

The creation of modern urban form in the Philippines

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Abstract. *This paper explores the creation of city plans in the Philippines during the early-twentieth century. It considers how urban planning was employed to strengthen an embryonic sense of national character as defined by American colonial administrators, and how the employment of a particular urban morphological model helped to convey this identity. The implementation of 'modern urban form' as part of a governmental process to dissociate the Philippines from its past as an 'uncivilized' place is examined. Political and cultural transition after the Spanish-American War of 1898 is related to the manifestation of American visions of nationhood in environmental form. The alliance between urban form, colonial governance, the Philippine landscape, and identity production is explored, and new light is shone on how cultural, political, artistic, and environmental forces affected each other.*

Key Words: Philippines, imperialism, modernity, City Beautiful, civic design

This paper investigates the origins and materialization of the 'modern city' in the Philippines. Largely neglected by urban morphologists, the development of 'modern settlements' in the Philippines is significant for comprehending the shifting nature and meaning of urban design within an evolving political and cultural framework. Considering the era May 1898 to August 1916, namely the period between the Battle of Manila Bay and the passing of the Philippine Autonomy Act, the paper explores the association between American notions of modern urban planning and the instigation of 'progress' within the Philippine archipelago. In so doing it demonstrates how the American colonial governmental process utilized the arranging of settlements along 'progressive lines' to impart 'civilization' to a population considered at that time to be half-caste Christians, warlike Muslims, and wild pagans (Ninkovich, 2001).

A decisive time in the history of the Philippines was May 1898 when, on the first day of the month, as part of the Spanish-

American War, the Spanish and American navies engaged in armed conflict. Despite lasting just a few hours the Battle of Manila Bay had massive repercussions for the administration of the Philippines. With Spain's Pacific Naval Fleet all but obliterated as a result of the skirmish, and with a rising nationalist insurgency inside the country (Cruz, 1989), in the months after the clash Spanish colonialism collapsed. By December 1898, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, American sovereignty of the Philippines was confirmed. As an upshot of this political agreement the Philippines experienced a fundamental shift in its governmental and cultural state of being, one result in the following years being the proposing of comprehensive urban plans for Manila, Cebu, and Zamboanga, and the founding of a new city, Baguio. Yet in order to grasp the relationship between American rule, modern urban form, and the making of a 'new' Philippines after 1898 it is first necessary to refer to urban developments in the country

prior to the Spanish-American War. For the establishment of a new Philippine urban form, was amongst other things a reaction against Spanish civilization and its imprint upon local society. Thus, to appreciate modern American urban form in the Philippines between 1898 and 1916 it is first necessary to grasp the nature of the earlier Spanish colonial urban development.

Spanish colonial cities and civilization

The Spanish first arrived in the islands that were to become known as the Philippines in 1521, although their first attempt to colonize the territory did not occur until 1565. The outlook of the first settlers, shaped by colonial ventures in the Americas (Phelan, 1967), was ambitious: a cultural, economic, religious, and political transformation of Philippine society was to be instigated. So as to achieve this goal two matters were immediately deemed to be of importance. The first related to the siting of the principal colonial settlements. It was decided that they were to be located where indigenous communities (*barangays*) of substantial size were already found (Morris, 1994). The second matter of note centred upon reforming the local population, and this was to transpire by imposing Spanish law and order, and introducing Christianity (Constantino, 1975). To appreciate where this society-building programme was to commence, three *barangays* need to be recognized: Panay (on Panay Island), Zebu (on Cebu Island) and Maynilad (in Luzon). With regard to Panay, its affable native population and the agricultural potential of its hinterland were considered significant in light of the Spaniards' need to establish stable food supplies for the anticipated expansion of colonial society in the coming years. Zebu and Maynilad, however, were already known to be unique within the Philippine context due to their social complexity, well-organized port activities, and larger than average population size (Reed, 1978). By the mid-1500s Maynilad had a population of 2000-3000 with an estimated 30 000 more living in the

surrounding region (Newson, 2009), a corollary of its economic and social ties with China, Borneo, and Mindanao. Yet, notably, even though *barangays* such as Zebu (now known as Cebu) and Maynilad, or Manila as the Spanish labelled it, were already well established in light of the colonial objective to remodel society, no physical vestiges of the communities were permitted to remain. Thus in Zebu the indigenous population was displaced (Klassen, 1986), and a new settlement built. Likewise Manila was also judged to be in need of redevelopment. After unrest in 1571 between the Spanish and the native population it was torched to the ground (Tucker, 2009), and a new settlement built as the capital of the Philippines.

In venturing to comprehend how the Spanish were to convert *barangays* into colonial settlements it must not be forgotten that King Philip II had a clear-cut strategy for developing his territory (Maltby, 2009). To put it simply, colonial urban development would not proceed along a course dictated by either chance or accident: it would be guided by an inseparable governmental alliance between State and Church (Reed, 1978). However, notwithstanding urban design knowledge as a result of prior colonial experiences in the Americas, for example with regard to developing new towns from a universal plan (*traza*), Spanish empirical familiarity with the Philippines was, to say the least, very limited. As a result it was imperative to quickly amass knowledge of the local context (Brendecke, 2009). Furthermore, as demonstrated by crop failures and virulent disease in Panay, the presence of Portuguese galleons in Philippine waters, fear of Chinese invaders (Gatbonton, 1985), a mutiny amongst the colonizers in Cebu, and the Spanish perception of Filipinos as potentially hostile adversaries, any attempt to establish a new civilization was commencing on a precarious foundation. Hence it is not surprising that the Spanish identified the provision of clean water, adequate food supplies, good living conditions, and defence as their priorities. Evidently this affected the design of their settlements. As a case in point, sturdy city

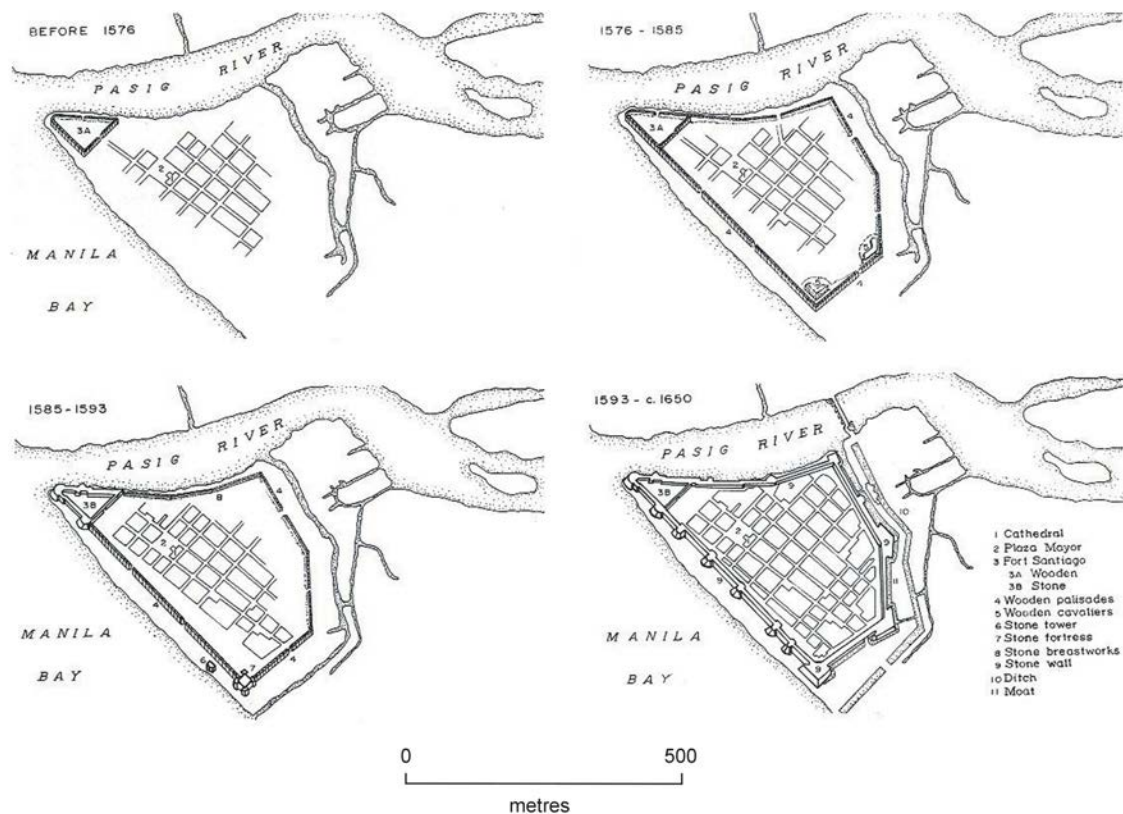


Figure 1. The evolution of the urban form of Manila from the mid-1570s to about 1650 (source: Klassen, 1986).

walls, irrespective of their symbolic capital as markers of colonial virtue and authority (Kagan, 2000), were clearly identifiable in early-Spanish urban planning ventures, the first of which was in Cebu where the triangular headland that was once the site of the *Zubu barangay* was bordered by a sizeable ditch and two substantial walls (over 460 m in length). Inside the walls of the settlement, as in Manila (Figure 1) and five other settlements established by c. 1600 – these being formed as regional centres of military, political, and religious control (Doeppers, 1972) – a grid plan was laid down. This according to Klassen (1986) was an upshot of a number of influences: garrison town design in Spain, for example in Puerto Real and Santa Fe (founded in 1483 and 1491); urban design models forged in the Americas; the Spaniards familiarity with Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), an Italian designer who advocated the laying down of straight streets criss-crossed at

90 degree angles as part of the Renaissance’s quest for artistic truth; and, after 1573, King Philip II’s Law of the Indies (*leyes de indias*), a decree codifying the founding and planning of settlements within the Spanish empire. Thus in the Philippines grid plans became the dominant urban form, as in other Spanish colonies. However, one distinct local feature emerged: the placing of the *plaza mayor*, the primary urban space, in proximity to a waterfront (Lico, 2008).

Much as such authors as Edmund Bacon (1976) and Anthony Giddens (1992) noted how cultural and political forces affect the form of urban environments, so the make-up of urban form displays the cultural and political system that produces it, and urban design can articulate the priorities of those in positions of authority (Vale, 2008). Furthermore as the built environment is a repository of meanings that replicate social relations, understanding urban form in relation to culture

and politics provides clues to meaning encoded in historically generated spatial forms (Low, 1993). The Spanish strategy of resettling Filipinos into colonial cities with *plaza mayores* enclosed by churches, friaries, governmental buildings, and houses for the colonial elites must be recognized as not only an expression of the quest to propagate art and beauty (Tafari, 2006), but also as an articulation of the Spanish State as a civilizing agent over a populace thought of as vicious and warlike (Mirandaola, 1565). Likewise the displacing of the native population from their scattered, independently-run *barangays* into new compact urban settlements known as *caberecas* (central-church communities), places designed to house several thousand people (Newson, 2009) and having church plazas as their hub, must also be read as the outcome of a policy to grant colonial authority and to realign local culture (Figure 2). By way of example, in grouping the native population into *caberecas* in which land was divided into rectangular plots off church-lined plazas, the Spanish endeavoured to reorganize local socio-political structures by shifting the focus of life away from pre-colonial community leaders (*datus*) onto the Catholic church and Spanish law (Doeppers, 1972). In so doing they eliminated the tyrannical grip that *datus* were perceived to have on their communities (Jesus, 1982). Yet in permitting *datus* to retain selected social and political privileges their influence was maintained, albeit in an exploitable manner to help safeguard public order. This also aided the activities of priests who, as the focus of religion and culture, disseminated their language, propagated Spanish customs, and abetted devotion to the Spanish crown.

To ensure that Spanish authority was manifest throughout the entire Philippine archipelago, priests were encouraged to disperse themselves out from the regional capital cities so that they could bring into *caberecas* formerly autonomous native communities (Iglesias, 2003), thereby 'pacifying' and 'educating' the native population (Rafael, 1993) as well as allowing for the requisition of people and commodities

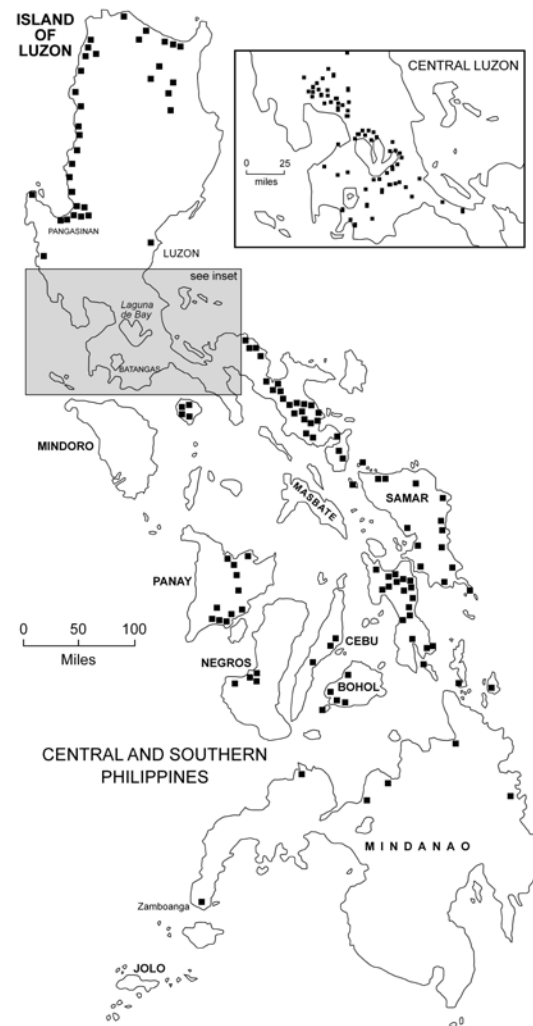


Figure 2. The location of *caberecas* founded by the Spanish prior to 1800 (source: Klassen, 1986).

when required for local and central colonial projects (Jesus, 1982). By utilizing priests as *principales* (civil servants) alongside *datus* and provincial governors, they and their *caberecas* became agents of an administrative matrix of Hispanization (including Spanish law, language and culture), Christianization, and Philippinization, for instance by permitting the native population to maintain some cultural practices and their dialects within the colonial framework (Phelan, 1959; Rafael, 1993), so that disparate ethnic groups could be brought under central rule. This unifying of people through urban design, law, religion, and

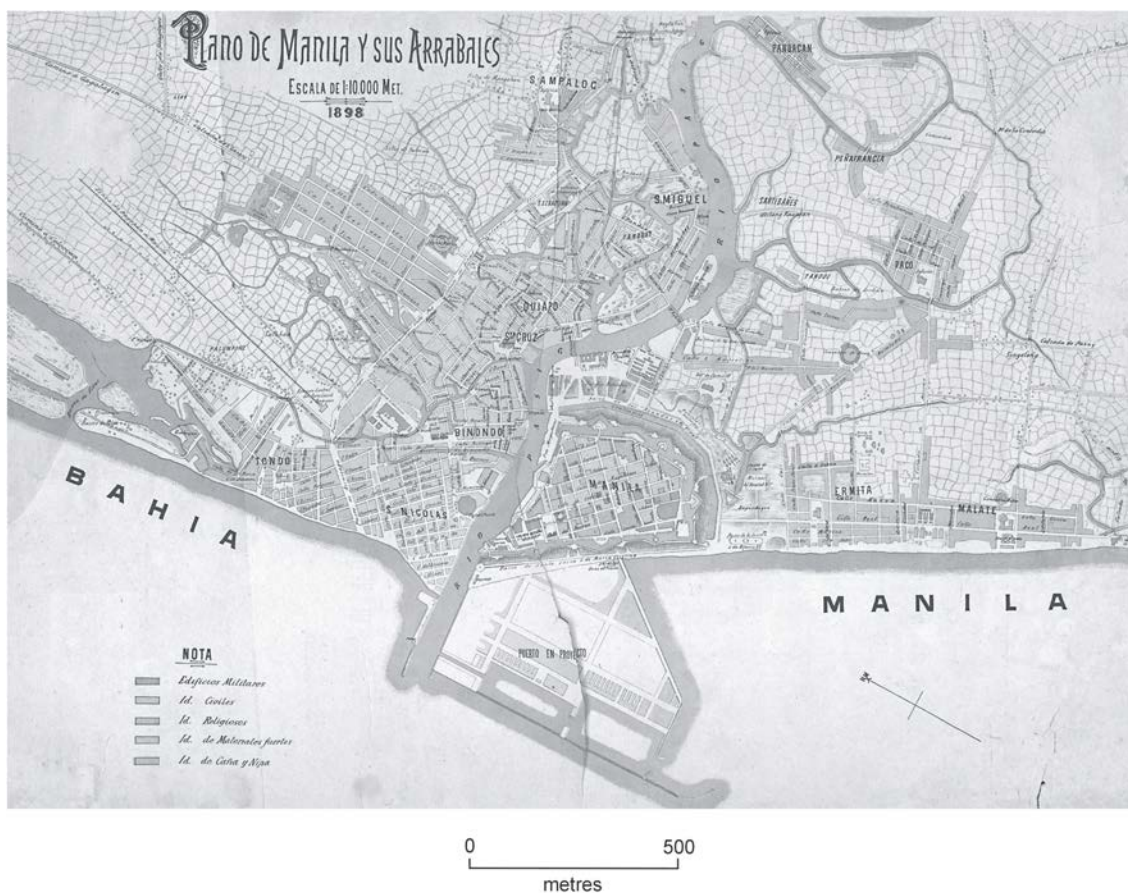


Figure 3. A Spanish map of Manila in 1898 prepared by F. J. Gamoneda (source: Perry-Castañeda Library, University of Texas at Austin).

culture could, it was thought, not only grant a sense of nationhood hitherto lacking but, significantly, if just a few thousand *barangays* existed when Spanish colonization began, then hypothetically just an equal number of priests and *caberecas* were required to issue authority on behalf of the Spanish Crown (MacLachlan, 1988). Importantly too, as Spanish life was essentially urban-centred (Maltby, 2009), and contemporary Spanish culture equated urbanism with civilization (Lico, 2008), to develop settlements denoted the cultivation of society (Blanco, 2009). Crucially to the narrative of urban development in the Philippines, the use of urban communities to promote the evolution of civilization persisted after 1898, although due to the change in government a marked shift in the character and meaning of urban environments became apparent.

The Philippines post-1898: the American perspective

By c. 1900 the vast majority of Philippine settlements were small. Approximately 75 per cent of the 13 000 urban communities in existence had a population of less than 600 people (United States Bureau of the Census, 1903), and Manila (Figure 3) was the only substantial city. It had a population of about 220 000 people (United States Bureau of the Census, 1903), and was described as being a mix of civilization and primitive life (*Washington Star*, 1902). An outcome of Spanish religious, economic, and political policies that encouraged its rise as a primate city and concurrently hindered the maturation of regional capitals (Reed, 1978), Manila dominated the urban system of a nation of less than 7 million people (Taylor, 1972) unevenly

distributed throughout the archipelago of 7000 or more islands. Even though a handful of provincial cities existed, and more than 1000 *caberecas* had been developed on lowland areas, in many parts of the Philippines, for example inland mountain regions and the large southern isle of Mindanao, Spanish influence was negligible. This situation, a consequence of the ineffectiveness of Spanish authority in the Philippines, was not lost upon the Americans.

To understand American rule in the Philippines, and so the nature of urban planning and its role in the governmental process, note must be taken of the perceptions Americans held of the native population. Whereas the Spanish viewed Filipinos as adversaries ripe for subjugation, the Americans saw them differently: as associates. Hence American politicians avowed after the Treaty of Paris that they had not taken over the Philippines as invaders or conquerors, but had come to the Philippines as a friend (Zinn, 2001). Therefore the story of American-sponsored urban development in the Philippines was not solely about providing better environments for the white population to reside in, or the forging of grand architectural and spatial statements of power, although these were components of early-twentieth century city planning. To be more exact, 'modern city planning' was about reforming a society and people thought of in 1898 as 'backward'. Thus the designing of settlements operated within a very different political dialectic to that which characterized Spanish rule, a framework after 1898 that ideologically centred upon duty and power co-operation as a means to build a modern society (Hendrikson, 2009).

To grasp the connotations of urban form in America's process of civilization building reference must be made to American President William McKinley's 'benevolent assimilation' proclamation of December 1898. In this speech McKinley outlined America's colonial programme as a course in societal evolution created to allow Filipinos to acquire their own 'free self-government'. Put succinctly, American colonization was to be a broad tutelary process in both social transformation

and governmental procedure (Go, 2008). Known as 'practical political education', this process would redefine Philippine civilization from top to bottom, heaping upon the country 'progress' of a type never seen before. In so doing it would influence the entire Philippine archipelago, reflecting the view that wherever you have government you have both American and Filipino civil servants acting in response to the needs of the people. Such tuition, the Americans believed, was essential for two contrasting yet complementary reasons. First, pertaining to the length of Spanish colonialism and the Filipinos inexperience in self-government, the Americans thought there was a risk that anarchy could prevail after the end of the Spanish-American War (*New York Times*, 1899b). Secondly, due to moral imperatives, America felt it had a duty to assist the Filipinos in acquiring 'progress' (Zinn, 2001), and this was to be achieved by emancipating them from savage habits, as well as by granting them civil liberties, education, and good housing (*New York Times*, 1899a). As Go (2003) noted, America's distinctive view on 'advancement' shaped the colonial governmental system, and cities, as shall now be shown, were a powerful instrument in endeavouring to 'uplift' and 'civilize' society.

In appreciating the broad purpose of American rule in the Philippines it is imperative not to overlook three matters: first, the American belief that the Philippines was in 1898 a country in 'need' and had to be brought into the pathway of the world's 'best civilization' (Bartlett, 1956; *New York Times*, 1899a); secondly, the American commitment to respect the traditions and social life of Filipinos (May, 1980), albeit to recast them where necessary so that 'justice' could occur; and thirdly, the breadth of discourse as to how America could bring betterment. Owing to these factors, political, cultural, and environmental matters amalgamated in the name of 'development' (Go, 2003; Hines, 1973), and by 1905 the Philippine Independent Church was founded, public health services widened, schooling introduced for children, English made the national language, port facilities enlarged, new road and rail lines laid down,

tariffs removed to encourage trade with companies in North America, currency reformed, public buildings constructed, and city plans made. Thus the early-twentieth century witnessed the Philippine Commission, America's colonial government, wholeheartedly accept its perceived duty to the Filipino people (Barrows, 1914). As part of this responsibility Daniel Burnham, the leading American architect-planner, was asked to compose two urban plans: one for Manila, the other for Baguio (*New York Times*, 1904).

In recognizing how and why modern urban form was imported into the Philippines, attention must be given to American urban planning at the beginning of the twentieth century and both the physical and the symbolic nature of the urban environments Daniel Burnham sought to create. Reflecting his conception of the lack of 'civilization' in the Philippines, for Burnham creating cities of different forms from those established by the Spanish was a means to an end: to express American might; and to bring a new quality to local society, and with it a new identity for the Philippines. In spatial terms this was to be achieved by redirecting life away from Spanish-built plazas towards new civic cores. In addition new urban spaces should be laid out, parks established, traffic circulation improved, better housing built, and controlled expansion of existing urban environments allowed. Such activity would not only improve life but would also echo the progressive character of the Filipino people (Best, 2009), whose character was perceived to be naturally receptive to embracing 'progress' (Sargent, 1947).

With regard to American city planning, it was dominated at the start of the last century by the City Beautiful paradigm. Emerging as a response to the functional and aesthetic failings of large industrial cities in the United States, the City Beautiful model of urban design emerged during the 1890s to raise the visual standards of cities and promote citizenship. Inspired by Beaux Arts classicism (Barnett, 2011), the City Beautiful proved successful in instigating environmental change within many American cities, and also for

what it represented to the American public. As such it was considered to be *the* American planning model by the early-twentieth century, and this is significant given the perception of cities in both North America and newly acquired territories as riddled with social problems. Accordingly, to bring urban and social reform the application of City Beautiful planning took place not only within America, but also overseas in places such as the Philippines.

At first Daniel Burnham's plans for Manila (Figure 4) and Baguio, prepared in 1905 (with the assistance of Pierce Anderson), adhered closely to the City Beautiful archetype (Ward, 2002) that Burnham had previously used for the Columbian World's Fair in Chicago (1893), the McMillan Plan of Washington DC (1901-2), and plans for Cleveland (1903) and San Francisco (1905). With straight, lengthy roadways, symmetrically-shaped green spaces, and groups of public buildings at the heart of each environment (Morley, 2007), Burnham's two Philippine schemes established ordered, impressive-looking, and healthy settings for people to live in. Yet if urban morphologists were to inspect the plans for Manila and Baguio solely through a lens focused on the shapes they were intended to create on the ground, then much of the narrative of the early-twentieth century Philippine urban form would be lost. For instance, the symbolic capital woven into the environments, and Burnham's efforts to tie the cities to their natural surroundings, would be overlooked. Additionally the role of civic design would be bypassed, and its function in constructing the modern Filipino nation would be downplayed. It is essential that the analysis of Philippine settlements extends beyond a mere structuralist perspective. To demonstrate this one part of the Philippine city will now be focused on: the urban core.

Malls and civic design

In 1898 the heart of the Philippines was Manila's walled core, the Intramuros. Built as a fortified city in the 1670s the Intramuros was

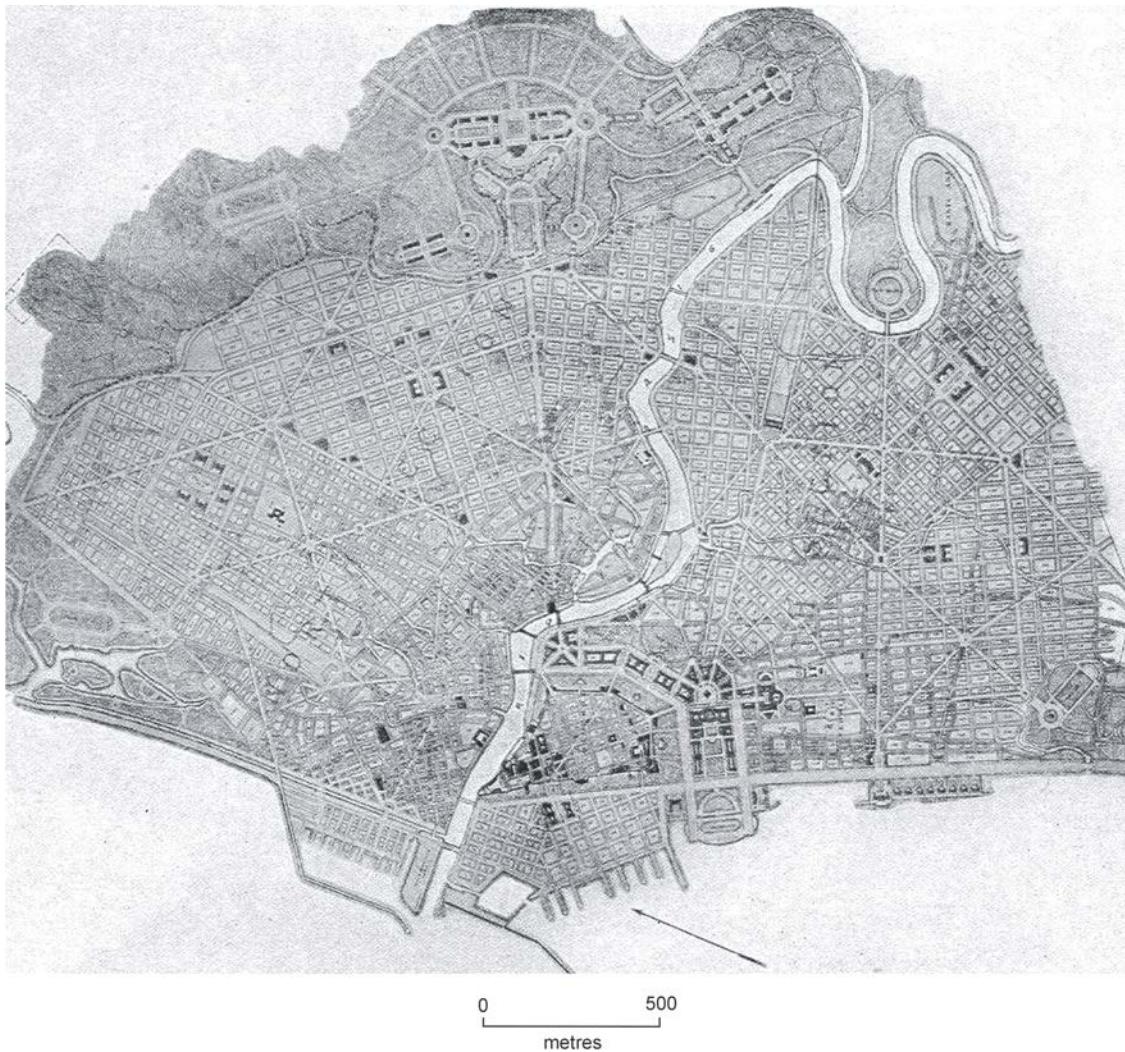


Figure 4. Plan of 1905 for Manila by Daniel Burnham (source: Burnham and Anderson, 1905a).

the physical and figurative heart of Spanish authority and culture in South-East Asia by the onset of the Spanish-American War (Doeppers, 1972). Notwithstanding the district's iconic significance as the hub of Spanish rule, the Americans, including Daniel Burnham, respected the Intramuros's built environment. Indeed, to Burnham the Intramuros had an aesthetic charm. It was known to contain 'types of good architecture for tropical service that could hardly be improved upon' (*Manila Times*, 1905). Furthermore the Americans admired the racial intermixing in the city, the distinctions between the races being less than in other

Asian colonies (Hunt, 1954). Hence, irrespective of the 1898 governmental watershed, to Burnham Manila would not be Manila without the Intramuros. He was aware of the architectural quality of the district, for example the suitability of its buildings to the local climate (*Manila Times*, 1905; Sonne, 2003) and the value of its city walls (Lacheca, 1968). There was also the pragmatic reality that many of the district's buildings were required for public service and would be until the city plan of 1905 was fully implemented. Preserving the Intramuros was a link between imperial powers, and politically this had significance for the Americans. For example,



Figure 5. Burnham's proposed civic centre for Manila. The walled settlement of the Intramuros is on the left of the picture (source: Burnham and Anderson, 1905a).

the Intramuros was seen to not have enough open space, and to the Americans the district presented itself as part of 'go-as-you-please civilization' owing to many edifices being 'built anyhow, at any angle, of any material, and to any height', and its suburbs (*extramuros*) being unplanned and unhealthy. As it was Spanish, Manila provided evidence that the city did not belong to a modern civilization, and so was unsuitable as an abode for Americans.

Regardless of the broad imperial argument for transforming Manila to express American might and remove a society hitherto lacking in

culture (Lico, 2008), urban change was necessitated by the American fear of tropical disease (Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1903; Reed, 1976). So to present American Manila as a healthy city as much as a modern city Burnham's urban renewal concept was simple: to make a sanitary, organized and adorned environment that branched out from a new civic core (Figure 5) located on land that formerly was the moat for the Intramuros (but by the late-nineteenth century had become a dumping ground for waste). By shifting the heart of Manila, the governmental nucleus of the Philippines, outside the walls of the

Intramuros, Burnham was explicitly stating that the decrepit, oppressive rule of the Spanish, and all its articulations, was well and truly dispatched to history (Cano, 2008). At the same time he was declaring in built form that a 'new' city was being founded that was an emblem of a forward-thinking nation (Daniels, 1905). Yet to grasp the worth of Burnham's plan attention must be given to his conceptualization of colonial urban space, and what Lowenthal (1985) describes as a capacity to 'see the past on our own terms'. As Brody (2010) suggests, this did not mean that Burnham outright rejected all components of the Spanish colonial environmental model even if, in broad terms, the Spanish precedent was unacceptable. Indeed, his plan hovered between respecting Spanish Manila and maintaining it for aesthetic purposes, and replacing it and diminishing its value for political and cultural reasons. Ultimately, Burnham's plan granted a means to renew Manila, to transform it into a 'modern city', and to concurrently grant social control over the local population.

To comprehend Burnham's plan for Manila, a scheme said to be simple in design (Hines, 2009), certain fundamentals must be appreciated. Burnham believed that the Spanish-made environment could be used profitably by the Americans. Hence elements of the historic urban form were to be reused and given new meaning. Accordingly, the grid of the Intramuros was to be extended throughout the city and diagonal boulevards were to be created. Such an arrangement would permit the controlled growth of Manila – it was anticipated to increase its population to 800 000 people owing to economic development to be instigated by American rule – and permit the investigation of a modern spatial form, that of the City Beautiful. The physical hub of 'new Manila' was its civic core, the civic centre being an elemental feature of City Beautiful plans, reflecting the reformist mission of transforming 'problem cities' into beautiful, rationally formed entities (Wilson, 1989). As Fairfield (2010) and Peterson (2003) have asserted, civic centres were also vital to the American promotion of citizenship,

which as Burnham and Anderson (1909) remarked, was seen as the prime object of urban planning. Consequently, as Morley (2010) has shown, the American view of making 'new cities', be they at home or abroad, meant implementing an alteration to the local urban environment so as to ameliorate the environment *and* the character of the local population. So in Manila, and also in the new summer capital city of Baguio, the City Beautiful convention of grouping civic edifices into a single, ordered architectural and spatial unit, the creation of monumental vistas, and the structured distribution of the city from civic cores was utilized in order for a new culture and identity to be created. To cite City Beautiful theorist Charles Mulford Robinson (1904), such an act would permit communities to look physically and symbolically to their governmental institutions, and for civil servants to look out to the people they serve. Such changing of urban form could augment 'social religion' (Ross, 1901; Wilson, 1989), namely bond together members of a society so that a higher state of being was attained.

The design of Burnham's new civic centre for Manila was governed by a monumental axis that led to and from the dome of the district's most important edifice, the Capitol. This alignment was marked by the main entrance of the edifice, the portico above it, a large flight of steps at its front, and a statue situated in the centre of a plaza (now known as Agrifina Circle) at a distance from the Capitol's primary entrance. Enclosing the semi-circular plaza were five classically-styled public buildings (Figure 6) sited in accord with the aforesaid axial line, each facing directly towards the urban space and its statue. Collectively the five buildings around the plaza, plus the Capitol, formed what Burnham called the Government Group. To the south of this architectural cluster Burnham placed the Hall of Justice, thus treating it as an individual building with its own approaches given the sanctity of the rule of law (Burnham and Anderson, 1905a; Sonne, 2003). To the north, located parallel to the walls of the Intramuros, were additional public buildings: museums, libraries, and a central post office. This



Figure 6. Museum of the Filipino People, a building formerly known as the Department of Finance. Located on a site close to where Burnham was to place the Capitol Building, this building was to form an integral part of Manila's civic core (photograph by the author, May 2010).

gathering of public buildings, in what Robin (1992) described as 'a familiar American pattern', was to aid the Filipino population to take on the values of their foreign 'educators'.

Uniting together in a symmetrical manner urban space, statuary and buildings in the civic core – an ideal of modern civic design (Mawson, 1911) – Burnham sought to redefine the entire environment of Manila by connecting together in a Baroque-like manner outlying districts to the civic centre. From the plaza broad boulevards radiated out in straight lines to the suburbs in a manner akin to the grand thoroughfares of Versailles and Rome (Bacon, 1976). Thus powerful vistas to the civic core from the urban fringe, and from the city's heart to the urban fringe, were established in deference to the symbol of the nation's power (Torres, 2010), the Capitol's dome. In some instances, the boulevards went directly from the civic core to new, large buildings of a public nature, for example the railway station in the east of the city, which like other new buildings was designed to face towards the civic district, and from which

secondary boulevards dispersed. Such a stratagem ensured that public buildings, signs to the Americans of the presence of government and modern civilization, were visible from different parts of the city. In the context of the American's using colonization to 'uplift' Filipinos, the grand vistas to civic edifices symbolized a new country and concurrently demonstrated the legitimacy of its government. Some of Burnham's grand boulevards headed directly to environmental features, such as new suburban parks, Manila Bay and the Pasig River.

Wide roads were seen by Burnham and Anderson (1905a) as providing practical benefits because they provided ready access to all parts of the city, and sentimental assistance in that from outlying areas of the settlement one could look with admiration towards the public edifices serving the needs of the population. As Howe (1912) commented, such a scheme marks a new stage in social evolution: 'the modern city marks a revolution – a revolution in industry, politics, society, and life itself.' Suburban boulevards, such as those

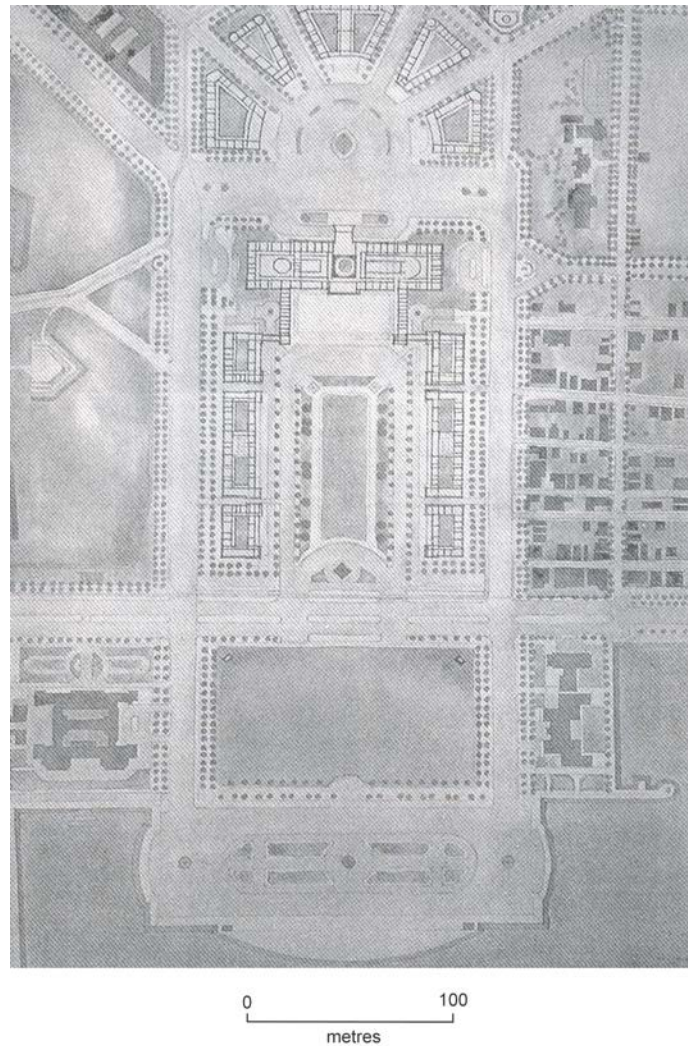


Figure 7. Plan of Burnham's proposed civic centre for Manila (source: Lico, 2008).

running to and from peripheral public buildings and parks, would for Burnham further allow for ease of movement aside from providing access to green locales where people could intermingle. Parks were areas where the different classes of society could interact. They were to be sited alongside rivers so that cool microclimates could be provided, with their waters supplying fountains to add beauty to the city. Furthermore the waterfront along Manila Bay was redeveloped and marked by a lengthy new roadway (Dewey Boulevard) which was to be the hub of social life. The city's *esteros* (canals) were to be rehabilitated, given their capacity to hold the city's many

polymorphous districts together, their economic potential as channels for carrying goods inland, and their perceived beauty. Burnham saw the redevelopment of *esteros* as making Manila a Venice of the East.

Whilst the central axis of Manila's civic centre extended eastwards from the Capitol into a plaza, and then fanned out along boulevards, it also headed from the Capitol westwards towards Manila Bay. The western alignment was marked by a Mall (Figure 7), a green space some 80 m wide by 230 m long that offered a spectacular view to the bay. Said by Burnham to be as impressive as the Bay of Naples in Italy, the symbolism of

Manila Bay, and a view to it, was unparalleled in America's redesigning of Philippine cities before 1916. By such means Burnham united the natural environment with Manila's civic core, offering for those on land an uninterrupted panorama of the scene of America's great military victory over the Spanish, and for those entering the capital city by water a striking picture of the Government Group as a symbol of social progress. As symbolic as the axis was for the Americans in connecting the land to the sea, and to American naval might (Burnham, 1904), it was also given meaning to the native population by the enlargement and landscaping of an area of land known as the Luneta at the waterfront. Previously used as an execution site and a promenade by the Spanish, Burnham's Luneta was to become a new park (Torres, 2010) adorned with statuary laid out parallel to the water's edge. Crucially, one such statue was deliberately sited in accord with the primary east-west alignment of the Capitol and Government Group, thus demonstrating further evidence of the uniting of the Capitol to its surroundings. This statue, erected on the site where Philippine national leader Jose Rizal was executed in 1896, granted the redeveloped centre of the city meaning to Philippine nationhood.

The concept for Manila's Mall was inspired by the renewal of Washington DC in 1901-2. Whilst much has been written of the mall in the American domestic urban context, little has been said of its relevance to City Beautiful morphology in the Philippines. American scholars such as Bednar (2006), Peterson (2003), Reys (1965) and Wilson (1989) have rightly noted the value of the McMillan Plan for regenerating the centre of America's capital city, and for being a reference point for 'proper' modern urban design within America. Likewise Philippine scholars such as Lico (2008) and Torres (2010) have explained Burnham's role in endeavouring to make Manila the 'Pearl of the Orient'. But little has been said about malls as defining America as an 'imagined community'. As scholars such as Anderson (1983) and Cannadine (1983) have argued, imagining marks a crucial stage in the development of nationhood. And the

renewed Mall in Washington DC must be understood as not only reminding Americans of the late-eighteenth century city plan of Pierre L'Enfant but in expressing what the nation stands for: one component being the power of the democratic state. As Washington DC was not just any city (Farrar, 2002), in the milieu of the American mission to construct a 'progressive civilization' in the Philippines (Hines, 2009) it is unsurprising that key facets of its culture, political system, architecture *and* environmental designs were brought to the colony so that it could show itself as a civilized place. The creation of a mall in Manila as an idealized device of identity and civic education demonstrates use of positive environmentalism (Boyer, 1978) – remodelling settlements by replicating visual and spatial features of cities in America – so as, for example, to impart 'practical political education'. The Mall, along with the Government Group, thus signified the alteration of a once dreamy city into a clean, healthful, up-to-date capital of a 'new nation' that the Americans intended to 'Manila-ise' throughout (Boyce, 1914). The Mall of Manila, and the grand axial lines of other Philippine cities, were not created as inert spaces but were intended to give form and substance to the evolution of nationhood, to become part of the education of the people, and to make a collective identity for persons otherwise heterogeneous and, maybe, even unmanageable (Farrar, 2002).

Landscape, sight and reality

The significance of establishing a new urban model in the Philippines needs to be construed not only as part of the early-colonial desire to create civic spaces (Ford, 2003), but as part of a wider procedure to Americanize a foreign land. One method of symbolizing this in Manila was to forge monumental views and axes that tied civic buildings to the natural environment. In Baguio (Figure 8) this practice was not only repeated but indeed evolved as a result of the undulating local topography (Osmeña, 1959). The grand axis

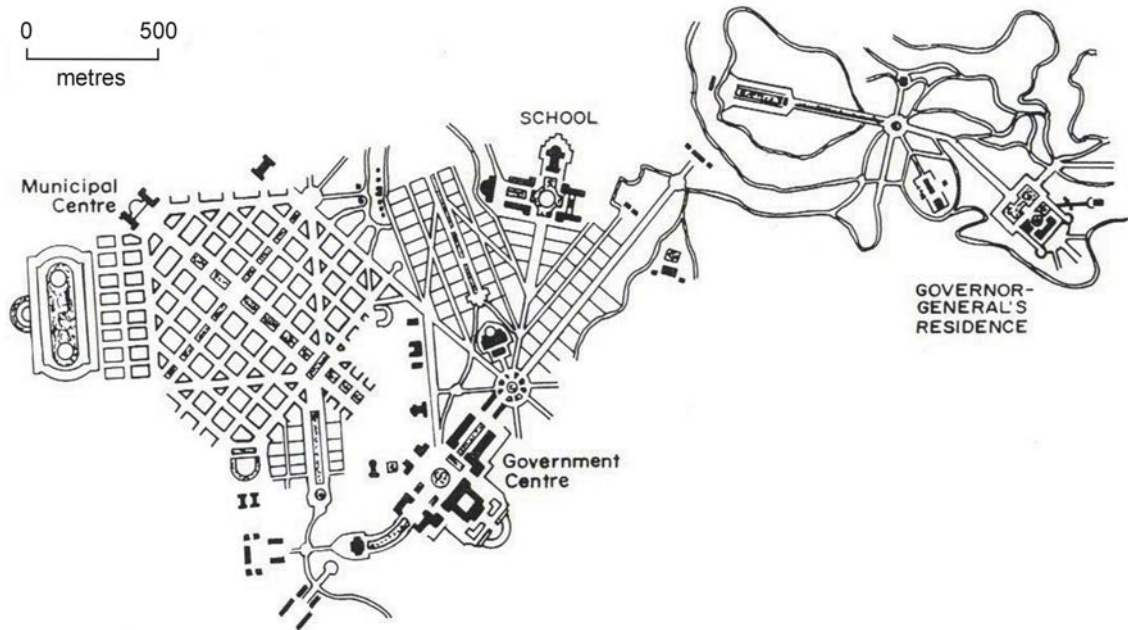


Figure 8. Plan of 1905 for Baguio by Burnham (source: Burnham and Anderson, 1905b).

between the Municipal Centre and the Government Centre must be read not just in two-dimensional form, as could be done in Manila because the city is flat, but in three dimensions. The local government buildings became ‘attached’ to the national government ones so as to articulate the concept of supplying political tutoring to local citizens (Tinio KcKenna, 2009). But this unity of people and politics was expressed in a three-dimensional manner because the local and national governmental buildings were sited at the same elevation at their respective valley ends, thereby facing towards each other at the same height above the valley floor. Each cluster of buildings was sited not at its respective hilltop peak but below its summit. This allowed the government buildings to be visible throughout the city centre, giving them an omnipresence so-to-speak, but it ensured too that they did not overshadow the local landscape (Sonne, 2003). This reflected Burnham’s recognition of the beauty of the Philippine landscape. Hence he gave Baguio’s civic buildings a silhouette *within* their natural setting rather than putting them on the hilltops which would have broken the profile and beauty of the terrain as was the case in British hill-town stations such as Simla. In other

words in Baguio, like in Manila, Burnham ventured to fit the modern city into the landscape, and to make the settlement appear ‘natural’ even if in reality he was not only establishing the American presence but was spreading a political order that subscribed to a new conception of Philippine urban space (Go, 2003).

In Baguio the plan was characterized by a grid that was punctuated by diagonal boulevards, as well as by the monumental central axis. Together these features not only spatially changed a *barangay* into a miniature Washington DC (Forbes, 1933; Hines, 1972), but also transformed the local culture. As in Manila, the principal axis of the civic core had boulevards that symmetrically dispersed from it, with the alignments going to and from notable edifices away from the urban core: for example the outlying Governor General’s residence was placed on an elevated site so as to be a formal part of visible governmental power (Burnham and Anderson, 1905b). To emphasize visibility in Baguio the spatial configuration that connected the Municipal Centre to the Government Centre was marked by a park, Burnham Park (Figure 9), within which a symmetrically-formed lake was placed: the waterway, a centre of local leisure,

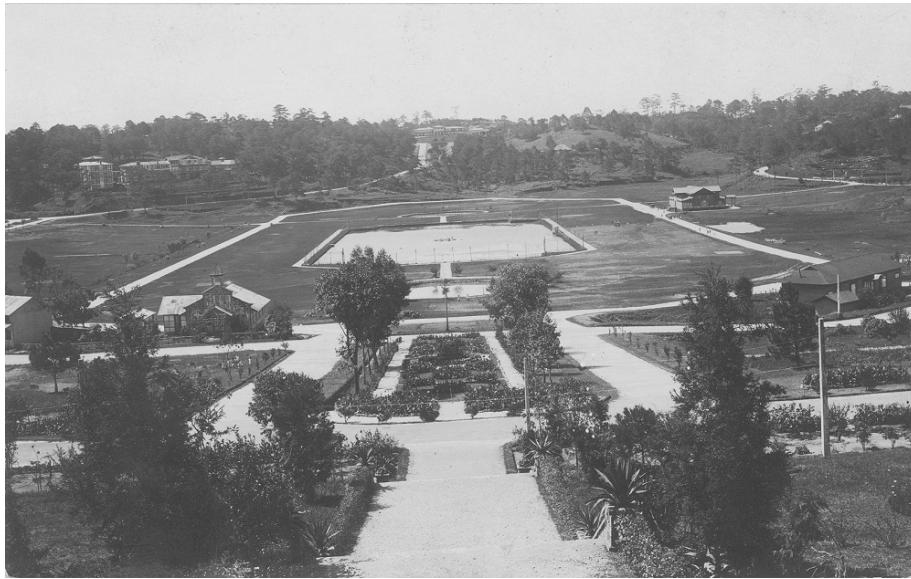


Figure 9. Mid-1920s view from the City Hall of Baguio across Burnham Park to the Government Centre (source: Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University).

thus gave views from its ends to the different governmental institutions. Hence even at times of leisure Baguio's citizens could not avoid the attendance of American supervision which, of course, perpetually demonstrated benevolence and promises of civilizational development.

Conceived as a small-scale (25 000 population) upland city, Baguio's ordered urban form deliberately intended to bring together various elements of life, notably governance, recreation and economic development, as part of the munificence of American colonization. A commercial district was placed near the Municipal Centre (Figure 10). It had approaches in the form of straight boulevards from the outlying districts and a diagonal boulevard from the Municipal Centre so as to demonstrate its significance to the city (Burnham and Anderson, 1905b) and the North Luzon economy (Alcantara, 2002). Burnham's urban design model in Baguio emphasized the hilltops. The nature of his scheme for Baguio not only revealed the importance of the civic design concept of grouping public buildings, spaces, and roads together – these being staples of City Beautiful urban designing – but the value of weaving

into the post-1898 Philippine urban image the American view that its form of colonialism was 'service'. In this way the early-twentieth-century urban morphological model in the Philippines formed by Burnham was in spatial terms an extension of planning practices in North America albeit with a somewhat different meaning in light of the Americans' observed need to uplift an alien land, and not just to provide urban settings familiar and comfortable to the colonizers to reside in. The early-twentieth century Philippine urban form can be seen to contain 'contact zones' (Pratt, 1992), that is spatial features where colonizers and the colonized could come together so as to establish and augment relations, and in this milieu offer opportunities for the Americans to supply the knowledge and instruction that were imperative to their ultimate goal of providing, in time, self-government for the native population. To 'uplift' the Philippines the Americans derided existing settlements as filthy and outdated, and labelled the local population as uncivilized even though a rich culture existed in the Philippines prior to 1898. By uprooting existing cultural practices and environments, and replacing them with new customs and physical surroundings, America

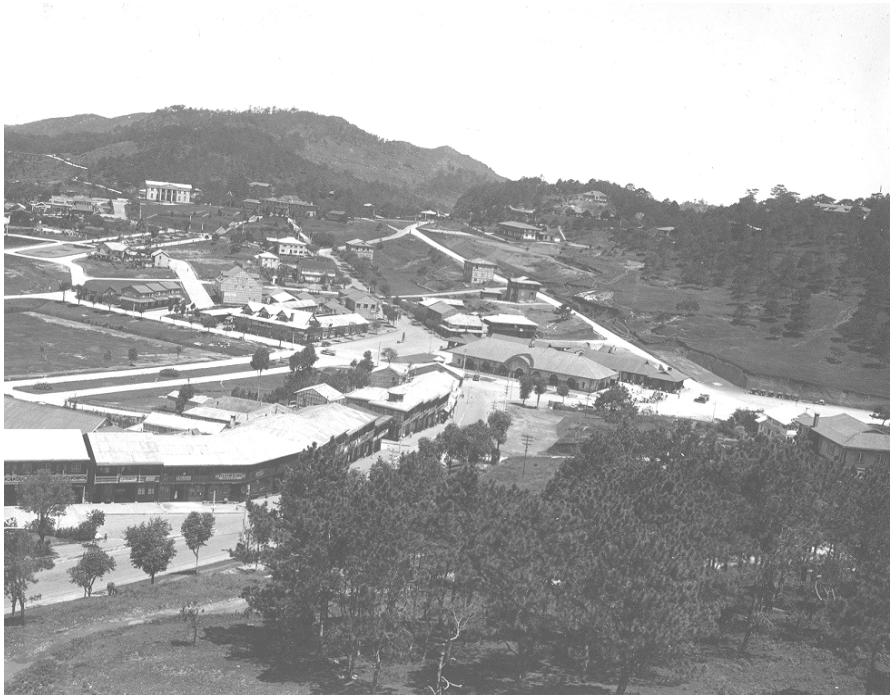


Figure 10. The Market Building and its surroundings in Baguio in the mid-1920s (source: Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University).

was able to impose its own political conceptions and cultural traditions. The power to sway local culture mattered greatly if American colonialism were to be successful because, as Go (2008) has shown, American colonialists made it an issue of direct concern.

The morphological legacy

Burnham's visit to the Philippines in 1904 lasted for just a few weeks. However, its legacy is evident today. Manila's Dewey Boulevard (now known as Roxas Boulevard) along Manila Bay forms a major traffic route from the Luneta south to Pasay City and Cavite. Classical buildings near the Intramuros, and landscaped gardens in the urban core and fringe, form an integral part of the city's environment. Baguio's urban core retains the governmental buildings, road pattern, park, and lake that Burnham envisaged. Outside of these two places Burnham's legacy is also evident as the morphological model he devised was applied elsewhere, for example by William E. Parsons.

Although Parsons is commonly discussed in the American imperial context in relation to his contribution to architectural design in the Philippines (Lico, 2008), his impact on the implementing of a modern urban form is often overlooked: it stemmed from his meticulous willingness to compose Burnhamesque schemes for Cebu (Figure 11) and Zamboanga in 1912. Confirming that the City Beautiful movement had its greatest success not on North American soil but rather on foreign colonial soil (Hines, 1972), Parsons's plans reinforced Burnham's spatial concept of the model Philippine city: the ordered urban core linked to the rest of the city by monumental roadways (Klassen, 1986).

Parsons's scheme for Cebu, akin to Burnham's Manila plan, attempted to shift the settlement away from its Spanish core (Kishiue *et al.*, 2005) to a Capitol building. To achieve this a massive new boulevard was constructed, running from the existing built environment directly to the Capitol at the city's fringe. Tree-lined and of great length, the thoroughfare (Jones Avenue) was the spatial hinge from which the American city

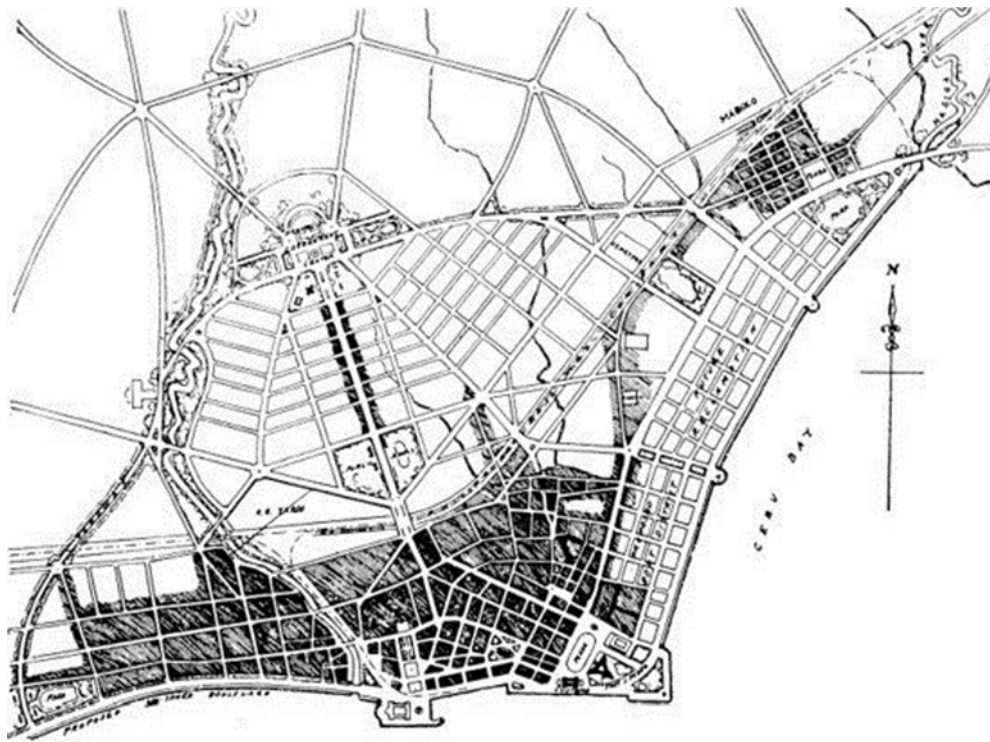


Figure 11. Plan of 1912 for the city of Cebu by William E. Parsons (source: Rebori, 1917).

was to sprawl. The city's extension occurred in a controlled way east and west of Jones Avenue along minor roadways, with two enormous boulevards planned from the edge of the Spanish colonial environment and marked by a railway line running parallel to the sea front. Offering a monumental vista to the Capitol, Jones Avenue, along with the rest of the geometrically-composed city plan, granted a new visual quality to Cebu, one explicitly demonstrating the change in culture and politics brought about by the events of 1898. With morphological elements such as long, straight roads, rectangular building plots, and monumental vistas to public edifices (Parsons, 1915), the Cebu plan and Parsons's plan for Zamboanga reveal the deep influence of Burnham's City Beautiful design principles in the early years of American rule in the Philippines when the need for an American imprint on local society was required so as to demonstrate a colonial presence and all it entailed. However, with regard to the redevelopment of Zamboanga on the

'unpacified' island of Mindanao, Parsons's city plan may be viewed as also being central to the colonial procedure of initiating governance and civilization where Western influence had previously failed.

Even though from 1899 to 1902 hostilities across the Philippine archipelago had taken place between Filipino nationalists and the Americans, by the end of the Philippine-American War peace was evident in most of the Philippines. However, some 10 years after military clashes had ended, in Mindanao armed disturbances continued (Gowing, 1979) and, despite President McKinley's declaring that the Philippines were 'not ours to exploit but to develop, to civilise, to educate, to train in the science of self-government', civil unrest on the island meant that governance was locally enforced in a manner contrasting to that in other Philippine regions. In Mindanao disorder amongst the Muslim population opposed to Americanization resulted in the military having a greater administrative voice, so as to not only socialize but also control

people perceived as lawless savages (Wood, 1904). In such a framework Parsons's plan for Zamboanga offers an interesting comparison of the function of modern urban form within the Philippines. In light of the colonizers' great need to bring calm in Mindanao, Zamboanga's physical environment, even though it was still of the same form as Burnham's plans for Manila and Baguio, had to reflect the need to control local citizens' behaviour. In this way the destructive impact of armed conflict required 'contact zones' in Parsons's plan, for example its urban spaces, roads and vistas, to provide the Americans with immediate jurisdiction and connect their authority in the rest of the country so that Mindanao could be incorporated into a Philippine Commonwealth. This the Spanish had been unable to do. In a nutshell, the Zamboanga plan, like the plans of other cities described in this paper, had to have a value that extended beyond merely configuring buildings and spaces in a manner different from earlier times. Philippine urban development needs to be understood not only as spaces on the ground: it underpinned the American need to create new citizens, and to allow hitherto 'uncivilized' people opportunities to connect with the functions of American colonization. In the case of Zamboanga, 'new citizens' from new spaces and with new racial connections were required to remove armed conflict.

Conclusion

The passing of the Autonomy Act in August 1916 brought the first phase of American colonial rule in the Philippines to an end. Introducing a new political framework in light of the anticipated awarding of independence to the Philippines in the coming years, the Act, for all its leanings towards political autonomy, in the following years had remarkably little bearing on the direction of Philippine urbanism. The model of modern urban form created more than 10 years before was maintained in the subsequent years, albeit because of the education of Filipino architects

in America (Klassen, 1986). However, what did become evident was a move away from comprehensive city designing to the planning of smaller (but not small) urban features such as university campuses – for example, the American University of the Philippines' in Quezon City, where an 800-metre long avenue connected the University's buildings to the campus entrance.

To understand urban form in the Philippines in the early-twentieth century requires an awareness and grasp of the American desire to implement 'progressive civilization'. Thus changing the urban form of settlements by the application of the City Beautiful concept of urban design, explicitly revealed the political value of an ordered environment to the colonial quest to elevate the cultural condition of local society. In this way new civic values were instigated, creating among the Filipino population many American characteristics. The need to redefine Philippine urban form was an articulation of two views: first, that local society pre-1898 was 'backward'; and secondly, that environmental determinism was a powerful agent in reshaping society. Thus by imposing a new structural form on cities in the Philippines an improvement in urban health, morality, beauty, and the economy would arise and, importantly, it would assimilate Filipinos into the 'American way'. With its monumentality of scale and spatial organization of a grid interlaced with diagonal thoroughfares, the urban model implanted by the Americans onto the Philippines reflected cultural, economic, political and aesthetic values.

Jeffrey Cody (2003) has pointed out that city planning in the Philippines during the early-twentieth century provided noteworthy examples of how American architects refashioned urban space. To understand how this became manifest it is necessary to understand why Philippine cities were altered and the form taken by the 'new' city. To explain why Philippine cities were redesigned attention needs to be given to the American understanding of what a 'backward society' was, what a 'modern society' was, and the moral impulse to uplift and civilize a foreign

land. The influence of Republican politics at the start of the twentieth century aided the promotion of America's self-image as a civilizer of the world, and a moral cause was a major agent in forging a new spatial form for Philippine cities. The form of these cities owed much to the urban fabric of America's capital city. The 'connection' of the new urban form to the natural landscape was also a deliberate act. The tying of the modern urban plan to the national environment had major nationalistic symbolism to it in the early-twentieth century in the Asia-Pacific. It was evident in the Philippines in the desire to show that the country was American. It was used by Walter Burley Griffin in Canberra to demonstrate Australianness (Freestone, 2010). It was evident in the memorial scheme to the founder of Republican China, Sun Yat-sen in Nanjing (Wagner, 2011).

The early-twentieth century bore witness to attempts to reshape the urban fabric of Philippine cities. With the implementation of comprehensive urban plans at that time a distinct model of urban form became evident, one akin to renewed cities in America. Whilst the period was not perhaps a golden age for Philippine city design, the early-twentieth century was nevertheless an inventive period in the country, one in which for the first time modern planning ideas took shape on Philippine soil. Mirroring urban design activity within America, the plans for Philippine cities suggest how the act of altering urban form was a rational means to steer a society towards progress. By 1916 Burnham's model of symmetry, axiality, and sequences of spaces and buildings arranged as a unified totality had become firmly acknowledged as the basis for urban planning in the country.

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Nineteenth International Seminar on Urban Form

ISUF 2012, co-hosted by the European Association for Architectural Education and the Delft School for Design, will take place in Delft, The Netherlands from 17 to 20 October 2012. The theme of the conference is *New urban configurations*. The organizers and the Council of ISUF invite participation in the Conference by interested academics and professionals. The sub-themes on which proposals are invited are: Innovative building typologies; Infrastructure and architecture; Complex urban projects; Green spaces and the city.

Proposals for papers should take the form of abstracts of papers, in English. Abstracts should not exceed 400 words. The first page must contain the following information: title of paper, name of author(s), position, affiliation, address, e-mail address, telephone number and fax. The second page should contain the title of the paper, the sub-theme, keywords and the abstract itself, without any indication of the author. Abstracts should be sent by e-mail, both as an attachment in MS-Word format and within the body of the e-mail (to Architectuur-BK@tudelft.nl). They should be received by 1 June 2012. The text file should be named 'abstract-last name of author.DOC'. The subject box of the e-mail should contain the words 'conference abstract'. One digital illustration, maximum 1.5 MB, saved as a jpeg file with a

resolution of 300 dpi, may also be submitted. The illustration should be named 'illabstract-last name of author.JPEG' and sent as an e-mail attachment: the subject box of the e-mail should contain the words 'conference illabstract'.

Abstracts will be blind reviewed by the Conference Scientific Committee. Authors will be notified whether their paper has been accepted by 2 July 2012. If accepted, authors are requested to submit their full papers, of up to 4000 words, by 15 October 2012.

Accepted abstracts will be published in a conference book which will be available to participants at the time of registration. A selection of papers will be published in the Conference Proceedings, which will be sent to participants after the Conference.

The Conference Organizing Committee comprises Michiel Riedijk, Kees Kaan, Roberto Cavallo, Susanne Kamosse and Nicola Marzot. Further information about the Conference is available from the website of the Faculty of Architecture, TU Delft: www.bk.tudelft.nl/EAAE or from Mrs Jeanne Seelt-de Vogel, room 01 Oost 700, Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, Julianalaan 134, 2628 CR Delft, The Netherlands, Tel. (+31) 15 2781296; Fax (+31) 15 2781028; E-mail: Architectuur-BK@tudelft.nl

Meeting of the Council of ISUF

The next meeting of the Council of ISUF will take place during the Conference of ISUF to be held in Delft, The Netherlands, 17-20 October 2012. Any matters that members of ISUF wish to bring to the attention of the Secretary-General of ISUF, Dr Kai

Gu, should be communicated to him at the School of Architecture, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand (e-mail: k.gu@auckland.ac.nz) by 15 September 2012.
