Chapter I.
THE CITY.

Chicago repeats the history of all great cities in that its location was due to convenience, and its growth has been the result of commerce. In the latter years of the seventeenth century the French explorers, missionaries and traders used the river as a passageway between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi; in time a trading post was established, whereat there was interchange of furs for guns and powder, blankets, trinkets, and the brandy and rum all of which formed the staples of traffic with the Indians who roamed the wide prairies. Still later a fort was established to protect the traders and the few families which settled on the fertile lands. The beginnings were indeed small, and the growth was so slow that eighty-six years ago, when the first white child was born outside the stockade, there were but five families protected by its guns and, in times of trouble, sheltered within its wooden walls.

With the influx of settlers from the east following upon the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825; and the location of lands under grants for services in the wars of the revolution and 1812, traffic sprang up. Then it was found
of firemen and thereby leads to unnecessary loss of property.

Liquor licenses should be uniform throughout the metropolitan area, both as to the amounts paid and the regulations imposed in regard to the sale of liquor. And in general the control of vice, the enforcement of health regulations and building laws, and all like governmental functions can best be carried out by combination and cooperation. Note

Note—For a comprehensive discussion of this subject see the second Godkin Lecture, 1909, by President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University.
While it is desirable to respect the rights of local self-government by leaving to each municipality the conduct of its own affairs, there are certain governmental functions which may best be exercised by an association between the great city and the smaller cities and towns adjacent, to bring about certain ends mutually advantageous. For example, Boston in 1889 found it advisable to have the legislature create a metropolitan sewage commission and later a metropolitan park commission, with jurisdiction over thirty-seven municipalities. (Chicago drainage canal).

There are other extensions of service which would prove quite as beneficial as those already undertaken. For example, it would be decidedly advantageous to extend the police jurisdiction over the metropolitan territory, so as to create uniformity in the administration of justice; prevent the escape of the criminal, who may now pass readily from one jurisdiction to another by trolley line or automobile; and further the detection of crime by placing all lurking places of evil under one surveillance.

Fire protection also, should be extended over all contiguous towns, whereas now an imaginary line between municipalities often paralyzes the efforts
lines it seems to be well nigh impossible to maintain the cars long in
good condition; and no way seems to have been discovered to secure reason-
ably good ventilation.

The rapidly increasing use of the automobile promises to take
up the good work begun by the bicycle in the days of its popularity as a
means of promoting good roads and reviving the small inn as a place of
rest and refreshment. With the perfection of this machine and the exten-
sion of its use, out-of-door life is promoted, and the pleasures of suburban
life are brought within the reach of multitudes of people who formerly
were condemned to pass their entire time in the crowded city. The outlying
parks are thus made accessible, and communication is established between
small towns not connected by either steam or trolley roads. It is worthy
of note in this connection that the radius of the metropolitan area as set
forth in the plans of improvement outlined in this report does not extend
beyond the distance which may be covered in the space of a single hour
in one of the high-power machines of today.
There should be private retiring rooms, furnished for a sufficient price, wherein a change of clothes may be effected by the theater-goer or others under social requirements; the toilet rooms should be more ample and more cleanly; and in general opportunity should be furnished to those who regard the decencies of life; because the Americans are an imitative people, and when once a standard is set they easily rise to it, in a short space of time, converting into a necessity what but a short time before had been a luxury.

The rapid extension of the trolley system has brought into suburban relations towns and cities distant from the center from seventy-five to one hundred miles. These roads now strive to obtain private rights-of-way, excepting where for the convenience of passengers they pass through city streets; and the same observations as to stations and good order along the routes and at the terminals that appertain to steam roads apply equally to trolley lines. The trolley car of today aims to be commodious and comfortable; but the wear and tear is so great that even on the most profitable
in having the railway station in his suburban town conveniently located, constructed simply indeed but artistically, and placed amid surroundings which in themselves are harmonious and appropriate. A well-kept lawn, with shrubbery shutting out the necessarily unpleasant features of a steam railway, a sheltered platform well lighted at night, and a commodious station architecturally in good taste—these accessories go a long way towards mitigating the nerve strain which every business man feels and from which too many suffer.

Then, too, the right of way traversed by the tracks should be improved. The drainage should be perfect, so that pools of stagnant water shall not be an offense to the eye and a menace to health. The unsightly bill-board should be replaced by shrubbery or by a wall; and the entire space should be free from the litter of papers or piles of accumulated dirt and ashes.

The facilities in the terminal station should be more like the city club than like those which now exist. The restaurant should be improved not so much in the variety as in the quality of the food served.
District of Columbia, and the national legislature, for good reasons, having taken to itself the government of the Federal City, the tendency is each year becoming stronger for people whose wealth consists of title to property situated elsewhere to become residents of a city in which the inquisitorial visits of the tax-gatherer are unknown.

When enlightened public sentiment shall determine that property shall be taxed once only, and then only where it actually exists, the great temptation which now urges the man who owns mortgages, stocks and bonds - mere evidence of indebtedness - to dwell in a small town will disappear, and a large class of persons most advantageous to the city will make their homes within city limits. In the meantime, some means must be found to inculcate in the city residents these ideals of good order and civic pride which shall change for the better conditions within the city itself.

The suburban resident, however, is vitally interested in the means of communication between his home and his place of business. If his entrance and his exit is by means of the steam railway, he is interested
have a voice in the government only of the suburban town, whereas a rule they
have least at stake. It is one of the paradoxes of our civilization that
in order to escape double taxation on his intangible property an American
citizen chooses to live in a small town, and deliberately sacrifices his
rights to participation in the government of the city, which most needs the
intelligent and comprehensive attention which he is most qualified to give.
Thus it happens that while the suburban town is usually well governed, and
well cared for, the city with all its complicated problems and all its vast
wealth is left to the rule of those who have individually little or no
property interests therein, and who are least fitted by intellectual or moral
training to administer its affairs.

Almost if not quite alone among American cities Washington has
tax laws, which exempt intangible personal property, leaving to those localit-
ies where the property actually exists the taxation of that property, and
thus raising its revenues from the property located within its borders.
But the citizen of Washington has no right to vote therein. The Constitu-
tion having given to the Congress the exclusive jurisdiction over the
universities and trade schools draw the majority of their students from a territory having at any given time a fixed radius. Chicago, then, is the commercial and the moral and intellectual center of a very broad territory reaching into many states and including many cities. With the population of this territory it sustains mutual relations of interdependence, out of which arise mutual obligations and reciprocal advantages, all of which must be considered in planning for the future. It is necessary at all times to consider the duty which the great city owes to the people of the area which it dominates.

There is, however, a more circumscribed territory within which these duties are more sharply defined. For thousands upon thousands of people who live in the suburbs properly speaking, the city is the workshop or the counting room. The people who come by train or trolley-line in the morning and return to their homes at night, are vitally concerned both with the city where they find employment by day and also with the suburban municipality in which they make their homes. Often they own property in both places, and, therefore, pay taxes in both; but under our laws they can
Chapter III

THE SUBURBAN DISTRICT.

It is not possible in these days of rapid transit to consider the limits of local government as the true boundaries of a city. In recognition of this fact we have come to speak of the "greater" city, meaning by the exceedingly indefinite term to include all territory which comes within the sphere of certain civic influences. Just what are those particular influences depends on the point of view of the speaker for the time being.

The wholesale merchant will maintain that Greater Chicago includes the area which his traveling-men cover without meeting serious competition. The retail merchant will include all those towns in which the women have a firm belief that a spool of cotton bought in Chicago is much more valuable than one purchased in the local store, to paraphrase Gail Hamilton's remark about Boston. The newspaper publisher knows accurately the territorial limits of his circulation and his advertising patronage; the banker and the stockbroker each has his circle of customers whom he serves regularly to the exclusion of his brothers in other cities. The great hospitals and charitable institutions minister to a large area outside the city proper; and the
towering on high to mark the central point in the vast plane of the ever-expanding city.
Land should be acquired in quantity sufficient to carry out a plan commensurate with Chicago's needs and with her commanding position in this country. This plan first should be worked out by real artists and then should be carried out by the concerted action of the community.

When this shall have been accomplished, Chicago will be able to offer for the admiration of the world a composition comporting with the growth and power of the city. On the shore of the broad lake will arise a noble group of buildings wherein will be accessible to all the people the treasures of art, the achievements of civilization and the gathered wisdom of the ages. From this grand vestibule will extend the central thoroughfare of the City lined on either side by buildings of a public or semi-public character all tied together by unity and harmony of design. At a distance of a mile and a quarter from its beginning, this grand axis would widen into a great square about whose well-adorned spaces would be assembled the buildings which are the heart of the body politic; while in every direction broad thoroughfares would open avenues of circulation, not only throughout the closely built city, but also out into the open country, a tall dome
enlarge upon then. The harmony of exposition buildings created an
impression best described in the words of the Spanish Commissioner, when
he said, "In Chicago I expected to see what I did see in Paris in 1893;
but in Chicago I did see what I was disappointed at not seeing in Paris!"

The attainment of harmony, good order and beauty is not a question
of money cost; for in the end good building is far cheaper than bad build-
ing — what is required is enlightened understanding and honest, conscientious
planning. The great buildings of the world are simple and inexpensive when
compared with many of the over elaborate structures of the present day; but
for centuries they have served their important purposes, and the people will
not give them up, because they have become part and parcel of the people's
life. They typify the permanence of the city; they record its history, and
express its aspirations. Such a group of buildings as Chicago should and
may possess would be for all time to come a distinction to the city. It
would be what the Acropolis was to Athens, what the Forum was to Rome, what
St. Mark's Square is to Venice — the very embodiment of civic life.
have suitable quarters in buildings erected for the exclusive use of the government. The Federal buildings alone, if they are to be adequate to the demands of the public business, would require a group of buildings of the first order so far as architecture and location are concerned.

No less important are the buildings for the county and for the city administrations. Each of these divisions of government should have its full complement of business offices, so located as to be accessible to the great mass of the people who frequent them, and so dignified in character as to create the impression of the permanency, the power and the impartiality of the government. Mean surroundings create contempt for law, and invite corruption.

The Civic Center will depend for its effectiveness on the character of the architecture displayed in the buildings themselves; in their harmonious appearance, one with another; in the method and manner of grouping; and in the amount of space in which they are placed. Surely the results attained at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 so amply proved the truth of these principles that it is not necessary to
cities has been that by the time the structures were finished they had already become too small for the purpose intended. In Chicago the Federal Building, completed in 1919, is inadequate. Indeed, it has been the custom of the General Government to attempt to house too many and too divergent departments of administration under one roof. The dignity and the business of the United States courts in a great city like Chicago demand a building exclusively for that one purpose. The customs and the internal revenue office, with their various branches, require an office building as well as warehouses; and the post-office should have a central structure of its own as well as branch offices well-located throughout the city. The various offices of the engineers employed on lake and river improvements and surveys; the Lighthouse service; the inspectors of steam-vessels; the life-saving service; the recruiting offices for the army and the navy; the pension office; the immigrant inspectors; and the various other inspectors charged with enforcing the rapidly growing body of laws for the protection of health and the promotion of good order, - all this army of officials employed by the United States should
Again the point selected is the center of gravity, so to speak, of all the railroads entering Chicago from east or west; and, furthermore, Halsted Street is already a great business thoroughfare, perhaps the longest in the world. The proposed civic center is now not far in advance of the growth of the city; while at the same time land values are not excessive. Indeed, the selection of the necessary land and the beginning of the contemplated improvement doubtless would enhance the value of the surrounding property to such an amount that the increased taxes would pay the cost of the site.

It will be seen that the main elements of the scheme proposed and the principal changes suggested in the present street system fall outside the present business district. Happily the line of growth permits such an arrangement; and the experience of other cities shows that changes and betterments may most easily be brought about by anticipating the conditions which must prevail in the not distant future and securing in advance the land necessary for new and better streets and for sites for public buildings.

As regards public buildings the experience of all American
character of the structures change radically and, with a few notable exceptions, for the worse. - Congress Street, therefore, affords the first opportunity south of the well-built section available for radical changes and additions to the street system.

At the point where Congress Street intersects Halsted Street it is proposed to establish a civic center or group of administrative buildings. At this center radiating arteries and extensions of them naturally converge. Moreover, the growth of population in Chicago (following the general rule of civic growth) trends to the west. At first glance the population of Chicago seems to stretch itself along the lake shore; but as a matter of fact the center of density has moved steadily in a southwesterly direction. Beginning with the original Fort Dearborn reservation, the line of density of population passes through the present location of the City Hall and the Court House, thence a little to the south of the proposed civic center, and finally out through the so-called Stickney Tract.
to establish a proper order of growth and development for any city.

The neglect of any one of these steps must necessarily result in inconvenience and deformity. On the other hand, by following such a plan the expansion of the city will be attended by constantly increasing benefits to the community, and, as a consequence, by greater power, influence and attractiveness to the city itself.

Congress Street has been selected as the axial line of the city's future development. It is proposed to complete the existing street and develop it as the great east and west artery. Beginning at Michigan Avenue, opposite the center of the great terrace known as Grant Park, where the water gateway is to be created with the Field Columbian Museum as its dominating feature, Congress Street extends centrally north and south between the two great railroad rights-of-way entering from the west, the one at Sixteenth Street, the other at Kinzie Street.

The improved and built-up section of the business district reaches as far south as Van Buren Street, beyond which thoroughfare the
with subordinate municipalities all depending intimately upon the city itself, so that there are mutual ties of interest and opportunity. Because this area must soon be overtaken by the resistless tide of city growth, it is necessary to plan so that when the assimilation does take place the streets and avenues, the groupings of buildings and the park spaces shall harmonize with those of the city itself, always with the endeavor that with each succeeding addition better conditions may be secured. Hence it is necessary to preserve in the outlying country every natural feature which shall add charm or provide a refuge from the monotony of city life. And especially is it desirable in the highest degree to secure great areas of comparatively useless land, which may now be purchased at small cost, so as to create large wooded parks wherein those who are compelled to spend the greater part of their time in manufactories and workshops may readily come into contact with nature, and thus indulge those tastes and inclinations which are innate in human nature.

Such are the outlines of the plan necessary to be followed in order
embellish them, the buildings of this civic center should express the power, the dignity, the orderliness of the municipality.

Crossing the main axis at such intervals as convenience and necessity may require will be various cross axes; along each of which and also along the main axis itself will be located markets, railway stations, the subordinate courts, the fire and police stations, school houses and churches, theaters and various other buildings of a public and semi-public character. Numerous parks and squares will give breathing spaces for the people, and provide places of open-air assembly.

In order to promote easy access between focal points within the city, diagonal avenues will be created; and always free circulation will be maintained between the more crowded portions of the city and the open country from which the city draws its supplies, and over which it is constantly spreading itself.

Beyond the confines of the city itself stretches a great area covered with farms and villages, with forests and streams and lakes, even
lagoons inviting the multitudes to seek recreation along the endless miles of water-front; or in broad avenues where the vista seemingly terminates with a tower by day or the converging lines of lights by night, in each case the mind recognizing that there is still space beyond.

Always there must be the feeling of those broad surfaces of water reflecting the clouds of heaven; always the sense of breadth and freedom which are the very spirit of the prairies.

Coming now to the treatment of the city as an organic whole, the first necessity is to create a main axis, which is to the structure of the city what the backbone is to the body. Obviously in the case of Chicago this main axis will begin at the lake-front and extend westward through the city. Its beginning will be marked by some monumental group of buildings to serve as the water-gate to the city. At some convenient point along its line will be located those structures which represent the government in its various phases - national, state, county, and city. In their arrangement, in the character and unity of their architecture, in their landscape setting, and in monuments which
other cities may climb hills and build around them, crowning the elevation with significant structures; but the people of Chicago must ever recognize the fact that their city is without bounds. Elsewhere, indeed, man and his works may be taken as the measure; but here the city appears as that portion of illimitable space now occupied by a population capable of indefinite expansion.

Whatever may be the forms which the treatment of the city shall take, therefore, the effects must of necessity be obtained by repetition of the unit; since no single building or monument, however imposing, can ever dominate such vast spaces. If the characteristics set forth suggest monotony, nevertheless such are the limitations which nature itself has imposed; and unless the problem is faced squarely no treatment proposed will seem adequate or prove lastingly satisfactory.

It is in the grouping of buildings united by a common purpose — whether for administrative, or for educational, or commercial purposes — that one must find an adequate method of treatment; or in long projected lines of
Chapter 11

THE CITY PLAN.

Chicago has two dominant natural features; the expanse of Lake Michigan which stretches, unbroken by islands or peninsulas, to the horizon, and a corresponding area of land, extending without hills or any marked elevation, as far as the eye can reach. These two features, each immeasurable by the senses, give the scale. Whatever man undertakes here must be either actually or seemingly without limit. Great thoroughfares may lead from the water back into the country inteminably; broad boulevards may skirt the lake front, or sweep through the city; but their beginnings on the north and on the south must of necessity be points which move along the determined lines with the growth of population.

Other harbors may have their approaches through channels winding among islands or around jutting promontories until the land-locked basin is reached; but Chicago must throw out into the open water her long arms of piled-up rock in order to gather in safety the storm-tossed vessels. And
effort to make their city preeminent.

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.
institutions which the people themselves have established and which they can change at the will of the majority.

The failure of municipal government in the United States thus far has been due primarily to the fact that at the present time the city is regarded merely as an aggregation of individuals each seeking first his own support and after that the furtherance of his own ambitions. Growth has been so rapid, opportunities have come and gone so quickly, changes have been so rapid that there has been no time to pause and consider whether the current has tended or what breakers were ahead. It is only within comparatively recent times that people have begun to realize the imperative need of organizing the forces that make for honesty and decency, for better physical conditions, for broader charities, and for the prevention as well as the cure of evils. Slowly there is beginning to dawn upon the American mind that the rights of the individual must be subordinated to the general good; that the price of civilization is provision for the health and happiness of all 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
race, is constantly menaced by the conditions of city life.

Moreover, the very subdivision of labor which offers opportunity in the city results, in times of business depression, in the enforced idleness of great numbers of people; and, on the other hand, the colossal fortunes that come to some men legitimately and to others as the result of undue ad- advantage are too often used in ways that increase the inequalities of life instead of mitigating them.

Again the city is threatened by the immigration of large numbers of foreign people brought up under conditions so intolerable as to lead them to expatriate themselves. Where these immigrants are scattered throughout the country and are subjected to the sunlight and fresh air, they quickly become transformed into good American citizens. But where they are herded in cities and confined in localities given over to a particular race, they inevitably tend to perpetuate the same intolerable conditions from which they fled; with this difference, that American forms of government are not fitted to cope with the tendencies which involve the destruction of those
ever-increasing scale, in order to prevent disease and pestilence; but life and property must be made safe, men must be protected in their rights as individuals, and lessons of honesty and decency must be inculcated in order to prevent society from destroying itself. The growth of crime in Chicago has been even more phenomenal than the growth in numbers.

Nor is Chicago any exception to the general rule in this country; for it is a well-recognized fact that at the present time the American city is a conspicuous failure, in so far as administration is concerned. The taxes are not evenly laid, nor are they honestly expended. Life and property are not adequately protected; the known means of preventing disease and the spread thereof are not made effective; and vice is permitted to flourish.

The evils which the city has developed result from many causes, chief among which is the compression of numbers of people in spaces not adequate for decent living. Hence come quarrels and strife, leading to crime; and also low vitality, breeding disease. Home in the sense that the word is used in the country is almost an unknown term in the city. The family, that source of all that is best and highest in the development of the
population; but the city actually invites additions because of the indefinite increase in the wants supplied by manufactures and demanded by the advance of civilization. So quickly do these demands arise that the luxuries of the parents become the necessities of the children; and the arbitrary rule of fashion in all departments of life begets waste and extravagance that require the labor of armies of people. The complications resulting from the herding of vast multitudes create work for the professional men and for the class known to political economists as the unproductive laborers. On the whole, therefore, we may count upon a progressive increase in the size of the city, and in the demands which the city makes, and in the opportunities it offers.

In its growth as a mere aggregation of individuals each devoted to obtaining the means of supporting life, the city develops not only legitimate wants which tax the ingenuity of man to supply; but also it develops evils which tend to become so intolerable as to threaten the very life of the city itself. Not only must methods of sanitation be developed on an
than Chicago. These figures, as large as they are, do not include the families of the men employed. With the great areas of land now being reclaimed by irrigation and other great areas being added in the far north, and with constant increases in productiveness of lands now cultivated, it is evident that there will be a constantly growing number of people who must make their living by ministering to those human wants which tend to increase without limit rather than by raising food, to the consumption of which there is a limit.

Moreover, city life has attractions that appeal strongly to human nature. Opportunities for large success, for wealth and power and social consideration, for amusement, for the increase of knowledge, and for cultivation are greater for the average person in the city than in the country; so that as a rule the naturally independent and ambitious members of the household, whether male or female, will seek the city, leaving behind on the farm those of the family circle who are less enterprising, or who for reasons sufficient to themselves prefer the quieter life.

Furthermore, not only does the farm fail to support the increasing
gather in cities will increase rather than diminish; for this movement
is not confined to American cities but is literally world-wide, both in
extent and in intensity. During the 40 years from 1850 to 1890, Berlin
grew faster than New York; four-fifths of the population of London was
added during the nineteenth century; Rome has doubled in less than twenty
years; St. Petersburg is five times as populous as it was a hundred years
ago; Odessa attained nineteen-twentieths of its growth in the latest tenth
of its lifetime. Bombay has grown from 150,000 to 621,000 in a century.
Tokio has added 800,000 in twenty years, and Cairo has more than doubled since
1850.

These changes from country to city life being due to permanent
causes, there is no reason to look for a reversal of the present order. In
the first place modern machinery and methods of cultivation allow four men
to do the work formerly done by fourteen. In 1870 one man was employed to
every seventeen acres cultivated; in 1890 there was one man for every twenty-
six acres. In other words the number of men released from farm work by
reason of improvements in cultivation would populate two cities each larger
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 this region whose domination in national affairs was then foreshadowed. Five years after the Civil War ended, the numbers had increased threefold; and in 1880 the city numbered half a million people. The next decade brought the total up to a million, and the century closed with double that number. If the present ratio of increase continues the year 1920 will see Chicago a city of eight millions, a number in excess of the population of any city in the world; and in 1950, when the children of today are reaching the height of their power and influence, Chicago will include sixty-four million people, a number equal to more than two-thirds of the present population of the United States. Such figures are too great for the mind to grasp; and the consequences of such a growth are too appalling to contemplate. Yet need they be any more disquieting to the people of today than it would have been to our Revolutionary forefathers to contemplate the prospect that in America there would arise cities twice the size of the London of their day?

There is every reason to believe that the tendency of men to
that Chicago was a natural center of trade, and that the location had all 
the geographical and geological requisites for a great city. On this vast 
level plain it was possible indefinitely to multiply dwellings. The Great 
Lakes afforded cheap transportation for lumber and coal. The railways, 
pushing ever westward until they should pierce the mountains and reach the 
western seas, paused at Chicago as if to rest in their onward course. Other 
lines from the south and the north opened up areas of lands more extensive 
and more fertile than ever had been known - lands capable of sustaining 
not only their own increasing population, but also abundantly able to supply 
food in exchange for the manufacturers of the Atlantic Coast region, and to 
relieve the necessities of Europe.

Beyond the reach of foreign enemy, and far from the devastations 
of civil war, nothing has occurred in the history of Chicago to check a 
growth phenomenal in its rapidity, and seemingly without limit in the future. 
In the middle of the nineteenth century Chicago numbered fewer than thirty 
thousand people; the number was scarcely a hundred thousand ten years later