead dramatized a retrogressive imitation Renaissance style. One heavy, grandiose monument after another was arrayed in the exposition park, like frosted pastries on a tray, in a sort of squat, decorated forecast of Le Corbusier's later repetitive ranks of towers in a park⁵. It gave impetus to a movement called the City Beautiful, and indeed the planning of the exposition was dominated by the man who became the leading City Beautiful planner, Daniel Burnham of Chicago.*¹⁰

Thomas Adams had a more pragmatic and positive analysis in the 1929 *Regional Plan for New York*: *The original plan of Burnham was a great architectural conception. It has been criticised as being nothing more than a dream of a 'city beautiful'. But for the purpose of awakening public consciousness and inspiring public action towards the ideal of more order and beauty in the city and towards no later regional planning, probably no plan could be found more practicable than that made for Chicago over twenty years ago.*¹¹

Burnham's Plan was certainly written and illustrated in an inspirational style. He wrote, for example: *The lake has been signing to us many years, until we have become responsive. We see the broad water, ruffled by the gently breeze; upon its breast the glint of oars, the gleam of rosy sails, the outlines of swift gliding launches. We see racing shells go by ... and Nature enfolds us, like happy children.*

Once again, England had provided at least some of the inspiration for this poetic vision. We know that one of the slides that Burnham showed the Commercial Club was of the Henley Royal Regatta.

Before moving on, I want to turn to another aspect of 'big plans' – their area. Thomas Adams wrote in the 1929 regional Plan for New York that:

The Chicago Plan was, in fact, more comprehensive in scope as a city plan than any plan that had been made for an existing American city prior to 1907. But since it was made, entirely new conditions have arisen in connection with the growth of cities. The altered conditions have

footnote

⁵

Jane Jacobs later writes of the conceptions of *the Garden City and the Radiant City merged, into a sort of Radiant Garden City Beautiful* [citing the Lincoln Centre].

resulted in greatly adding to the need of elaborate schemes of zoning of private property and of developing more ample ways of communication, particularly in the form of highways over wide regions surrounding as well as within cities.

One of the implications here is that Burnham did not take a regional enough view of Chicago. In fact one of his questions in that presentation to the Commercial Club – perhaps to himself – was: *How far does Chicago extend*¹²

For a more considered view of the structure of city regions we need to turn to yet another Chicago influence on planning in the UK and, indeed, around the world. This is the Chicago School where Ernest Burgess and Robert Park – and their research associates – shaped the ways in which we look at cities – but here too we can see the influences pinging back and forth across continents. In 1929 in *The City* Burgess wrote that:

*In Europe and America the tendency of the great city to expand has been recognized in the term “the metropolitan area of the city” which far overruns its political limits and, in the case of New York and Chicago, even state lines.*¹³

In coming to this conclusion, Burgess drew upon the work of an English writer, C. B. Fawcett⁶ who wrote that:

One of the most important and striking developments in the growth of urban populations of the more advanced peoples of the world during the last few decades has been the appearance of a number of vast urban aggregates, or conurbations, far larger and more numerous than the great cities of any preceding age. At the present time there are from thirty to forty of them, each containing more than a million people, whereas only a hundred years ago there were, outside the great centres of population on the waterways of China, not more than two or three.

I can't help reflecting here that the legacy of such thinking is only now starting to appear in relation to our thinking about global urbanisation.

But we need to return to the Burnham quotation that opened this section:

*We do not forget that attractiveness is almost as important as commerce and manufactures, but we believe that mere attractiveness should give way where it conflicts either or both of them.*¹⁴

However, there are also much wider lessons to be learnt from city plans which seek to re-model that city. It is relevant to examine briefly what happened to two of the plans that Burnham so admired. Sir Christopher Wren's plan was never implemented – although his patterning of London with church spires was. The reason for this was that business land owners in London were so desperate to re-start commerce that they could not wait until the wrangles about land ownership and the transfer of rights that major remodelling entailed were sorted out. So they started to re-build on their own plots following the existing street pattern that existed before the great fire.

In Paris, Napoleon III took a very different approach and gave Baron Haussmann draconian powers of land acquisition and, more importantly compulsory purchase. In Chicago, you do things very

footnote

⁶

C. B. Fawcett is credited with creating a regional identity for England in his book *The Provinces of England* published in 1919.

differently and, to me, it is one of the defining aspects of the 1909 plan that it was commissioned not by city government but by the businesses that existed there and that business was willing to forego some of its land holdings in the prospect of greater prosperity for all, including themselves.

Planning Creating Value

In his lantern slide show Burnham linked the two driving forces behind his plan in one pencilled note:

*This system develops scenery for all. This system will increase values of real estate. The prosperity of all increases by carrying out of this diagram.*¹⁵

Herbert Gans in the book, *People and Plans*, that certainly gave one significant direction to my career put it more directly:

*Architects who had set up a City Beautiful movement during the 1890s developed park and civic centre schemes to enhance the downtown districts of the city, for example, the Burnham Plan for Chicago. These plans were supported by downtown business and property interests, who wanted to promote land values in these areas and also advocated efficiency in government to keep taxes low.*¹⁶

Across the ocean, the British were tackling this issue in a very different way. This brings us to the next of our centenaries – the centenary of the so called ‘People’s Budget’ introduced by Asquith’s Liberal Party in 1909. This embodied a land taxation system which was based directly on the thinking of Henry George – perhaps one of the greatest but least recognised transatlantic influence in urban policy that there has been. We even had the edifying spectacle of Winston Churchill arguing in 1909 for a Henry George approach to land taxation.⁷

Despite the failure of the People’s Budget⁸, the UK continued to wrestle with the question of the relationship between planning and land value and of the capturing of the ‘unearned’ increment that this involved – and to look with interest across the ocean at Chicago.

On 15 April 1931 Mr. Arthur Greenwood, then the Labour Minister of Health told Members of Parliament on in the Second Reading of the Town and Country Planning Bill:

We are not alone as a nation in realising the importance of this problem. Town and regional planning are a definite part of the national policy of many countries. I do not propose to refer to them in detail, but I would like to give one example from the United States, where great development has taken place in recent years. The city of Chicago enjoys an unsavoury reputation and is known best, perhaps, by the exploits of Big Bill and the leader of the gangsters, whose name I do not profess to be

footnote

⁷ Winston Churchill MP: House of Commons, 4 May 1909, in response to Mr A. J. Balfour, Leader of the Opposition (<http://web.archive.org/web/20011217193137/home.vicnet.net.au/~earthshr/winston.html>): "If," he inquires, "you tax the unearned increment on land, why don't you tax the unearned increment from a large block of stock? I buy a piece of land; the value rises. I buy stocks; their value rises." But the operations are entirely dissimilar. In the first speculation the unearned increment derived from land arises from a wholly sterile process, from the mere withholding of a commodity which is needed by the community. In the second case, the investor in a block of shares does not withhold from the community what the community needs. The one operation is in restraint of trade and in conflict with the general interest, and the other is part of a natural and healthy process, by which the economic plant of the world is nourished and from year to year successfully and notably increased.

⁸ This Budget was consistently blocked by the upper house – the House of Lords – and was not implemented but, as a direct result, the House of Lords had many of its powers taken away.

able to pronounce, but Chicago, on a plan laid down by one of the most brilliant town planners who ever lived, has been putting into operation some remarkable schemes, with the result that this city of ill-repute, a city full of very great difficulties, is being transformed from what it used to be into an efficient city and, I am told, into a beautiful city; a city where the expenditure which is being incurred is being returned in assets almost one hundredfold. Let me quote an illustration which bears upon the economic value of wise planning. It is said that the Michigan Avenue improvement cost 16,000,000 dollars. By increasing property values more than 100,000,000 dollars, it has paid for itself six times over. Owners of property who paid special assessments have received back in the increased value of their property 12 dollars for every dollar they have paid towards the improvement, and when the taxes have been adjusted to the new values the city will get an additional revenue of 4,000,000 dollars annually, a sum which will be equal in two years' time to the public's share of the cost. All this in addition to saving the time and promoting the convenience of the 3,000,000 residents of Chicago. That, it seems to me, is sufficient justification for bold and comprehensive town planning schemes and is a challenge to the great cities of this country.¹⁷

That challenge was only truly met in Britain in the New Towns programme started in 1946 but Britain was about to embark on a long history of seeking ways of returning some of the uplift in land value to the communities that created it.

This paper cannot deal with all of these but they stretch from 1942 when the Uthwatt report on *Land Use* recommended that the state should acquire development land at existing use value when required and that there should be annual site value taxation to the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act which introduced a development charge to the 1967 Land Commission Act to the Community Land Act which allowed local authorities the powers to acquire development land and the 1976 Development Land Tax Act to the present day when the Government is yet again trying to find ways of implementing Henry George's theories.

Again, interestingly, Chicago provides an example that the UK Government is keen to draw on. This year's Government Budget statement contained the intriguing commitment that the Government will:

Assess the scope for accelerating development by allowing investment in infrastructure to be financed from the increased property tax base that could be enabled by the existence of improved infrastructure.

This is Tax Increment Financing – a subject that seems to exercise Chicago greatly and one which I am keen to learn more about.

Despite such efforts, the problem still remains with us on both sides of the ocean. We can return to Henry George for the final word.⁹

footnote

⁹

Take now... some hard-headed business man, who has no theories, but knows how to make money. Say to him: "Here is a little village; in ten years it will be a great city-in ten years the railroad will have taken the place of the stage coach, the electric light of the candle; it will abound with all the machinery and improvements that so enormously multiply the effective power of labor. Will in ten years, interest be any higher?" He will tell you, "No!" Will the wages of the common labor be any higher..." He will tell you, "No the wages of common labor will not be any higher..." "What, then, will be higher?" "Rent, the value of land. Go, get yourself a piece of ground, and hold possession." And if, under such

Go, get yourself a piece of ground, and hold possession. You may sit down and smoke your pipe; ... you may go up in a balloon or down a hole in the ground; and without doing one stroke of work, without adding one iota of wealth to the community, in ten years you will be rich! In the new city you may have a luxurious mansion, but among its public buildings will be an almshouse.

among its public buildings will be an almshouse

Burnham's Plan has been much criticised for its apparent disregard of the economic and social problems facing Chicago. Lewis Mumford was to call the Plan 'municipal cosmetic'. The most plangent criticism came from (who else?) Jane Jacobs in *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* in which she noted:

A group of Clergymen in Chicago, appalled at the fruits of planned city rebuilding there, asked, Could job have been thinking of Chicago when he wrote:

Here are men that alter their neighbor's landmark ... shoulder the poor aside, conspire to oppress the friendless.

Reap they the field that is none of theirs, strip they the vineyard wrongfully seized from its owner ...

*The cry goes up from the city streets, where wounded men lie groaning ...*¹⁸

Robert Beauregard in a 1989 article took an equally harsh line. *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 set forth one model of downtown design that can be used to situate public buildings and capitalist infrastructure around public spaces. The aesthetic was unabashedly 'classical' ... and the functional concerns unequivocally supportive of the production and circulation of capital and the emergence of a new pact between capital and the state. In this way, the emerging political economy of industrial capitalism would be manifested in a planned built environment, with the additional benefit of utilizing such a scheme to eradicate slums.*¹⁹

This was, after all, the Chicago which was the subject of Upton Sinclair's book *The Jungle*, in which Jane Adams established a settlement house – Hull House – modelled on Toynbee Hall in London's East End and which was to have ten years after the plan was published five days of what we might later term 'race riots' in which fifteen white and twenty three black people died.

Burnham is defended by those that point out that the early drafts did indeed have sections on, for example, social housing which were left out of the final version. But my reading of the Plan, in this case the first typed version, shows not only that Burnham was well aware of the inter-relationship between city planning and the condition of society but had a much loftier (or, some might say, naive) vision of the efficacy of planning in this respect.

The price of civilisation is provision for the health and happiness of the people; and that the really prosperous city is one in which education and morality, by inculcating high ideals, unite all the people in the common effort to make their city pre-eminent.

circumstances, you take his advice, you need do nothing more. You may sit down and smoke your pipe; you may lie around like the *lazzaroni* of Naples or the *leperos* of Mexico; you may go up in a balloon or down a hole in the ground; and without doing one stroke of work, without adding one iota of wealth to the community, in ten years you will be rich! In the new city you may have a luxurious mansion, but among its public buildings will be an almshouse. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progress_and_Poverty)

In this newly awakened civic consciousness lies the hope of the regeneration of the American City. The merely animal growth will no longer suffice. Pride in mere numbers or area is seen to be unworthy. The newer ideals comprehend good order and convenience and even beauty. In short, the city is developing within itself a soul.

In such spirit this report is conceived.

This one issue raises the whole question of the role of planning in social engineering – for good or for evil. Prof. Sir Peter Hall, in a book that has inspired this paper, *Cities of Tomorrow* quotes Henry Morgenthau speaking at a conference in 1909 [the ????] saying that:

the planner's first aim was to eliminate the breeding places of "disease, moral depravity, discontent, and socialism".

Of course the battle between those who feel that planning is about vision and inspiration and those who feel that it is somehow a re-distributive mechanism each fight their corner. Richard LeGates, Richard T and Frederic Stout, Frederic writing on 'Modernism and Early Urban Planning' in 1998 appeared to dismiss one such critic:

One radical performer who played a brief, but influential, role in the creation of modern city planning was Benjamin Clark Marsh, author of an extraordinarily superficial and opinionated book titled An Introduction to City Planning (1909). Noting that City Beautiful projects have little effect on the daily lives of working-class people. Marsh argued that all public improvements should be scrutinized with a view to the benefits they would confer upon those most in need²⁰.

In this debate, I cannot help but bring in one more trans Atlantic view. The issue of *Time* magazine of 20th January 1947 reported that:

Britain's Labor Government this week proposed a revolutionary act—in its implications the most sweeping act since the Soviet Government's decree of forced collectivization of the peasants (1929). It was the "Town & Country Planning Bill, 1947" drawn up by Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town & Country Planning.²¹ (How this, incidentally, resonates with the current debates about health care reform and the use of the UK's National Health Service as some sort of socialist spectre).

Ebenezer Howard

But throughout this tale, we have missed out perhaps the crucial influence that Chicago had on English planning and, indeed, on planning around the world. As Jane Jacobs pointed out: the City Beautiful movement *begins more or less with the great Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, just about the time that [Ebenezer] Howard was formulating his Garden City Ideas²².*

Ebenezer Howard went to America in 1871 when he was 21. He first tried to be a farmer in Nebraska but did not succeed and moved to Chicago in 1872 to become a court reporter with the shorthand agency run by Sherburne Burnham¹⁰. He later wrote that: *My stay in Chicago had a great*

footnote

¹⁰ This Burnham too was an extraordinary man. Sherburne Burnham was himself an extraordinary man. In 1880, the *Chicago Daily News* started an article: *"Do you know that man? Said a lounge in in the government building indicating a pale thin, intellectual looking little man with the stump of a cigar in the side of his mouth. "that's S. W. Burnham he was made a Fellow of the British Astronomical Society and is considered a distinguished man in England but here very few know him. He is a peculiar fellow. He has been offered good positions as a telescopist and always refused them for the*

*influence on my life – giving me a fuller and wider outlook on religious and social questions than I should have gained in England.*²³ For example, although time lines are somewhat blurred here, Howard would have been in Chicago when Henry George's book *Progress and Poverty* was published in 1879 – and he would have met George when he came to London in 1884²⁴.

In 1879¹¹ Howard was commissioned by the Chicago Times to write a verbatim note of an address by Mrs Cora Richmond – later to become well known as Christian Science lecturer. He later visited her and on one occasion she advised him to give up his work on mechanical inventions telling him *"I can see no future for you in that line. I see you in the centre of a series of circles working at something which will be of great service to humanity."*²⁵ Dugald Macfadyen commented: *that suggestion coming from a woman whom he regarded as a seer gave him confidence when he came to draw his plan of a garden city in concentric circles.*

Whether or not this connection is true, there is the potential for much more direct relationship between Chicago and Howard's work. First, Howard will have seen the garden suburb of Riverside, designed by Frederick Law Olmsted being built nine miles from Chicago²⁶. But there is a more direct relationship than even this. As Sir Frederic Osborn points out in his preface to the 1946 edition of Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow: the use of the term [Garden City] as a picturesque sobriquet of particular cities goes far back. Chicago (surprising as it seems from a distance) called itself the Garden City, through pride in its magnificent surroundings.*²⁷ The motto of Chicago used since its incorporation in 1837 is *Urbs in Horto*. Prof. Sir Peter Hall wrote that Chicago's then nickname was *the almost certain source of Howard's better known title.*

reason that he would lose all interest in astronomy if he pursued it for a living. Burnham is a dead shot with a revolver – he can knock the ace out of a card at a good distance He doesn't eat butter on his bread and he has a number of peculiarities that stamp him out as an extraordinary man. Quoted in Eggen, Olin J (1953) Sherburne Wesley Burnham and his Double Star Catalogue, Astronomical Society of the Pacific, Leaflet No.295, November

¹¹ Some authorities have him back in England by 1876.

Credits for Illustrations used in the Power Point presentation

Frank Lloyd Wright

<http://theselvedgeyard.wordpress.com/2009/02/09/frank-lloyd-wright-professional-success-personal-mess/>

On-line Exhibition

<http://www.artic.edu/aic/libraries/research/specialcollections/planofchicago/introduction.html>

1st typed draft of the Plan for Chicago

<http://www.artic.edu/aic/libraries/research/specialcollections/pdfdownloads/197301.A000681.pdf>

Plan for Chicago – digital copy

<http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/10417.html>

Photo of Daniel Burnham #2

http://www.ovationtv.com/files/large_image_videos/0000/0776/daniel_burnham_372x280.jpg

Photo of Kingsway 192?

www.arthurlloyd.co.uk

Plan of Kingsway

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/37/Kingsway_London_ca_1900.jpg

Photo of construction of Aldwych tram tunnel

Collection of the London Transport Museum

Photo of Edward H Bennet

<http://digital->

libraries.saic.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=%2Fmqc&CISOPTR=1440&DMSCALE=70.01167&DMWIDTH=600&DMHEIGHT=600&DMMODE=viewer&DMFULL=0&DMOLDSCALE=14.20455&DMX=0&DMY=0&DMTEXT=&DMTHUMB=1&REC=1&DMROTATE=0&x=67&y=69

Photo of Arthur Greenwood MP

www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk

Cover of the Jungle by Upton Sinclair

www.salempress.com

Photo of Selfridges May 1909

<http://viewfinder.english-heritage.org.uk>

Plan of London

www.oldlondonplans.com

Herbert Gans

http://www.columbia.edu/cu/record/archives/vol21/vol21_iss3/record2103.12c.gif

I Robot shot

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/ascentstage/3175972/sizes/o/in/set-79656/>

Cora Richmond

<http://www.psychicanada.com/articles/womens-sufferage.html>

Seal of the City of Chicago

http://www.custom-studios.com/city_of_chicago_seal.jpg

Park + Burgess concentric rings

http://deviance.socprobs.net/Unit_2/Zone.gif

Illustration from 1929 Regional Plan of New York

<http://www.aiany.org/eOCULUS/newsletter/wp-content/uploads/2007/10/proposedchrystie-forsyth.jpg>

Henley Regatta 1907

<http://www.cardmine.co.uk/list27/a271313.jpg>

Henley Regatta 1897

www.wikipedia.com

Winston Churchill

<http://www.jeromehistoricalsociety.com/images/young-winston-churchill.jpg>

Washington Station 1907

<http://www.washingtonunionstation.com/images.html>

flatiron building

<http://www.uncp.edu/home/rwb/flatiron-building.jpg>

Sir Christopher Wren

<http://www.twickenham-museum.org.uk/images/medium/medSirChristopherWren.jpg>

Ernest Burgess

http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/spcl/centcat/city/city_img24.html

Vienna Plan 1858

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/vienna_1858.jpg

President Obama's election party Grant Park

http://blog.pennlive.com/midstate_impact/2008/11/large_obamaspeech.JPG

Chicago Race Riots 1919

<http://www.ngbiwm.com/Exhibits/lynching.htm>

Nursery in Hull House c.1900

<http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/Exhibits/janeaddams/hullhouse.htm>

Illustration from Town Planning in Practice

http://2.bp.blogspot.com/_HbxfX4sSsyM/Sk-xPg6q1I/AAAAAADWm/mNg1tcRf_Lg/s1600-h/IrregularTown.jpg

General Plan of Riverside 1869

<http://www.olmstedociety.org/resources/maps-of-riverside/>

Model of Bermondsey 1943

<http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/server.php?show=conInformationRecord.286>

Henry George

<http://www.henrygeorgeschool.org/images/clean.jpg>

References

- 1 April 16, 2009: Remarks By The President on *A Vision for High-Speed Rail In America*
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-and-the-Vice-President-on-High-Speed-Rail/
- 2 Robert Browning
- 3 1909 Housing, Town Planning etc. Bill: Second Reading: *HC Deb 12 May 1908 vol 188 cc947-1063*
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1908/may/12/housing-town-planning-etc-bill#S4V0188P0_19080512_HOC_270
- 4 Burnham's hand written presentation notes for talk to Chicago Commerce Club
<http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/mqc&CISOPTR=4335&REC=12>
- 5 Thomas Adams (1932) *Recent Advances in Town Planning*, J & A Churchill (author's own copy)
- 6 Ward, Stephen V (2004) *Planning and Urban Change*, Sage Publications, 2nd Edn.
- 7 Thomas Adams (1932) *Recent Advances in Town Planning*, J & A Churchill (author's own copy)
- 8 Burnham's hand written presentation notes
- 9 Burnham's hand written presentation notes
- 10 Jacobs, Jane (1964) *The Life and Death of Great American Cities: The Failure of Town Planning*, Pelican
- 11 Regional Plan of New York () Vol. 1
- 12 Burnham's hand written presentation notes
- 13 Burgess, Ernest W, (1929) 'The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project' in Park, Robert (ed.) *The City* quoted in LeGates, Richard T and Stout, Frederic (1996) *The City Reader*, Routledge
- 14 Burnham's hand written presentation notes
- 15 Burnham's hand written presentation notes
- 16 Gans, Herbert J (1972) *People and Plans*, Penguin Books
- 17 Town And Country Planning Bill: Order for Second Reading; *HC Deb 15 April 1931 vol 251 cc193-321*
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1931/apr/15/town-and-country-planning-bill#S5CV0251P0_19310415_HOC_164
- 18 Jacobs, Jane (1964) *The Life and Death of Great American Cities: The Failure of Town Planning*, Pelican
- 19 Beauregard, Robert A. (1989) 'Between Modernity and Postmodernity: the Ambiguous Position of U.S. Planning', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 7, Pion, pp 381-395
- 20 LeGates, Richard T and Stout, Frederic (1998) 'Modernism and Early Urban Planning' in *Early Urban Planning, 1870-1940* quoted in Birch Eugenie, L (ed.) (2009) *The Urban and Regional Planning Reader*, Routledge
- 21 'Basic Revolution' *Time*, 20th January 1947
- 22 Jacobs, Jane (1964) *The Life and Death of Great American Cities: The Failure of Town Planning*, Pelican
- 23 Ebenezer Howard quoted in Dugald Macfadyen (1970) *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the town planning movement*

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=zhXoAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA11&lpg=PA11&dq=Ebenezer+Howard+Chicago&source=bl&ots=ICPZOsomYM&sig=eVcQb7bdxFi36n8awNZMTo712Os&hl=en&ei=K5fISr6GL8yG4Qb-n8XHAQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4#v=onepage&q=Ebenezer%20Howard%20Chicago&f=false

- 24 Fishman, Robert (1982) *Urban Utopias in the 20th Century*, MIT Press
25 quoted in Dugald Macfadyen (1970) *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the town planning movement*
26 Peter Hall, Prof. P (1988) *Cities of Tomorrow*, Blackwell
27 Osborn, *Preface* in Howard Ebenezer *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, Faber Books (1965 Edn.) (author's own copy)