IDEOLOGY, PLANNING AND THE LANDSCAPE
THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, URBAN REFORM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF TOWN PLANNING IN VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA
1900 - 1940

BY
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We Accept This Thesis as Conforming to the Required Standard

The University of British Columbia.

John Bottomley, Sept. 1977
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ABSTRACT

To explore the thesis that the landscapes of cities reflect the ideological underpinnings of the social groups dominant during the periods of significant urban growth a detailed investigation was undertaken within the City of Vancouver. The correspondence between the ideology and institutions of a dominant business elite and the landscapes created in the period between 1900 and 1940 provide the major evidence.

The diffusion of an American reform ideology into Eastern Canada and later into the City of Vancouver is described. Two major manifestations of this ideology are documented. The first, articulated in the non-partisan, at-large election, and city manager movements was concerned with the need to ensure efficiency and honesty in urban government. The second concerned the need to institute urban planning as a means to facilitate efficient economic and urban growth.

The principal reform advocates in Vancouver were members of the city's business elite. Operating from within the institutional framework of the Vancouver Board of Trade they lobbied the City and Provincial Governments throughout the period 1918-1925 for the enactment of planning legislation. Success was achieved when the Provincial Legislature passed the Town Planning Act in December 1925.

In turn the Vancouver City Council created the Vancouver Town Planning Commission. The majority of Commissioners were businessmen who held the reform view of planning as the facilitator of efficient growth. A planning expert, Harland Bartholomew, was hired in 1926 to provide the
Commission with the desired blueprint for development. Holding similar views on planning to those of the commissioner his 1929 Plan provided a structured development plan of considerable detail which was the primary determinant of Vancouver's evolving urban structure until the late 1960's. This influence was expressed primarily through the operation of the zoning by-laws which specified legally-permitted land uses throughout the city. Vancouver's urban structure, in reflecting the ideology of reform underpinning both the actions of the Town Planning Commission and the nature of the Bartholomew Plan, supports the general thesis of the dissertation.

Parallels between the civic expression of reform and National expressions of reform are drawn as are some implications of the study's findings for geographical research and our understanding of present urban planning.

The analyses presented are based upon a wide range of archival and secondary materials. Important among these were City and Municipal Council minute books, the minutes and correspondence of the Vancouver Town Planning Commission, the minutes of the Vancouver Board of Trade and its Committees, personal papers, city and biographical directories, maps, newspapers and magazines and government and planning commission reports. The account of the American origins of urban reform is derived largely from secondary sources.
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PREFACE

This preface is intended to serve two purposes. The first of these is to provide an account of the academic pedigree of the dissertation in the hope that this will indicate the geographical context of the research. The second purpose is to demonstrate that one central interest has motivated the author in all his methodological and substantive meanderings, namely the unravelling of the processes that lead to the creation of urban structure. Given these purposes the preface will be personal and anecdotal.

My first attempt to come to grips with the problems posed by the observable regularities in urban land use patterns led me to study the economic and social analyses of the 'Chicago School of Urban Geography'. Drawing their inspiration from both economics and sociology these geographers presented structural accounts of the city, accounting for many of the broad scale observable regularities. Land use patterns were seen as resulting from the competition for scarce resources within a free market system. Land tended to become used for its 'highest and best use' as the natural economic forces of the market led to the elimination of inefficient uses.¹

Some of the limitations of this approach soon became evident as I became interested in the problems concerning the location of eleemosynary institutions. An attempt to explain the location of schools in Vancouver using such models met with very little success and it soon became apparent that models predicated on the notion of competition were inappropriate in this situation. No further work was undertaken on the problem but the significance of the roles played by institutions and by
underlying assumptions in the generation of land use patterns was beginning
to be appreciated.

Following this early work I became engaged in the research that
led to the writing of my masters thesis. This work was cast explicitly in
a cognitive-behavioral framework and was based on the assumption that the
best way to understand urban structure was to study the decision making
processes of significant land use decision makers. Following a brief
flirtation in the area of retail site location I became involved in a study
of the manner in which physicians made their choice of practice site
within an urban area. The final choice of a site was seen as being the
result of a series of predictable tradeoffs between the attributes of a
limited number of potential sites, the site chosen being the one which
most closely approximated, in the physician's view, an ideal site. The
nature of such ideal sites was shown to be dependent in a predictable man-
ner upon several characteristics of the individual physician. The degree
of specialism of a physician was isolated as being a particularly impor-
tant determinant of the nature of such an ideal site and hence of the
final choice of practice site. Such a choice was recognized throughout
the study as being a severely constrained choice for the overall pattern
of physician practice sites was predetermined by the restrictions imposed
by the zoning by-laws. This by-law restricted potential practice sites
to commercial areas and in so doing was a more significant generator of
the macro-pattern of practice sites than were the physicians themselves.
Once again, the importance of underlying assumptions and perceptions and
of institutions as generators of land use patterns was evident.
In an attempt to explore the relationships between an individual's beliefs, values, and attitudes and the manner in which these influenced his environmental interactions I became involved in the field of environmental psychology. This newly developing sub-discipline claimed as its domain the perceptual and decision making interaction between an individual and his environment. This domain was studied through the development of countless scales designed to measure all kinds of environmental attitudes, beliefs, values and perceptions and through the interrelation of these with an equally large array of scales designed to evaluate the objective physical and inanimate environment. The research I conducted on the estimation of 'observed' and 'remembered' distances falls into this general category of material. The underlying structure of this approach was essentially unchanged from that of the physician's study. Urban land use patterns were seen as being created through the decisions of significant land use decision makers. These decisions were seen as a result of an individual's desire to achieve certain goals. An objective environment was evaluated in terms of the individual's beliefs, values and attitudes and a choice made that maximized the subjective probability of achieving the desired goal. Such an approach had proved a success when studying the locational choices of physicians and so, armed with an impressive array of techniques for the assessment of environmental attitudes I saw no reason to change my methodological approach. Settling on the project of constructing, validating and testing an urban response inventory for my Ph.D. research I appeared to be one of an increasing number of geographers practising a 'behavioral' approach to the discipline. Water resources, natural hazards and urban retailing all came under close scrutiny from behavioral geographers.
as did residential choice at both a city wide and individual home scale\textsuperscript{6}.

I was confident that a general, multi-scale, urban attitude survey would be of a great deal of interest and potential value in helping to unravel the reasons why land use decision makers made the decisions they did.

As I became more and more deeply involved in delimiting the domain of the beliefs, values and attitudes that I was attempting to measure I became increasingly dissatisfied with the approach I was adopting. It became increasingly apparent that there were complex but systematic interrelationships between the beliefs, values and attitudes that were to be measured. What was emerging was not a series of independent scales but groupings of subtly interacting scales that were in some way derivative of a set of more abstract beliefs and values. The projected urban response inventory I concluded would be measuring nothing more than one transitory, concrete and derivative manifestation of a more important, enduring and abstract set of social beliefs and values. An historical rather than a behavioral approach seemed to offer the best prospects for a fertile study of such long enduring constellations of beliefs and values. My work on the enduring attitudes to urban life that underlay community involvement in civic issues was an attempt to identify several such groups of values and beliefs\textsuperscript{7}.

This work convinced me that the particular groups of beliefs and values held by an individual was to a large degree determined by the social group of which he was a member and furthermore that the beliefs and values were in large measure an abstract vindication of the group's social purposes. I became interested in exploring the social ideologies of such groups and the manner in which they became translated into action through
social institutions rather than in exploring the personal social beliefs and values of individuals; these I was prepared to assume were no more than marginal variations of the ideological position of the social group of which they were a member. To study the ideologies underlying institutional decisions appeared to offer the greater possibilities of coming to grips with the problem of explaining urban land use patterns for as my earlier work had demonstrated the range of choices open to an individual land use decision maker were severely constrained by the pre-existing decisions of a variety of public and private institutions. This thesis is an attempt to explore this relationship between ideological position and institutional decision.

I shall not discuss in any greater depth at this point my use of the concept of ideology as this can be found in Chapter One. It does seem appropriate however to draw attention to the fact that although the subject matter of this thesis may seem to many to be somewhat esoteric that this is not really the case. As I hope I have demonstrated in the foregoing discussion the approach adopted in this study is simply a logical extension of the methodology I adopted in my masters thesis. I hope it becomes as accepted as has the behavioral approach of the earlier work.
1. Two textbooks that summarized this view of the city are:
   B.J.L. Berry and F.E. Horton Geographical Perspectives on Urban Systems
   (Prentice Hall, EnglewoodCliffs. 1970)
   New York. 1971)

   Behavioral Approach. (Unpublished M.A. thesis. Department of
   Geography. University of British Columbia. 1971)
   R.J. Claus, D.C. Rothwell and J. Bottomley. "Measuring the Quality
   Of a Low Order Retail Site" Economic Geography. Volume 48.
   Number 2. (April 1972) p 108-178

3. K.H. Craik. 'Environmental Psychology' in T.H. Newcombe (ed)
   "New Directions in Psychology IV (New York. Holt, Rinehart
   and Winston. 1972) and
   H.M. Proshansky, W. Ittelson and L.G. Rivlin (eds) Environmental
   Psychology Man in his Urban Setting (New York, Holt Rinehart
   and Winston. 1970) provide good summaries of the discipline at
   that time.

   of Distance for Mental Mapping p 13-24 in "Malaspina Papers.
   Studies in Human and Physical Geography" ed. R. Leigh
   (Tantalus. Vancouver. 1973)
5. The immediate inspiration for the creation of an urban response inventory came from the work of McKechnie


6. Representative examples of such work are:


7. J. Bottomley and D.W. Holdsworth A Consideration of Attitudes Underlying Community Participation with Civic Issues p 59-74 in "Community
Participation and the spatial order of the City"  D. Ley (ed)
(Tantalus. Vancouver. 1974)
CHAPTER ONE

EXPERIENCE, IDEOLOGY AND LANDSCAPE

The central thesis of this dissertation is that a landscape can best be understood through an historical account of the actions, experiences and ideological underpinnings of the major actors involved in its creation. Such an account necessitates the coincidental study of all three elements for it is only when so considered that the complex interactions between them can explain the process of landscape change. Also necessary is a recognition that there exists a time lag between the first enunciation of an ideological position and its adoption by significant actors as a decision making framework. Divorced from their ideological context, which is often a past position, the actions of many groups appear self defeating just as much of their rhetoric appears self contradictory unless seen in the context of a sequence of action. Any such account thus involves a considerable investigation of the ideology underpinning the actions of the major actors; an investigation that looks at the actors' ideology as it evolved through time within the context of more general but compatible ideologies held at the National rather than the local scale. This type of research has been virtually non-existent within geography until comparatively recently when for the first time an explicit recognition of the ideological content of social action was made within the discipline\(^1\). That this approach can yield interesting and useful insights into the process of landscape generation is investigated within the context of Vancouver, British Columbia, for the period 1900-1940, a period characterized by the type of contradictions just discussed.
A Clarification of Terms

Before proceeding with the argument any further a clarification of just what is meant by such items as beliefs, values, attitudes and ideologies is appropriate. These terms all have everyday meanings that are not coincident with the manner in which they are used in this thesis and so such a clarification is necessary to avoid confusion.

A belief is a conviction regarding the reality of a phenomenon or the truth of some proposition. A belief is distinguished from a value in that values are preferences and beliefs are not. Attitudes also involve an evaluative aspect and additionally imply a predisposition to act in a certain manner. Such beliefs, values and attitudes are held by individuals about an enormous range of concrete and abstract phenomena. Many are of a trivial nature and of no social significance. Many on the other hand are held on matters of social concern and are of great importance in determining an individual's social behavior. An individual's social and political beliefs and values determine his or her attitudes toward a wide range of social and political institutions and issues. Thus, for example, an individual who believes that the parliamentary system guarantees individual freedom and who values freedom positively will have a positive attitude toward the institutions of parliamentary democracy. While all individuals possess a unique constellation of beliefs, values and attitudes there are certain systems of ideas that are the common source of the individual beliefs, values and attitudes of large groups within society.

Such systems of beliefs, values and attitudes that are held by large groups within society are known as ideologies. As systems of ideas
ideologies are more than the sum of the beliefs, values and attitudes of the individuals within a group. They provide a more or less coherent organization for an individual's experience, experience which is directly related to the individual's action or inaction in the pursuit of his or her social and individual goals. Most social action takes the form of collective action and hence social groups provide the focus around which ideologies are formulated. They shape the experience of group members, provide a set of categories in which to code social experience and identify objects of approval or disapproval in relation to the group's dominant purpose. Thus, group purpose, experience, terminology and future action are all prescribed within a well formulated ideology.

The nature of a group that provides the basis for an ideology depends on a variety of influences, the most important being the class structure of society. Many groups form as a response to a common problem and in seeking to overcome the problem create appropriate theoretical formulations of what it is trying to do, why it is trying to do it and why it differs from other groups. In short the group develops an ideology. Each member of the group will participate in only certain parts of the group ideology and will hence hold a series of beliefs, values and attitudes that are more or less central to the group ideology. Some will be naive and some cynical about the ideology but most will take it for granted without reflecting in great depth on its meaning. Much of the social and political behavior of such individuals is thus behavior that is seen as being the 'only thing to do'. It is not behavior that has arrived at through a process of debate but behavior that was prescribed by the individual's unquestioned ideologi-
Much of the rest of this dissertation is concerned with showing just how one social group elaborated an ideology in response to a perceived problem. The ideology is shown to provide not only an analysis of the problem but a prescription for its cure. The group is shown to have acted on the basis of this prescription in an attempt to achieve its stated purpose of eliminating the perceived problem. It is time to elaborate the argument in some more detail.

The Business Elite, Urban Reform and the Establishment of Town Planning

The economic and political history of Vancouver for the period 1900-1940 is characterized by four features. These are the dominant role played in the social, economic and political life of the town by a relatively small business elite, a widely supported belief that the route to social and economic advance lay through the encouragement of urban growth; an organized and extremely active campaign to institute some form of town planning, and a rapid though cyclic boom and bust, pattern of economic and urban growth.

It is not immediately obvious why, in a society dominated by a business elite and characterized by a belief in the desirability of growth through individual achievement in the marketplace there should be a consistent drive to institute town planning, especially as the major proponents of such planning were themselves members of the business elite. A situation in which businessmen with an unchallenged faith in the desirability of capitalist growth organize themselves to obtain planning
legislation requires some clarification just as does the seeming contra-
diction implicit in the fact that the landscape produced by the actions of
these 'frontier capitalists' should be an extremely ordered one.

The resolution of these contradictions lies, it is argued, in the
manner in which there developed in the Eastern United States and Canada, in
the period 1880-1914, a reform ideology that was diffused westward in the
first two decades of the century and that became well known to the
Vancouver business elite during the 1920's. This ideology evolved as an
attempt to resolve the problem of the self-defeating nature of rapid urban
growth. Growth was regarded with favor as it was seen as leading to in­
creased wealth but, due in part of the cyclic nature of growth, it was also
seen as being responsible for severe environmental and social problems.
These problems were to become so severe after 1880 that they were seen as
being a threat to economic advance itself. Thus, if advance was to contin­
ue, some amelioration of the environmental and social conditions associated
with it was necessary.

This reform movement developed at two levels; the national and
the civic. The major Canadian manifestation of the National level response
was the creation by the Laurier Government in the Spring of 1909 of the
Commission of Conservation. This organization was to play an extremely
important role for over ten years in establishing 'planning' at all levels
of government. When the Commission was disbanded in 1921, resource,
regional and town planning were both firmly established elements of the
Canadian government scene; elements that were to induce significant changes
in the ideological basis of Canadian liberalism during the early years of
The Moral and Environmental Reform Tradition

The Non-Partisan Scientific Management Reform Tradition

The City Efficient Planning Tradition

The City Beautiful Planning Tradition

The Parks Movement

Olmstead Vaux

The City Beautification Movement

1850

1860

1870

1880

1890

1890

1900

1910

1920

1930

1940

The Parks Movement

Olmstead Vaux

The City Beautification Movement

FIGURE ONE: SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF DEVELOPMENT OF CITY PLANNING AND REFORM THOUGHT
Mackenzie King's first government. A schematic representation of the development of this ideology is provided in Figure One.

At the civic level two major strands developed in the reform ideology; the first strand was concerned with the need to restructure the forms of urban government and the second with the need to institute some form of urban planning. The first strand became articulated in the non-partisan, at-large election and city manager movements in which the institutions of urban government became remodelled in the likeness of the business corporation. The intent of this mimicry was to induce in the civic corporation the efficiency evident in the business corporation. The second strand developed a concept of planning in which the major role was to guide urban and economic growth in an efficient manner. A detailed analysis of the origins, structure and diffusion into Western Canada of this reform ideology is presented later in the dissertation.

Accepted and elaborated throughout the continent by businessmen this reform ideology provided a framework of ideas that was accepted as providing the solution to civic ills. Vancouver was no exception and reform ideas became commonplace. Operating from within the institutional framework of the Vancouver Board of Trade the City's leading business figures lobbied the City and Provincial Governments for the enactment of planning legislation throughout the period 1918-1925. Success was achieved at the end of that year with the passing of the Town Planning Act in December 1925.

Immediately following the passing of the Act the Vancouver City Council created the Vancouver Town Planning Commission to advise the
Council on city planning matters. Most of the appointed Commissioners were the same type of businessmen who had lobbied so strenuously for the enactment of planning legislation in the previous few years. They held the reform conception of planning as the facilitator of efficient growth and in order to achieve this end they hired a 'planning expert' to provide them with a plan. This planner was Harland Bartholomew who held similar views on the role of planning, and who provided the Commission with their desired 'blueprint for development' in the form of the 1929 Vancouver City Plan. This document provided a structured development plan in considerable detail and was the primary determinant of the nature of Vancouver's evolving urban structure until the late 1960's. This influence was expressed primarily through the operation of the zoning ordinances which specified legally permitted land uses throughout the City. Much of the City's present urban structure is attributable to the effects of the Bartholomew plan, a plan that was based firmly on ideas central to the reform movement.

The ideas of the urban reformers, in providing the ideological underpinning of both the Town Planning Commissioners and of Harland Bartholomew are thus important determinants of Vancouver's urban structure. The urban reform movement itself is seen as the civic expression of positive liberalism - the urban facet of the great recasting of classical liberalism that occurred in the latter half of the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth centuries as a result of the growing inappropriateness of many of its central tenets when viewed in the light of the social and political problems caused by urban and economic expansion. The Commission of Conservation and many of the activities of the Mackenzie King
government in the mid-1920's are national expressions of this same ideological upheaval. Vancouver's urban structure then is a reflection of the dominant political and social ideas held at the time of its development and as such provides ample proof of the contention that landscapes can only be understood when examined historically with relation to the dominant ideologies operative at the time of their development.

Purposes of the Research

While reading the dissertation the reader should recognize the three major goals that the work attempts to achieve. The first of these is a demonstration of the thesis that an understanding of landscapes is best achieved through an historical account of the actions and ideological underpinnings of the important land use decision makers. Without an explicit study of this relationship many actions will appear to be inexplicable and against the best interests of the actors. Only when the decisions are seen in the context of the actors belief system will they appear as logical responses to the situation being confronted. All decisions require the use of implicit or explicit criteria; criteria that are ultimately derived in the social context from the actors' ideological position. The necessity of such an analysis will become apparent during the course of reading the dissertation, in particular in Chapters three and four.

The second major purpose is to offer an analysis of a particular ideological position, that of the urban reform movement. An attempt is made to demonstrate that the reform ideology provided its adherents with a
view of reality that was essentially self contained and as such provided them with all the tools necessary to prescribe cures for any social ills. As a particular view of society reform thought prescribed goals, and the means to achieve them. Based firmly on some of the central precepts of liberalism the ideology gained wide acceptance throughout society and was challenged by few. This wide acceptance accounted in part for the reformers great success in getting much of their ideology institutionalized through legislation. The provision of social and economic services became a bureaucratic function in the name of efficiency. These scientifically designed bureaucratic structures provided plans that were in themselves reflections of the same desire for efficiency and scientific order. In Chapter Five we shall investigate in some detail the functioning of one such bureaucracy, the Vancouver Town Planning Commission.

The third major purpose is to quell a few widely held misconceptions about the nature and origins of city planning in Canada. A great deal of recent literature has discussed the essentially conservative nature of planning and the manner in which in its present form it serves the interests of the business community. That this should be the case is easily understandable in the light of the evidence presented in this dissertation. Planning as presented here is emphatically not an outgrowth of radical or socialist activity aimed at social change but a technique of liberal capitalism to ensure its own efficient future growth. As part of the reform movement, planning's basic purpose was conservative, to preserve through modification the basic structure of society. Reform is presented in the same light; a conservative movement whose basic aim was the preser-
vation of the liberal capitalist order. The evidence presented contradicts the commonly held view that the reform movement was radical or socialist in inspiration with the ultimate aim of creating a new social order. It is not surprising that town planning has served the interests of the business community; it was established explicitly for that purpose and in those terms has been a credible success.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. J. Anderson 'Ideology in Geography; An Introduction'. Antipode Volume 5. Number 3. (1973) p 1-6 provides a discussion of the extent to which ideology has been considered in geography. It is evident from his discussion that the thrust of most geographical considerations has been to evaluate the ideological underpinnings of geography itself. In this manner for example the capitalist apologetic nature of urban land use theory is discussed. Little work so far has attempted to isolate the ideological underpinnings of historical land use decision makers in order to gain insight into their subsequent actions. This dissertation is an attempt to do just this. An example of the former type of work is D.W. Harvey "Population, Resources and the Ideology of Science" Economic Geography Volume 50. Number 3. July 1974. p 256-277. A rare example of the latter type is provided by G. Olsson "Servitude and Inequality in Spatial Planning. Ideology and Methodology in Conflict". Antipode Volume 6. Number 1. April 1, 1974. p 22-36.


   Brown _op.cit._ p 176-179
   Harris _op.cit._ p 45-46.

6. That all cities reflect the dominant ideological positions held at the time of their development is argued for by L. Mumford. See for example his discussion of the Baroque City in L. Mumford *The City in History.* (New York. Harcourt Brace and World 1961).

7. See for example:-
   D. Ley (ed) *Community Participation and the Spatial Order of the City* (Vancouver. Tantalus. 1974)
CHAPTER TWO

THE IDEOLOGY OF REFORM

Throughout the North American continent in the late nineteenth century the dominant economic philosophy was that of liberal capitalism. Within this philosophy economic and urban growth were viewed favorably as indicators of social and economic progress. The idea of progress was central to late nineteenth century Canadian thought; it was an age of improvement. The clearing of the land acted as the symbol of this improvement in the countryside with urban growth playing the same role in the cities. In Ontario many a book proclaimed the economic advance of Toronto under the capable helmsmanship of the captains of industry. This view of the city and the future moved west with the immigrants and became articulated through the actions of the urban business communities.

GROWTH AND ITS PROBLEMS

In Vancouver the situation was no different from that in the other major Canadian cities with a businessman dominated city council doing all it could to encourage immigration, the growth of industry and the attraction of railways. Cooperating with the Provincial and Dominion governments they were successful in their quest as is attested to by Roy in her studies of Railway promotion and development in Vancouver and by Churchill in his study of government involvement in the development of the False Creek industrial area. The Board of Trade was also very active in promoting growth and as late as 1929 was cooperating with the City Council.
over the bonusing of new industry. The Council in fact formally recognized the Industrial Bureau of the Board of Trade as the agency responsible for the development of new industry in the city. The Trade and Commerce Committee was attempting a similar programme with regard to wholesaling and trade, the primary aims of the committee being to ensure that interior cities were supplied through Vancouver as opposed for instance to Spokane, that western trade passed through the Port of Vancouver and to see to it that trade Commissioners were sent abroad to stimulate trade. Immigration from Britain was encouraged by a special committee that worked from 1911 to 1914 in conjunction with an organization rejoicing in the title of the Imperial Home Reunion Association of Vancouver, B.C. The Civic Bureau, established in December 1917, also involved itself in a variety of promotional activities but was more important in other areas as we shall see later in the dissertation.

The importance of the 'growth ethic' is evident in the rhetoric of the time as well as in the behavior of the organizations. Controlled growth was a major goal of the business elite and was a major stand in the platforms of aspiring politicians. The election platforms of Mayoral candidates in the period 1900-1914 were replete with references to Vancouver's impending greatness. With few exceptions candidates agreed on the aims of civic administration, efficient, honest government aimed at creating a favorable environment for economic and physical growth. All used population or some other material index as their index of progress, disagreement being limited to the person best suited to implement such a program. A selection of quotes from pre-election speeches gives a flavour
of the rhetoric employed. An unsuccessful candidate in 1900 for the
Mayoralty was Charles Woodward who had a vision of the future as follows:

"When the City obtained the (foreshore) flats they
would be reclaimed by a sea wall, canals being dug
from inshore right out into the bay to permit
vessels to sail up to the factories which it is
contemplated would be built on the high ground
thrown up from the excavation."8

Successful in 1901 T.G. Townley promised:

"he would pledge himself to give faithful service
and to use his influence to promote the status of
the City, and place it in that position as the
metropolis of the west which nature intended it to
occupy."9

In 1909 Odlum could run on the basis of:

"a Greater Vancouver, more railways, improvement
of the First Narrows bridge and False Creek. The
improvement of the street car system and the
development of cheap water power and grain eleva-
tors."10

and still fail to gain election, losing to C.S. Douglas who advocated:

"a Second Narrows bridge, nationalization and
improvement of the harbour, the deepening of False
Creek, the building of a canal from False Creek to
Burrard Inlet, the building of a new Cambie Street
Bridge and the creation of a 'greater Vancouver,'
Similarly in 1918 R.H. Gale running on the basis of:
"Cheaper light and power, industrial development, equitable taxation and clean, efficient and economic administration of civic affairs. These are the grounds upon which I hope to be elected." would defeat M. McBeath:
"Business - Industrial Development. Moral reform. The Candidate for Progress, Economy and Efficiency without cant or camouflage."

No politician argued against economic growth or population increase in the period before World War One or indeed up until the economic collapse of 1930.

That the above examples are not isolated examples is shown through a systematic study of the platforms offered and the rhetoric used by all Mayoralty candidates in the period 1900-1930. During this period some 74 candidates offered themselves in 29 elections, elections being held yearly until 1926 and biannually from 1928. There were two elections held in 1922 due to a change in the election date from January in the year of office to December of the previous year. Of these 74 candidates it is possible to reconstruct the platform of 47, or 63.5% of them. This figure is more representative than it seems, however, for the missing platforms are almost totally those of minor, unsuccessful candidates. The platforms of the successful candidates and their principal challengers proved relatively easy to reconstruct from newspaper accounts of election meetings and from
newspaper advertisements soliciting support for particular candidates. Each of these platforms was then evaluated on the basis of its individual planks; each plank being assigned to a specific category within a typology designed to cover the range of possible planks. On this basis it was possible to categorize each platform as being pro or anti growth. The results are illuminating. Over the whole period 1900-1930 38 of the 47 platforms, or 80.8%, were pro-growth. Broken down into the periods 1900-1914 and 1915-1930 pro-growth platforms account for 15 of 17, or 88.2% for the former period and 23 of 31, 74.2% for the latter period. The platforms being offered the civic electorate in this period then do not differ significantly one from another. All see Vancouver as a future great metropolis, a great port and manufacturing centre, a transportation hub and major financial centre. Its present and potential greatness is never questioned. The electorate was not asked to discriminate between competing goals but to choose between rivals offering contrasting means to achieve these goals. The nature of the nearly 20% of platforms not classified as being pro-growth will be discussed later but none could be described as being anti-growth. While not advocating growth as a central tenet none opposed it.

This 'growth is good ethic' also pervaded the media of the time which, in not challenging the political common wisdom, contributed to the overall growth ambiance. British Columbia's own 'booster' magazine, the B.C. Magazine, is comprised almost entirely of articles praising Vancouver's present and future greatness. In 1907 we learn:

"No city in the Dominion can boast - if boasting were necessary - of such a harbour, three great
transcontinental railways making the city their headquarters with others to come, such unlimited room for growth and such opportunities in every line of business. It requires little foresight to see that within the next ten or fifteen years Vancouver will be a city as large as Montreal or Toronto.17

A few years later Vancouver was ready to take on all comers! "Vancouver has been called the Liverpool of the Pacific, the Pittsburgh of the West. She is both the one and the other. Converging railway lines and terminal steamship docks make her mistress of the western seas and the distributing point for the products of the prosperous confederation at her back, while within her own confines she is building up a substantial manufacturing and industrial district which promises easily to make her a dangerous rival in capacity of the smokey city of William Penn's Sylvan State."18

Subtler, but essentially similar, was the message presented by the major newspapers. Editorials constantly praised attempts to attract railways, immigrants and industry, gave thanks when these blessings materialized and generally presented a positive uncritical view of the city's growth. In an attempt to demonstrate the pervasive nature of pro-growth sentiments within the media a content analysis of editorial cartoons appearing in the major
Vancouver newspapers was conducted.

The documents providing the material to be sampled were those issues of the Vancouver Sun and the Vancouver Daily Province published between 1900 and 1930. In the case of the Vancouver Daily Province this covered the whole period, publication having started on a daily basis in March 1898. The Vancouver Sun, however, only began daily publication in February 1912. This amounts to roughly 15,000 individual issues of which one paper per week was selected at random to provide the sample. Thus roughly 2,500 issues eventually supplied the data. Each cartoon selected was assigned to one of a series of categories representing a range of stances that could be taken with regard to Vancouver. Assuming the relevance of the cartoon, a high proportion having nothing to do with the city, the category selected represented a stance that could be regarded as being either pro-growth or concerned with some other aspect of urban affairs. This allowed each cartoon to be thus typed as being in favor of 'growth' or not as the case may be. As in the case of the Mayoral election platforms the results are a firm indication of the all persuasive belief in the desirability of growth. For the Vancouver Daily Province only six years in the period 1900-1920 have a majority of cartoons in categories other than the pro-growth categories; four of these years, 1913, 1919, 1920 and 1921 flank the First World War. A similar picture emerges when we look at the Vancouver Sun. Over its twenty year span only three years fail to display a pro-growth majority and as in the case of the Province these flank the First World War being 1912, 1913 and 1919 in this case. Apart from these few years pro-growth imagery was firmly entrenched at the heart
of the Vancouver media.

This period was of course one characterized by fast and continuous economic and population growth in the years 1900-1913; a collapse of the real estate market in 1913 followed by depressed economic conditions during and immediately following the war followed by a further period of extended growth starting in 1921 and continuing until the end of the decade. It is probably the depressed economic conditions of the years immediately prior to and following the war that account for the cartoons being different in nature than those of the rest of the period. For the rest, growth remained an unchallenged aim indicating that the capitalist system was functioning efficiently.

The cities of North America however had their dark sides and it soon became evident that urban growth was a two edged sword. On the one hand it indicated desired economic growth but on the other it presented a series of social, economic and political problems that could only be ignored at the peril of growth itself.

These problems associated with growth put a great strain on civic administrations and upon the tax bases of the cities. The need to supply services to the newly developed areas saw a sharp rise in taxes; city indebtedness increased alarmingly. The health problems associated with the less salubrious areas of the cities became a hazard to all as did increasing crime and political extremism. To deal with these problems was an expensive affair and it became evident to the business community that uncontrolled growth was costing it severely in increased taxes.

As MacDonald has pointed out Vancouver was no exception. An
understaffed city hall administration moved from crisis to crisis as they tried to keep pace with the demands upon them. Resignations were common as were suggestions on how to improve the situation but nothing eased its burden.23 In the adjacent municipality of South Vancouver (see Map Two) the civic administration also faced severe problems as the result of growth. The burgeoning population, 1,520 in 1901, 16,126 in 1911 and 32,267 in 1921, demanded roads, sidewalks, water, sewers and schools. In the three years from 1910 to 1913 the municipal debt increased from $209,000 to $2,896,879. This huge increase in debt necessitated higher taxes which saw the assessment rise from $6,099,932 in 1909 to $38,999,285 in 1912.24 Growth was beginning to cost money.

A coherent set of ideas developed in response to this contradiction between the desire for growth and the growth hindering problems resulting from growth. Developed largely in the United States and Eastern Canada there were two main strands to this thought. The first strand emphasized the need to institute some form of urban planning in order to make urban growth a more ordered, rational process. A series of ideas as to how this could be done developed simultaneously and were promulgated in Canada, along with the idea of the need for planning, by an organization we shall discuss later in this Chapter, the Commission of Conservation. This organization was to be an important catalyst in the Vancouver planning movement. The second major strand of thought was concerned with the need to restructure civic institutions. Intimately related with the ideas on planning these ideas were also to become important in Vancouver. Before we look in detail at how these ideas became articulated in Vancouver, we
must look at their development and trace their movement and adoption in Canada. Only when we have done this can the Vancouver situation be seen in context.

THE URBAN REFORM MOVEMENT

In the period 1861-1921 the urban population of Canada rose from 15.8% to 47.4%. This represented an increase in absolute terms from under 500,000 urban residents in 1861 to 4.3 M urban residents in 1921. Much of this growth took place in a handful of major urban centres. A similar urban explosion had occurred in the United States slightly earlier. Between 1810 and 1910 the population of the United States doubled but the urban population rose some seven times. It was the larger urban centres that grew the fastest in this period which saw by 1910 some 109 cities with populations of over 50,000. This compared with sixteen cities that exceeded this figure in 1861. The percentage of the population living in cities rose from 9.9% in 1860 to 26.6% in 1910 and 31% in 1920. The percentage of the population living in all urban centres changed in the same years from 18.8% in 1860 to 45.7% in 1910, becoming a majority in 1920 with 50.2%.

Urban Problems

The response to rapid metropolitan development was ambivalent. Lauded as symbols of progress they presented a number of very obvious 'evils' which soon became the object of attack for muckraking journalists and a few early reformers. Canadian cities were attacked for their vice and poverty, their squalor and their rampant materialism. During the
1880's a series of newspapers took up what was called in Canada "peoples journalism". These papers were a Canadian version of the American 'muckrakers' and they paid close attention to the activities of urban reform groups to the south of the border. In Montreal the 'Star' attacked civic government corruption and inefficiency. In Toronto the 'World' attacked the utility monopolies and in Vancouver the 'News Advertizer' advocated broader citizen control of urban decision making. A similar pattern of events took place in the United States where the muckrakers attacked the poverty and vice of the city and the unsanitary condition of much slum housing. It was the corruption and inefficiency of the civic government process that came in for most criticism however. British Ambassador Lord Bryce termed civic government "the one conspicuous failure of the United States".\textsuperscript{28} while A.D. White, a prominent educator and College President, could claim

"with very few exceptions, the City governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom - the most expensive, the most inefficient and the most corrupt."\textsuperscript{29}

By 1900 the journalist had largely been replaced in the role of urban critic by the expert, who very often operated from a position within an organization and as such exerted a considerable degree of influence. Many organizations concerned with the problems facing the cities originated throughout the urban centres of the continent. An account of the genesis of these early organizations and their ultimate coalescence into a few major groups posing very specific programmes of action follows this section.
Reform Pioneers

Soon to replace the journalists as the vanguard of the reform movement were an assorted group of humanitarian professionals and businessmen who from the mid 1880's onwards, wrote about and formed organizations to combat the problems facing the city. One group of these pioneers were the public health reformers. Starting with an interest in the provision of pure water they became, during the 1890's onwards, interested in a wide range of sanitary concerns including the purity of food, general preventive vaccination and the provision of healthy living quarters. In the United States, New York City was the centre of such activity and as early as 1879 it became illegal to build tenements with windowless rooms. In the 1890's this movement gained momentum through the efforts of men such as Jacob Riis who acted as an effective propagandist of reform with his books, photographs and articles.\textsuperscript{30} By 1892 the Federal government had become involved through the medium of a Department of Labor investigation into slum conditions in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago\textsuperscript{31} and in 1895 produced, through the same agency, a report on the possibility of model tenements similar to those found in Britain and Europe.\textsuperscript{32} In Canada the movement for pure water was active in the 1870's. The 1880's saw a widening of interest to include preventive vaccination and especially the debilitating effects on the health of 'slum conditions'.\textsuperscript{33} Ames' work on Montreal in 1897 and Woodsworth's on Winnipeg and elsewhere in 1909 and 1911 are in this tradition as is the later work of C. Hastings, the Medical Officer for the City of Toronto.\textsuperscript{34} The influence of this group of reformers is clearly seen in the Journal Conservation of Life published by
the Commission of Conservation from 1914 to 1921. The importance of this organization will be seen later in the Chapter.

Another important strand in reform at this period was the social gospel. Reformers of this persuasion saw the cities' problems as being essentially moral in character. Saloons, gambling and vice all destroyed the morality of the individual who fell prey to their temptations because of the appalling slum conditions in which he resided. Writers such as the Rev. Josiah Strong were important in seeing those bastions of 'decent living' the Settlement House, established throughout urban America. The founding of the Henry Street settlement in New York in 1886 and of Hull House in Chicago in 1888 began a process that was to lead to over 100 settlement houses by 1900 and 400 by 1910. In Canada the social gospel was very active with J.S. Woodsworth being a major proponent of the settlement house idea with his All Peoples Mission in Winnipeg's North End. Closely allied to the social gospel reformers were the social welfare associations that developed throughout the period 1890-1910 in an attempt to rationalize the crumbling philanthropic system that had existed almost unchanged throughout the nineteenth century. This old welfare system, administered by private charities and the various churches, could not cope with the multitude of problems that developed in the cities and by 1900 was in a state of collapse. Many social welfare reformers argued for government participation in this system.

Government intervention was also the solution offered by those groups whose goal was to solve the 'utilities question'. Companies acquired monopoly franchises for a range of public utilities including the
supply of water, street railway service, electric power and telephone service.\textsuperscript{38} Many reformers, especially in Canada, argued, with a great deal of success, for public ownership of these utilities. As early as 1893 Guelph purchased its gas works and in 1901 the Union of Canadian Municipalities was formed to combat the machinations of the utility companies. The Ontario Public Hydro Commission was formed in 1905, and in 1907 Manitoba took control of the Provincial telephone system. By 1920 public control, if not outright ownership, of utilities was standard practice in Canada.\textsuperscript{39}

The Coalescence of Concerns.

Although the concerns discussed above remained throughout the reform period one concern came to dominate the others and act as a point of coalescence for the other major strands. This was the concern over the inappropriateness of existing government structures. Rapid growth and the very success of the reform concerns just discussed led to a great increase in the cost of providing municipal services. Exacerbated by the economic depression of 1893 these problems became so noticeable that for some time the urban reform movement became synonymous with the movement to reform municipal government.\textsuperscript{40} Citizen groups proliferaged with 'honest, efficient, economical government' being the goal of many. Governments were blamed for being both corrupt and inefficient and, by implication, responsible for many of the city's ills. In the search for lower taxes, power, municipal costs and the elimination of waste many of these groups advocated the election of 'good men', usually meaning businessmen, to public office. As early as 1885 both Toronto and Montreal had elected 'reform' mayors of this type in
Both these men found it hard to implement their programs in the presence of largely unchanged councils. In Montreal this led to the formation of the H.B. Ames reform 'machine' that had a great deal of electoral success during the 1890's. This, in a modified form, was a reform force in Montreal civic politics until 1914 when the election of Médéric Martin saw the end of reform electoral success.  

In 1894 two very important organizations were formed along with a host of minor municipal reform organizations - these were the National Conference for Good City Government and the National Municipal League. This latter organization was particularly important in providing the institutional framework that gave coherence to much of the urban reform movement. It was at the 1897 Louisville meetings of the Conference for Good City Government that two lines or diagnosis come into focus: one, that the problem was a moral one and that any solution required a change in the hearts of men and two, that the problem was structural and could be cured by changing governmental institutions. These two diagnoses were to fuse by the first decade of the twentieth century. This same conference appointed a committee to draft a 'model municipal program' designed to enforce the twin ideals of 'Protestant honesty' and 'business efficiency'. The report was presented to the 1899 meeting and won acceptance. It advocated a strong mayor, unicameral councils elected 'at large' for terms of six years, the abolition of wards, non-partisan civic elections held at a different time of year than State and Federal elections, the appointment as civil servants of all other civic officials, and an increase in the city's
bonding and taxing powers. In the same year the National Municipal League adopted its own Model City Charter which was a very similar document; again placing its faith in the reform of government structures as the means to efficient and honest civic government. These two documents drew together the threads of reform thought and organized them in concrete proposals for change that centered on modifying government structures.

Reform thought in the United States in the 1890's then saw a transition in emphasis from 'the need for good men' to 'the need to restructure government institutions'. This transition also occurred in Canada. The experiences of the reform Mayors of the 1880's led many to believe that 'good men' were not enough to guarantee 'good government' and during the 1890's there was a move to search out new governmental forms. This often meant the abolition of the ward system, increasing the length of aldermanic terms of office or the institution of the 'Board of Control'. This latter device was in effect a civic 'cabinet' and was a peculiarly Canadian device to centralize administrative power. Adopted in Toronto in 1897 it spread to Hamilton and Ottawa and was adopted temporarily in Montreal, Winnipeg and London. All these measures were designed to streamline the governmental structures and to centralize executive authority thereby making the civic government more effective.

Coincidentally with this shift in reform thought another aspect of reform ideology was undergoing an important transformation. This was the sublimation of the moral analysis of urban ills into a structural analysis centered around the idea of efficiency. By 1894 as we have seen 'efficiency' was a common theme running through much reform thought. At
first efficiency was regarded as a helpmate to achieving government at lower cost but as the nineties progressed it came to take on a larger concept. At this time its meaning was being expanded and systematized through the Scientific Management Movement of F.W. Taylor. Taylor's work during the 1890's and 1900's, summarized in his 1911 magnum opus, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, gave 'efficiency' a scientific character and systematic form that appealed to many reformers. The result of this was to undermine faith that 'morality' in government was enough to guarantee good government and strengthen the idea that structural reforms were necessary. By the turn of the century morality itself was no longer enough, inefficiency and incompetence were seen as a bigger threat than graft and corruption. This transformation of morality into efficiency was one of the major accomplishments of institutional reform for it pointed toward solutions and as such allowed reformers to escape the charge of being sterile critics.

By 1910 the urban reform movement had coalesced to a large degree around the problem of municipal government reform. This was seen as the prime requisite for an effectively functioning city. Other urban problems, it was implied, would soon prove amenable to treatment provided the fundamental problem was first solved; that of providing the city with a set of government institutions that would allow 'efficient' administration to emanate from city hall. The problem now was not one of diagnosis but of prescription; not what was wrong but how to correct it. Just what these prescriptions were we shall soon see but first we must investigate just who were these reformers who had come to see efficiency as the panacea for
The Leading Role of the Businessman

The available evidence suggests that the support for municipal reform came not from the working or middle classes but from the upper class businessmen and professionals. Many writers have provided evidence supportive of this conclusion. In a study of Oklahoma cities that had adopted the city manager form of government it was found twenty-nine out of the thirty-two adoptions had been initiated by Chambers of Commerce or other business groups. The central role of Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade in the urban reform movement is discussed exhaustively by Weinstein in his studies of the emergence of corporate capitalism in early twentieth century America. Herbert Ames of the Montreal reform movement was a powerful businessman being part owner and director of a successful boot and shoe manufacturing company and a director of the Great-West Life Insurance Company. S.M. Wickett, who played an important role in the Toronto reform movement, was an important businessman and businessmen, as Artibise has demonstrated, dominated the Winnipeg governmental reform groups. Businessmen also played an important role in developing reform thought in Canada through their activities in elite Clubs. The Canadian and Empire Clubs were early promulgators of urban reform often bringing in speakers from the United States and Britain.

This of course raises the question of why businessmen dominated the urban reform movement? Hays has argued that these business groups and their professional allies became involved for a variety of reasons not the
least important being their desire to control the rapidly increasing geographical area of the city.57 This desire to control a geographically larger scope of events can be attributed to at least three distinct factors. Due to the suburban movements of the 1880's and 1890's it became increasingly the pattern that the businessman's residence was suburban with his economic interest still located in the central city. He was obliged to remain involved in central city politics to protect these interests but found to his dismay that inner city politics became increasingly under the dominance of the lower class elements of the population he had residually left behind.58 The second reason was the growing recognition by the business community that factors independent of individual companies had significant impact on the performance of these companies. The depression of 1893 and the increasing difficulties experienced by businessmen in getting what they considered to be appropriate civic legislation were central in reinforcing this idea. The businessman therefore wanted to protect his desire for economic growth by controlling the political institutions. The geographically boundless interests of newly emerging professions such as architecture can be seen as a third reason. Regarding themselves as being in possession of universally valid knowledge that should be used for the 'public good' they became actively involved in public affairs in general and urban reform in particular.

Viewing the city in an overall manner these men objected increasingly to a structure of government that allowed local interests to dominate. Most cities at this time were organized with a mayor and council system in which the council was comprised of ward aldermen. These councillors
naturally represented the interests of their local ward constituents and so city councils became the scene of a great deal of political activity. Coalitions were formed and favor returned for favor. As suburbanization continued more and more wards became dominated by lower class voters and many councils became dominated by aldermen representing such wards. The businessmen and professional reformers opposed these institutions on the grounds that they were inefficient and led to the making of irrational decisions. Local interests dominated and in the reformers' view this meant no one was looking after the whole. As such the best interests of the community at large were being hurt due to the waste of inefficient political decision making. A rational basis for decision making and a rational means to administer these decisions was needed. The problem was to find a government form that met these ideals of rational efficient decision making and administration. 59

The Corporate Ideal

Reformers set out to systemize civic government at both the legislative and executive levels. 60 At the legislative level the objects of attack were the ward system and party politics. These two were seen to produce machine politics and even if this were not to occur were a source of politics at city hall. Political considerations in decision making led to irrationality and hence inefficiency. At this level the urban reform movement became highly involved in the movement for non-partisan civic politics and the abolition of wards. Arguing that politics should be classless since peoples interests were basically the same they saw
non-partisanship and similar reforms as ways of eliminating artificial barriers to the perception that the individual's interests and the public interest were coincident. This public interest of course could best be perceived by people such as themselves whose involvement in public life was motivated by the desire to serve the whole community. By abolishing political parties and wards one had removed one major cause of government inefficiency. At least now, with a government of people representing the 'public interest', efficient government was a possibility. The National Voters League and the National Municipal League were important in carrying the message of non-partisanship across the United States and in the latter's case into Canada. Writers on local politics in Canada are almost unanimous in attributing the Canadian non-partisan tradition to the influence of the American reform movement.

The famous comment of W.B. Munro:

"...of all branches of government in Canada, the government of cities has proved the most susceptible to American influence" has been endorsed by most subsequent scholars. Both the ideological and institutional dimensions of Canadian non-partisanship can be traced to American origins. Ideologically these include the beliefs that the purpose of civic government is 'administration' not 'politics' and consequently that government should be conducted according to the principle of efficiency and that wards and political parties introduce irrelevant and disruptive elements into the civic process. The strength of the American influence is seen when one investigates the institutional changes made in Canadian cities;
"Many institutional devices designed to eliminate parties in American cities were ironically adopted in Canada despite the fact that there were no local parties to eliminate in this country. The non-partisan ballot was irrelevant in Canada where local elections, like national and provincial elections, had always been formally non-partisan in this sense. But the other two elements of the 'reform package', the city manager plan and the at large election did gain wide acceptance in Canada." 65

The National Municipal League was important in exporting this influence holding the 21st Conference for Good City Government in Toronto in 1913. Further evidence of its influence is given by W.D. Lighthall, the Mayor of Westmount and Honorary Secretary of the Union of Canadian Municipalities. Writing in 1918 he stated;

"In that intercommunication which is of late years constantly taking place between the municipalities of the United States and those of Canada, largely through the National Municipal League and the Union of Canadian Municipalities ...Our cities usually look to yours for experience." 66

Contact between the two organizations are also documented by Stewart. 67

At the executive level the 'efficiency' of the business corporation was used as an analogy for the city. Drawing on what they knew best,
the business corporation, reformers argued that the road to efficient government lay in adopting business methods. The assumed attributes of the business corporation, efficiency, system, orderliness, budgets, economies, saving, were all adopted by the reformers as symbols of good government. As such they tried to remodel municipal government in terms of the great impersonality of corporate enterprise.

It was not only the corporation's 'efficiency' that appealed to the reformers but also its singleness of purpose. No irrelevant political sources of irrational decision were allowed to influence the corporation! The reformer's commitment to governmental efficiency included both these strands and made his interest in corporate organization the more intense. Interest in government efficiency was thus great and was provided with ample food for thought in the writings of F.W. Taylor and his followers. Taylor called for efficiency experts to be placed at all levels of government and spent a great deal of time in later years trying to get his system implemented by the United States Federal Government. Although not successful at this level Taylor was to have a profound effect on municipal government through the work and writings of his disciples. A consensus of opinion emerged that the road to civic efficiency lay through implementing a series of reforms that would remodel civic institutions in the likeness of the business corporation. This meant instituting non-partisan, at large, elections, centralizing executive power and separating administration from politics.

This program was to be implemented in the form of the City Manager and City Commission forms of government. The success of this
movement is demonstrated by the fact that in the mid 1960's the city manager form of government accounted for 40% of all United States municipalities of over 5,000 people with the corresponding figure for Canada being 21.5%. The first commission government was established in Galveston, Texas, in 1900. This innovation soon spread through Texas to Houston in 1903 and to Dallas, Dennison, Fort Worth, El Paso, Greenville and Sherman by 1907. In 1907 the first 'Northern' city to opt for a Commission, Des Moines, enacted its Charter. By 1913 over 300 cities from coast to coast had adopted what became known as the 'Des Moines' plan.

By 1910 criticism was being levelled at the 'Commission plan' on the grounds that it gave too much latitude to individual Commission members and did not do enough to guarantee coordination amongst them. To overcome these weaknesses H.S. Gilbertson, a reform leader, drew up a 'commission manager' plan in 1910 as a refinement of the original plan. In 1911 this plan was adopted by Sumter, South Carolina and in 1913 it was adopted in the 'North' for the first time by Dayton, Ohio. Rapid adoptions of the 'Dayton Plan' followed and by 1919 over 130 cities had passed manager charters. The success of these two reforms can be attributed to the initiatives of local Chambers of Commerce and Board of Trades and to the efforts of the National Municipal League whose Model City Charters of 1899 and 1916 proposed systems that were consistent with the city commission idea. The role of this League in exporting the idea of Commission government to Canada is shown in the comments of H.H. Gaetz, an ex-mayor of Red Deer, Alberta, to the Union of Alberta Municipalities Convention in 1909. In a talk that advocated non-partisan at large elections:
"I think I may be permitted to digress for a moment, however, to administer one more kick to the re-treating figure of ward representation ... that foolish, unbusinesslike and uneconomical method of representation."  

He advocated salaried expert administration:

"On the other hand with the executive duties vested in competent salaried officials ... our best men would consider it an honor and a pleasure to serve the Municipality."  

He also stressed the need for business government:

"as the work of the Municipal Organization is business 'pure business' we should endeavour to organize our administrations on the pattern of the successful business corporations whose form has been perfected in the hot fires of necessity fanned by the tempestous winds of competition."  

and concluded:

"I would strongly recommend that every member ...secure a copy of the Municipal Program from the Secretary of the National Municipal League, an American organization that is doing much to reform Municipal methods on this continent ... In drafting an Act for Alberta our Legislature could not do better than follow it closely in
determining the nature and form of the powers which should be vested in Alberta Municipalities.\textsuperscript{77}

Support for Commission government was extensive in Canada attracting the enthusiasm of such a future eminence as F.H. Underhill.\textsuperscript{78}

**Bureaucracy and the Rational Decision Maker**

In giving form to the corporate model in the commission and manager forms of government the reformers engaged in the process of rationalization and systematization that was inherent in the newly evolving social and statistical sciences. These new sciences provided the theoretical underpinnings for the rational, bureaucratic decision making that was the goal of these new governmental forms. Salaried expert administrators had to gain their expertise from something other than experience and it was to the social sciences that they turned. American social scientists were moving at this time toward a common goal of reducing human social behavior to the same predictable elements as the material investigated by the physical sciences. They became much more empirical in their approach, looking at how people actually behaved rather than discussing how they should behave. Human functions rather than subjective motives became the object of study with man being considered as a social, rather than an individual entity.\textsuperscript{79} The social sciences supplied the knowledge whilst the statistical sciences provided the facts. Statistical surveys became common. Says Rutherford of the Canadian scene:

"Such studies were essential as a means of educating the public and projecting sound reform programmes -
without statistics, complete and standardized,
there could be no effective planning, no slum
clearance, no tax reform."^80

The new 'experts' required information and knowledge about ever wider realms
of human life if they were to be successful in their goal of an efficient
society. Not only the city came under the scrutiny of these new experts who
measured, studied, analysed and attempted to manipulate and control a quite
remarkable range of human activities. Industrial relations, education,
conservation, and national government administration all became topics for
expert study and manipulation.^81 As we shall see, so too did the control
and manipulation of the urban environment.

The development of this form of rational, bureaucratic decision
making was a profound development in human affairs. The various levels of
government from this time on had at their command a series of bureaucratic
institutions designed to facilitate rational decision making based on
'expert' knowledge. As such the range of decisions made at the political
level became severely diminished. The political institutions in effect saw
their powers being severely eroded by the newly emergent bureaucracy. This
centralization of power in the hands of expert professionals who operated
well nigh independently of the political process was of course an ideal
arrangement for the reformers. Important decisions were now made
'impartially' by their professional allies and were not left to the vagaries
of the political system. Commission government had done its work! Not only
had it rendered government efficient but it had also placed political power
in the hands of the 'responsible classes'.^82
The urban reform movement then started with a multi-faced concern with the problems of urban environments that through the 1890's coalesced into a concern over the structure of urban government. Existing institutions were seen as being inefficient and the cause of many of the city's ills. In order to render these institutions efficient it was seen as necessary to reorder them in the likeness of a business corporation. A sharp distinction was thus made between the legislative and the administrative branches of government. The administrative branch gained considerably in power and it gained both in size and in the range of the activities over which it had control. 'Experts' were to take over many of the functions of government and in so doing diminish the power of elected officials to control their city. These experts were seen as being capable of applying their knowledge and reason as a means to solve the problems facing society. Bureaucratic decision making had been instituted as the reformers' answer to urban problems. Knowledge and reason were the panacea and as such there developed a logical need for the development of an urban planning theory to guide their actions.

Underlying this paradigm of decision making is the assumption that man, through the use of his reason and his knowledge, can achieve conditions of existence that are progressively more satisfying to him. If the obstacles to man's advancement are removed and his faulty institutions corrected then, it is assumed, progress will result. The growth of bureaucratic decision making during the era of progressive reform is then a rational outgrowth of the deep seated American and Canadian belief in progress. The doctrine that human society progresses through time to
superior forms has a long history but became fully developed during the 
enlightenment. French thinkers such as Condorcet, and Helvetius had a 
vision of an inexorable move toward human perfection that was particularly 
important in early post revolutionary American thought. This faith that 
human reason, taking advantage of the latest scientific, technological and 
intellectual advances, was a sure road to progress was as we have seen held 
throughout the nineteenth century in both Canada and the United States.

In the latter decades of the century the newly emerging social sciences and 
the Darwinian theory of 'survival of the fittest' strengthened this belief: 
the one providing for the manipulation of 'social problems' and the other 
reinforcing the idea that ultimately nature 'improved' herself. The 
adoption of bureaucratic decision making based on the knowledge of 'experts' 
is thus to be seen as an attempt to ensure progress.

The long term ramifications of this change have been enormous. 
From the progressive era onwards society has become more and more bureau-
cratized as the basic assumptions underlying its adoption remain unchal-
lenged. The faith that reason could devise methods of solving almost all 
problems has remained essentially intact to the present day. This faith in 
what Ellul calls 'technique' and what Mumford calls 'technics' has remained 
virtually unchallenged. Voices such as Mumford, Ellul and Grant, who have 
challenged the prevailing orthodoxies remain voices in the wilderness.
The technological society remains the order of the day.

The Urban Problem Resolved

The urban reformers then relied on 'technique' to solve the prob-
lems of urban growth. Growth within a free enterprise system was not itself challenged. Economic growth was regarded as a desirable goal even though it was accepted that it led to a great many undesirable and expensive problems. The solution to these problems lay not in challenging growth but in channelling and controlling it so as to save it from itself. The means of control lay in a restructuring of the forms of municipal government to make them parallel the form of the business corporation and in the adoption of methods of planning designed to allow the city to develop in an efficient and ordered manner. It is toward a consideration of the development of these planning ideas we now turn.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLANNING THEORY

The Architectural Planning Movement

Earlier in the Chapter we saw how the urban reformers saw 'planning' as the means by which urban growth could be made a rational and efficient process. In this section we look not at the intent of the early planning movement but at the content; specifically at the nature of the proposals made by the early planners for the purpose of guiding urban growth in the desired manner. We shall see later in the Chapter the way in which many of these ideas were promoted in Canada by the Commission of Conservation.

Two major 'schools of thought' can be seen in the work of the early American planning movement and although based on different assumptions and immediate goals they eventually coalesced and in so doing led to the emergence of city planning as a professional activity in America.
Beautification as a means of urban reform had a long history in the United States in the form of the Parks Movement. Prior to 1850 no major city in the United States had a major park with a result that cemeteries were becoming the major urban recreational centres. By the middle of the century demands for urban park space began to be heard; demands that rapidly increased in number due to the energetic propagandizing engaged in by the movement's pivotal personality, Andrew Jackson Downing. An upstate New Yorker he became a major upper middle class 'tastemaker' through the publication of a series of books on gardening and architecture and through the pages of 'The Horticulturalist'; a journal he edited from its inception in 1846 to his death in 1852. Esthetically his origin was the English 'picturesque' with landscape, conceived within a framework of contrived naturalism, seen as a setting for a 'gothic' castle or cottage or an 'italianate' villa. Concentrating on the needs of New York City, Downing consistently advocated, in the pages of The Horticulturalist, the need for urban parks. From 1848 to 1851 he wrote a series of articles extolling the value of parks to London and Paris, cities he had visited on a European tour made in 1848. These articles were important moulders of public opinion and demands for park space grew in number. Downing however was not to live to see his desires fulfilled being killed in a steamboat explosion on the Hudson River in 1852. Four years later the land for Central Park in New York City was acquired and a design competition organized; a competition won by the design submitted by Downing's partner, Calvert Vaux; now in partnership with Frederick Law Olmstead. Following New York's lead many cities began to establish parks and by the time Boston instituted its park
system in the 1890's the provision of urban recreational space had become standard practice.

A second source of strength for the beautification movement was the holding of the Columbian National Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Designed to show how America had progressed in the four hundred years since the discovery of America by Columbus the exposition was held on a lakeside site in southside Chicago. The landscaping by Olmstead was completely overwhelmed by the "Great White City" built upon it. Built in the extravagant 'Beaux Arts' classical style it created for the first time in North America an environment of unity, style and monumentality. It fitted the mood of the time; if Europe could have such environments so too could America, for the United States was now every bit as powerful as was the Old World. The political imperialism of the period found much in common with the exposition's classical monumentality. Similar fairs in Omaha in 1898, Buffalo in 1901 and St. Louis in 1904 helped spread the word still further and the implication that the cure for civil ills lay in the creation of harmonious and monumental architectural environments was born. In this climate the 'planner' at the turn of the century was in effect an architect who designed 'environments' rather than individual buildings. Often working in partnership with one another five men dominated the field. These men, D. Burnham, C.M. Robinson, A.W. Bruner, F.L. Olmstead, Jr. and J. Nolen, completed thirty-one of the forty-two comprehensive city plans made before 1912. The plans produced by these men sought to bring reform to the city via the route of visual and physical amenity and only in the plans of Nolen is there any hint of the need for a more comprehensive
approach. In his 1911 plan for Madison, Wisconsin he argued that convenience and the public welfare should be built into the fabric of the city just as much as beauty and went on to discuss the recent 'German zone system' as a means to achieve this end. Within two years these afterthoughts of Nolen were to be central to the credo of American planners.

The City Efficient Planning Movement

Beginning in approximately 1905 a second major school of thought began to emerge within the planning fraternity. Espousing a viewpoint shaped by their concern for the social and economic ills of the country they saw the disorder of the city as resulting from a disordered society. They phrased their plans in the jargon of the sociologist and the engineer rather than that of the architect. Theirs was a view of planning that would come to dominate the profession by the outbreak of World War One. Growing out of the housing reform movement this brand of planning had men such as Robert deForest, Lawrence Veiller and especially Benjamin C. Marsh amongst its early advocates. Marsh was a social worker who from 1909 onwards was executive secretary of the Committee on congestion in New York; a housing reform organization. Marsh had travelled widely in Europe and was much impressed with the German zoning system as a means to control urban growth. The root of the urban problem for Marsh lay in the speculative use of land and in population congestion; the solution lay in the application of the zoning system. In 1909 he published at his own expense a book entitled simply 'An Introduction to City Planning" in which he outlined both the problems and their solutions as he saw them. An
immediate success this book was reprinted many times and was extremely influential. The last Chapter was concerned with the 'technical aspects' of planning and was written by a friend of Marsh's called G.B. Ford, a man to whom we shall return later in the chapter. From the turn of the century this group of planners gained many adherents from among both urban reformers intent on creating efficient civic institutions and from the ranks of the civil and transportation engineers. By the time the First National Conference on City Planning was held in 1909 this group was in the ascendant.

Called by the Committee on congestion it was dominated by the functional planners with sessions being held on topics such as the land acquisition powers of cities, taxation problems, etc. The 1910 and 1911 Conferences became increasingly concerned with such topics until during the 1912 Conference the city beautiful was given its obituary by a former leading beautifier, A.W. Bruner.

"The 'City Beautiful' failed - failed because it began at the wrong end. We must state the case in the same sequence that we observe when we make our designs ... the plan first, the elevation follows. Since utility and beauty go hand in hand, let us insist on utility. Since we have in mind a combination of science and art let us emphasize science." 94

The city efficient had triumphed over the city beautiful.

Perhaps the man most determined to make city planning a science aimed at civic efficiency was G.B. Ford, the author of the technical Chapter
in Marsh's textbook. The apotheosis of the 'City efficient' planner he is an important figure in the development of city planning theory and practice. Born in 1879 in New England he attended Harvard, graduating with an AB in 1899. This he followed by studies at M.I.T. where he gained the degrees of B.S. and M.S. in mechanical engineering. This was followed by studies at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris to whom he submitted a thesis design for 'A Tenement in a Large City'. His interest in planning was stimulated by the research he conducted for this thesis. Returning to the United States in 1907 he established as an architect with an interest in planning and in 1909 published his ideas on planning in the textbook by Marsh. He conceived the city as being composed of groups of buildings performing distinct functions. These functions he classified as business, dwelling, recreation and education, and transit and transportation. The planners task was to arrange these groups into a schematic pattern designed for maximum civic efficiency. At the centre of a series of radial boulevards connected by encircling streets stood the civic centre. Outwards from the centre came successive rings of different land uses starting with business and office buildings, a ring of factories, warehouses and tenements followed by the residential city with its curved streets. Heavy industry was to be located furthest out to the leeward with the rest of the fringe taken up with parks. These suburban parks were to be connected to the central city by parkways. He mentioned no way by which this mechanical prescription for efficiency could be implemented. By 1913 however he had developed a scientific method of planning to accompany this scientific ideal; this method was the means to implement the ends.
Ford presented this new scientific method of planning in a paper read before the Fifth National Conference on City Planning. He reaffirmed in his opening paragraph the need to proceed logically and scientifically:

...city planning is becoming as definite a science as pure engineering. The best plans for the development of a city can be determined as clearly as the plans for a bridge or for a reservoir. It is solely a matter of proceeding logically from the known to the unknown. In city planning there is, above all, the necessity for a careful analysis of the conditions. The requirements must be first definitely determined upon. Then these should be separated into several classes according to their urgency. ... Working in this way, one soon discovers that in almost every case there is one, and only one, logical and convincing solution to the problems involved."99

The required 'careful analysis of the conditions' could be reduced he argued to a standard procedure applicable to all situations:

"From recent experience in city planning, I am fully convinced that the sort of facts we want to hunt for and the method of bringing down our game can actually be standardized, and it is one of my minor ambitions to change this rather capricious procedure into that highly respectable thing known as an exact science."100
The use of these 'standardized procedures' by cooperating teams of engineers, architects and social experts would make it possible:

"to determine within a comparatively short space of time a plan which is not only the best for today but which is so elastic that changes during the next fifty or one hundred years can be fitted into it with virtually no loss or alteration." 101

In the rest of the paper he outlined those headings under which facts must be collected. These he listed as streets, transportation for people and transportation for goods, i.e. facts on the circulation system of a city. Following this it was necessary to investigate the land use patterns of the city under the headings factories and warehouses, food supply markets, housing and water supply and sanitation. Recreation, parks, boulevards and street planting, and architecture were to follow with final consideration given to the legal and financial problems of plan implementation. 102

Ford's method then had essentially three stages. Stage one involved the collection of data by a standard procedure. Stage two involved the analysis of the data; from which procedure would emerge the one logical and convincing solution to the problem at hand while stage three involved plan implementation. This separation of data collection, plan formation and plan implementation into distinct stages was based on the already discussed work of F.W. Taylor, as, in large measure was the overall goal of the plan, civic efficiency. This is not the place to reargue the thesis that the reformers' goal of civic efficiency owed much to the writings of Taylor but it is worthy of note that in Ford's case the methods devised to
achieve this goal were derived from the same source. Ford himself recognized the effect of Taylor's writings on his own work and regarded it as one of the reasons that his plans appealed to business minded reformers. In an unsigned editorial written for the 'American City' magazine he said:

"This method of work, systematized, standardized, 'Taylorized', as it is, has most decidedly proved its worth. It appeals strongly to the businessman ... and convinces everyone that the experts have real knowledge on which to base their recommendations." 103

Ford, as he himself recognized, was in demand because he supplied a planning product that was based on the same underlying premises as those held by the purchasers of planning expertise, the business reformers. It was while working for such a business reform group, the Newark City Plan Commission, that Ford codified his procedures. In 1912 this commission had hired Ford and a transportation engineer called E.P. Goodrich to produce a plan for the New Jersey City. Goodrich immediately assigned one of his junior employees to the task of data collection; this employee was Harland Bartholomew, a man who was to play an extremely important role in the urban planning history of Vancouver. 104

These ideas provided both a theoretical basis and a procedure for action in the desire to achieve ordered economic and urban growth. The implementation of such planning procedures, along with the restructuring of municipal government would allow the urban reformers to achieve their goal. As already mentioned both strands of reform thought were to become important
in Vancouver. Ideas regarding the ideal form of urban government were introduced into Canada, as we have seen, largely through the efforts of the National Municipal League. The need for planning was likewise promoted by an organization; in this case the Canadian Commission of Conservation.

THE COMMISSION OF CONSERVATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN URBAN PLANNING

The Commission of Conservation was in itself an example of a reform bureaucracy. Nineteenth century resource development in both Canada and the United States was extremely rapid and very largely uncontrolled. Slowly during the latter decades of the century there emerged a counter-force to the prevailing orthodoxy of resource superabundance and laissez faire exploitation. Started by such writers as G.P. Marsh this challenge had developed two strands by the 1890's. The first group were the fore-runners of the Sierra Club; this organization being formed by 1892 by a leading member of the group, John Muir. The second group was led by Gifford Pinchot and can be termed the land management group. Just how divergent these strands became is seen in their opposing roles in the Hetch Hetchy reservoir conflict.

It was Pinchot's 'land management' strand that was to be the important one over the next few decades. Appointed chief forester in 1898 he had a close professional and personal relationship with Theodore Roosevelt. In October 1907 Roosevelt appointed an Inland Waterways Commission which recommended the convening of a meeting of State Governors to discuss natural resource conservation. This occurred at the White
House in May 1908 and established the National Conservation Commission. Aware of the need for continental scale concern Roosevelt suggested the formation of a North American Conservation Conference to include Canadian participants. Pinchot's ideas had already been influential in Canada as he had been a guest speaker at the 1906 Canadian Forestry Convention over which had presided Sir Wilfred Laurier. Laurier had become interested in his ideas and as such was a strong supporter of Roosevelt's 1909 call for a North American Conservation Conference. It was from this Conference that the Laurier Government formulated the Canadian equivalent of the American National Conservation Commission, the Canadian Commission of Conservation.

The ideas that led to the Commission's creation were those of the land management group of conservationists. The concept that conservation consisted of the management of complementary land uses so as to promote development emerged. Conservation was a dynamic planning process whose aim was to redirect resource development toward efficient and wise use. The aim was one of controlled and directed economic growth, not of preserving for all time some pre-industrial fragment of virgin land.

The Formation of the Commission

In the Spring of 1909 an Act, drafted by Sir Clifford Sifton, to establish a Commission of Conservation of National Resources was introduced into the Commons by Sir Wilfred Laurier. This Act provided for three groups of Commission members:- one, the Federal Ministers of Agriculture, the Interior and Mines, two, the Provincial Ministers responsible for
natural resources and three, twenty Commissioners, appointed by the Governor General, who were to include at least one professor from each Province in which there was a University. This it was hoped would provide for a balance between people with a practical knowledge of resource problems and people with a high degree of scholarship and scientific knowledge. The Commission was to meet at least annually and submit a report to the Governor General in Council: the report to be laid before both Houses of Parliament. It was authorized to appoint a secretary and clerk under the civil service act and to retain expert assistants for special projects. This latter power was to prove particularly significant.

In September 1909 Sir Clifford Sifton was named as Chairman of the Commission on the recommendation of Laurier. He was the logical choice for the position, having drawn up the draft proposal and having been one of three Canadian representatives in February 1909 to the North American Conservation Conference from which he had returned to recommend to Laurier the formation of the Commission of Conservation. He had a great deal of public experience being a Cabinet Minister from 1896-1905 when he resigned over the North West Schools question. As a Cabinet Minister he had been minister of the Interior, a position that made him aware of the conservation thought of the period. This seems to have influenced him greatly for in his first address to the Commission his views on conservation almost exactly parallel those of say Pinchot.

"I have heard the view expressed that what Canada needs is development and exploitation, not conservation. This view, however is founded on an
erroneous conception which it must be our work to remove. If we attempt to stand in the way of development our efforts will assuredly be of no avail, either to stop development or to promote conservation. It will not, however, be hard to show that the best and most highly economic development and exploitation in the interests of the people can only take place by having regard to the principles of conservation.\footnote{118}

He went on to lay down some rules for the operation of the Commission. These included that there were to be permanent expert advisors on the main resource fields, that special investigations were to be carried out by temporarily hired experts, that the Commission would concentrate its efforts on a few areas of concern at any one time, and that permanent Committees were to be struck on each major resource area.\footnote{119} Eight such Committees were struck; lands, water, power, fisheries, game and fur bearing animals, forests, minerals, public health and publicity.\footnote{120} It is with the work of the Committee on Public Health with which we are concerned in our discussion of the development of urban planning in Canada.

The Committee on Public Health

The Committee on Public Health was soon to appoint itself a permanent expert 'advisor on public health', Dr. Charles Hodgetts. Joining the staff in May 1910 he had previously been a Medical Officer of Health in Ontario.\footnote{121} He was convinced of a close and causal link between poor
housing conditions and ill health. In his first report he decried overcrowding, called tenements 'a damnable architectural invention' and apartments 'an architectural monstrosity', quoted freely from J.S. Woodsworth and pronounced that urban slums, if not eliminated would end civilization. The connections between his desire to eliminate bad housing conditions and the need for urban planning and conservation he spelled out the following year:

"There are two important factors in the question of national conservation, the physical and the vital. The former relates the protecting of our land, our forests, our minerals, our water, our sunlight, our fresh air, the latter, to the prevention of diseases, to health and to the prolongation of life. In housing and town planning we are dealing with most of the former and all of the latter." He cited Port Sunlight, Bournville, Hampstead Garden Suburb and Letchworth as examples of the sort of urban environments that were possible if proper planning occurred. For this reason he was optimistic about the future provided the public could be convinced of the need for planning. This he thought would be easily done once the true facts were released. This faith in the persuasive power of fact was shared by the Medical Officer of Health of Winnipeg who said:

"Once the existing conditions are tabulated and are available in black and white for the perusal of our citizens, we expect that public opinion will be
ripe for a step forward in the housing problem". Whether the public were to be convinced remains to be seen but the Commissioners certainly were, passing a formal resolution delegating the Committee on Public Health to represent the Commission on all matters respecting housing and town planning. In this capacity Dr. Hodgetts represented the Commission at the First Canadian National Congress on Housing and Town Planning held in Winnipeg in July, 1912. Organized by the Winnipeg Town Planning Commission this was the first town planning conference held in Canada. Although Artibise regards this conference as a publicity stunt by the City Council rather than a display of serious interest in planning, the Commission's interest was not in doubt.

At the 1913 annual meeting the Committee on Public Health decided to convene a National Housing and Town Planning Congress at Ottawa and to invite Thomas Adams, a planner for the British Local Government Board, to be a guest speaker on housing. It was proposed that Adams then remained on in Canada for another two months and it was indicated that the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, was prepared to request the British Government for Adams' temporary release. Among those in favor of inviting Adams were reported to be the Canadian Manufacturers Association, the Canadian Public Health Association, the Union of Canadian Municipalities and the Hamilton Board of Trade. Adams, however, could not be spared but was later to prove to be the key figure in the early history of Canadian Urban Planning. Adams had come to the attention of Hodgetts through their joint attendance at the Boston and Chicago Conferences of the National Conference on City Planning in 1912 and 1913. These Conferences had had
representatives, including Hodgetts, from the Commission of Conservation present.131

These delegates returned not only with a high regard for Adams but also with examples of distracting ordinances, tenement by-laws, etc. which were used by the Committee on Public Health to draft a Comprehensive Model Town Planning Act for Canada. The procedures codified in this model law then were American in origin being based on examples presented at the National Conference on City Planning. This organization as we have already seen was intimately connected with the National Municipal League; the prime codifier of the American Urban reform ideology. The path between American reform ideology and proposed Canadian planning practice was therefore short and direct. Appropriately the model bill was unveiled at the 6th Convention of the National City Planning Conference, an American Organization, held on Canadian soil, in Toronto, in May 1914.132

The 1914 National Conference on City Planning

The Sixth National Conference on City Planning took place in Toronto, under the auspices of the Commission of Conservation, in May 1914. In his welcoming address the Chairman of the Commission, Sir Clifford Sifton, was optimistic about the planners' potential to solve the urban problems confronting them. While he admitted that hideous conditions, as bad as any in Europe, could be found in Canadian cities, he believed:

"...it is still possible within the next ten or twelve years to relieve any evil conditions which exist at the present time..."133
One of the implements of alleviation was to be the Model Town Planning Act. The first draft of this Act was presented at the Conference and debated at some length.

The bill called for a Department of Municipal Affairs to be created in each Province under whose control would be established a central town planning board. This board was to be composed entirely of professional experts having a Town Planner as Comptroller with the remaining members being the regular Provincial Officers concerned with finance, public health, engineering and legal matters. This board would in turn see to the establishment of local planning boards consisting of the Mayor, the municipal engineer and medical officer of health and two ratepayers - preferably an architect and a financier. Each local board was to hire a qualified town planning commissioner whose tenure and salary were to be guaranteed by the province. These local boards were to prepare 'town planning schemes' in accordance with the provincial board's regulations: this latter board would possess veto powers over any local scheme. The powers possessed by the local boards were to be considerable: they could exact betterment charges, they had excess condemnation powers, and if their local scheme received provincial approval it overrode any local by-laws. As one would expect given the bill's ancestry it placed power in the hands of experts rather than in the hands of elected officers. As such it displayed the reformers' faith in knowledge and his distrust of politics.

These proposals, not surprisingly generated a great deal of discussion. Much of the criticism was aimed at the bill's autocratic nature. Enormous powers it was pointed out were being given to boards over which the
public had no control. This was objected to strenuously by many western
delegates who bluntly stated that no western province would adopt such a
bill. Said the Minister of Municipal Affairs from Saskatchewan:
"...the Bill is a reversal entirely of our demo-
ocratic order of things ... In our Province the
Bill could not be entertained for a single moment".

The bill's total reliance on appointed experts was more than most delegates
were prepared to accept. Most, however, praised the bill's intent and
suggested minor modifications could produce an acceptable document. One
such discussant was the aforementioned Thomas Adams who was making his
customary visit to the City Planning Conference. He stressed the necessity
for planners to persuade the public that planning was needed and although as
a guest he avoided direct criticism of the proposed bill he implied that it
was too coercive in nature. Canadians it seems were at least prepared to
try and persuade the public before resorting to coercion.

The Conference also saw the Canadian delegates pass a motion
requesting the Commission of Conservation to create a special 'Bureau of
City Planning and Housing' to act as a central coordinating body for the
promotion of city planning throughout the Provinces. This request was
in spirit, if not in form, accepted by the Commission as we shall soon see.
In his closing remarks Sir Clifford Sifton stressed that the Commission saw
itself as having such a role in promoting City-Planning and went on to
expand on the role that city planning played in fostering both civic effi-
ciency and economic growth.

"...if (town planning) is another way of wasting
money (God knows there are enough of them now!)... then it does not appeal to me. But if it can be shown ... that returns will be made for the money that is invested ... then we will have no trouble in getting the money"\textsuperscript{138}

Economic growth, produced by efficient planning, would in turn pay for the planning.

Thomas Adams Joins the Commission

Immediately following the Toronto Conference the Commission of Conservation again approached the British Government for the release of Adams. This time they met with success and Adams was appointed as an advisor on housing and city planning in July 1914; taking up his position in October of that year.\textsuperscript{139} Born in 1871 in Edinburgh, Scotland he was educated in that city as a land surveyor. He became associated with Patrick Geddes during his twenties and through him became acquainted with Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement. He gained an interest in town planning through this association and served as the first manager of the first garden city, Letchworth, from 1900 until 1906 when he entered private practice as a planning consultant. He maintained his connection with the garden city movement however being the first permanent secretary of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. In private practice he was among other work the town planning advisor to the Marquis of Salisbury and to the Earl of Lytton. In 1909 he entered the service of the British Government as a planning inspector for the Local Government Board, the
administrative agency for the British Town Planning and Housing Act of 1909. In 1914 he was instrumental in the foundation of the British Town Planning Institute and was its first President in 1914-1915. Raymond Unwin was a Vice-President and Patrick Geddes the Librarian of the organization. It was at this point in his career that he came to Canada as an advisor to the Commission of Conservation. Adams' importance in British Planning was emphasized in the British Town Planning Review's lament at his loss:

"...we cannot help feeling a certain resentment towards Canada for having robbed us of the man who is justly looked up to as the head of the profession in this country."

The Commission had acquired the services of a very eminent man!

Adams' views on planning were very much in accord with prevailing North American ideas. The purpose of planning was to allow for efficient development and the means to achieve this end was the expert use of scientific knowledge.

"A proper planning scheme is essentially a development scheme ... we cannot conserve the city or the country without planning for its future development according to the best scientific principles, and having in mind the ultimate aim of perhaps the most important aspect of a conservation policy, namely to build up national prosperity on a foundation of character, stability, freedom and efficiency of the human resources."
To escape from the blight of city growth "we need to ... build up a science of social enquiry". The old methods are no longer adequate to the problems of the day:

"In Canada we seem to have suffered, not so much from lack of organization as from lack of scientific methods applied to organization as a means of making the most of our limited human activities. The necessarily crude methods of the pioneer stage of development and civilization still prevail in many phases of government."

This inefficiency could be alleviated through good planning which he defined as:

"...the proper development of land for the purpose of securing the best results from the application of human activity to natural resources"

The connections between these ideas and North American Urban Reform and conservation thought are obvious. Planning ensured efficient use of resources and hence aided growth which in turn helped pay for the planning which was made possible through the expert use of scientific social knowledge. Adams' view of the planner's role was in no way fundamentally different than the role envisaged by the Commission.

Adams' Work With the Commission

In his first address to the Commission Adams noted that interest in town planning in Canada was widespread and that three Provinces, Nova
Scotia, New Brunswick and Alberta already had town planning acts in the statutes. He noted that there was widespread support for the creation of a civic improvement league and promised to work energetically to promote planning over the coming year. This promise was certainly lived up to as can be seen from his report of his activities during 1915. The commission was informed that he was preparing a monograph on rural planning and development, that he had revised the Model Town Planning Act taking cognizance of the criticisms of the Act offered at the Toronto Conference, that he had been successfully involved in getting a town planning act adopted in Nova Scotia, that New Brunswick and Alberta had adopted new regulations on land subdivision at his suggestion, and that in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan bills either drafted or modified by him were passing at some stage through the legislative process. Thus only Prince Edward Island and British Columbia had failed to adopt a statute of either his own drafting or modification within fifteen months of his appointment. To the Premiers of both these Provinces he had sent a draft Town Planning Bill and was hopeful regarding their early adoption. He had also consulted with over forty local city councils, drafted a zoning bylaw and official plan for Halifax, planned new towns at St. John, Ojibway and Temiscaming, advised on the development of Stanley Park and a civic centre in Vancouver, instituted a housing survey in Ottawa, produced and written the bulk of the articles in 'Conservation for Life', consulted on the route of the new Toronto to Hamilton highway and been involved in forming a National Civic Improvement League. A busy year's work indeed.

His modified 1916 Model Town Planning Bill was still essentially
rooted in American ideas and practice and contained an appointed planning commission with the power to employ expert help and advice. American reform ideas thus became firmly established in the Provincial planning statutes of Canada. These ideas also provide the ideological basis of the Civic Improvement League that Adams was instrumental in establishing. In November 1915 a preliminary Conference was held under the auspices of the Commission of Conservation in Ottawa. At this Conference a resolution was passed:

"That a Civic Improvement League for Canada be formed, with the general object of promoting the study and advancement of the best principles and methods of civic improvement and development and to secure a general and effective interest in municipal affairs and to encourage and organize in every community all those social forces that make for an efficient Canadian citizenship." 149

In the discussion over what to call the organization its relationship to American urban reform organizations was made clear by one Dr. W.H. Atherton of Montreal who pointed out that four American organizations, The National Municipal League, The American Civic Association, The National Housing Association and the National City Planning Organization were keenly interested in the meeting and that in a small country such as Canada one organization could perform the tasks performed by all four American organizations. The League was explicitly seen then as being in the same mould of these reform groups. 150

The objects of the League were given as promoting the best inter-
ests of the city and its citizens through the study and advancement of the principles and methods of civic improvement and development with special regard to:

"The form and character of local government and the application of sound economic principles in regard to the administration of civic business".

Priority was also to be given to the preparation of town planning schemes, the removal of slum areas, the preservation of the physical and industrial resources of the city, the preservation and increase of beauty, the preparation of civic surveys and maps, the promotion of school and college town planning courses and the encouragement of productive use of suburban gardens. The concern with growth, civic efficiency and government structure, and with business methods are all clearly present as is the faith that any problems can be solved by recourse to the 'principles and methods of civic improvement'. The underlying philosophy of the creators of the Civic Improvement League was that of the urban reformers. At the close of the meeting it was agreed to convene a national conference early in 1916 to constitute the League.

This Conference met in Ottawa in January 1916 having delegates from all three levels of government, Provincial Boards of Health, relevant professional societies, interested 'civic' organizations and 'individuals who had expressed an interest'. Thomas Adams made an address in which he stressed the need for a Department of Municipal Affairs in each Province to ensure civic efficiency:-

"We cannot overcome the defects in human nature in
the personnel of councils, commissions or other bodies by legislation, but we can reduce the opportunities for bad management by setting up the right kind of machinery."154

A great many resolutions were passed by the delegates including a call to recommend the establishment of Provincial Departments of Municipal Affairs.155 Provinces were also urged to pass Town Planning Acts as soon as possible "in view of the necessity for securing greater economy in connection with the development of land."156

These concerns were evident the following year at the Commission of Conservation's annual meeting when a resolution was passed:

"that the Commission of Conservation urge the Provincial Governments to pass the necessary legislation to secure that all land will be planned and developed for efficiency, convenience, health and amenity and that the necessary administrative machinery be set up for the purpose"157

Adams returned to England immediately prior to these meetings and remained there until late in the year, returning to Canada just after the Halifax explosion. He became almost immediately involved in the rebuilding operations preparing a detailed plan for the devastated area and a more general town planning scheme for the whole metropolitan region but he declined "for personal reasons" to become a member of the Halifax Relief Commission.158 The pressure of work so produced necessitated the appointment of assistants to aid Adams.
From the Surveyor General's Office was acquired H.L. Seymour who was given responsibilities to aid Adams in his work at Halifax. Educated as an engineer at the University of Toronto he was responsible for a great deal of the Halifax plan and was to become an important figure in planning in Western Canada in the second half of the 1920's. To aid Adams in the West was appointed A.G. Dalzell. One time assistant city engineer for Vancouver, he had a special interest in slum housing and shared the commission's faith in the worth of scientific planning:—

"Personally I feel that nothing would raise the engineer in the esteem of the public so much as his giving attention to some social and economic problems that sadly need real 'engineering'."

He was very active in the oncoming year preparing reconnaissance reports for the Municipalities of Nelson, Merritt and Salmon Arm by early 1920. Also appointed, with special responsibilities to prepare model housing plans, was one W.D. Cromarty. All these men were original members of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, formed in 1919 thanks to the efforts of Adams. He repeated his 1914 English achievement by being elected as the first President for the year 1919-1920. This was the third institute he was instrumental in founding having been a charter member of the American Institute of Planners in 1917. The drive was going out of the town planning movement, however, and Adams' report on Halifax had prevented him from completing his "Urban Planning and Development" monograph that was designed as a companion volume to his 1917 rural study. He complained that in many Provinces legislation, although passed, was not being enforced.
and that this, along with a general shortage of trained planners was hampering planning progress. He was more optimistic regarding advances of planning education, however, noting the formation of the Town Planning Institute and the good work of the Civic Improvement League, which organization he suggested be made permanent. This organization had carried out a great deal of publicity work and had held its annual meetings for 1917 and 1918 in Winnipeg and Victoria.

The End of the Commission

The 1919 annual meeting of the Commission also saw the resignation as Chairman of Sir Clifford Sifton. With him went a great deal of the commission's political support and just two years later, in May 1921, Bill 187 was introduced into the Senate to repeal the Commission of Conservation Act. Introduced into the House of Commons by the new Prime Minister, Arthur Meighen, the Bill was passed with only three dissenting votes and brought to an end the Commission. The reasons for this abrupt demise do not concern us here but many feel that they were essentially political in nature and not concerned with the value of the Commission's work.

Thomas Adams left the Commission's employ to return to private consultancy in 1921. He soon however re-entered public service becoming Director of the Regional Plan of New York in 1923. He held this position until 1930 when he became an Associate Professor of City Planning at Harvard. Since 1921 he had been lecturing on Civic Design at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and so New England academic life was
not altogether new to him. He returned to England in 1934 to again practice as a private consultant. He was Vice-President of the Institute of Landscape Architects in 1934 and continued to be an active consultant until his death in 1940. His impact on the development of planning in three countries had been immense.

SUMMARY

The Commission of Conservation was central to the establishment of Town Planning in Canada. By 1921 every Province except British Columbia had passed a Town Planning Statute, and in this Province the movement to get planning established was gaining momentum. Much of this legislation was adopted thanks to the strenuous efforts of the Commission's Housing and Town Planning expert, Thomas Adams. In getting legislation adopted, in his involvement in a host of practical planning schemes and in his publications he was the central figure in the early Canadian town planning movement. Not an original thinker he played the role of 'salesman' for other peoples ideas. Introduced to Canada through his connections with the National City Planning Conference he shared that organization's view of the role of planning. Growing out of the urban reform movement's concern with civic efficiency planning was seen as a means of ensuring efficient and economic growth. Many of the ideas of the urban reformers thus became incorporated into Canadian Town Planning law through their codification in the Model Town Planning Bills of 1914 and 1916. Town planning was placed in the hands of experts who, through the application of their scientific knowledge, were to guide and direct development and growth along efficient lines. Planning
from its very inception was a bureaucratic exercise largely independent of the political process. This of course was intentional and reflects the reformers distrust of elected officials. Efficiency could only be guaranteed if decisions were made on a 'rational', 'non-political' basis.

Canadian city planning then is a natural outgrowth of the urban reform movement. Its purpose and form reflect the underlying ideology of the reformers and hence to a large extent are American in origin. Canadian planning practice and thought was largely American in origin and cannot be regarded as an indigenous product.

The same is true of the other major strand of the reform activity, the movement to restructure municipal government in the likeness of a business corporation. As we have seen the Canadian expression of these sentiments was largely derivative of the American experience. An American Reform Organization, The National Municipal League, was an effective propagandizer in Canada of the reform movements ideas; ideas that in many cases, as in the non-partisan ballot, were designed to solve problems that did not exist north of the border. This was not however to deter the eager adoption of the league's proposals by a great many cities and municipalities.

The ideas of the urban reform movement can be seen as an attempt on the part of American businessmen and their professional allies to resolve the contradiction posed by uncontrolled urban and economic growth, which it was becoming evident during the 1890's was ultimately self-defeating. Two prescriptions were written to cure the city's ills; these two prescriptions became elaborated as the need for planning and the need for municipal government reform. In this form these ideas were to prove
extremely influential in Canada where they were endorsed and promulgated by a series of organizations and individuals. These ideas became part and parcel of the intellectual currency of Canada in the first two decades of the twentieth century and as such were well known to a group of Vancouver businessmen and professionals, who for a variety of reasons, had become dissatisfied with the manner in which their city was developing. As we shall see in detail in Chapter four a relatively small group of such men were decisive actors in what became the Vancouver urban reform movement. In the following Chapter we shall investigate the background of these men in order to provide a context for a discussion of their participation in the reform movement in Vancouver.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO


P.E. Roy. The British Columbia Electric Railway Company 1897-1928,

5. Industrial Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade. Minutes
   January 18, 1929.

6. Trade and Commerce Committee of the Vancouver Board of Trade.
   Minutes. 1915-1917.

7. Special Committee Minutes Book of the Vancouver Board of Trade
   Vol 1 p 1-41. This Committee was in existence from December 1911
to June 1914

   VDP from this point onwards.


11. VDP December 17, 1908. p 2
    December 19, 1908. p 9.

A thorough search of the *Vancouver Daily Province* and the *Vancouver Sun* yielded the necessary information. The sole source prior to the 1913 election was the Province, the Sun beginning publication in 1912.

The categories into which an individual plank could be assigned are as follows:

i) Was plank designed to stimulate population growth

ii) Was plank designed to stimulate industrial, commercial growth.

iii) Was plank designed to stimulate the development of cultural amenities.

(iv) Was plank designed to alleviate the squalid environment of the city.

(v) Was plank designed to make civic government more efficient.

(vi) Was plank designed to make civic government less corrupt.

Each platform therefore consisted of a number of planks, each assigned to one of the above categories. From this it was possible to obtain the total number of planks that fell into the first three categories. If this exceeded 50% of all the planks in the platform the platform was categorized as being pro-growth.

Published from 1907 to 1914 the *B.C. Magazine* operated under
several names including Westward Ho and Man to Man Magazine. Nothing changed except the title however. Throughout this study the magazine will be referred to as the B.C.M. irrespective of the year of publication. Originally the magazine tried to incorporate some literary content into the booster material but as time past the emphasis became squarely on the latter type of material.

17. H. Hoadley - 'The Terminal City' B.C.M. Vol 1. #6 (1907) p 51.


19. For a full account of the purposes, principles and procedures of content analysis the reader is referred to O. Holsti Content Analysis for the Humanities and Social Sciences. (Don Mills, Ontario. Addison Wesley. 1969). The procedures used in this study were consistent with those described in this text.

20. The categories utilized were essentially those used to classify the individual planks of the election platforms. This allowed a certain amount of comparison to be made that would not have been possible had different categories been used. The categories were as follows:

   i) Was the Cartoon favorably commenting on population growth.

   ii) Was the Cartoon favorably commenting on industrial or
commercial growth.

iii) Was the Cartoon favorably commenting on the development of cultural amenities.

iv) Was the Cartoon aimed at exposing the squalid environment of the city.

v) Was the Cartoon aimed at exposing inefficiency within the civic government.

vi) Was the Cartoon aimed at exposing corruption within the civic government.

Cartoons assigned to one of the first three categories were typed as being pro-growth.

21. N. MacDonald 'A Critical Growth Cycle for Vancouver, 1900-1914' B.C. Studies Number 1 (1972) p 26-42 discusses the first of these growth cycles and provides a graph on page 31 of the value of building permits issued in Vancouver for the years 1902-1936. This graph is a good index of general economic conditions and provides in a dramatic form evidence of the 'boom and bust' nature of Vancouver's economy.

22. For a superb account of the problems in one American city, Buffalo, New York, see E. Powell The Design of Discord (New York. Oxford University Press. 1974)

23. See MacDonald (1972) op.cit. p 36-38.


30. Riis was active throughout the 1890's and early years of the twentieth century. His major publications were:
'How the other Half Lives: Studies amongst the tenements of New York' published in 1890, The Children of the Poor published in 1892 and A Ten Years War. An Account of the Battle with the Slum in New York published in 1900. Selections from these three works have been compiled into an easily accessible reader:- F. Cordasco - Jacob Riis Revisited: Poverty and the Slum in Another Era. (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1968)


33. Rutherford. op.cit. p 205.

34. H.B. Ames. The City Below the Hill (Toronto, University of Toronto Press. 1972. Originally published 1897)


C.J. Hastings. 'The Modern Conception of Public Health Administration' Conservation of Life Vol. 3 (October 1917) p 88.


Good accounts of the American social Gospel Movement are provided by:

A.I. Abell. The Urban Impact on American Protestantism 1805-1900 (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1943)


The definitive accounts of the Canadian Social Gospel Movement are provided by:


37. An account of the social welfare system of Nineteenth Century Ontario is found in:-


For a discussion of Winnipeg's dealings with the water supply utility see:

Artibise. *op.cit.* p 297-329

40. Rutherford. *op.cit.* p 211.

41. Rutherford. *op.cit.* p 211.


43. M.G. Holli. "Urban Reform in the Progressive Era" p 133-151


45. Holli. op.cit. p 138-139.

46. Holli. op.cit. p 142

47. Rutherford. op.cit. p 212.

48. Rutherford. op.cit. footnote p 222


50. This analysis is based on Holli. op.cit. p 143-144.


54. P.F.W. Rutherford. 'Introduction' p VII - XVIII

55. Rutherford (1971) op.cit. p 204
Artibise op.cit. p 55-79.

56. Rutherford (1971) op.cit. p 204.

57. Hays op.cit. p 161.


59. This account of the business communities analysis of what was wrong with city government is drawn from a large variety of sources. Some of the most important are:-
Hays op.cit.
Hofstader op.cit.

Weinstein (1968) *op.cit.*


74. H.H. Gaetz 'Municipal Legislation'. *The Western Municipal News*

75. Gaetz op.cit. p 26-27.

76. Gaetz op.cit. p 28.

77. Gaetz op.cit. p 29.


University Press. 1960)

R.E. Callahan. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that have shaped the Administration of the Public Schools.* (Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1962)


All these discuss the growth of bureaucracy in one specific field of public or private life. For a more general account of the development of the corporate state see:


82. Haber. *op.cit.* p 115-116;

Hays. *op.cit.* p 168-169;


All discuss the role of newly emergent decision making process in increasing the power of the business classes at the expense of the working classes.

83. The literature on the idea of progress is very extensive. Good accounts of the role of the idea are provided by:
J.B. Bury  The Idea of Progress  An Inquiry into its origin and growth  (London, MacMillan  1920)


84.  S. Pollard. The Idea of Progress - History and Society (Harmondsworth. Penguin Books. 1971) is particularly good in discussing the philosophical roots of the idea during the enlightenment.


W.L. Morton  The Shield of Achilles. Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age (Toronto. McClelland Stewart 1968) contains several articles documenting the role of the idea in nineteenth century Canada.
87. Nye op. cit. p 21-24


89. The writings of Mumford are prolific and many are relevant to our problem. The most central remains:
A recent summary of a long life's work is found in:
L. Mumford. 'Reflections. Prologue to our Time'. New Yorker (March 10th 1975) p 42-63.
Much of this is directly relevant to the discussion.
See also:

90. See Ellul op. cit. for a discussion of technique.

91. Much of this section is based on four sources. Unless specific
references are given the material is drawn from:


92. The work of Burnham and Robinson is discussed at length in Chapter XXIX of Newton and in Chapter Two of Scott. Bruner, Olmstead and Nolen all receive attention from Johnston. For a detailed list of comprehensive city plans completed prior to 1912 see:


93. Scott op.cit. p 84 discusses the effects of Marsh's European experiences on his planning ideas.
94. Proceedings of the Fourth National City Planning Conference.

95. Scott. op.cit. p 120.


100. I bid. p 31.

101. I bid. p 32.

102. I bid. p 33.

103. "Efficiency in City Planning" American City. Volume VIII Number 2
(February 1913) p 142-143.


108. H. Clepper 'The Conservation Movement: Birth and Infancy' in

109. A.M. Armstrong - 'Thomass Adams and the Commission of Conservation'
Plan Vol 1 #1 (1959) p 15.

110. Smith and Witty. op.cit. p 56.

111. Armstrong. op.cit. p 15.

112. F.J. Thorpe. Historical Perspective Of the Resources for
Tomorrow Conference. (Ottawa, Queens Printer. 1963)

113. Smith and Witty. op.cit. p 58.

114. 8-9 Edw. VII. Ch 27 (1909) cited in Armstrong. op.cit. p 15.

115. Armstrong. op.cit. p 15
Smith and Witty. op.cit. p 58.


117. Smith and Witty. op.cit. p 60.

Annual reports of the Commission will be cited as ARCC# from this point on.

119. ARCC#1 op.cit. p 12.

120. Smith and Witty. op.cit. p 62.


122. ARCC#2 (1911) p 50.

123. ARCC#3 (1912) p 148.

124. ARCC#3 op.cit. p 132.

125. ARCC#3 op.cit. p 144.

126. ARCC#3 op.cit. p 82.


129. ARCC#4 (1913) p 8-12.


133. ARCC#6 (1915) p 238.

134. ARCC#6 *op.cit.* p 245-284 provides the text of the Bill and the discussion it generated.

135. ARCC#6 *op.cit.* p 272.

136. ARCC#6 *op.cit.* p 258.

137. This resolution is printed in full in *Conservation of Life* Vol. 1 #2. (October 1914) p 1.

This biography of Thomas Adams has been pieced together from a wide range of sources. The most important are as follows:

Armstrong  op.cit.  p 24


'Conservation of Life' Vol 1. #2 (October 1914) p 28 Almost any history of British or American City or Regional Planning contains some remarks on Adams' life and career.


ARCC#8. (1917) p 95.

T. Adams "Town and Regional Planning in Relation to Industrial Growth in Canada". Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. Vol. 1. #4-5 (June - August 1921) p 9. (This was a reprint of the Presidential address at the second annual meeting of the Town Planning Institute of Canada) Cited as J.T.P.I.C. henceforth.

145. Adams (1917) op.cit. p 7.

146. ARCC#6. op.cit. p 158-179.

147. ARCC#6. op.cit. p 118.


150. C.I.L. (1916) op.cit. p 33-34.

151. C.I.L. (1916) op.cit. p 34.

152. C.I.L. (1916) op.cit. p 34-35.


158. ARCC#10. (1919) p 102-105. Details of the plan are provided on p 106-109.

   Vancouver Daily Province (April 11, 1940) p 2.
   VDP (April 25, 1940) p 4.


164. Scott. op.cit. p 164.

165. ARCC #10. op.cit. p 17.

166. ARCC #10. op.cit. p 102.


169. Armstrong. op.cit. p 51.
CHAPTER THREE

THE PRINCIPAL REFORMERS

In the last Chapter it became evident that businessmen were central to the urban reform movement. As the developers and propagandists of new ideas on planning and municipal government they played an extremely important role in spreading the new urban faith. Their dominant position was reflected in both the form and purpose of their solutions, economic growth through the application of rational business methods to the urban scene. Throughout the United States and Canada it was the business community, usually operating through an organization such as a Board of Trade or a Chamber of Commerce, that played the key role in the drives for municipal government reform and the establishment of planning. Very often these same businessmen played important roles in civic politics, held high positions in the business and social clubs of their cities and were engaged in significant religious and philanthropic activities. In short they formed an elite group who controlled to a significant degree the major institutional orders of their societies.¹

Western Canadian cities were dominated by such elites during the first two decades of the century.² Largely of British or Eastern Canadian origins, Vancouver's elite was firmly in control of the social and political life of the City. The influence of these elites was even greater than their occupation of the key public and private offices would indicate. As Careless has suggested they operated to a significant extent outside the
formal public sphere and were enormously influential in shaping the growth of their cities. Operating from within the business community they formed coherent groups that often used the Board of Trade as their official voice and the prestige club as their social circle. The complex business, political and social ties between their members ensured a coherence and continuity in their stances on the issues of the day found lacking in other segments of the community. It was this coherence of viewpoint and their great influence that makes them so important. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to unravel the complexities of these elites but a start has been made by Artibise in his work on Winnipeg and by Robertson and Gutstein in their work on Vancouver.

Later in this Chapter we shall look in some detail at certain members of the Vancouver business elite. In particular we shall investigate the backgrounds of those members of the elite who played a significant role in the urban reform movement in Vancouver. As we shall see the fifteen major reformers discussed display a great many common characteristics. Identified for their long service in reform organizations most were born in the twenty-five year period from 1855-1880 either in Eastern Canada or in Britain. Only one was not of British descent, W.H. Lembke, an Ontarian of German parenthood who served as Reeve of the suburban Municipality of Point Grey in the 1920's. The majority had arrived in Vancouver in the 1890's or 1900's and most were to become important members of the business community. With the exception of a Mrs. A.M. McGovern all the major reformers were either businessmen or professionals. Real Estate brokery and contracting were the dominant occupations. Only four including Mrs. McGovern, were not
members of the Vancouver Board of Trade. The major characteristics of these fifteen reformers are summarized in the tables below.

**TABLE 3.1**

**BIRTHDATE AND DATE OF ARRIVAL IN VANCOUVER OF THE MAJOR REFORMERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1850's</th>
<th>1860's</th>
<th>1870's</th>
<th>1880's</th>
<th>1890's</th>
<th>1900's</th>
<th>1910's</th>
<th>1920's</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birthdate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival in</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source* See Footnotes 41-80

**TABLE 3.2**

**PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE MAJOR REFORMERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maritime Provinces</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Eastern Canada</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Canada</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere (of Canadian Parents)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source* See footnotes 41-80
TABLE 3.3

OCCUPATIONS OF THE MAJOR REFORMERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and Businessmen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Agents and Financiers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers and Contractors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Business Representatives</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Workingmen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source* See Footnotes 41-80

This continuity of characteristics goes beyond background and experience and includes a similarity in the beliefs, occupations and actions of these men. Later in the Chapter we shall discuss their beliefs and see that they conform closely to the reform ideology already discussed. With a common set of assumptions about society and the role of the planner in that society they were to have a profound effect on the institutional and physical landscapes of Vancouver. Before we discuss these activities it will be necessary to present a more detailed picture of the beliefs of these reformers; this will follow a more general discussion of the role that businessmen played in the public life of Vancouver and its suburban municipalities in the first three decades of the century.
CITY AND MUNICIPAL POLITICIANS

Mayors and Aldermen in Vancouver

Of the sixteen men who served Vancouver as Mayor between 1900 and 1925 twelve were businessmen and four were professionals. Of these professionals all but one were intimately involved in the real estate business. Many of these men were members of the Board of Trade and two, C.E. Tisdall and W.R. Owen were prominent members of the Board's Civic Bureau coincidentally with holding civic office. The former was an executive member of the Civic Bureau in 1919, 1920 and again in 1925 while Owen served in that capacity in 1919.

A similar pattern emerges if we look at the city aldermen who served in the same period. Of 111 aldermen during this period 71 were businessmen and a further 24 professionals. Working class representation was limited to nine men. The breakdown for the period prior to 1925 is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3.4</th>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF VANCOUVER ALDERMEN 1900-1925</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Community Representatives</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Workingmen</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source See Footnote 8
The most common business occupation was that of real estate agent; in the period 1900-1921 they accounted for half the business representation on Council.\textsuperscript{9} The greatest proportion of these men were from Britain or Ontario.\textsuperscript{10} That the business community was dominated by Ontarions is claimed by Gibson citing evidence from both Boam and Sage. The figures he provides however suggest that he has understated the importance of British origins in the business community. England, Ireland and Scotland accounted for 40\% of all business managers in 1912.\textsuperscript{11} These figures are more consistent with an interpretation that the business community was jointly dominated by Ontarions and Britishers, a point supported by MacDonald.\textsuperscript{12}

These men were also central in the formation and activities of the major social clubs and business organizations. The Vancouver Board of Trade was established in 1887, one year after the incorporation of the city. 1890 saw the foundation of the Vancouver Club and by 1906 a Vancouver branch of the Canadian Club had been established.\textsuperscript{13} As we shall see they were also the major proponents of reform in Vancouver. Before discussing them in this role however we should investigate the nature of the councillors that served the two suburban municipalities of South Vancouver and Point Grey during this period.\textsuperscript{14}

**Reeves and Councillors in Point Grey and South Vancouver**

As was the case in Vancouver, the majority of the public and private positions of power in South Vancouver and Point Grey were controlled by members of the business and professional classes. Prior to the secession of Point Grey from South Vancouver in 1908 the two Municipalities had
comprised the Municipality of South Vancouver. Incorporated in April 1892 the Municipality elected a Reeve and Council on an annual basis. Information on early council members is difficult to obtain but a complete listing of Reeves and Councillors has been produced for the years after 1900. Prior to the separation in 1908 information regarding the occupations of many of these men is not available. It is possible to ascertain however that of the fourteen councillors who served between 1900-1908 three were farmers and the majority of the rest were involved in one way or another in the real estate business. Of the two Reeves who served in this period, one, C.E. Foreman was a west side resident with large and varied business interests and the other, G. Rae, was a farmer.

As already mentioned the splitting of the Municipality of South Vancouver into the two municipalities of Point Grey and South Vancouver came into effect on January 1st 1908. Dissatisfaction with the Reeveship of G. Rae had been showing itself as early as 1905 when a group of residents from west of Ontario Street complained about the lack of Municipal borrowing to finance improvements. The lack of investments in improvements was most noticeable in this western, largely uninhabited, section of the Municipality. The 1906 reeveship campaign was fought over the issue of municipal borrowing and improvements and resulted in the defeat of the incumbent, G. Rae, by C.E. Foreman, the western section's businessman candidate. Foreman however only maintained power for one year to be defeated by Rae who with the exception of 1906 had been Reeve continuously since 1896. Dissatisfaction continued to grow and in March 1907 the South Vancouver Council was presented with a request for a splitting of the
Municipality into two halves by a delegation from the Point Grey Improvement Association. This association of the more prominent residents of the western side of the Municipality became closely connected with the Richmond and Point Grey Board of Trade following secession and included among its members several businessmen who became prominent in this latter organization. Among these were C.M. Woodworth, S.L. Howe and M.R. Wells. At this meeting the Council asked the delegation to organize a petition to indicate whether the desire for secession was general in the western part of the Municipality. This petition was organized post haste and reported to be getting almost unanimous support on account of the lack of improvements west of Ontario Street. Consequently, in April a Bill was introduced into the legislature separating the two Municipalities which, following some last minute discussions about whether to use Ontario Street or Bridge Street (now Cambie Street) as the boundary, was given three readings and passed on April 23rd 1907 to become effective January 1st 1908. The western part of the Municipality then had successfully seceded to form the new Municipality of Point Grey. This secession had been triggered by dissatisfaction with the investment in improvements, a dissatisfaction apparently shared by the residents of the now diminished South Vancouver who soon voted out G. Rae in favor of W.A. Pound, a Reeve who was prepared to invest in improvements even if it meant that the Municipality was to go into debt. The 1910 Municipal Council reflected the desire to develop, consisting of members describing themselves as a capitalist, an accountant, a real estate agent, another real estate agent and a moulder. As early as 1907, before the split, the Council had
petitioned the Provincial government for a change in the Municipal Act that would make the investment of money in improvements an easier matter. Change they wanted and change is what occurred for between the beginning of 1910 and the end of 1913 the indebtedness of South Vancouver rose from $209,000 to $2,809,879, a better than thirteen fold increase. The 1910 Council then was dominated by businessmen; was this typical of the South Vancouver Councils of the period and if so how did this compare with the Councils elected in Point Grey?

The Reeves and Councillors that held office in South Vancouver in the period 1908-1928 can be described as being drawn largely from the ranks of the business community. Ten different Reeves served eighteen terms in this period with no Reeve being in office between May 1918 and April 1923 when the Municipality was administered by Provincial Government Commissioners. Of these ten men, seven were businessmen (including G. Rae, a farmer whose designation as a businessman is somewhat doubtful), two were professionals (a Vancouver lawyer and a Mechanical Engineer) and one was from the working class; W.A. Pound, a Compositor for the Province Newspaper. Three of the Reeves, T. Dickie in 1914, G. Gold in 1915 and W. Winram in 1916 resided in either the west end of the city of Vancouver or in Shaughnessy Heights, in Point Grey Municipality, but were qualified to hold office as they owned land in South Vancouver. All three Reeves who held office from 1922 onwards had their business interests located in the City of Vancouver but resided in South Vancouver. The reeveship then was dominated by businessmen.

The pattern is similar for councillors although in this case the
working class representatives were more numerous comprising 12 of the 59 office holders. Again, businessmen and professionals dominated with 61% of the total; a figure that becomes higher if one admits the 10% who described themselves as 'esquire', 'gentleman' or 'retired'. Detailed figures for the period 1908-1928 are given in the table below.  

**TABLE 3.5**  
**OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF SOUTH VANCOUVER COUNCILLORS 1908 - 1928**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and Businessmen (including a farmer)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Agents and Financiers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers and Contractors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Business Representatives</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Workingmen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (retired, gentlemen, esquires)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source** See Footnote 33

As can be seen the business representatives dominate the Councils of this period as they are reported as having done before 1908.  

A similar picture emerges for Point Grey. Eleven Reeves served during the Municipality's twenty-one year history. Of these nine were businessmen of one kind or another (six were in the real estate business), one was a lawyer and the occupation of one, T.W. Fletcher I have failed to
ascertain. That he was wealthy, however, is attested to by the fact that he lived at Osler and the Crescent in the heart of Shaughnessy Heights. Of the councillors 63% as opposed to 56% in South Vancouver, were businessmen, 16%, against 5% were professionals and only 4%, against 20% were artisans or workingmen. Detailed figures are given in the table below.

TABLE 3.6

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF POINT GREY COUNCILLORS 1908 - 1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and Businessmen</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Agents and Financiers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers and Contractors</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Business Representatives</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Workingmen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source* See Footnote 35

The business community is even more dominant in Point Grey than was the case in South Vancouver, a point to which we shall return later in the thesis. Businessmen, then dominated the Councils of the two suburban Municipalities just as they had dominated the Councils of the City of Vancouver. Many of the men sitting on the suburban Councils were, in fact, Vancouver businessmen who either resided or owned property in the suburban
areas. As such they operated socially in the same circles as the Vancouver commercial elite and belonged either to the same or very similar organizations. Their attitude towards the establishment of planning was also very similar to that of the Vancouver businessmen already discussed. Supporters of the drive for planning legislation, the business communities were to provide many of the personnel for the early planning commissions once their drive had met with success. There was a striking similarity in the nature of the members who served on these commissions and of the councillors already discussed.

THE PLANNING COMMISSIONERS

In order to investigate the nature of the members of the Vancouver and Point Grey Planning Commissions, tabulations were made of all the members who served on the Point Grey Commission and of all appointed members of the Vancouver Commission who served prior to 1940. The results are presented in the tables that follow.

**TABLE 3.7**

**OCCUPATION OF MEMBERS OF THE POINT GREY TOWN PLANNING COMMISSION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and Businessmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Agents and Financiers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers and Contractors</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Business Representatives</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Workingmen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3.8

OCCUPATION OF APPOINTED MEMBERS OF THE VANCOUVER TOWN PLANNING COMMISSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and Businessmen</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate Agents and Financiers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturers and Contractors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Business Representatives</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and Workingmen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source. See Footnote 36

As can be seen the pattern is similar to that of the politicians with businessmen and professionals dominating. Many of these business representatives were also members of the Board of Trade; at least eleven members in the case of the Vancouver Commission and seven in the case of the Point Grey Commission. These men were carrying on their reform activities...
by serving on a planning board. The most prominent members of the Vancouver Commission during the nineteen thirties were businessmen with the majority of others being professionals. Of the seven members who each served for a total of ten years on a planning commission prior to 1940, all but one was a businessman or professional and four were members of the Board of Trade. Three of these men had also played a major role in getting planning established. The major planning commissioners had remarkably similar characteristics to the politicians we have already discussed. In the next section we shall discuss in detail the backgrounds and beliefs of these major reformers and planning commissioners. As we shall see they held many common beliefs as well as sharing similar backgrounds.

THE MAJOR REFORMERS

We have already seen that there was a great similarity in the occupations of the civic politicians and the planning commissioners who served in Vancouver and its suburban municipalities in the period 1900 to 1940. In Chapter Four we shall see how these men interacted with yet other groups of similar reformers in the drives to reform the institutions of civic government and to get planning legislation enacted. The centres of activity of these twin reform drives were the Vancouver Board of Trade and the Town Planning Institute of Canada. Before a satisfactory discussion of this reform activity can be presented it is necessary to provide some background material on the principal actors involved. This will serve two ends: one, it will set these men in their biographical context and as such provide us with a degree of insight into their actions that would not be present if they were to remain as merely names and two, it will allow us to examine
the manner in which the reform and planning ideas discussed in Chapter Two provided the intellectual basis of their actions. From the earliest days of reform prior to the First World War until the Planning Commissions of the 1930's these ideas provided the unchallenged rules for the reformers' behavior. The unchallenged acceptance of these orthodoxies provided the reform movement with a degree of coherence that was as important as the coincidence of the movement's personnel.

Early Reform Advocates

In the period before 1918 two men played a dominant role in the Vancouver reform movement. Both were businessmen and members of the Board of Trade and both focused their reform activities on the need to get planning legislation enacted.

J.J. Banfield. Through his involvement in the City Planning and Beautifying Association just before the First World War, through his work with the Civic Improvement League, and through his chairmanship of the City Planning and Housing Committee of the Civic Bureau, Banfield played a major role in the reform movement throughout the period 1900-1918. Born in Quebec in 1856, of English parents engaged in the ship chandlery business, he attended commercial college in Quebec and then entered the employ of an older brother as a manager of a drygoods store. In 1880 he moved to St. Catherines, Ontario where he practiced as an accountant for eleven years, before moving to Vancouver in 1891. He established himself as a real estate agent, at which he was very successful, concentrating on central business property. A director of the British Columbia Life Insurance
Company, he was also prominent in the insurance and loan business. Prominent in public affairs, he was a director of the Vancouver General Hospital from 1906, a founding member and treasurer of the Vancouver Tourist Association until 1906, Chairman of the Vancouver School Board for many years, a member of the financial committee of the Board of Trade, a city alderman, president of the City Planning and Beautifying Association, president of the Civic Improvement League, and president of the Imperial Home Reunion Association. A member of the Terminal City Club, he was a keen golfer belonging to the Burnaby Golf Club. A west end resident, he lived for many years at the intersection of Bute and Pender Streets. He fits the mold of the businessman reformer almost perfectly. From a middle class background he entered the business world and became very successful at his chosen field of real estate. These business interests gave him a strong interest in the conduct of civic affairs in which he was soon active. His interest in planning as a means to guide city growth surfaced in 1913 with his association with the City Planning and Beautifying Association. This organization, significantly, was formed the same year as the real estate collapse.

W. Hepburn. Born in 1857 in Robinson, Quebec of Scottish parents, Hepburn became a carpenters apprentice at age 19. In 1882 he moved to Manitoba, where he worked as a carpenter and builder. In 1884 he moved to Port Arthur, Ontario to continue his trade and worked as a supervisor for the C.P.R. After a further ten years, he came to Vancouver in 1894 where he established himself as a builder and contractor. He was to become a director of several companies and was a city alderman from 1909 to 1915.
A member of the Terminal City Club, and a mason, he became the Province's first Movie Censor in 1917. Another west end resident, he lived at Robson and Burrard. These men were not alone; as we shall see, men similar to Banfield and Hepburn were to play an important role in the years to come.

The Central Actors

In this section, the biographical and ideological backgrounds of the men who spearheaded Vancouver's reform movement in the 1920's are presented. This allows us to create a tentative 'composite' biography of these men, which allows a comparison to be made with the politicians and planners already discussed, and with reform leaders elsewhere on the continent. The first person to be considered, W.E. Bland, played a central role in the Board of Trade's efforts to get planning established.

W.E. Bland. William Elgie Bland was born in Darlington, England in 1864. He was trained as a sanitary engineer, practicing for some years before becoming a lecturer at the Durham College of Science. In this capacity he also acted as the Inspector of technical classes for Durham County Council. In 1911 he came to British Columbia directly from England and joined the staff of the Provincial Land and Finance Corporation as their English representative. He served with this corporation, a major real estate enterprise, until his retirement as its president and manager, a post he had held since 1916. Active in business affairs, he was a member of the directorate of the Board of Mines, a member of the executive of the Real Estate Exchange, a member of the executive of the Property Owners Association and a member of the executive of the Civic Bureau of the Board
of Trade in 1923 and 1924. He was to serve in later years as an appointed member of the Vancouver Town Planning Commission, from 1926 to 1936, with the exception of 1930 when he was incapacitated through ill health. A member of the Institute of Sanitary Engineers (England), he was a Mason and a member of the Canadian Club. Married, with three sons and a daughter, he lived at 2046 Beach Drive in Vancouver's West End. His interest in planning went as far back as his days at Durham where he developed an interest in the Garden City movement and Town Planning. His interest in Town Planning in Vancouver started in 1913 during the early days of the movement. For Bland, the basis of planning was not the creation of beautiful environments, but the "efficient and economical, industrial and commercial development that represents our 'being' or living". This development could be fostered if the planner was allowed to control industrial location, so as to make it more efficient and economical, and was also allowed to control the form of housing developed. In this latter regard, well-located, cheap housing was necessary, as this would mean that the worker's travel costs and rent could be kept at a minimum, allowing lower wages to be paid, thereby making industry more competitive. The aim of all measures was to increase efficiency and hence foster business growth. If efficiency and economy were to be obtained, then planning ahead was vital; "it should be realized further that it is much less costly to plan ahead and work to such a plan than to develop a district in a haphazard manner". This was true not only in the case of housing and industry, but also in the case of parks, in the elimination of slums, and in the prevention of 'blighting' residential neighborhoods. In all cases, forward planning would save money and help create an
ordered efficient landscape which, in Bland's eyes, would necessarily be beautiful; "A well planned and orderly city is naturally a beautiful city". Bland's conception of planning was very much that of the reform businessman; it was a scientific means to aid efficient development.

"It has become a science and an art, and serious thinking people are slowly, but surely, arriving at the conclusion that it is the dominant remedy for many of the ills the world is suffering from today... Our prosperity, health, happiness and characters are all very largely dependent upon efficient civic development".

His interests as a reformer were wider than just a concern for the establishment of planning as was shown by a series of letters to the editor in the 1930's. In these letters he was strident in his criticism of government inefficiency and partisan politics, implying that progress had stopped during the depression as a result of them. The solution lay in the scientific application of planning and business methods. In one letter in 1932 the concerns for efficiency, economy, non-partisan politics and expert planning were vividly expressed:

"As one citizen deeply interested in the more efficient and economical management of our provincial and municipal government, I would like to express my wholehearted thanks and support to those public spirited men who are, without cost to us, making a real effort to secure a better system of provincial government."
A recent statement made by the President of the Board of Trade to the effect that a cabinet of five and a membership of fifteen experienced businessmen should manage our Provincial business with efficiency and greater economy appeals to me as a step in the right direction.

I would support with equal earnestness Ald. McRae's suggestion that the City Council be reduced from twelve to seven and the ward system eliminated. It would undoubtedly save time and money and should add to efficient management.

......If facts could be secured I venture to suggest that the citizens have not secured 50 cents value for every dollar expended on Provincial Government during the last twenty years, which would have bankrupted any ordinary business firm.

......Provincial and municipal debts have become such a tax upon the average citizen as to become a menace to industrial, commercial and social progress. This question therefore of finding a more efficient system is probably the most serious problem before B.C. citizens today.

If, accordingly, the special committees report recommends some alternate system, suggesting greater efficiency and economy, it would seem to be
but common sense to have a special session of Parliament to sub-divide the Province into the revised parts, then immediately resign so that the new system can be brought into effect at the earliest possible moment. I think this would be the wish of most citizens who are not prejudiced by the old party system...."50

That Bland's motivations as a reformer were those discussed in the analysis of Chapter Two requires no further proof.

J. Rogers. Another major Board of Trade reform advocate was Jonathon Rogers. Born in North Wales in 1865, he left the family farm in 1882 and journeyed to Liverpool where he managed the estate of an Aunt. This estate contained better than eighty houses and so he established a materials yard in 1884 to provide the supplies to maintain the buildings in a state of repair. After another three years, in 1887, he came to Canada with the intention of establishing as a cattle farmer near Calgary. He had grandiose schemes of driving cattle from summer pasture on the Prairies through the mountains to winter pasture on the coast. The trip to Vancouver on the first CPR train to terminate there convinced him this was infeasible, and after a short trip to Victoria he returned to Vancouver to purchase four lots in the first CPR land sale. Establishing a paint and tool shop on Hastings Street, he soon found his business booming and established himself as a contractor. He built a great deal of downtown business property at the turn of the century, more than 1,000 ft. in frontage, amongst which was the 1912 'Rogers Block' at the corner of Pender and Granville. The British
Columbia Electric Company's Indian Arm powerhouse was one of his major contracts, as was his own palatial residence at 2050 Nelson in the heart of the West End. Apart from construction he had a large financial interest in mining, and was one of the first advocates of searching for oil in western Canada. In 1904-5 he drilled for oil in the Turner Valley with a great deal of success, only to see the project abandoned due to marketing problems. He listed his hobbies as travel (he undertook a two year world tour in 1908-10), chess, the development of parks and town planning. In these latter regards he served on the Vancouver Parks Board from 1908 until 1934, with only a two year break, as an executive of the Civic Bureau in 1917, and as an appointed member of the Town Planning Commission in 1937. As President of the Board of Trade in 1914-1916, as an Alderman in 1906 and 1911, a founder of the Good Government League in 1911, and as an active prohibitionist as President of the Peoples Prohibition Movement, he was actively involved in political and moral reform and the attempt to get planning legislation adopted. The reformer's goal of development, but controlled and ordered development, is displayed in his 1913 mayoral election platform. Unsuccessful in a race against T. S. Baxter and L.D. Taylor, that was won by Baxter due to the disqualification of the other two candidates on technicalities, his platform clearly shows the influence of these reform goals. Campaigning under the slogan "Prepare the way for a greater city" he campaigned on a platform of

"...a healthy and morally clean city, the energetic development of our harbour and transportation facilities and the encouragement of industries. I am in favor of providing harbour facilities to
meet all demands, of making provision for the shipment of grain, of completing direct rail connection with North Vancouver, of concluding agreement with the CNR, of encouraging electric suburban railways to stimulate agricultural development and economic manufacturing, of the city securing facilities for the production of cheap electric power, of safeguarding the future by securing and reserving approaches to the centre of the city and of safer and improved routes for electric interurban railways entering the city."

A member of the Vancouver Club, a very active member of St. Andrews Wesley Church, and President of the YMCA, he had a strong feeling of his 'public duty' to serve the society that had served him so well. A very successful man, he prided himself on being a 'builder of Vancouver' and spent a great deal of his money and time toward this end.  

W.R. Owen. The third of the Vancouver Board of Trade businessmen reformers to be discussed is W.R. Owen. Born in Owen Sound, Ontario in 1865 he moved to Carberry, Manitoba in 1891 where he operated as a blacksmith and, for a few years, as town sheriff. Moving to Vancouver in 1898, he established the first blacksmith and hardware store in Mount Pleasant in 1902. This he built into a very successful business which, after 1925, he diversified; going into partnership with H.J. Poole in a Real Estate and Insurance enterprise. Previous to this date he held major real estate holdings. He first entered public life in 1910 in which year he was elected to
the Parks Board. On this board he served until 1916, when he was elected to
the City Council, serving for seven years as an alderman from 1917 to 1923.
In 1924 he ran for mayor against L.D. Taylor and the labor candidate, R.P.
Pettipiece. In an election marked by a general agreement on appropriate
policy he narrowly defeated Taylor on a policy of reducing the tax rate,
improving roads, sewers and schools and encouraging the establishment of
industry. A member of the 1919 executive of the Civic Bureau he represented
Vancouver at the Sixth National Town Planning Conference held in Toronto in
1914 (a meeting whose importance we discussed in Chapter Two) and at the
second annual meeting of the Civic Improvement League of Canada held in
Winnipeg in 1917. At this latter meeting he was appointed to the League's
Dominion Council. A Conservative in politics and a member of the United
Church he was an Oddfellow and a Forester. A life member of the Red Cross
he was President of the Vancouver Horticultural Society. In his later
years he served as a J.P. and as an appointed member of the Vancouver Town
Planning Commission from 1937 to 1939. Unlike his two colleagues, with
whom he had much in common, he was not a resident of the West End but lived
in Mount Pleasant. The five Vancouver reformers so far discussed, Banfield,
Hepburn, Bland, Rogers and Owen have many characteristics in common. Before
discussing these characteristics however we must look at the businessmen of
Point Grey and South Vancouver and also at the group of men who advocated
the enactment of planning legislation from within the Town Planning
Institute of Canada. We start by looking at the two key figures in Point

W.H. Lembke was born in Ontario of German parents in 1869. He
farmed the family holding for several years as a young man but in 1881 entered the building trade, establishing his own business in 1893. In 1897 he came to British Columbia, operating as a building contractor in Revelstoke and Rossland until the last year of the century when he came to Vancouver. For six years he operated as a contractor from which point on he entered into a lucrative Real Estate and Insurance and Loan business. A resident of Kerrisdale he served as a councillor for Point Grey from 1913 to 1920 with the exception of 1919, was Reeve in 1921, 1922 and 1928, served as an alderman for the amalgamated City of Vancouver from 1929 to 1932 and again in 1935 - 1936, and was an executive member of the Civic Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade in 1928 and 1929. A conservative in politics he was nevertheless successful in persuading the Liberal Provincial Legislature in 1922 to pass the amendments to the Municipal Act that allowed Municipalities to zone. He was an ex-officio member of the Point Grey Town Planning Commission in 1928.53

J.A. Paton was another Ontarian who played a major role in the Point Grey Planning movement. Born in Beamsville in 1884 he attended high school in Toronto to the age of sixteen at which point he joined the staff of a Fire Insurance office in that city. Three years later in 1903 he moved to High River, Alberta where after an unsuccessful attempt at ranching he moved to Calgary to work for the Post Office. He returned for a short time to Toronto but in 1905 again came west settling in the Nicola Valley where he worked as a placer miner and on railroad construction. The years 1906 - 1907 saw him moving around in British Columbia and the Yukon working as a stationery store clerk in Vancouver, as a carpenter in Prince Rupert and as
a surveyor, assayer, miner and railroad engineer in Whitehorse! In 1908 he finally settled permanently in Vancouver producing and publishing a B.C. Coast Cities Business Guide and purchasing the 'Point Grey Gazette', a weekly newspaper serving that Municipality. He soon became involved in public life serving as a School Trustee in Point Grey in 1911 and 1912. He served in the Seaforths during the First World War losing a leg in France in 1917. On his return he became very active in Legion affairs serving as secretary of the B.C. Canteen fund in 1930-1936, being instrumental in organizing the Seaforth Association and founding the B.C. Amputees Association.

In 1924 he was elected to the Point Grey Council and served as Reeve in 1925, 1926 and 1927. After amalgamation he served as an Alderman in the 1929 City Council. As ex officio member of the 1926 and 1927 Point Grey Town Planning Commission he served in this role on the 1929 Vancouver Commission before becoming an appointed member from 1930 to 1934. Active in business as well as public life he was secretary and then president of the Richmond and Point Grey Board of Trade and an executive member of the Civic Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade from 1937 to 1939. An original member of the Vancouver and District Water Board he also served on the Vancouver and District Joint Sewerage and Drainage Board and as a member of the Vancouver Zoning Board of Appeal from 1929 to 1934. In 1937 he was elected as the Conservative MLA for Point Grey in which position he served until his death in 1946. He was a Mason and a member of the United Church. He lived on the fringes of Shaughnessy Heights first at 29th and Osler and later at 34th and Angus Drive.
His involvement with the Town Planning movement dated from his purchase of the Point Grey Gazette in 1908. He used this paper to propagandize for the movement and was an important source of public knowledge on planning. In an 'editorial' written in 1922 he traced his interest in planning to the establishment of the Commission of Conservation and the subsequent appointment of Thomas Adams in 1914;

"With the formation of the Town Planning Branch under the direction of Mr. Thomas Adams, who was loaned to the Commission of Conservation by the Imperial Government, Town Planning has been advocated on all possible occasions by this paper."

His aim was to create in Point Grey a 'first class residential district' free from the blight of apartments and 'orientals'. A town planning act was one way to force this latter threat to conform to Canadian living standards! His attitude towards growth was consistent with that of the businessmen of his day. It was to be encouraged but guided and controlled. The 'Gazette' used as its letterhead the slogan 'Nothing does a town more good than the wagging tongue of an optimistic citizen' and carried as front page news the dollar worth of building permits issued in the Municipality the previous week. 54

With Paton we end our biographies of the major businessmen involved in the planning movement. We turn now to a consideration of the men who as members of the Town Planning Institute of Canada were the second important group involved in the establishment of planning. Of the 112 original members of the TPIC 20 were engineers, 25 architects, 20 surveyors,
17 engineer/surveyors, 6 landscape architects and 3 lawyers. Only six were in government service, the others being engaged in some form of private enterprise. The early planners then were also businessmen and as such we would expect them to share many characteristics with the men already discussed.

A.G. Smith, who drafted the British Columbia Town Planning Act, was born in South Africa of Canadian parents in 1866. His father was Marcus Smith, the engineer who located the CPR through the Rocky Mountains, and his mother a relative of General Brock. A graduate in Arts of the University of Toronto he enlisted in the Queens Own Rifles and served during the Riel Rebellion. After being called to the Bar he practiced law in Dawson City before coming to British Columbia in 1900 and Vancouver in 1904. He entered a partnership with C.M. Woodworth, a Point Grey Tory reformer to be discussed and was appointed Deputy Attorney General under Bowser. As a barrister he had specialized in real estate law and was largely responsible for organizing the Land Titles Office after his appointment as Registrar of Land Titles in 1910. He held this post until his retirement in 1934. Drafter of the Town Planning Bill, he was a member of the Town Planning Institute and was made chairman of the first Vancouver Town Planning Commission in 1926. He held this position until 1933. A great believer in the application of scientific expertise he was critical of the revisions made to his Act on the grounds that it transferred too much power from the Commission to the City Council. Like Paton his aim was to create an orderly, efficient landscape in which residential areas comprised single family homes. Apartments and even bungalow courts were anathema. Along
with his faith in planning went a dissatisfaction with the inefficiency of existing government structures. In a letter to the editor in 1935 he advocated that the city hire an executive assistant to the mayor who could coordinate the work of the several civic departments. This man would, in conjunction with the civic controller (in charge of finance), ensure civic 'efficiency'; the lack of which was the chief cause of the city's financial woes. A resident of Kitsilano he lived at 2nd and MacDonald.  

G.L.T. Sharp was the first President of the Vancouver Branch of the TPIC and the only man to serve simultaneously on both the Point Grey and Vancouver Town Planning Commissions. He served on the former from 1926 to 1928 and the latter from 1926 to 1939 when he retired to Vancouver Island. He was Chairman of the Vancouver Commission in 1935. An architect by profession he was a Partner of C.J. Thompson operating from an office on Pender Street in downtown Vancouver. He submitted the winning entry for the University design competition and was involved with his partner in many prestigious contracts. He served on the Council of the Architectural Institute of British Columbia from 1923 to 1926 being President in 1925. He was a resident of South-West Marine Drive until his retirement.  

J.A. Walker was made Secretary of the Vancouver Branch of the Town Planning Institute at the same meeting that made G.L.T. Sharp President. Born in Ontario in 1887 he was educated as an engineer at the University of Toronto and was practicing as a civil engineer in Vancouver at the time the Branch was formed. In 1926 he was appointed as Engineer and Secretary to the Vancouver Town Planning Commission, a post he held until his retirement in 1952. He was the prime drafter of the Vancouver
Zoning Bylaw of 1928 and served as the local engineer in the preparation of the town plan for South Vancouver in 1929. He never gave up his private consulting practice being involved in numerous local planning schemes. He prepared town plans for North Vancouver City, West Vancouver and New Westminster. A member of the Vancouver Board of Trade and a Chilco Street resident of Vancouver's West End he held conventional views on the role of planning. The Town Planning Institute's Memorial to the City Council on the need for town planning legislation was largely his work as Secretary of that organization. In that document the 'essence' of Town Planning was given "as the means to provide the best economic use of land so as to guide the development of a growing city into the proper channels". By so guiding development into efficient patterns planning would actually save rather than cost money and hence be an aid toward civic efficiency.

"...home neighborhoods will be protected, home ownership will be stimulated and more contented labor conditions will be assured. A definite and safe place for industrial development will be guaranteed."

This in turn would increase taxes and pay for the planning. We come now to the last of the 'planners', Professor Frank Ebenezer Buck.

F.E. Buck. Born in 1874 in Colchester, England, Buck studied as a journalist and became a manager of a publishing firm. Failing eyesight prompted a switch to farming and a move to Canada in 1907. He studied Horticulture at McGill and Cornell Universities and in 1912 became a Dominion Horticulturalist in charge of Landscape Architecture at the Central
Experimental Farm in Ottawa. While in Ottawa he became acquainted with the town planning movement through Dr. W.T. Macoun, a horticulturalist and member of the Ottawa Improvement Commission. He represented the Farms Branch at the 1914 National City Planning Conference held in Toronto and was present at the 1915 and 1916 meetings that inaugurated the Civic Improvement League of Canada. In 1917 he worked with H.L. Seymour of the Commission of Conservation on a series of rural planning projects on the prairies. In 1920 he moved west to British Columbia to take up a position as a professor of Horticulture at the University of British Columbia. Two years later he was instrumental, along with J.A. Walker, in forming the Vancouver Branch of the TPIC. He served as Chairman of the Point Grey Town Planning Commission from 1926 until amalgamation and was a member of the Vancouver Town Planning Commission from 1930 until his retirement in 1951. He served as Commission of President in 1934 and again in 1939. Of all the people we have discussed his views on planning are the most complex but even he displays many of the characteristics we have come to expect.

His ideas on planning have a more English flavour than do those of the other men we have discussed. Although an Englishman he appears not to have had an interest in planning in the old country stating that it was while working in Ottawa that his interest developed. Thomas Adams, he regarded as a remarkable man and it was probably from him that his interest in the problems of the British industrial city developed. He saw planning as a response to these problems:

"The Town Planning Movement has achieved many of its successes owing to the fact that it aims to
correct many of the social evils which came in the wake of the industrialism of the last century. To a large extent the "city slum" is an outcome of misguided industrialism."63

One of his favorite ways of illustrating the degradation of these cities was by using the well known quote on Manchester:

"Drink is the shortest way out of Manchester. Men who live there cease to believe in Heaven because they never see the sky; They have no share in earth until they are put under it."64

Scientific planning however could solve the problem:

"...it is the function of town planning to determine the orderly coordination of those external physical factors which fulfill environment in relation to the maintenance and enhancement of human life."65

That this planning had to be scientific and handled by experts he made clear in his 1928 Presidential address:

"For the modern city the scientific is the only method which will solve for it those many problems with which it is confronted. That means then, that in regard to its 'Plan' it must be turned over to those who can use this scientific method intelligently."66

The sort of environment to be aimed for was that of the English Garden City..

"...What is that suburb like industrial place we are now approaching? A pretty place where industry works under ideal conditions. That's Bournville, one of England's industrial or Garden suburbs founded by those gentle, lovable people, the Cadburys. And as we still look into our clouds for another moment, there pass before us Port Sunlight, Welwyn and Letchworth."

In 1939 he elucidated on his ideal community and this was very similar to the Garden City proposed by Howard; being a small community based on a few selected industries with the workers spending four days a week at the factory and three days a week at home in agricultural pursuits. The whole settlement would be scientifically planned and connected to other centres by high speed roads. This desire to create 'garden city' style ideal landscapes made housing his central concern and differentiated him from the other planners discussed. The planner was an expert who ensured that there was an adequate supply of housing for all sectors of society and who constantly was on his guard against the creation of slums through the 'blighting' of existing neighborhoods through the intrusion of multiple dwellings. By the mid 1930's he regarded the west end of Vancouver as a classic case of a 'blighted neighborhood' and even went so far in 1946 as designating Shaughnessy Heights "another blighted area" due to the wartime use of some homes as multiple dwellings. Any deviation from the Garden City ideal of a single family home for all citizens he regarded with horror. His desire to ensure this supply of adequate housing led him into
a flirtation with socialism in the 1930's. Running as an unsuccessful CCF candidate for Point Grey in 1933 he referred to the capitalist system as 'a dead system'. A member along with his former Point Grey Planning Commission colleague, Dorothy Steeves, of the 'Housing Committee' of the Construction Committee of the Economic Planning Commission of the CCF he argued that the social health of the nation required the government to provide adequate housing for the low income sector of society. He broke with the CCF in 1938 however due to his insistence on running against the CCF candidates for the Vancouver School Board while holding a Non-Partisan Association endorsement. Although his socialist associations set him apart from the other men discussed, his planning ideas were different in emphasis rather than in content. He believed, as they did, that planning was a science, that it could create socially efficient landscapes, and that it would save rather than cost money. Rather than emphasizing that growth would result from this, he concentrated on one aspect of such a socially efficient landscape, the house. He stressed what he called planning's 'sociological purpose' rather than its 'business purpose'. That the two were inextricably intertwined, however, he pointed out in his 1928 address to the Town Planning Institute:

"This term 'Sociological Purpose' may sound somewhat academic or gradiose, but looked at squarely what does it actually mean? For the ordinary citizen, it means that he will be enabled to expend his moderate income in his city for those things which bring him reasonable satisfaction ... It is to the interest of
the businessman in every way to see that the social conditions under which the workers live are such that they can afford to spend a small share of earnings for those things we all desire in order to live comfortably. A worker who has to divide his earnings into three parts and spend all for food, clothing and rent, is a poor asset for any city. Half of the capital in any manufacturing city is invested in producing articles which do not fall under these three heads."^74

Exploitation of the working force was bad business! We have seen versions of the argument before.

**The Major Planning Commissioners**

Seven people served for ten years or more on the Vancouver and Point Grey Town Planning Commissions in the period prior to 1940. Three of these people, A.G. Smith, F.E. Buck and G.L.T. Sharp, have already been discussed, and in order to complete the collective portrait, the remaining four biographies will now be presented. It is perhaps arguable that one should not take length of service as an indication of degree of influence. This point is taken, and it is hoped that the biographies to be presented will demonstrate the importance of these central characters.

**E.G. Baynes.** Born on September 13th 1870 in Bocking, Essex, England, Bayne was educated at Braintree Board School until the age of 14 when he joined a firm of builders as an apprentice. In 1888 he emigrated
to British Columbia settling in the Squamish Valley where he homesteaded for three years prior to coming to Vancouver in 1891. He organized a partnership in the contracting business in that year and within a short time the company, Baynes and Horrie, had become one of the largest firms in the Province. In 1906 he organized the Port Haney Brick Company which he served as President and in 1913 he built the Grosvenor Hotel in downtown Vancouver. He was the manager and largest shareholder in this operation. In 1925 he increased his interest in the Hotel trade by constructing Douglas Lodge on Stewart Lake near Fort Saint James. Extremely active in business and financial affairs he was President of the Vancouver Builders Exchange from 1908 to 1912, a member of the Council of the Board of Trade, and an executive member of the British Columbia Manufacturers Association from 1912 to 1924. Just as active in public affairs he served on the Vancouver Parks Board from 1924 to 1939 being their representative on the Vancouver Town Planning Commission from 1928 to 1937, and was for fifteen years the Chairman of the building and property committee of the Vancouver Preventorium, a position he also held for ten years for the Vancouver Orphanage. A member of the executive of the Vancouver Branch of the Canadian Forestry Association he was vice-president of the Vancouver Arts and Historical Association, Vice-President of the B.C. Historical Association, executive member of the B.C.A.A., Vancouver Tourist Association and the Vancouver Pioneers, a director of the Canadian Parks Association, a member of the Canadian Town Planning Association, a member of the Vancouver Property Owners Association and a member of the Royal Society of St. George. A conservative in politics he was a warden of Holy Trinity Anglican Church
for twenty-five years. A director of the Canadian Club he also held memberships in the Terminal City and Marine Golf and Country Clubs. A resident of Fairview living at 1200 West Broadway he was the epitome of the businessman reformer. A great believer in the ability of society to progress through the application of reason he said, in a speech made in acceptance of a 'good citizen' award;

"I would like to be a citizen of tomorrow for I know that their citizens will be better than ours. I look forward to seeing the City progress in material and cultural things."

In his actions and beliefs Baynes is characteristic of the reformers already discussed.

E.A. Cleveland. Another long serving ex-officio member of the Planning Commission was the Chairman of the Greater Vancouver Water Board, E.A. Cleveland. Born in Alma, New Brunswick in May 1874 he became commissioned as a B.C. and Federal Surveyor in 1896. Studying engineering at the University of Washington he entered private practice as an engineer in 1904. For fifteen years he was so engaged until 1919 when he became the comptroller of water rights for the Province of British Columbia. During this period he was instrumental in the design and construction of the South Okanagan irrigation project and was responsible for much of the layout of the University Hill development on the University Endowment lands. From 1926 until his death in 1952 he served as Head of the Greater Vancouver Water Board and as Chairman of the Vancouver and District Joint Sewerage and Drainage Board. In this capacity he served as an ex-officio member of the Vancouver Town
Planning Commission from 1926 onwards. He served on the Alaskan International Boundary Commission in 1894-1895 and represented Canada at the World Power Conferences held at Helsingfors, Tokyo and Washington, D.C. in 1924, 1929 and 1934 respectively. In 1938 he prepared a report for the City Council on the operation of the City Manager System of government in Cincinnati, Toledo and Kansas City. He was a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, of the American Waterworks Association and of the Engineering Institute of Canada; he served as President of this latter organization in 1936. A resident of North Vancouver he was a member of the Baptist Church and a Mason. He held a membership at the Vancouver Club. A great supporter of the need for planning he was engaged in 1908 in preparing an accurate map of the new Municipality of Point Grey in the early development of which he played an important role. From these early beginnings he was to remain central to planning efforts in Greater Vancouver for the next fifty years.

B.G. Hansuld served on the Vancouver Town Planning Commission for three terms; two as an ex-officio member representing the Harbours Board and once as an appointed member. Born in Tavistock, Ontario in 1884 he worked for a Merchant Bank in Woodstock before moving to Winnipeg, Medicine Hat and in 1909 Vancouver. Until 1926 he was associated with various financial companies in which year he became a Harbour Commissioner. He held this position for four years when he again entered the business world in the inclement year of 1930. Unable to establish himself successfully he returned to Government services in 1932 as Executive Officer for the National Harbours Board, a post he held until his death in 1939. A Liberal in politics he was
twice President of the Point Grey Liberal Association and a President of the Laurier Club. He founded the Vancouver Kiwanis in 1918 and was a director of both the Vancouver Tourist Association and the Automobile Club. A member of the First Baptist Church he lived in Kerrisdale at MacDonald and Forty-third Avenue.79

These three men, along with the already discussed F.E. Buck, G.L.T. Sharp and A.G. Smith, were the central figures on the Vancouver Town Planning Commission in the 1930's. As is evident the backgrounds of these men is remarkably similar to the backgrounds of the reformers discussed earlier. Born in the 1870's or 1880's and of Eastern Canadian or British origin they moved to Vancouver before 1900 and experienced the boom days of 1910 to 1913. Being either businessmen or professionals they became involved in a variety of public activities among which was long service on the Vancouver Town Planning Commission. The only major exception to this composite portrait is the subject of our last biography, Mrs. A.M. McGovern.

Mrs. A.M. McGovern served continuously on the Vancouver Commission from 1926 to 1940 with the exception of the first six months of 1935. Born Miss A.M. Fagan she was the daughter of W.C. Fagan, the Provincial Assessor. An Irishman who came to Canada in 1870 and British Columbia in 1886 he was a resident of Shaughnessy Heights and a member of the Canadian Club. Born prior to the arrival of her family in British Columbia she was married to J.M. McGovern in 1898. A widow by 1923, she lived until 1926 in Vancouver's West End, moving to Kitsilano in that year. An exception to our composite biography on many counts - she was not a businessman, she was female, and she was Catholic - she did have several
common characteristics. Born in (roughly) 1870 in Eastern Canada, she was of British extraction, and came from a prosperous family. She lived in Vancouver from before 1890, and had thus seen the city pass through the boom years preceding the First World War. She was in many ways less atypical than it would at first appear. 80

This material concludes the discussion of the major reformers' backgrounds and beliefs. Throughout the Chapter the common characteristics of these men have been stressed; characteristics relating to their beliefs as well as to their backgrounds. Enough has now been said to allow us to discuss the actions of these men with some insight. It is toward a consideration of their reform activities that we turn in the following Chapter.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. A classic discussion of elites is provided by:-
   C.W. Mills. *The Power Elite* (New York. Oxford University Press. 1959) A discussion of the elite nature of Canadian society and an elaboration of the concept of institutional orders is provided by:

2. J.M.S. Careless 'Aspects of Urban Life in the West 1870-1914'

3. ibid. p 34-35

4. A.F.J. Artibise *The Urban Development of Winnipeg 1874-1914*
   A. Robertson's work on the early Vancouver elite and their West End Neighbourhood is as yet unpublished being conducted as a study leading to an M.A. in the Department of Geography, University of British Columbia.
1975) discusses the influence of the commercial elite on real estate development within the city.

5. Data was drawn from a variety of sources. Office holders and occupations were largely obtained from *Vancouver City Directory* 40 Vols. (Vancouver. British Columbia Directories Ltd. 1925-1965) and *Vancouver City Directory* 30 Vols. (Vancouver. Henderson Publishing Company. 1884-1924. Titles vary)


8. As with mayors the occupations of aldermen were obtained from the *Vancouver City Directory*. As was the case with mayors occupations that changed were considered as being the one listed at the time of office.


(Toronto. International Press. 1927), Who's Who in Western Canada (Winnipeg. 1911) and newspaper clippings, etc.


14. See Map two page 185: for the boundaries of these municipalities.


16. Occupations of the reeves and councillors are taken from the Vancouver City Directory. Prior to 1908 however it is difficult
to trace many individuals as coverage of the South Vancouver area is divided into many so-called suburbs such as Collingwood, Cedar Cottage, Central Park, etc. Many residents who lived away from these clusters are apparently not included. Many of the listings also fail to list an occupation, thereby further compounding the problem. The dominance of the real estate interests is mentioned in "Old South Vancouver was Comic Opera Battle Ground" Vancouver Daily Province June 6th 1936. p 7. (magazine section). Perhaps too much faith should not be placed in this one source. The information on the reeves is from: A.H. Lewis. South Vancouver Past and Present (Vancouver. Western Printing. 1920) pp 4-6-8-12-14-16-18-20-24-26-28.

17. V.D.P. July 10th, 1905. p 1.


19. I bid.

20. V.D.P. March 18th, 1907. p 1.


22. V.D.P. March 18th, 1907. p 1.
31. The occupations of the reeves were obtained from three sources. From 1910 to 1926 the official ballot papers are included in the Minutes of the South Vancouver Municipal Council. These ballots included a description of a candidate's occupation. For earlier reeves Lewis op.cit. provides information while later reeves could be traced in the Vancouver City Directory.

32. The information of the location of residences and businesses is
obtained from the Vancouver City Directory.

33. The occupations of the councillors were obtained from the same sources as those used to identify the occupations of the reeves. See footnote 31 for details.

34. See footnote 16.

35. The occupations of the reeves and councillors of Point Grey were obtained from the Vancouver City Directory and from F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Scholefield. **British Columbia From the Earliest Times to the Present** Volumes III - IV (Vancouver. S.J. Clarke. 1914)

36. The members of the Point Grey Commission are provided in Bartholomew op.cit. pp 297-298. Members of the Vancouver Commission are listed in the files of the Commission available as RG9. Series A1. Volume 20. File 1. Vancouver City Archives. Occupations are derived from the appropriate City Directories.

37. I was not able to locate a comprehensive membership list for the Vancouver Board of Trade for the period under discussion. Commission members identified as being members of the Board of Trade are done so on the basis that they held a position on the executive of one of the Bureaux of the Board. Other commission members may have belonged to the Board of Trade but have not been
identified as members. The estimate of membership is hence conservative.


VDP August 2nd 1940. p 4.


V.S. March 22nd 1948 p 3.


43. I bid.

44. W.E. Bland "A Sample Lecture for use at High Schools, University and Publicity Educational Work" p 1. This lecture was prepared by Bland as a guide for members of the Vancouver Town Planning Commission for use in their publicity campaign in 1930. Bland
was Chairman of the Commission's Publicity Committee. It is on file at the Vancouver City Archives. RG9. Series A1. Volume 20. File 1.


49. V.S. May 27th, 1927. p 6, September 17th, 1932, p 6.
   V.D.P. March 19th, 1933. p 10. (magazine section),
   April 13th, 1938. p 17.


   V.D.P. December 31, 1912. p 2
   V.D.P. December 8, 1945. p 2
   V.D.P. December 10, 1945. p 4
   V.D.P. December 10, 1945. p 19
   V.D.P. December 11, 1945. p 2
52. V.D.P. December 8, 1922. p 14.
Buck, F.E. Some Early Pioneers of the Town and Rural Planning Movement in Canada Unpublished Manuscript. No Date. p 3.

Bartholomew. op.cit. p 297.

Point Grey Gazette. September 17th, 1921. p 1.
Point Grey Gazette. September 16th, 1922. p 2.
(3rd section).
J.A. Paton. "The Inside Story of Point Grey" B.C. Magazine
Volume 7 #7 (July 1911).

Buck. *op.cit.* p 5-6


56. V.S. August 17th, 1926. p 3.
    V.S. August 17th, 1926. p 7.
    V.D.P. August 17th, 1926. p 9.
    V.D.P. January 17th, 1944. p 4.
    Buck. *op.cit.* p 8, 10.

    Buck. *op.cit.* p 8, 10.

    V.D.P. October 30th, 1952. p 38.
    Buck. *op.cit.* p 4-5.

60. V.D.P. February 21st, 1926. p 1. (magazine section).

Bartholomew. op.cit. p 297.
Buck. op.cit. p 3-4.


64. F.E. Buck. Presidential Address to the Eighth Annual Convention of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. September 10, 11, 12,


A magnificent account of slum life in the Manchester to which Buck was referring, that of the period 1890-1920, is provided by R. Roberts. The Classic Slum. Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century. (Harmondsworth. Penguin Books. 1971.)


68. V.S. August 14th, 1939. p 5.

69. V.D.P. November 14th, 1944. p 13.


71. V.D.P. October 4th, 1933. p 20.

72. Minutes of the Construction Committee of the Economic Planning
Commission of the CCF. Meeting of July 30th, 1936.
Buck's views on planning and those of Mrs. Steeves are very close to those expressed in *Social Planning for Canada* published by the Research Committee of the League for Social Reconstruction in 1935. The similarity of these views to those of the reformers already discussed becomes evident in the Chapter entitled 'The Logic of Planning' on pages 215 - 228. Another connection with the reform movement is provided by one of the authors, F.H. Underhill, the advocate of Commission government discussed in Chapter Two. The "reform" nature of much of this volume is mentioned in the introduction on page XVIII.

73. V.S. November 1st, 1938. p 1.
   V.D.P. November 2nd, 1932. p 5.


75. V.D.P. November 17th, 1944. p 13, December 6th, 1944. p 13,
   V.S. November 17th 1944  p 14, November 4th, 1953  p 4,
   November 6th, 1956  p 7.


79. V.D.P. November 24th, 1939 p 27
   V.S. November 24th, 1939 p 5
   V.N.H. November 24th, 1939 p 5

    Major J.S. Matthews photographic collection, Vancouver City Archives contains several photographs of Mrs. McGovern both before and after her marriage. These photographs contain a good deal of peripheral biographical material.
Early city planning legislation in Canada was part of the response of the urban reform movement to the problems facing the Canadian city. Much of the ideological 'baggage' of this movement was American in origin and both the form and intent of the legislation reflects this. Planning was seen as one means by which civic administrators could guide and control city development in desirable and efficient directions, one among a battery of reforms that were designed to ensure efficient and effective government for the cities. Planning took the form of an expert bureaucracy whose role it was to advise the city government of the 'correct' procedures to attain the desired end result. The primary advocates of reform in Canada, as in the United States, were the commercial elites who dominated the social and political life of their respective cities. These elites saw 'reform' as the way to establish their control of the 'public' environment. Drawing their ideas both directly and indirectly from American sources, they implemented programs of reform that were only marginally Canadian in origin. As we shall see, in the case of Vancouver, the actions and rhetoric of these elite reforms were heavily dependent on exposure to American experience.
THE FIGHT FOR PLANNING LEGISLATION

Early Reform Advocates

Although it can be argued that city planning in British Columbia is as old as the province itself and that Colonel R.C. Moody can be regarded as its first practitioner, planning in the sense of a reform bureaucracy was relatively late in becoming established in British Columbia. There is hence little to say about urban reform in Vancouver in the period before the outbreak of war in 1914.

As was already noted, Vancouver experienced an extraordinary period of growth between 1900 and 1912. In this period the population rose by more than 95,000 from 27,010 to 122,100 and put the civic administration under a great deal of strain. Lacking a professional civic administrative staff the city council was obliged to discuss and decide a host of minor issues. Meetings and committee assignments took an increasing amount of time putting the Mayor and council under steadily increasing pressure. The growth, however, was a source of satisfaction and it was seen as being one of the council's responsibilities to ensure its continuation. Nearly two-thirds of the aldermen, as we have seen, were businessmen and these men naturally wished to see the town grow. More people meant more jobs which in turn meant more payrolls and greater opportunities for all. Along with this conviction that growth was desirable went an equally strong faith that private enterprise should be the means and city government the facilitator of progress. The role of the city government was seen as being to provide, in as efficient and businesslike a manner as possible, the basic municipal services. As such the mayor and council system became
increasingly criticized through the first decade of the century. By 1912 the number of wards had increased from the ten of 1902 to sixteen and the council had become increasingly concerned with the minutiae of daily administration. Increasingly the civic administration was seen as inefficient and as retarding growth. As we might expect the business community began to discuss possible remedies.

The focus of this discussion was the Vancouver Board of Trade. In March 1907 the Board's council discussed the possibility of having the city charter amended to institute a Civic Board of Control. This was, as we have seen, a peculiarly Canadian means of centralizing the administrative functions of government that had evolved in Ontario in the late 1890's. The aim was to make the city administration more efficient and less 'political' and as such it appealed to many business groups. Among these was the Vancouver Board of Trade who following their March discussions passed in April the following resolution:

"That this board endorses the principle of a Civic Board of Control for the City of Vancouver, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the City Council and the local members."

This led Mayor A. Bethune to suggest that the city adopt a three man board of control, a proposition discussed by the council at the turn of the year. Nothing, however, was done to implement any change.

The year 1911 again saw proposals for change being discussed at length. In the Mayoral election of that year L.D. Taylor had defeated A. Morrison on a platform of city hall reorganization and efficiency.
Early in the year a 'Good Government League' was formed by a leader of the Board of Trade, Jonathon Rogers, for the purpose of investigating potential reform of the civic administration. Throughout the year discussion took place both here and in council over the advisability of instituting a Commission form of city government. An application was made to the Provincial Government for the requisite Charter amendments but despite the support of the Vancouver Board of Trade no action was forthcoming. Once again interest in change waned for a few years before surfacing in 1914 in further proposals for a Board of Control. In that year T.S. Baxter defeated L.D. Taylor in what is best described as a 'dirty' campaign. Baxter was cast as the 'reform' candidate against the 'corrupt politician' Taylor. Gaining the support of the business community, Baxter easily won the election and throughout the year there was intermittent discussion of the Board of Control method of government although once again no change was legislated.

The period prior to 1914 was characterized by only intermittent reform activity. The activity that occurred was concerned with the reform of government institutions and not explicitly with the establishment of planning. The focus of activity, was not city hall but the Vancouver Board of Trade where interest existed throughout the period in trying to establish efficient, businesslike government. With the exception of the 1914 mayoral campaign the thrust of the argument for reform was not that the office holders were corrupt but that the form of government was inappropriate. This concern with government forms and with civic efficiency is typical of the urban reform movement as is the involvement of the business community.
as the initiator of attempted change. The pattern in Vancouver was that found throughout the continent.

The Pace of Activity Quickens

The year 1914 was important in the history of the Vancouver town planning movement. Several factors lead to a growth of interest in reform and planning at this time but none was more important in Vancouver than the collapse of the real estate boom in 1913. Based on a rapidly growing population this boom made real estate speculation and promotion an integral part of the Vancouver business scene. In 1910 over 650 real estate agents were listed in the Vancouver City Directory and thousands more speculated on a small scale with whatever funds they could acquire. One contemporary writer's formula for getting rich was:

"Take a map of the lower peninsula, shut your eyes, stick your finger anywhere and sit tight."  

When the bubble burst in 1913 paper profits were wiped out almost overnight. This lead to a questioning of the whole mechanism of the boom, and added weight to the argument of the reformers that uncontrolled growth was in the long run self-defeating. Not only did it place intolerable strain on the city administration but it lead also to inefficient and undesireable developments. Along with these local factors the 1914 National City Planning Conference in Toronto and the subsequent appointment of Thomas Adams as Town Planning Advisor to the Commission of Conservation had the effect of stimulating interest in reform and planning. Adams was to become a prime promoter of reform thought on the West Coast.
This increase in reform activity is reflected in the media of the period, and calls for change in the city government became common. A systematic study of the editorial cartoons in the two major daily newspapers reveals that 1913 was a year dominated by reform images. Already discussed in Chapter Two, with regard to the 'growth ethic', this study systematically assigned editorial cartoons to one of a number of categories. Three of these categories were interpreted as being 'pro-reform' and any year that was dominated by cartoons falling into these categories was classed as a 'pro-reform' year. This is not to imply that cartoons falling into other categories were anti-reform. As can be seen from the categories they are indifferent in their explicit response to reform. Many of the pro-growth sentiments found in these cartoons were shared by the reformers. 1913 was such a year for both the Vancouver Daily Province and the Vancouver Sun both of which presented cartoons throughout the year characterizing the civic administration as incompetent and inefficient and in some way responsible for the 1913 collapse of the real estate boom. The fears expressed by the pre 1914 reformers that poor government organization would retard growth were seen as having been bourne out. The media reflected the mood of the time in calling for change.

Such calls for change were soon to appear in the election speeches of political candidates. The 1914 election and subsequent administration as already mentioned focussed on city hall reform and both the 1915 and 1916 elections focussed on the same issues. These elections were contested by significantly more candidates than usual, four in 1915 and five in 1916, this in itself being an indication of increased interest in civic affairs.
Only once since 1900, in 1909 when there were five candidates, had more than three candidates contested the mayorality. In the 1915 election J. Martin, C.S. Douglas and the victorious L.D. Taylor all accused the incumbent, T.S. Baxter, of running an inefficient administration. All called for 'cut-backs' at city hall and all promised to run a more efficient administration. In 1916 all five candidates promised city hall reform if elected. J. McNeil ran 'a business campaign', J. Kirkpatrick proclaimed a platform of "...retrenchment and of strictly business administration of civic affairs" while the victor, M. McBeath had a platform that contained numerous 'reform' planks:

"Strict enforcement of laws, especially those pertaining to the liquor traffic and the moral welfare of the city in general - an economical financial administration, the licensing of banks, reorganization of civic administration along business lines, the firing of inefficient and unneeded civic employees; ...the encouragement of new and existing industries to increase payrolls; the purchase of civic supplies from local firms." Moral reform, civic reorganization to combat inefficiency and the growth of local industry were the three areas in which he promised action. That he hit a responsive note in the electorate is attested to by his relatively easy victory over the other candidates.

The collapse of real estate prices then stimulated an interest in reform in the media and in political life. It lead also to the formation
of the first identifiable Vancouver-based planning organization. Organized by the executive secretary of the Board of Trade, W.E. Payne, and another leading figure of the Board, J.J. Banfield, it was known as the Vancouver City Planning and Beautifying Association. Its major interests were in the Beaux Arts, City Beautiful tradition with its primary concern being to establish a suitable civic centre for Vancouver. Toward this end it solicited the aid of the Board of Trade in forming a committee representing the City Council and other interested public bodies to consider the whole question of a civic centre. The Committee became known as the Civic Centre Committee of Vancouver and organized a design competition that was assessed by the newly appointed town planning expert to the Commission of Conservation, Thomas Adams. In his visit to Vancouver for the purpose of judging the entries he also made two addresses to the Vancouver Civic Centre Committee and one to the Canadian Club on the topic of town planning. In his usual energetic manner he also found time to assess the need for planning in the city and to write up his recommendations. This was to be the first of many contacts between Adams and Vancouver's early planning advocates. 1914 also saw the Union of British Columbia Municipalities endorse the passing of a Town Planning Act for the Province, the first of five successive years that they endorsed such action.

As we saw in the last Chapter, a Civic Improvement League for Canada was formed at Ottawa in January 1916. One of the aims of this organization was to get local chapters established in the major urban centres across the Dominion. This aim was accomplished for Vancouver in July 1916, just six months after the League's formation. A meeting to form
the League was called for July 19th by the City Planning and Beautifying Association and the Board of Trade. Thomas Adams was visiting the west coast at this time under the auspices of the Vancouver Board of Trade and he addressed the meeting on the topic of city planning. Mr. J.J. Banfield of the City Planning and Beautifying Association presided over the meeting and was appointed chairman of the new Civic Improvement League Vancouver Branch. The motion to form the branch was made by W. Hepburn a prominent member of the Board of Trade. He was, along with J.J. Banfield, to become a prominent Board of Trade advocate of city planning. Also present at the meeting were representatives of the cities of Vancouver and New Westminster, the municipalities of West Vancouver, North Vancouver, Burnaby, South Vancouver and Point Grey, and of numerous professional organizations. Representing the Royal Sanitary Institute was A.G. Dalzell, Adams' assistant in the west, while the B.C. Society of Architects was represented by C.J. Thompson, the partner of G.L.T. Sharp who was to become prominent in Vancouver Planning circles. In the evening the Board of Trade continued its role as propagandizer for Town Planning by providing its rooms for a public address by Adams. The Civic Improvement League Branch was to act for a short while as the liaison between the Commission of Conservation Public Health Bureau and the Vancouver Board of Trade. In the following year, however, the Board of Trade was to reorganize its affairs so as to render such an organization superfluous. This occurred on December 10th 1917 when the Civic Bureau of the Board of Trade held its first meeting. This bureau was to usurp the role of the Civic Improvement League and become the major means of communication between the Commission of
Conservation and the Vancouver Business Community. Many of the leading figures of the Civic Improvement League became prominent members of the Civic Bureau; the two most noticeable being J.J. Banfield and W. Hepburn; the former becoming a member of the civic bureau executive at the first meeting. Banfield served as head of the City Planning and Housing Committee until 1920, with W. Hepburn serving as an executive member in 1919.\textsuperscript{32}

Banfield's committee wasted no time in organizing its stand on planning. At a meeting held just a month after the committee's founding a sub-committee was formed to consider and report on a letter from Adams urging support for the enactment of town planning legislation:\textsuperscript{33} The committee consisted, with others, of W.E. Bland. This report was soon received and it reflects very much the influence of Adams:

"Whereas a Town Planning Act is already in force in the majority of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada and

Whereas the question of a Town Planning Act for British Columbia has received the support and endorsement of the Union of B.C. Municipalities for the past four years, and

Whereas the need for action to conserve the lives and health of Canadian citizens, and the physical, industrial and natural resources of our Cities and Towns, and the desireability of promoting proper living conditions, greater industrial efficiency and more economical methods of developing land,
must be apparent, and

Whereas preparation should now be made to properly regulate building development that is likely to take place at the close of the war. Therefore be it resolved that the City Planning section recommends to the Full Board of Trade that steps be taken at once to bring to the attention of the Government the necessity of passing a Town Planning Act, and therefore that the Board of Trade act with the B.C. Municipalities in presenting this matter to the present session of the Government."34

With this formal statement of intent behind them the Committee wholeheartedly pursued its task of promoting planning. In early February it arranged a meeting with representatives of the Cities and Municipalities of Greater Vancouver to discuss planning matters. At this meeting it was decided to inform the Provincial Government of the need for a planning act, to solicit the support of the executive of the Union of B.C. Municipalities and to send a copy of the draft act to every Municipality in the Province so that they could consider it before the U.B.C.M.'s annual meeting.35 Banfield was soon able to announce that the aid of T. Adams had been secured in drafting the Act and that he would be visiting Vancouver in March for this purpose.36

This was to be the first of Adams' three trips to British Columbia in 1918. In early July he visited Victoria for the purpose of attending the annual meeting of the Union of Canadian Municipalities. The Civic Bureau took advantage of this to arrange a meeting between Adams and the executive
of the Union of B.C. Municipalities. At those meetings it was arranged that Adams should attend the annual meeting of the Union of B.C. Municipalities to be held in Penticton, B.C. from September 18 - 20 in 1918. At these meetings Adams was to present a draft planning act for the approval of the delegates. To support Adams the Vancouver Board of Trade dispatched a delegation consisting of J.J. Banfield, J. Rogers, the founder of the aforementioned Good Government League and C.E. Tisdall, a future civic bureau executive member, City Alderman and Mayor. This meeting passed a resolution supporting the establishment of a Town Planning Act and instructed F.A. MacDermid, the Union's solicitor, to draft an Act with the aid of T. Adams.

Despite this endorsement and the active support of the Vancouver Board of Trade the proposed bill was not enacted into legislation. This is surprising as the Provincial Government in 1918 was that of the 'reform' liberals who had won such a convincing victory in the September 14th 1916 election. Led by H.C. Brewster who at his November inauguration promised 'virtue and good government' the Liberals held most of the characteristic beliefs of middle class reformers. Brewster was "a firm believer in honest, sound and efficient government" and also believed that the proper goal of the government fiscal administration was to emulate the system of a well conducted business or corporation. The government quickly established a series of Commissions to investigate election malpractice and the P.G.E. Railway, and passed a spate of progressive legislation on labour issues, womens suffrage and Civil Service Reform. The womens suffrage Bill was to prove indirectly important to the planning movement in that it
allowed Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith to run on an independent reform platform in a 1918 Vancouver By-Election. She won, to become the first woman to enter a provincial legislature in Canada and was to later prove a staunch advocate of a planning Act. With such a Provincial Government in power it would seem natural that the Town Planning Bill would gain quick government approval. By the time the Bill was submitted, however, in late 1918, the Brewster government was under severe pressure from farmers, veterans and labour. Then Premier Brewster died of pneumonia, leaving the party without a natural successor. After a lively struggle a compromise candidate, John Oliver, emerged as the head of a party that was described, in January 1919, as consisting of "as many parties as the new German constituent assembly." Facing a great deal of criticism over its handling of the liquor question the Liberals suddenly found themselves fighting for their political lives. Oliver decided on a 1920 election which he announced in October for December the first. In this difficult political situation the planning Bill never came before the House. With this failure some of the drive went out of the planning movement for it was to be two years before the next concerted effort to get planning legislation enacted was made. The next two years, 1919-1920, were to be characterized by attempts to reform the political institutions of the city with very little activity taking place in the city planning field. A precursor of this concern was the brief and unsuccessful attempt by the Board of Trade to establish a non-partisan Citizens League to contest the 1919 civic elections. This type of action however was to dominate the reform movement for the next two years.
The period 1914-1918 was characterized by several readily identifiable features. These can be summarized as the dominance in reform activity of the Vancouver Board of Trade or its members, the strong influence of the Town Planning Advisor to the Commission of Conservation, Thomas Adams, and a focus of activity on the establishment of city planning rather than on other reform concerns.

**Changing Concerns**

The years 1919 and 1920 saw a change occur in the reform concerns of the Vancouver Board of Trade. Having failed to obtain the desired planning legislation they became involved with another of the reform movement's key concerns; that of abolishing the ward system and of centralizing the civic administration.

Interest in civic government reform first surfaced in the Retail Bureau of the Board of Trade early in 1919 when a report on 'Proportional Representation' was produced. This report was discussed by the Legal and Legislative Bureau who decided to further investigate the matter and report back to the Board at a later date. This interest in Proportional Representation was to remain with the Board for the next few years. In May of 1919 the second major concern of the period was discussed for the first time. This was a concern for the establishment of a Civic Board of Control. The Civic Bureau was in favor of such a scheme provided the board was elected 'at large' and not on a ward basis; and it recommended that the full Board of Trade endorse such a proposal. This the Board was loath to do without further study, with the result that a committee of the Civic Bureau
was formed to investigate the whole question of municipal government in
Vancouver. This committee consisted of J.W. Allan, a real estate developer
as well as J.J. Banfield and W. Hepburn. The report was presented and
adopted at the September 25th meeting of the Bureau. In the report they
recommended that the city should be under a Board of Control elected at
large. This three man board would oversee the day to day running of the
civic administration and thus make it more efficient and businesslike. The
Board of Trade was urged to request the city to submit this proposal to a
referendum. Also endorsed by the committee was a petition organized by the
Vancouver Proportional Representation League calling for the adoption of a
"Municipal Proportional Representation Act". The question of Proportional
Representation had been discussed earlier in the year as we have seen and
interest in the matter had been stimulated by a presentation to the Bureau
by one of its members, Mr. G.A. King, a Vancouver lawyer, and secretary of
the Vancouver Proportional Representation League.

In its desire to see a Board of Control the Bureau was frustrated
but success was met with regard to the implementation of Proportional
Representation. The first election to be held under the new system was held
in December 1920 to select a council for the following year. As early as
October the Civic Bureau discussed the need for city council to produce an
informational pamphlet on the new system. At this same meeting the idea was
raised of forming a non-partisan 'Citizens Committee' to put forward a
platform and nominate candidates. As with the earlier attempt to establish
a citizens party in 1918 this was to meet with no success. The Bureau's
interest in the upcoming election was maintained, however, with G.A. King
being appointed as the Deputy Returning Officer for the election by Mayor R.H. Gale. Both these proposals, for a Civic Board of Control and for proportional representation, can be seen as attempts to depoliticize city hall and to hence make it function more efficiently. That efficient government was an issue in British Columbia is attested to not only by the rhetoric employed by the Brewster Liberals but also in the Board of Trade's great concern with civic taxation. Many of the City Charter amendments proposed in 1919 concerned city taxation and these led to a great deal of discussion by the Civic Bureau. Later in the year the Bureau produced a lengthy memorandum on taxation that was presented to Finance Minister J. Hart. This memorandum discussed the whole question of taxation and "drew attention to the vast amount of clerical waste due to three separate tax offices" and it proposed a new method of tax collection and redistribution along more 'efficient' lines.

The period 1919-1920 then was characterized by a different aspect of the reform movement than was the period prior to the end of the first world war. The two periods were similar in one respect in that the focus of activity was once again the Vancouver Board of Trade. It was the business community that was the prime institter of attempted change. The lack of concern for getting planning established may be explained as a reaction to the failure in 1919. More likely, however, it was due to the declining impetus provided by the Commission of Conservation. As we saw in Chapter Two this organization lost a great deal of its momentum following the resignation of Sir Clifford Sifton in early 1919. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that in the early 1920's the
Board of Trade again became a vocal advocate of Town Planning legislation; this time being supported in its actions by the local Vancouver Branch of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. The Board of Trade it seems did not have the courage of its convictions without an ally. The cooperation between the Civic Bureau and the Town Planning Institute was to be of vital importance in seeing town planning legislation adopted. It is this that occupies most of our attention in the upcoming sections.

Another Unsuccessful Attempt

Early in 1921 the drive to enact town planning legislation was resumed. Toward the end of January the Board of Trade requested the Provincial Government to enact a Town Planning Act during the 1921 session of the legislature as had the British Columbia Technical Association during the course of the December 1920 election. This latter association, representing over 500 engineers and other technical workers, argued for planning on the grounds that it would reduce the waste of money, of effort, of land and of other natural resources that accompanied urban development and that elimination of this waste was an essential prerequisite for efficient civic government. The Associated Boards of Trade of British Columbia were soon to add their voice to the calls for planning legislation. At the second annual convention of this association, held in Vancouver, a motion was introduced by the Richmond and Point Grey Board of Trade calling for the enactment of town planning legislation as quickly as possible. This motion was unanimously passed as was a similar motion presented to the third annual convention held in Trail in March 1922. Planning, it was
argued, would allow for greater economy to be exercised in the development of cities and would also help reduce the cost of administration. At this time the Vancouver city council became actively involved in passing a motion favoring the adoption of planning legislation and forming a Town Planning Committee to study this whole question. This Committee contained delegates from the surrounding Municipalities as well as from the Board of Trade, the Architectural Association and the Engineering Association. Formed too late to get planning legislation adopted in the 1921 session it achieved partial success, largely through the efforts of Reeve W.H. Lembke of Point Grey, in getting changes made to the Municipal Act that enabled Municipalities to engage in a rudimentary form of planning. Amendments made to Section 54 of Chapter 52 of the Municipal Act of British Columbia gave powers to municipal councils to fix building lines, fix future street rights-of-way, fix housing densities, regulate noxious industries and to 'zone' their municipalities into residential, commercial and industrial areas. These new powers were acted upon by Point Grey in 1922 and South Vancouver in 1924. They were not applicable to the City of Vancouver however as Vancouver was not subject to the Municipal Act but governed by its own Charter of Incorporation. The Municipalities of British Columbia were free to engage in 'zoning' from 1922 onwards, Vancouver however was not free to do so.

During 1922 the Civic Committee drafted a proposed Act that was introduced into the house by Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith, who by now was a member of the Liberal government, having become Minister without Portfolio in March 1921, the first woman to become a cabinet minister in the history of
the British Empire. Objections were raised by the Attorney General's department to the compulsory nature of the legislation and Mrs. Smith withdrew the Bill on the understanding that Premier Oliver would form a Committee of technical Provincial Government employees to investigate the need for planning. This Committee was duly created in June 1923 but did not meet on a regular basis, claiming that there was no province-wide demand for planning. This it deduced from the lack of response to a questionnaire sent by Oliver to all the Municipalities in the Province requesting them to express their views on planning. Only twelve had replied and of these only two had wholeheartedly endorsed the adoption of planning legislation; these being the eminently middle class municipalities of Point Grey and Oak Bay. The Vancouver Board of Trade meanwhile was being active in its support of the proposed legislation. Under the active chairmanship of W.E. Bland the Civic Bureau Committee on city planning made a request in November that all candidates for civic office attend a meeting of the Bureau to discuss their stance on city planning. This meeting took place in December with all candidates 'heartily in sympathy' with the establishment of planning. November also saw the Vancouver Board of Trade support the Civic Planning Committee's request to the Associated Boards of Trade convention for assistance in their quest for suitable legislation. This the convention gave, passing a motion calling for the enactment of planning legislation as quickly as was possible. The Premier, however, refused to discuss further the possibility of enacting town planning legislation, claiming once again that the public of British Columbia did not support such a measure. To be successful in their desire
for planning legislation it seemed the Board of Trade and the other planning advocates would have to gain wider support. Two events that occurred late in 1922 and early in 1923 were to prove particularly important in this regard. One of these was the already mentioned appointment of W.E. Bland as chairman of the Civic Bureau City Planning Committee, and other being the formation late in 1922 of a Vancouver Branch of the Town Planning Institute of Canada.

A Successful Conclusion

The Town Planning Institute of Canada was formed in 1919 due to the efforts of Thomas Adams of the Commission of Conservation. It was not until 1922, however, that a Vancouver Branch was formed when Prof. F.E. Buck and J.A. Walker, agreed to try and form a local branch when asked to do so by A. Buckley, the editor of the Journal of the Institute and a former Vancouver newspaperman. An initial meeting was held at the University Club on November 20th 1922 at which time it was agreed to form a local Chapter. Ten days later, a second meeting was held at which time the by-laws were sent for approval to the parent organization in Ottawa. This approval was not forthcoming for over a year, due to the quiescence of the national organization that was awaiting the granting of a Charter by Dominion Act of Parliament, establishing it as a national technical association. This Act was passed on the 22nd October 1923 with approval of the Vancouver Branch by-laws being conferred in February 1924.

From this point the Vancouver Branch was to play an important role in the drive to get planning legislation adopted. Membership in the organization expanded quickly and while meetings of a technical nature were
held its chief purpose soon became to promote the ideas of the planning movement and attempt to get planning legislation enacted in Victoria. Similar attempts to gain public support for planning were being made by the Board of Trade Civic Bureau Committee on City Planning whose chairman, W.E. Bland, had solicited and obtained the support of the Legal and Legislative Bureau earlier in the year. In April the Civic Bureau and the Planning Institute formally cooperated for the first time, holding a meeting on the 23rd with the Vancouver City Solicitor. This meeting was arranged so as to investigate the changes that needed to be made to the Vancouver City Charter if planning was to take place. At this meeting it was decided that planning was necessary, and in order to publicize this fact, the Town Planning Institute formed a committee to prepare a 'Memorial' on planning legislation, for presentation to the city council. This 'memorial' was duly prepared and presented to city council on June 10th 1924, with the support of the Board of Trade and the Associated Board of Trades. In a letter from the Secretary of the Board of Trade to the Town Planning Institute, the Board's position was clearly in favor of seeking the city's assistance in getting legislation passed.

"The Council of this Board, at its meeting on Thursday last (May 22nd 1924), reiterated its previous attitude with regard to Town Planning, and went on record in support of the action of the local Branch of the Town Planning Institute of Canada in requesting the City Council to take the initiative in petitioning the Legislature to pass
Support for the memorial was also given by a wide ranging group of professional, service, women's and labour organizations. In response to the memorial the City Council passed a resolution favoring the adoption of Town Planning legislation and formed a committee consisting of the City Engineer, City Solicitor and the members of the Town Planning Committee to investigate planning matters and report back to council. This committee worked in close cooperation with the Town Planning Institute and, in October 1924, they presented a report to City Council recommending that a Bill be drafted and presented to the legislature.

The Civic Bureau of the Board of Trade meanwhile had been attempting to stimulate public interest in planning through the activities of Boards of Trade throughout the Province. In early August, W.E. Bland had reminded the Bureau that active support of the proposed bill was needed, as Premier Oliver would not take the resolution of the Associated Boards of Trade seriously until the Bill had the support of the people through their municipal governments. These governments had, until this point, been loath to express support for planning legislation. As such, he introduced a resolution urging other Boards of Trade in British Columbia to attempt to induce their local municipal authorities to support planning. He also proposed to send a selection of planning materials prepared by the Town Planning Institute to the secretaries of these Boards of Trade so that they would be well informed when approaching their respective municipal councils.

The joint committee of civic officials and the Town Planning
Institute were meanwhile producing a draft '1924 City Planning Bill'. The influence of the Town Planning Institute in this Bill was considerable as it was largely written by a member of the Branch, A.G. Smith, the Provincial Registrar of Land Titles.\textsuperscript{92} This bill was endorsed by City Council, but as it was to apply to all British Columbia, they requested that the Bill be forwarded by the Town Planning Institute to the Premier for presentation as a Government measure. On receipt of the Bill, the Premier sent copies to all British Columbia Municipalities, requesting them to make comments. Very few replies were received and the Government laid the Bill over for another year.\textsuperscript{93} The Legislative Council was ordered to redraft the Bill and this it did during the winter. The major changes they made were to make the Bill optional, and not obligatory, in nature, and to give councils the power to perform their own planning, without the necessity of forming a planning commission.\textsuperscript{94} Such a Commission was made optional, not compulsory. With these changes made, the Bill was introduced by Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith as a government measure in 1925. While being considered by the Municipal Committee of the House, delegates from the Town Planning Branch supported the legislation. Last minute opposition to the Bill was overcome by making slight modifications, and so on December 18th, 1925 the "Town Planning Act" Chapter 55, 1925, of the Statutes of British Columbia was passed into law.\textsuperscript{95}

The Nature of the Town Planning Act

The Bill as we have noted was drafted largely by A.G. Smith and as such it reflects to a large degree the ideas of the Town Planning
Institute of Canada. This organization was founded in 1919 by Thomas Adams and its 'philosophy' of planning was very similar to that of the Commission of Conservation. This is shown by the Institute's officially adopted 'definition' of what constituted Town Planning.

"Town Planning may be defined as the scientific and orderly disposition of land and buildings in use and development with a view to obviating congestion and securing economic and social efficiency, health and well being in urban and rural communities." 96

Planning was, it added, "the technique of social and economic efficiency". 97

The securing of efficiency in the face of growth through the use of scientific methods summarizes their position. The preamble to the Act itself is equally explicit.

"Whereas it has been realized that large municipal expenditures have become necessary owing to the fortuitous development of urban centres, and that it is advisable to make provision whereby the natural growth of cities and towns may be planned in a systematic and orderly way, so that adequate means of communication for an increasing population may be provided and congestion avoided, and that economies may be effected in the industrial and business activities of communities, and so that the serviceableness of business and
property and the amenity of residential districts
may be preserved and adequate areas may be provided
for protecting the health of and providing recrea-
tion for the public; 98

Growth was to be channelled so as to ensure the economic and social well-
being of the city. This approach is very close to the views of Adams and
the Commission of Conservation, which views are, as we have seen, largely
derivative of the American Reform movement. The influence of the National
Municipal League and other reform movements thus found in the Bill having
passed through the intermediate step of the Commission of Conservation
whose model Town Planning Act was, as noted earlier, explicitly based on
American legislation. No clause by clause comparison of the British
Columbia Bill with the Model Town Planning Bill of the Commission of
Conservation will be made here but the similarities are many. 99 The
similarities are even more striking if one compares the proposed British
Columbia Act and the Model Act. In both cases the planning powers are
placed in the hands of appointed boards, in both cases planning is
compulsory and in both cases the boards have the power to 'zone' for both
use and density. In both cases these boards were to hire 'experts' to
ensure that the planning was carried on in the approved scientific manner.
This reliance on 'experts' who were to operate on the basis of 'scientific
knowledge' and to be largely independent of the political process is a
typical strategy of reform movement. The British Columbia Act as passed
of course had been modified making it voluntary in nature and placing more
power in the hands of the local councils compared to the planning boards
(to be called Town Planning Commissions) than was the case in the draft document.

These changes were regarded as being tantamount to heresy by the reformers and were reacted to angrily by the author of the Draft Bill, A.G. Smith. In a speech to the Vancouver Branch of the Town Planning Institute made on January 28, 1926 he was scathing of the powers granted to local councils to engage in planning without forming a commission of experts to advise them:

"The Council, after the preparation of plans, is authorized to consider them (which seems rather a Husteron Proteron or placing the cart before the horse) and to approve the plans by resolution ... we have up to this stage in the form of increased power to the city the gracious permission of the Legislature to the City and its officials to use common business forethought ..."\textsuperscript{100}

He deplored the diminution of the powers invested in the Planning Commissions,

"...The Town Planning Commission created under the Act with the equipment, powers and limitations with which it is endowed is but a feeble substitute for the Commission designed in the Bill ..."\textsuperscript{101}

and went on to argue that elected councils were incapable of performing the planning task, adequately as they were expected \textsuperscript{100}:

"...with the help of a city staff ... to cope with
a mass of civic business, both legislative and executive, which is sufficient to absorb their whole attention and time. ...With this volume of work before them is it reasonable to expect that the members of the Council will be able to dispose of it so as to leave sufficient time to study the future needs of the city? ...The position of a member of the City Council might be less unsatisfactory if there lay before him when he took office a well considered programme of development. But by whom is this to be prepared? 102

The failure of the Bill to provide the Commission with the power to act independently of the council and its failure to provide the Commission with its own technical staff were thought to be major flaws that put the initiative back where it didn't belong; at city hall. 103 The Bill as passed was not totally acceptable to its initiators as it placed too much power in the hands of political bodies at the expense of the 'experts'. One of the key tenets of the reform position was thus violated causing a good deal of rancor among the reformers.

Planning a Business Movement

The time has come at this point to take stock of the Chapter to date and to try and tie together some of the loose threads that have been left dangling at several points. The drive to obtain city planning legislation, it has been argued is best seen as being one element of the
conservative business reform movement. In the urban context the reformers produced what is best described as a 'reform package' designed to cure the city of its ills. This package contained several elements, the major ones being the establishment of non-partisan, at large, civic elections, the separation of the legislative and executive functions of civic government, the centralization of executive power into the hands of paid administrators and the establishment of 'expert bureaucracies' whose task it was to guide the actions of the administrators through the use of 'scientific knowledge'. In Vancouver the ingredients of this reform package were all present with moves made from the turn of the century onwards to establish either a Board of Control or a Civic Commission form of Government for the city, to abolish the ward system, to adopt Proportional Representation and to get city planning legislation enacted. All of these were seen as ways of stabilizing the political and business environment of the city and hence ways of promoting growth. This stabilization was to come about through depoliticizing and centralizing city government so that it came to parallel in structure a business corporation. The city council was to be elected at large so it would represent the 'whole city' rather than local ward interests. Once in power its involvement in the day to day running of the city was to be minimal as this was to be in the hands of professional administrators. These administrators were to rely on the advice of the 'expert bureaucracies' who through the application of their 'scientific' knowledge would ensure that the 'correct' action was taken. These reforms then would ensure efficiency, rationality and stability at city hall and hence produce a business environment conducive to growth. Over the course of the first few
decades of this century all of the above reforms in one form or another were enacted in Vancouver.

The major supporter of reform in Vancouver, as in the rest of north America, was the business community. To be more accurate we should refer to the reformers as the commercial elite for it was a small group of highly successful and socially prestigious businessmen who played the central roles. As we saw in Chapter Three the most important reformers were men with a great deal of social and economic influence; influence they used in an attempt to obtain desired reforms. The support for reform given by the Town Planning Institute of Canada was of a slightly different sort. This organization represented the small body of men who regarded themselves in some way as being planning professionals. Their aims were generally similar to those of the business community but they placed more emphasis on the need for 'scientific expertise' than did the businessmen who placed more faith in reforming government institutions. They were also more concerned with the problems of creating desirable landscapes than were the businessman. In both cases however the overall desire was to see orderly and efficient development take place and as such they found few problems in forging their successful alliance. Cooperation between these two groups was destined to continue for many years following the passing of the Planning Act.

Throughout the period the City Council itself demonstrated an interest in reform, even if this amounted largely to talk rather than action. That this was so may appear surprising for many of the reform proposals were designed to reduce the power of this body. An investigation of the charac-
teristics of the city mayors and aldermen who served at this time is revealing in this regard. As we saw in Chapter Three the business community dominated the Council and Mayoralty. With virtually no exceptions these men were either businessmen or professionals closely connected with the business community. Working class representation was virtually non-existent. That there should be a degree of unanimity between these men and the reform advocates is not surprising for not only were they similar in background but in many cases were close friends and associates.

The passing of the Town Planning Bill in 1925 was one of the successes of the Vancouver reform movement. It was supported by a coalition of groups each with its own particular interest in getting planning established but each holding an essentially similar view of planning as a means of ensuring efficient urban development, this providing them with enough common ground to be successfully cooperative.

VARIATIONS ON A THEME

So far we have considered events that led to the establishment of planning in Vancouver without any consideration of the events taking place coincidentally in the two suburban Municipalities of South Vancouver and Point Grey. In this section we will investigate the process by which planning legislation became adopted in these Municipalities for it displays interesting parallels with what occurred in the central city. Information on these Municipalities is not as easily obtained as is information on Vancouver City but enough exists to permit a tentative analysis.
Early Political Divisions

As was shown in Map One the area of the contemporary City of Vancouver was originally comprised of a number of smaller areas that were politically distinct. The boundaries of these units are given in Map One along with the dates of amalgamation with the City. All areas except South Vancouver and Point Grey, which operated as Municipalities, were administered by the Provincial Government before admission to the city. The dominant role played by businessmen on the councils of these suburban municipalities was discussed in Chapter Three. We turn now to a consideration of the role of businessmen in other aspects of their political life.

Private Organizations

As we saw in Chapter Three the leaders of the Point Grey secession movement in 1908 were businessmen organized together as the Point Grey Improvement Society. After secession the municipality's council was dominated by businessmen. Prominent among the leaders were S.C. Howe, C.M. Woodworth and M.R. Wells, all of whom had played a leading role in the secession movement. All three were businessmen with large real estate holdings. From their society sprang the Richmond and Point Grey Board of Trade, organized by Wells in 1908 during which year he acted as its president. This organization maintained close ties with the Point Grey Improvement Society and became a leading advocate of city planning legislation being instrumental in getting the associated Boards of Trade of British Columbia to endorse proposed planning legislation in the early
FIGURE TWO  TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE CITY OF VANCOUVER
1920's.\textsuperscript{107} It is difficult to document membership in the Richmond and Point Grey Board of Trade but it is reasonable to assume that many of the Reeves and Councillors were members on account of their business interests. This assumption is strengthened somewhat by the fact that J.A. Paton served as secretary and president of the organization and that several other Reeves are known to have been members of the Vancouver Board of Trade. This organization it is suggested, played a similar role in Point Grey as the Vancouver Board of Trade played in Vancouver.

Central to the formation of the Board of Trade and also to the organization of the secession movement was M.R. Wells. Born in Prince Edward Island in May 1858 of Scottish parents he worked in the family sawmill business until coming to Vancouver in 1887. For ten years, until 1897 he operated as a contractor but in that year he built a sawmill at Central Park in Burnaby. This business he operated until 1900 when he established the Manitoba Lumber Company at Eburne. This he operated until 1908 when he became heavily involved in the real estate business, significantly in the same year that Point Grey's secession occurred. He built up a very considerable real estate business during the second decade of the century and also became involved in the motor car garage business. A Liberal in politics he was a Mason and a member of the Terminal City Club. He served on the South Vancouver School Board in 1906-1907 and was a member of the Point Grey Council in 1908 and again in 1913 and 1914.\textsuperscript{108} Described by another Point Grey eminence J.A. Paton, as the 'leading light' of the new Municipality,\textsuperscript{109} he had much in common with his fellow secessionist and Improvement Society member, C.M. Woodworth.
Woodworth was also a maritimer, born in 1868 in Nova Scotia. Attending Acadia College and Dalhousie he graduated from law in 1890 and entered 'articles' in the Company of Robert Borden. In 1893 he headed west to Edmonton where he practiced law until 1898 when he went to the Yukon. He again practiced law until in 1904 he came to Vancouver where between 1907-1909 he was in partnership with A.G. Smith, the drafter of the 1925 Town Planning Bill. He continued to practice law but held large forest holdings on the coast, a fruit ranch at Summerland and agricultural land on the Prairies. A member of the Terminal City Club and an active Baptist he was president of the Vancouver Conservative Club from 1906 to 1908 and president of the British Columbia Conservative Association from 1908 to 1910. By 1915 he had become an active prohibitionist embracing the Liberal reformers in the 1916 election and campaigning actively on their behalf.

The situation in Point Grey then was very similar to that in Vancouver with the political life dominated by businessmen and a major role being played in community affairs by the Board of Trade. The leading figures were also very similar in the two polities; successful businessmen who had migrated from eastern Canada between 1890 and 1910 and who had become actively engaged in business and public affairs. Now we must look at the leading organizations in South Vancouver.

The South Vancouver Board of Trade held its initial meeting on January 4th 1910 at which meeting R.C. Hodgson was elected president and C. Harrison secretary. Its Charter of incorporation was signed by the above mentioned as well as by W.A. Pound, J. Third, G. Barber and
D. Burgess; all of whom served the Municipality as either Councillor or Reeve. The Board took "the side of the administration in all questions and boosted South Vancouver steadily". By 1920 "It (was) ...the most influential non-political organization in South Vancouver".

R.C. Hodgson, C. Harrison and Harrison's business partner, K. Lamond, dominated the Board and as such exerted a great deal of influence in the Municipality.

Born in Chilliwack in 1872 Hodgson came to Vancouver in 1892 establishing a plumbing and hardware business in the city. This business expanded to major proportions - "In this capacity he has executed some of the largest plumbing contracts in the city and in the suburbs" and was always located in downtown Vancouver rather than in South Vancouver. Between 1910-1915 he was president of the South Vancouver Board of Trade where his chief concern was to develop the industrial potential of the North Arm of the Fraser River. From 1911 to 1914 he was chairman of the South Vancouver Conservative Association. From 1913 onwards he was a member of the North Fraser Harbour Commission being chairman from 1916.

The secretary of the Board, C. Harrison, was an Englishman from Crewe, Cheshire, who emigrated to Manitoba in 1906. Here he worked as a manager of a contracting firm before coming to Vancouver to establish his own contracting business. A member of the British Columbia Technical Association he became a major contractor for industrial construction projects specializing in the construction of coaling wharves, harbour jetties and similar works. As secretary of the Board of Trade he devoted a great deal of time to trying to establish a shipbuilding industry on the
North Arm of the Fraser. Harrison's business partner, and secretary of the Board when Harrison returned for a year's visit to England, was K. Lamond. Arriving in South Vancouver in 1910 from Edinburgh, Lamond was an extremely successful merchant in his native city being a free Burgess and member of the Merchant's Company of Edinburgh. He invested heavily in industrial property in South Vancouver and was one of the municipality's major business figures.

The situation in South Vancouver appears to conform to the same general pattern as was found in Point Grey and Vancouver; that of business government with a significant role played by the Board of Trade. The significant individuals appear to come from similar backgrounds and certainly were engaged in similar activities. They were to prove as eager to promote planning as their partners in Vancouver.

Early Land Use Controls

The Municipality of South Vancouver has a long history of land use control by-laws but in all cases it is difficult if not impossible to unearth the motives that guided the Councils in enacting them. All that is possible for most of this section is to give an account of the passage of the by-laws and to set these into the context of their time. Direct evidence of the involvement of organizations and individuals is unfortunately not available. The situation regarding Point Grey is similar although in this case more can be said on the underlying motives of the principal actors. In both cases, however the connections being suggested cannot be documented as was possible for the city of Vancouver. This should be borne in mind as
the reader passes through the next section as it possesses a solidity that perhaps is illusory.

The first land use control by-law passed in the Municipality of South Vancouver was the slaughter house by-law of 1895. This was followed by a modified slaughter house by-law in 1903 and the first major land use by-law, the 1911 building by-law. This 1911 building by-law was a very comprehensive document with twenty-two sections covering all aspects of building design, regulations concerning special use buildings such as movie theatres and churches, and regulations concerning the maximum amount of a lot that could be covered by a building. No specifications were made in this by-law concerning use areas, minimum set backs or lot size but the form of construction of buildings permissable was specified in some detail. Lot size regulations were introduced in Point Grey the same year as the South Vancouver Building By-law, in 1911. The following year saw a spate of by-laws with the Building By-law, the Subdivision Plans By-law and the Boulevards By-law. These by-laws between them specified minimum lot size, maximum lot coverage, etc. but did not specify permis­sible land uses or minimum set backs. At the end of 1912 then both Municipalities could exercise considerable control over the nature of a property to be developed but could not control the property's function or in South Vancouver's case its size. Following 1912 there was a lull in activity for ten years with only minor modifications being made to the existing by-laws in the meanwhile. The one modification of any signifi­cance was the 1919 modification in Point Grey of the Subdivision Plan and Building By-laws in which the minimum lot size was doubled to 5,000 sq. ft.
These 1911 and 1912 By-laws can be seen as attempts by the Point Grey and South Vancouver Councils to control the quickening pace of development that was taking place in their Municipalities. The 1911 and 1912 councils in both Municipalities were dominated by businessmen who in Point Grey comprised the whole council and in South Vancouver accounted for four out of five councillors each year. Both Municipalities were growing quickly due to the effects of the 1908-1913 real estate boom and although yearly population totals are not available for either Municipality some idea of this growth can be obtained from the decennial census figures for 1901, 1911 and 1921. South Vancouver's population in 1901 was given as 1,520. This rose tenfold to 16,126 in 1911 and to 32,267 in 1921. The increase between 1901 and 1911 occurred despite the loss of Point Grey. In 1901 the population of what was to become Point Grey was minimal as the bulk of the population of the original South Vancouver lived east of Ontario Street but by 1911 4,320 inhabitants were recorded and by 1921 this figure had risen to 13,736. These increases, dramatic as they stand, are even more so when one realizes that a high proportion of the increase occurred in the years of the real estate boom, 1908-1913. Population increases before and after the boom were minimal with a loss being experienced between 1913 and 1916. Such rapid growth caused a great deal of stress and as such led to an increase in reform activity. We have already noted that this occurred in Vancouver City whose own comprehensive building by-law was passed early in the real estate boom in 1908. In South Vancouver stress was very severe due to the prodigious demand created for services. Resulting reform activity was seen in the passing of the Building
By-law, an attempt to control development, in the election of 'reform' Reeves in 1912, 1913 and 1914, and in the formation of the 'Voters League' in 1912. The 'reform Reeves' were J.A. Kerr, a real estate broker, and T. Dickie, a Vancouver lawyer. These men wished, as did the business-man dominated Voters League, to control the municipal borrowing that had increased so dramatically since the 1910 displacement of Reeve Rae by Reeve Pound. The period's activity can be characterized as being the response of the business community to the severe stresses caused by very rapid growth. In an attempt to 'service' this growth with improvements the Council went heavily into debt, a new departure for the Municipality. The growth was unplanned and as such a haphazard landscape was created that was very expensive to service. These factors taken together caused the discontent that is reflected in the election of businessmen as Reeves and Councillors, in the formation of a Voters League by major business and real estate interests and in the passing of the building by-laws. The events in South Vancouver are very similar to the ones we looked at in Vancouver.

Point Grey offers a variation on a theme. The enaction of land use control by-laws in Point Grey is best seen not as a response by the business dominated councils to the stresses of growth but as an attempt by them to channel and make efficient and economic the growth they anticipated would occur. The leaders of the secessionists were businessmen whose prime complaint had been the lack of investments in improvements in Point Grey. When they acquired office they naturally turned their attention to the provision of improvements and as they were dealing with virtually 'virgin territory', like good businessmen, they attempted to do so in an orderly
and efficient manner. That the municipality was destined to grow and that this growth could be controlled to produce an efficient, economic and beautiful landscape were the underlying assumptions of the early councils. In his inaugural address to the first Council, the Realtor Reeve S.L. Howe said:

"The importance of the Municipality which we have the honor to represent, as the first council, would be hard to overestimate, lying, as it does, alongside the great City of Vancouver ... whose fast growing population will soon overflow her boundaries and quickly convert this municipality in a thickly settled and most beautiful residential district." 132

This desire to plan for the future to ensure efficient orderly development was noted by J.A. Paton in an article on the role of planning in Point Grey. 133 The goals of the South Vancouver reformers and the men just discussed in Point Grey were essentially the same. The situations they found themselves in however were very different: In one case they were dealing with essentially underdeveloped bush, in the other with a population approaching 30,000 people located in a most haphazard manner. This point will be returned to later for it is a critical point I think if we are to understand the similarities and differences between the two Municipalities.
The First Zoning By-Laws

Following the reform activity discussed there came a ten year period that lasted through the First World War and the subsequent depression during which the only land use legislation enacted were minor changes to existing by-laws. The years after 1920 however saw an increase in the rate of growth and also as we have seen a quickening of the pace in the movement to get town planning legislation enacted. This drive to get planning legislation was not successful until 1925 but, as noted above, amendments in 1921 to Section 54 of Chapter 52 of the Municipal Act gave powers to Municipal Councils to fix building lines, fix future street right-of-ways, regulate housing densities, regulate noxious industries and to 'zone' their Municipalities into residential, commercial and industrial areas. These powers were obtained largely due to the efforts of Reeve W.H. Lembke of Point Grey who argued strongly for them to the legislature. Point Grey soon took advantage of these new powers in its Town Planning By-law of 1922, this being the first by-law in Canada that could be described as a zoning by-law. The Municipality was divided into commercial, industrial and residential zones within which only certain specified types of buildings could be erected. Minimum setbacks were specified for both residential areas, 20% of the depth of the lot up to a maximum of 30 ft. from the front of the lot, and for commercial areas, 40 ft. from the centre of the street. Regulations were also made concerning pre-existing non-conforming use buildings and the penalties to be applied to offenders. The vast majority of the Municipality was designated as residential with only very limited areas in the commercial or industrial
category. Map Three indicates the extent of the various zones. This pattern was largely a rationalization of the status quo with the exception of the industrial area which was largely an unrealized dream. This pattern of zones was to remain essentially unaltered in later plans.

Less than two years after the Point Grey By-law, South Vancouver passed its own Town Planning By-law in June 1924. The South Vancouver Council in April had informed Premier Oliver that they supported the passing of planning legislation;

"That the letter from the Honorable, the Premier, re Town Planning Act be replied to, stating that this council is in favor of the Town Planning Act as submitted by a Joint Committee from the City of Vancouver and adjacent Municipalities and sponsored in the House by Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith"

A month earlier they had endorsed the proposed legislation and requested the South Vancouver Board of Trade to endorse and support the measure as it was brought before the legislature. Two months later they passed the Town Planning By-law under the authority of the Municipal Act. This by-law was almost identical to the Point Grey by-law establishing use zones for residential, commercial and industrial purposes and specifying minimum setbacks, 20 ft. from the front of the lot in residential areas and 40 ft. from the centre of the road in commercial areas. In addition to this it specified a minimum residential lot size of 5,000 square feet; a provision not found in the Point Grey Town Planning By-law but present in their amended Subdivision Plans by-law of 1920. The use zones are shown in
Map Three, the most noticeable features being the strip commercial zones and the industrial use slated for the North Arm of the Fraser River.

By mid-1924 then both the suburban Municipalities had passed Town Planning By-laws based on the provisions of the Municipal Act. As was the case with the 1911-1913 By-laws these later Town Planning By-laws were enacted by councils comprised of businessmen. The 1922 Reeve for Point Grey was W.H. Lembke, a major real estate broker, who headed a council comprising two contractors, a real estate broker, a merchant and a retired merchant, a manager of a machinery company and a Barrister. The 1924 South Vancouver council was headed by Reeve T. Brooks, the manager and part owner of an office supplies wholesaler located on Seymour Street in downtown Vancouver. His council included a shoe merchant, a building contractor, the owner of an iron works, the president of a sign and billboard company, the managers of a hotel supply company and an insurance company and the secretary of the Carpenters Union. With this last exception all council members were, or had been, involved with the business community. At this point, 1924, Vancouver had enacted no such By-laws and was operating with its building by-law as the only means of land use control. This was not due to the rejection of the idea of planning by the Vancouver Council for as we have seen they were actively engaged in the drive to get planning legislation enacted but because Vancouver was not empowered to pass such legislation. The City of Vancouver was not subject to the provisions of the Municipal Act but operated under its own Charter. As such the changes to the Municipal Act had no effect on the situation in Vancouver where an amendment to the City Charter would have to have been obtained from the
legislature. This the council chose not to seek electing to support the drive for the passing of a more comprehensive Province-wide Town Planning Act.

Summary and Discussion

The basic argument I have presented in the material on South Vancouver and Point Grey is that the process whereby planning became established in these Municipalities was essentially the same process as that which occurred in Vancouver. In short planning became established as the result of the business community's desire to control and guide the extremely rapid growth that occurred during the real estate booms of 1908-1913 and the early nineteen twenties. The dominance of the business community in the political life of the two municipalities has been demonstrated as has the important position of the respective Board of Trades. The enactment of the various land use control by-laws in periods of quick growth when reform activity was taking place helps demonstrate the intent of the legislation. It has not been possible however to document directly the connections between the various elements in this argument as conclusively as was possible for Vancouver but the essential similarity of the process in the three places is clear.

This argument of course contradicts the ideas espoused by Gibson in his work on the landscape impact of social beliefs in Vancouver. His basic argument is that different social groups became established in the two Municipalities of South Vancouver and Point Grey, artisans and workingmen forming the population of South Vancouver with the managerial and
professional classes inhabiting Point Grey. These two social groups are then asserted to have elected councils of very different types; - the South Vancouver Council being comprised largely of Union men with the Point Grey Council being dominated by businessmen. These councils then pursued very different policies, the South Vancouver policy being one of municipal socialism aimed at increasing the demand for the skills of artisans and tradesmen while the Point Grey policy was one of the rational application of municipal capitalism to ensure a secure life for all. This resulted in the enactment of a series of land use control by-laws in Point Grey which in conjunction with a definite parks and boulevards policy led to the creation of an ordered naturalistic landscape for the Municipality; the so-called Lotus Eater's Face. The policy in South Vancouver, however, lead to an essentially disordered landscape due to the piecemeal manner in which improvements were performed, to the lack of land use control by-laws and the lack of a parks and boulevards policy. This was South Vancouver's Logger's Face. In short, two councils composed of, and representing, different sorts of people pursued very different policies that led to the creation of different landscapes. Intuitively very appealing, the argument contains some points of contention.

The starting point of Gibson's thesis, that South Vancouver's population was largely working class and that Point Grey's population was largely managerial or professional is not disputed. Both Kerr and Barford discuss the essentially working class composition of the population of South Vancouver while the managerial nature of Point Grey's population is revealed by the 1921 Canadian Census. Kerr, followed by Gibson,
asserted that this led to a distinct rivalry between the two municipalities:

"Population in the eastern 'artisan' sector was greater - a majority sufficient to elect their candidates to the South Vancouver Council. A strong antagonism was built up between the two areas." 149

Kerr however offers no evidence in support of this statement as was also the case with Lewis who in 1920 asserted;

"South Vancouver became the home of the industrial classes and the reeves and councils of the district were drawn from this class." 150

As we have seen however the evidence does not support this argument. The secession of Point Grey, certainly, was due to dissatisfaction with the level of investment in improvements on the west side of the Municipality but to attribute this to the machinations of a union dominated council is debatable. Unless there was a sharp change in the character of the councils elected in South Vancouver after 1908 it is safe to assume that the councils before this date were composed largely of businessmen. We have already seen evidence that the councilors were heavily involved with the real estate industry in the early years of the century and it is difficult to imagine that the secession of 'managerial' Point Grey in 1908 would lead to an increase in business and professional representation on the councils of the rump Municipality of South Vancouver. It should also be noted that while it was true that investment in improvements on the west side was very low this was largely the case for the whole municipality prior to the date of
secession. At the end of 1907 the total debt contracted by South Vancouver for roads and schools was only $209,000. Of this amount only $24,000 was for schools and no sidewalk, sewer or water debentures had been sold. Investment in improvements up to the Reeveship of Round in 1910-1911 was minimal throughout the Municipality. The evidence I suggest does not support the argument that the nature of the councils was different in the two Municipalities.

That the policies implemented by the two councils were significantly different is also open to question. We have already seen that they had a similar history of enactment of land use control by-laws; the first being passed in the real estate boom of 1910-1913 with a second group, including zoning, being passed in the early 1920's. That the attitude of the two councils toward real estate speculators was different is also to be questioned. As we have seen this industry was well represented on both councils and to claim as does Gibson that the 1897 adoption of the single tax system was an open attempt to control land speculation is to forget that the City of Vancouver operated under this system during this period. In fact the single tax, if anything was designed to stimulate development as it did not penalize the land speculator whose properties remained unsold for some time for he only had to pay taxes on land, not the buildings. The repeal of the single tax became an election issue in Vancouver in the 1916 mayoralty race with much of the haphazard development of the real estate boom being blamed on it. The connections between the British Columbia single tax and the single tax of the followers of Henry George were tenuous as is pointed out by Lewis who points out that the
intent of the British Columbia single tax was not 'socialistic'. The interpretation of the single tax as a tool of corporate socialism is to be questioned.

Just as we agreed with the beginning point of Gibson's argument we find ourselves in agreement with the end point; namely that the landscapes of the two Municipalities were different, although Gibson's explanation for the differences is misleading. If as we have suggested the two councils were composed of essentially similar people pursuing essentially similar policies how is it that the landscapes that were created were so different?

The crux of the argument being presented concerns the date of the development in the two municipalities. Prior to 1908 the two municipalities were united and so one cannot attribute any differences up to this date to differing municipal policies. Up to this date the majority of development had taken place in the eastern section of the municipality. The exact populations of the two sections are not known but by 1911 South Vancouver's was 16,126 with Point Grey at 4,320. The 1908 populations were considerably less than this; Some indication of the small size of the Point Grey population is given by the fact that in the first municipal election, held in January 1908, there were only 62 eligible voters, this representing all male British subjects over 21 years old who had resided in Point Grey for more than one year. This 1908 population was located in a series of clusters. In South Vancouver the interurban settlements of Cedar Cottage and Collingwood were clusters as were the areas centered on Main Street and Sixteenth Avenue and Fraser Street and Wilson Road (now 41st Avenue). In Point Grey, Eburne, the centre of the 1908 secessionists, and, on a
limited scale, Kerrisdale were the only two distinguishable clusters. This then was the pattern of development at the time of the split; development that had taken place outside the provisions of any land use control by-laws. It was with this situation that the two councils of 1908 had to contend and which I would argue was responsible for the landscape differences noted by Gibson. The 'Loggers Face' is I argue the result of the earlier, haphazard, uncontrolled nature of the development of South Vancouver. In an uncontrolled situation the development that took place produced a disordered environment. This was not the result of council policy however for I argue that the landscapes produced in Point Grey prior to 1911 were just as disordered as were those in the eastern sector. Was Eburne a more coherent landscape than Collingwood or Cedar Cottage? The maps contained in Barford would suggest not. The sections of South Vancouver that developed after the passage of the 1911 and 1924 by-laws were every bit as 'ordered' as the landscapes produced in Point Grey after the passage of their 1911, 1912 and 1922 by-laws. In Point Grey this constituted a major proportion of the Municipality while in South Vancouver no such major sections were left to be so guided and controlled. The Point Grey by-laws were to have a greater landscape impact than the almost identical South Vancouver By-laws for the simple reason that a much higher proportion of Point Grey's development was subject to them. At the scale of the individual lot the more formal landscaping of the west side is probably best explained in terms of the higher incomes of west side residents, many of whom had hired gardeners. It is at this scale that class differences may have played a real role in landscape formation.
Another reason that the landscape of Point Grey appears to be so dramatically different from that of South Vancouver lies in the development that took place within the CPR land grant. The bulk of this land grant was within Point Grey with only a small portion lying to the east of the Bridge Street boundary. This land grant was developed by the CPR as a series of residential subdivisions that were landscaped and planned into naturalistic patterns. In the decades following the Shaughnessy Heights development of 1909 the CPR developed the land grant as a series of residential subdivisions. The landscapes of these developments comprised a large area of the Municipality of Point Grey which thus acquired 'planned landscapes' independent of the actions of the council. The epitome of these areas, Shaughnessy Heights, was planned and partially developed before the passage of any land use by-laws and as such its landscape did not reflect council but CPR policy. This point is strengthened by the fact that the landscapes within that part of the CPR land grant that falls within the Municipality of South Vancouver are every bit as ordered and planned as those to the west of the boundary. The fact that the CPR's land grant was developed in a 'planned' manner further strengthens the argument that planning was essentially a business movement. Under no legal obligation to do so the most important real estate development company in the city found it to be in its own interest to develop landscapes in a controlled manner.

In opposition to Gibson's argument, then, I have argued that the process of land use control that took place in Point Grey was essentially the same as that which took place in South Vancouver. Furthermore, these
were very similar to what happened in the City of Vancouver. The similarity of the process is belied in the differences in the landscapes that were created. These differences are explained however in terms of the date of the development that took place in the two Municipalities and in terms of the actions of the CPR in developing its land grant.

This section brings to a close the material on the establishment of planning legislation in Vancouver and its suburbs. In the next chapter we see what action was taken by the city and the municipalities once the Town Planning Act was in force.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR


2. N. MacDonald. 'Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver 1880-1960' Pacific Historical Review Vol. XXXIX #3 (August 1970) p 301. These figures were obtained from the Annual Report, City of Vancouver.


8. VDP January 14th, 1911. p 3.


12. Vancouver City Council Minutes. 1914 passim.


14. MacDonald (1972) op.cit. p 34 gives numerous examples of the decline in real estate prices.

15. The categories and assignment procedures are discussed in footnote 15 of Chapter Two.

16. The number of mayoral candidates for each election was obtained from the results as reported in the Vancouver Daily Province and
the Vancouver Sun. In 1913 T.S. Baxter won by acclamation due to his two opponents being disqualified on technicalities. I have regarded this as being three candidates.

17. VDP January 4th, 1915. p 4
VDP January 5th, 1915. p 2, p 5, p 10
Vancouver Sun December 31st, 1914. p 1.


21. M. McBeath polled 3,122 compared to the 2,488 of T. Kirkpatrick his nearest rival.


23. I bid.

26. Vancouver Board of Trade. City Planning and Housing Section of the Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of January 28th, 1918.
29. I bid.
30. I bid.
33. Vancouver Board of Trade. City Planning and Housing section of the Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of January 17th, 1918.
34. I bid.
35. Minutes of Special Meeting between Town Planning Committee of Civic Bureau and Representatives of Cities and Municipalities of Greater Vancouver. February 7th, 1918.

36. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of February 26th, 1918.


38. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of September 6th, 1918.


41. Robin. op. cit. p 164.

42. Robin. op. cit. p 166.

44. Robin. *op.cit.* p 166-172.


47. V.D.P. January 31st, 1919. Quoted in Robin *op.cit.* p 179.


49. Vancouver Board of Trade. Special Minute Book. Meeting of Representative Citizens to draw up a platform of principles with a view to the formation of a Citizens League. August 7th, 1918.

50. Vancouver Board of Trade. Legal and Legislative Bureau Minutes. Meeting of April 2nd, 1919.

51. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of May 22nd, 1919.

52. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of September 16th, 1919.

54. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of September 16th, 1919.


58. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of November 20th, 1919.

59. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of January 28th, 1921.


61. I bid.

62. V.D.C. February 10th, 1921. p 3.

V.S. February 9th, 1929. p 6 (3rd section).

64. I bid.


67. I bid.


69. Robin. op.cit. p 189.

70. J.T.P.I.C. Volume III #3 (June 1924 p 19).

71. I bid.

72. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Executive Minutes Meeting of April 6th, 1923.

73. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of November 8th, 1923.

74. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of
December 10th, 1923.

75. J.T.P.I.C. Volume III #3 (June 1924) p 19.  

76. I bid.


78. I bid.


82. J.T.P.I.C. Volume III #3 (June 1924) p 20.

83. Walker op.cit. p 7.
84. Vancouver Board of Trade. Legal and Legislative Bureau Minutes. Meeting of February 19th, 1924.


86. Walker op.cit. p 7.


89. Walker op.cit. p 8.

90. I bid.
91. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of August 7th, 1924.

92. J.T.P.I.C. Volume 4 #6 (December 1925) p 11.

93. The proposed Act is reproduced in J.T.P.I.C. Volume IV #1 (January 1925) p.9-12.

94. The Bill as modified and eventually passed is reproduced in J.T.P.I.C. Volume V #1 (February 1926) p 3-6.


99. If the reader desires to do so the relevant acts can be located as follows:
The British Columbia Town Planning Act as Passed. JTPIC Volume V #1 (February 1926) p 3-6.

100. A.G. Smith 'The British Columbia Town Planning Act'
J.T.P.I.C. Volume IV #1 (February 1926) p 8.


102. I bid.

103. Smith. op.cit. p 10.

104. VDP October 21st 1928. p 9 (magazine section).

105. VDP March 16th 1908. p 8.

106. The role of the BOT in conjunction with the Point Grey Council is evident from:
PGG September 16th 1922. p 2.
VS February 7th 1929. p 6 (3rd section).

107. V.D.C. February 10th, 1921. p 3.
V.D.T. March 30th, 1922. p 16.


111. Robin. op.cit. p 156, 162.


113. Lewis. op.cit. p 34.

114. I bid.

115. I bid.


117. Lewis. op.cit. p 7, 9.

118. Lewis. op.cit. p 9, 11.

119. Lewis. op.cit. p 11, 13.

120. Municipality of South Vancouver. Bylaw number 23. 17th August
1895. 'A By-law Regulating Slaughter Houses and other noxious trades and nuisances'.

121. Municipality of South Vancouver. By-law number 64. 18th April, 1903. 'A By-law for regulating the erecting and maintenance of slaughterhouses and other noxious trades.'

122. Municipality of South Vancouver By-law number 167. 21st October 1911. "A By-law for regulating the erection and to provide for the safety of buildings".

123. Municipality of Point Grey. By-law #13-1911. June 30th 1911. "Dwelling House By-law 1911". This By-law specified a minimum lot size of 2,500 sq. ft. with 15% of the lot to remain vacant following improvement.

124. Municipality of Point Grey By-law #10-1912. 23rd April 1912. "Building By-law". A comprehensive By-law very similar to South Vancouver's By-law #14-1912. 10th June 1912. "Point Grey Boulevards By-law 1912". This empowered the council to pay houseowners two dollars for each tree planted at the line of poles, etc. and that was flourishing after two years. By-law #34-1912. 17th September 1912. "Point Grey Subdivision Approval By-law 1912." This specified a procedure whereby all plans submitted had to be scrutinized and approved by the municipal
engineer, the subdivision committee and then the council. Minimum lot size was set at 2,500 sq. ft. in accordance with the provisions of the Building By-law.

125. Municipality of Point Grey. By-law #10-1919. 27th May 1919. This By-law increased the minimum lot size provision of By-law #14-1912 to 5,000 sq. ft.

126. V.D.P. January 16th, 1911. p 17.
V.D.P. January 15th, 1912. p 2.
V.D.P. January 15th, 1912. p 3.

127. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 30. The census of Canada, figures compiled by the Inspector of Municipalities and Vancouver City Directory estimates provided the data for Bartholomew's graphs.


129. City of Vancouver. By-law Number 619. 27th April 1908. "A By-law for regulating the erection and to provide for the safety of Buildings". This was the first true building by-law. Previous by-laws
regulating building construction were concerned primarily with establishing certain building standards that were to be adhered to in the various city fire zones. A plethora of such by-laws, originating with By-law #6 passed on July 19th 1887 just after the Great Fire, were passed during the 1890's and early 1900's.

Bartholomew, op.cit. p 309 discussed the strains created by growth.

Lewis, op.cit. p 28.

132. Quoted in Bartholomew, op.cit. p 297.


134. Figures for the value of building permits issued for the years 1922-1926 are given for the City of Vancouver and for Point Grey and South Vancouver in Bartholomew, op.cit. p 32.

135. See footnote 68 this Chapter.
136. See footnote 67 this Chapter.

137. Municipality of Point Grey. By-law #44-1922. 5th September 1922. "Town Planning By-law".


139. Municipality of South Vancouver. By-law number 719. 5th June 1924. "Town Planning By-law #1".


143. V.D.P. January 16th 1922. p 7. Occupations from Vancouver City Directory.

144. V.D.P. January 21st 1924. p 11. Occupations from the official ballot.

The ideas I discuss were first introduced by Gibson in this thesis. He has since published the relevant section of the argument as 'Lotus Eaters, Loggers and the Vancouver Landscape'. p 57-74 in "Cultural Discord in the Modern World. Geographical Themes". editors L.J. Evenden and F.F. Cunningham. B.C. Geographical Series Number 20. (Vancouver. Tantalus. 1974).


149. Kerr. op.cit. p 52.
150. Lewis. op.cit. p 18.


153. The City of Vancouver operated under a system of partial or total exemption of taxation on improvements from 1895 until after the beginning of World War One. V.S. January 7th, 1914.


155. Lewis. op.cit. p 12.

156. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 30.

157. V.D.P. October 21st 1928. p 9 (magazine section)

158. Kerr. op.cit. p 47.
Barford. op.cit. p 5-12.

159. Kerr. op.cit. p 47.
Barford. op.cit. p 12-19.

160. Barford. op.cit. p 12, 18.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE BARTHOLOMEW PLAN OF 1929: BUSINESS PLANNING IN ACTION

As we have seen, an Act enabling the Cities and Municipalities of British Columbia to engage in town planning was passed by the Provincial Legislature on December 18th, 1925. This Act was optional thus placing the onus to act on the cities and municipalities. In Vancouver and Point Grey action was soon forthcoming.

EARLY ACTIVITY

The Formation of the Planning Commissions

Three days after the passing of the Act, on Monday, 21st December 1925 a Notice of Motion was given at the City Council Meeting in respect to a Town Planning By-law for the City.¹ This By-law was passed on February 1st 1926 and brought into existence the first official Vancouver Town Planning Commission.² This Commission was authorized to assist the City Council in an advisory capacity regarding the development and subsequent modification of a city plan and zoning ordinance paying special regard to the promotion of public health, safety, convenience and welfare, to the prevention of residential overcrowding, to the appropriate land use of a district and to the conservation and enhancement of property values.³ One month later on March 1st 1926 the members of this Commission were duly appointed by the Council.⁴ Most of the Commission members had been active in the movement to get planning adopted and had already served as members of
The unofficial Town Planning Commission that City Council had appointed in February 1925 in response to a memorandum requesting such action from the Vancouver Branch of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. The draft Town Planning Act of 1924 was as we have seen held over by the Legislature pending minor modification. In anticipation of the Act being passed at the 1925 session the Vancouver Branch of the Town Planning Institute proposed that the City Council adopt an unofficial Town Planning Commission to maintain some continuity between the joint Institute - City Committee responsible for drafting the Act and the City Planning Commission that would be created as a result of the Act. The composition of this unofficial Commission included members of the City Hall technical staff; members of City Council and representatives of interested public and private organizations such as the Real Estate Exchange, the Board of Trade, the Property Owners Association, the Town Planning Institute, the Architectural Institute, the Parks Board and the Harbours Board. Prominent members of this Commission included W.E. Bland, A.G. Smith, G.L.T. Sharp and J. Rogers. In order to facilitate the work of the official commission when it was formed, the unofficial commission had secured an office, hired a part-time secretary, J.A. Walker, begun collecting materials for a small town planning library and engaged a draughtsman who, under the supervision of the city engineer was to prepare a land use map of the City. When the official commission members were appointed in March 1926 many of them had in effect been already serving for one year in an unofficial capacity.

The composition of this first commission reflects the strong influence of the business community with five of the nine appointed members
being prominent members of the Board of Trade. The Chairman was A.G. Smith, the drafter of the Town Planning Act and Provincial Registrar of Titles. Vice-Chairman was Colonel W.G. Swan, a consulting civil engineer and chief engineer of the Vancouver Harbour Commission. He was a prominent member of the Board of Trade's Engineering Bureau. W. E. Bland, the Chairman of the Publicity Committee needs no introduction as he has figured prominently already. J.W. Allan was another realtor and executive member of the Board of Trade's Civic Bureau who served on the first commission as Chairman of the Zoning Committee. Chairman of the Roads Committee was another civil engineer, A.E. Foreman. He had served as Chief Engineer of the British Columbia Public Works Department but at the time of his Commission membership was the British Columbia representative of the Portland Cement Company. He was an active member of the Board of Trade serving as an executive of the Civic Bureau in 1933 and 1934. The last of the appointed members who was also a member of the Board of Trade was G.L.T. Sharp. A prominent architect and member of the Town Planning Institute he was the only member who concurrently served on the Point Grey and Vancouver Planning Commissions. The three remaining appointees were W.A. Clark, a retired newspaperman who represented the Associated Property Owners, W. Deptford, a B.C.E.R. Motorman who represented the Trades and Labour Council and Mrs. A.M. McGovern, the only lady on the Commission and the representative of the local Council of Women.7

The majority of the ex-officio members were also businessmen. City Council was represented by Mayor L.D. Taylor who had been a successful journalist as owner of the Vancouver World but was by 1926 a professional
politician; School Board representative was A.L. McWilliams, an accountant for the major wholesaling company Kelly Douglas. The Parks Board had two representatives over the year. The first was W.C. Shelly, a millionaire baker who was to become finance minister in the 1928 Tolmie government. His replacement was another prominent member of the business class, J. Rogers, ex-president of the Board of Trade. The other two members were both engineers, Lt. Col. G.H. Kirkpatrick representing the Harbour Commissioners and E.A. Cleveland representing the Joint Water and Sewerage Board.8

Nearly all members of the first Town Planning Commission then were members of the business community. A majority were actually members of the Board of Trade and of those that weren't only two, W. Deptford, and Mrs. A.M. McGovern were not in some way engaged in business activity. Deptford was a 'working man' and Mrs. McGovern was a widow. Most of the business representatives were involved in some capacity with the property business with realtors and engineers being particularly significant. The composition of the Commission clearly reflects the role played by the Board of Trade in the establishment of planning, a role that was to remain important for the next few years.

In the Municipality of Point Grey events took a similar course. The Point Grey Council had also appointed an unofficial Town Planning Commission in 19259 passing the by-law officially creating this entity in March 1926, one month after Vancouver.10 This by-law was textually very similar to the Vancouver by-law conferring almost identical powers on the Commission with respect to the creation of an official plan and zoning
ordinance. As was the case in Vancouver most members of the Commission were from the ranks of the business community. Chairman was the already discussed F.E. Buck who headed a commission comprising Mrs. D. Steeves, N.J. Ker, the C.P.R. Land Commissioner, F.J. McCleery, a prominent businessman, G.L.T. Sharp, an architect who served also on the Vancouver Commission; and J. Elliott, a land surveyor. Three of these men were members of the Town Planning Institute. Ex-officio members included the Reeve, Mr. J.A. Paton, a major business figure we have already discussed, W. Loat, a major real estate promoter who represented the Parks and Plans Committee; and W.B. Tullidge, the School Board Representative. Only two members, Mrs. Steeves and Buck were not businessmen. Mrs. Steeves, like Buck, was interested in the role planning could play in promoting social change. She was an important lifelong member of the CCF and NDP and saw planning as a means of controlling the worst excesses of capitalist development. This view of planning was typified in the LSR publication 'Social Planning in Canada' already discussed. Property interests were again well represented with four members relying on real estate activity for their primary source of income.

Both Commissions then were dominated by businessmen and both had numerous representatives of the property industry among their ranks. The Town Planning Institute was also well represented with four members sitting on the Point Grey Commission and seven on the Vancouver Commission. The Commission's personnel therefore reflected the two major groups involved in the drive for planning legislation, the Board of Trade and the Town Planning Institute of Canada. Many of the members of these Commissions have already
been discussed and have emerged as holding distinct views on the role to be played by town planning. It is toward a consideration of the action taken by these groups that we now turn.

The Acquiring of Expert Assistance

Following the creation of the two Planning Commissions there was a short period during which they laid out their programs of work. This was done on a co-operative basis with joint meetings of the Commissions and their various committees being regularly held.¹² It was soon agreed that a comprehensive city plan was needed if planning was to be carried on both rationally and efficiently. It was also soon decided that the preparation of such a plan was beyond the competence of the Commissions and that outside 'expert' assistance was required.

With the aim of securing such assistance the Vancouver Commission placed a series of advertisements in both local and eastern Canadian and American Newspapers in mid May 1926 requesting tenders be submitted for town planning consultant work.¹³ A limited number of well known Canadian and American planning firms were also contacted on an individual basis. Several of these companies were contacted simply because they were Canadian but it is instructive to look at the American companies contacted as the list reveals the Commission's distinct preference for planning consultants who were clearly identified as 'city efficient' planners. The list of those contacted, Morris Knowles, George B. Ford, Ernest Goodrich, John Nolen, Thomas Adams, Harland Bartholomew and Robert Whitten contains the name of almost every important member of this group of planners. The only
contact: who was not clearly identified with this group was E.H. Bennett, who was a prominent member of the City Beautiful movement in the early part of the century. By the mid 1920's however he was working in cooperation with Adams, Bartholomew, Nolen, Ford and Goodrich on the Regional Plan of New York and was beginning to be identified with the functional planning group. It is significant that the commission did not seek the services of planners such as Frederick Law Olmsted Junior who did not produce plans in the style of the City Efficient planners. It appears that the commission was well aware of which group of planners held views that were coincident with their own. Several of these companies wrote thanking the Commission but expressing no desire to become involved in the work. Others, however, expressed an interest, amongst them the Toronto based company of H.L. Seymour and A.G. Dalgell, the new New York based company of Thomas Adams and the St. Louis based company of H. Bartholomew. Adams' interest was marginal; while he wished his company to be considered he wrote to the Commission on two occasions urging the hiring of Seymour and Dalzell on the grounds that they were more familiar with Canadian planning problems and procedures than was anyone else. Neither of these companies was to be successful for while Adams was recommending Seymour and Dalzell, Bartholomew and Associates were successfully wooing the Commission with an impressive array of completed plans, proposed services, estimates of costs and proposed modus operandi. In a telegram of June 21st and a letter of the next day Bartholomew offered to produce a comprehensive city plan for Vancouver for roughly $35,000.00. This cost included visits from Bartholomew and his associates plus the salary of a resident field engineer who was in the
employ of Bartholomew and who was to direct the day to day preparation of
the plan. Included with the letter were copies of two of Bartholomew's
recently completed city plans, those of Memphis and Toledo, and a detailed
outline city planning program. This submission won the support of the
commission with the result that the City Council passed a resolution of
July 30th 1926 to the effect:

"That the City enter into an Agreement with the
Town Planning Commission to finance the work of
preparation of a Town Planning Scheme by
Mr. Bartholomew and his staff, the total cost not
to exceed $40,000.00, same to extend over a period
of approximately three (3) years, and that
$6,000.00 be appropriated for this purpose for the
balance of the year."

Bartholomew hired H. Seymour of Seymour and Dalzell as resident engineer
for the Vancouver study. Almost simultaneously the Point Grey Commission
was signing a similar contract with Bartholomew. J. Elliott, a member of
the original Point Grey Commission, was to supervise the plan.

Hiring an American Company did not go without comment. Both
T. Adams, who had become a Canadian Citizen while in the employ of the
Commission of Conservation, and N. Cauchon, a planner resident in Ottawa,
went to express their disappointment over the hiring of a non-Canadian.
The choice of Bartholomew was defended by W.G. Swan, a member of the
Vancouver Commission and a prominent member of the Board of Trade, in a
speech to the Industrial Bureau of the Board of Trade made in early October.
In this speech he claimed that no Canadian firm possessed the experience necessary to undertake such a major project and that of all the applicants Bartholomew was the most qualified. He also claimed that the experience he would gain working for Bartholomew would prove invaluable to Seymour. So it was that with the aid of a Canadian resident engineer a midwestern American planning company came to prepare a comprehensive plan for the largest city on the west coast of Canada. The choice of Bartholomew to prepare the city plan was as just discussed not the only choice open to the Commission. Other planners were actively considered and if one of these had been hired the details of the plan produced would no doubt have been different. In all cases however the planners that were considered, if they had been hired, would have produced a plan of the same type as that prepared by Bartholomew. All were city efficient planners whose plans were 'comprehensive' and long term. All had the same basic belief that the role of planning was to facilitate efficient and orderly growth and as such all produced plans with a great deal in common. The choice of a different planner from the short list would not have seen a significantly different type of plan produced.

Preparing for the Plan

No time was lost by Bartholomew and by the end of September the Town Planning Commission was in the position to announce the order in which the planning studies would be conducted. The first three reports would all be concerned with the City's circulation system: a major street report, a transit system report and a transportation report dealing with railroad and
port problems. Following these reports would be three others concerned with public recreation, zoning and civic art. Coincidentally with the first stages of the planning work, the Commission was facing the thorny problem of establishing an interim zoning by-law to prevent speculation taking place before the passing of the zoning ordinance that was to be part of the comprehensive plan. The Town Planning Commission had petitioned Council to expedite the passing of an interim zoning by-law as early as August due to the problems that had resulted from the passing of individual by-laws declaring certain restricted sections of the City 'residential areas'. The passing of an overall zoning by-law would eliminate the need for these piecemeal by-laws and would allow for more orderly real estate development. As a result of this request an interim zoning by-law was drafted by a Joint Committee of City Council and the Town Planning Commission and introduced to Council on October 21st. The by-law proposed that the City be divided into three land use types; residence districts, apartment districts and unrestricted districts. In the proposal a large area of the West End was designated a residence district and was hence not available for apartment construction. This area included all that area of the West End lying to the west of Denman Street. The proposal was soon to lead to a great deal of opposition from landowners in this area who claimed that it was their right to develop the land as they saw fit and that to forbid the construction of apartments was to punish them economically. A series of meetings was organized culminating in a joint meeting of the Town Planning Commission and the interested landlords held at the end of the year at Lord Roberts School. As a result of this meeting the proposal to designate the area...
west of Denman Street as a residential area was changed and the whole West End, with the exception of a small area at Bidwell and Haro that had already been declared a residential area by an individual by-law, was designated an apartment area. The by-law as modified met with no further serious opposition and was passed into law in early February 1927.26

An extremely simple zoning ordinance designated only three types of zone this was always regarded as an interim measure that was to be repealed at a later date following the completion of the comprehensive plan. The zones as designated were really no more than a codification of the land use patterns as they existed at the time and its principal purpose, as already stated, was to prevent undue speculation occurring prior to the passing of the permanent ordinance. The building of apartments in residential areas was the principal worry of the commission as is made plain in the correspondence between the Chairman of the Commission, A.G. Smith, and H. Bartholomew. Bartholomew had written early in August suggesting that only the 'most serious abuses' should be dealt with in an interim zoning by-law, as to try and be too comprehensive would be prejudicial to the long run interests of the Planning Commission. In reply to this Smith stated that:

"the only serious abuse which we have to meet in Vancouver is the intrusion of undesirable apartment houses into residential districts"27

Smith and the Commission's view was simply that residential areas into which apartments infiltrated quickly degenerated into slums.28 In order to prevent this happening prior to the passing of a final zoning ordinance it
was deemed necessary to pass the interim zoning by-law.

The Point Grey Commission in the meanwhile had repealed that Municipality's 1922 Town Planning By-law by passing a new by-law that modified the various use zone boundaries in favour of an increased area of commercial space.\(^{29}\) This new by-law was passed without any serious opposition due probably to the precedent for zoning set by the 1922 by-law. The Point Grey Commission worked actively throughout the first half of 1927 on the preparation of a comprehensive zoning ordinance based on the authority of the Town Planning Act.\(^{30}\) Regarding this as its primary task, the Commission also mounted, as the plan was being prepared, a publicity campaign throughout the municipality espousing the role of scientific planning and zoning in the maintenance and enhancement of Point Grey as a 'first class residential district'.\(^{31}\) As a result of these efforts the Commission was able to forward a proposed zoning by-law to the Council in September 1927. There was a public hearing before Council on October 12th and the by-law passed on October 24th 1927.\(^{32}\) This by-law was based on the authority of the Town Planning Act and was more complex and comprehensive than had been the 1922 and 1926 Acts based on the authority of the Municipal Act. Prepared with the aid of Bartholomew, this by-law included seven land use categories compared with the three of the previous by-laws.\(^{33}\) The details of this by-law, its relation to the proposed Vancouver zoning by-law and its role in the overall Bartholomew plan will be discussed later in the Chapter. This by-law was the first concrete result of the planning work of Bartholomew and Associates in Greater Vancouver.

Throughout this period of preliminary planning activity the
Vancouver Board of Trade had maintained close contact with the Vancouver Town Planning Commission, receiving a series of talks from Commission members. In the fall of 1926 the industrial bureau had heard the reasons for hiring Bartholomew. J.W. Allan, Chairman of the Commission's Zoning Committee, addressed his fellow Civic Bureau members on the topic of the amalgamation of Vancouver, South Vancouver, and Point Grey, a move he endorsed for tax reasons. Bartholomew's resident engineer, H.L. Seymour, spoke on 'Progress on the City Plan' early in the new year and was made a member of the Board in April. This was followed later in the year by talks from J.W. Allan who addressed the Civic Bureau on the Economics of Zoning and from A.E. Foreman, Chairman of the Major Streets Committee of the Commission and a bureau member, on street widening. This liaison between the Board of Trade and the Planning Commission was to remain important and in 1928 became formalized in the joint Committee appointed to investigate problems of mutual concern. Discussion of this Committee is appropriate, however, in the section on the preparation of the City Plan. The formulator of the plan, Harland Bartholomew was a graduate of the 'city efficient' school of planners discussed in Chapter Two. A pupil of the school's leading exponent, G.B. Ford, his plans reflected the values and goals of the movement to a great extent. The Vancouver plan was to be no exception.

Bartholomew's Career Until 1916

Born in 1889 in Massachusetts, Bartholomew moved to his Grandfather's farm in New Hampshire following the death of his Mother in
1891. He was raised by his sister, some sixteen years older than himself and, when she married, moved with her to Brooklyn. Following graduation from High School he entered Rutgers University to study civil engineering. After two years he left the University for financial reasons and went to work for the New York office of the United States District Engineers. He was involved with dredging and harbour engineering problems while working for the government and when the opportunity came to gain wider experience in private enterprise he jumped at the opportunity. Joining the Company of E.P. Goodrich early in 1912 he worked on harbour planning projects in both California and Oregon before being assigned by Goodrich to the team engaged in preparing the Newark city plan. Work on this plan was being undertaken in accordance with the three stage planning procedure outlined by Ford the following year. Data collection came first and Bartholomew was made responsible for coordinating the daily workings of the twenty-five man data collection team. These duties occupied Bartholomew throughout the remainder of 1912 and the first half of 1913 when, in June 1913, he was given the additional responsibility of conducting a large amount of the analysis that constituted stage two of the plan. This new responsibility was thrust upon Bartholomew as a result of the departure of Goodrich for Los Angeles and it resulted in the preliminary planning report being the joint work of Bartholomew and the sole remaining partner, G.B. Ford. Bartholomew wrote chapters on the major road system and on trolley transportation and seems to have been an excellent student of Ford and his ideas for his introduction could have been penned by the master himself;

"A city without a plan has been compared to an
organization without a head. Promiscuous development results in chaos. The proper administration of cities is as much a scientific procedure as is that of directing the affairs of a large business institution, for a city is just as much of a unit as is a business concern."44 A further nine Chapters completed the report which concluded with a call for the preparation of a comprehensive city plan.

Work on outlining the elements of this plan was conducted by Ford, Bartholomew and Goodrich in the first part of 1914 when in March Goodrich's contract was terminated due to his commitments elsewhere. Ford was retained on a consultant basis and Bartholomew appointed by the Commission as its engineer and secretary, the first full time planning appointment made in North America.45 The filling in of this framework devised by the three became the responsibility of Bartholomew and the 1915 Comprehensive Plan can be regarded as his work. The plan was organized into four sections that deal in turn with the city's street and transportation network, the city's amenities (referring to the provision of public utilities and recreation), housing and land use and finally with plan implementation. The land use section urged 'districting legislation' (the original term used for zoning) and is noteworthy on two counts: one, the ribbon zoning of businesses on major streets and two, the enormous area set aside for industrial purposes. Both these elements were to become a hallmark of Bartholomew's plans. The similarities with the 1913 proposals of Ford who argued for sections on the circulation system, land use, recreation, civic art and plan implementation
are obvious. Bartholomew's introduction also betrays the important role played by Ford in moulding the younger man's planning philosophy:

"Under a plan every new step in the City's growth is as wisely taken as the limitations of human wisdom permit, and always toward comfort, utility and efficiency, while at the same time, the harmony, dignity and beauty which follow wise adjustment of structure to purpose inevitably come forth." [46]

The influence of Ford's ideas on the goals and methods of Bartholomew's planning practice was considerable. His influence on what Bartholomew regarded as an 'ideal city' was also considerable as we shall see.

In 1915 Bartholomew attended the Detroit meetings of the National Conference on City Planning where he met M. Wright of the St. Louis City Plan Commission. As a result of this meeting Bartholomew was offered the job of engineer to the City Plan Commission, a post he accepted in January 1916. [47]

Public Service in St. Louis

Between 1916 and 1921 a series of reports were produced under the guidance of Bartholomew that, with the addition of a statement of general principles, comprised the St. Louis Comprehensive Plan. The individual reports on streets, transit, transportation, recreation, zoning, housing and public buildings all related to the general principles espoused in 'The Problems of St. Louis'. Published in 1917 this document was the most comprehensive statement made to date by Bartholomew on the nature of the
'ideal city'. The skeleton of the city was the major street system which was to be organized as a series of radial thoroughfares linked by cross-town circular boulevards. The interstices were to be filled in by successive zones of differing land uses with the residential areas having curved street patterns. Overall his 'ideal city' bears a striking resemblance to the model presented in 1909 by his former employer and mentor, G.B. Ford. It was this model against which the actual city was compared in order that the problems facing the city would become evident. This report and the subsequent elaboration, 'St. Louis after the War' occupied Bartholomew throughout 1917 and 1918. In 1919 he resigned as full time engineer to the Commission and entered the world of private consulting, remaining on the Commission staff on a part-time basis only. It was a move that was to lead to Bartholomew becoming the foremost member of his profession by the mid-nineteen twenties.

The Comprehensive Plans of the Early Nineteen Twenties

Bartholomew soon found himself hired as a consultant on the zoning ordinances being prepared for Omaha, Detroit and Washington, D.C. In all three cities the work went far from smoothly and these experiences convinced him that henceforth he would only sign contracts to produce comprehensive city plans such as he had prepared for Newark and St. Louis. No longer was he available on a consultant basis only; his organization would prepare the complete plan or take no part at all in the process. This required Bartholomew to engage the services of professionals in those fields in which he had no expertise, namely, in the fields of Architecture and Landscape
Architecture. Consequently E.O. Mills, a St. Louis Architect and L.D. Tilton, a Landscape Architect, were made associates on a salary and profit sharing basis. 50

Bartholomew saw his responsibility as being not only the production of a comprehensive plan but also as getting it accepted. After a local survey a tentative proposal would be made which, if it were acceptable to the authorities would lead to the signing of a detailed contract. Work would then proceed for two or three years under the direction of the Field Engineer, an employee of Bartholomew who remained in the city for the length of time required to complete the work. Basic policies, key planning decisions and the production of the final plan were the responsibility of Bartholomew and his Associates in St. Louis but the field man was given almost complete autonomy over the day to day operation of the local employees. During the two or three years required to produce the final comprehensive plan a series of preliminary reports would be presented to the local authorities for comment as this was thought to improve the chances of plan adoption; the final goal of Bartholomew's work. On the basis of this interaction the preliminary reports would be modified and incorporated in the final comprehensive plan. 51

In a series of plans prepared from 1920 onwards Bartholomew refined the methodology of comprehensive plan production down to a fine art so that by 1922 he was in a position to make a general statement on the 'principles of city planning'. In an article published in that year he outlined 'those things which properly constitute a city plan' and outlined general principles which could be applied so as to produce a city plan for
any given urban centre. 52

"Those things which properly constitute the city plan are six in number:

1) Street System
2) Transit System
3) Transportation (Rail and Water)
4) Public Recreation
5) Zoning
6) Civic Art.

These are the physical elements which, when properly planned and correlated, make possible the creation of an attractive and orderly working organism out of the heterogeneous mass we now call the City."53

Each element was then discussed in turn and 'ideal' arrangements outlined.

"There are three types of street that every well planned city should have:

1) Main arterial thoroughfares
2) Secondary (cross-town) thoroughfares
3) Minor Streets"54

These arterials were to be arranged in a radial pattern with the secondary thoroughfares forming concentric circles at one mile intervals. This element is seemingly directly taken from Ford's ideas of 1909 as are the rest of the 'principles' with the exception of the 'public recreation' section. Bartholomew's ideas on this topic seem to have had an altogether different ancestry than do his ideas in the other five areas.
"The several types of public recreation facilities which cities should provide in varying degree according to their size and density of population are:

a) Community Centres
b) Childrens Playgrounds
c) Neighborhood Parks
d) Recreation Fields
e) Large Parks
f) Boulevards and outlying parks" 55

These facilities were to be organized on a quasi neighborhood basis with an hierarchial arrangement of facilities provided making use of the public school system as much as possible. Community centres were to be integrated with high schools, recreation fields with the intermediate school system and childrens playgrounds with the elementary school system. This idea of organizing facilities around a common centre within a neighborhood is probably derived from the 1907 report of the Civic League of St. Louis, a report Bartholomew must have seen in his duties as Civic Plan Engineer in that City, in which it is suggested that the City should be divided into 'neighborhoods' within which a 'centre' should provide a wide range of services including the public and parochial schools, a branch library, a park and playground, a public bath, police and fire stations, the homes of social and athletic organizations, a church and a settlement house. 56

Bartholomew obviously had great faith in the applicability of these ideas for beginning with the Memphis Comprehensive Plan of 1924, the
research and report writing of which was done between 1921 and 1923, he used them as the basis for all his plans. With no exceptions, the comprehensive plans produced between the Memphis plan of 1924 and the Knoxville Plan of 1929 followed the prescription laid out in this 'principles' article. Data was collected, analyzed with respect to the 'principles', and recommendations made that were designed to convert the existing into the ideal. Bartholomew thus offered a program of services that was thorough and businesslike but tended toward the mechanical. The special characteristics of a City were of little concern; how the City measured up to the ideal was the core of a Bartholomew report.

When Bartholomew signed the Vancouver contract it was the first time that he had performed planning services outside of a relatively small area of the United States. With the exception of two relatively small towns, Three Rivers, Texas and Homosassa, Florida his experience was limited to the North Eastern Seaboard and an area of the Eastern Great Plains and Middle West. Map Four clearly shows the concentrated pattern of the cities for which Bartholomew had prepared plans and of which therefore he had a detailed knowledge. In 1926 Harland Bartholomew was a man who held very distinct views on what the goal of a city plan should be, on what legitimately constituted such a plan and on the procedures to be followed to produce such a plan. He was also a man with a great deal of planning experience, experience that had been gained however in but a narrow band of the spectrum of North American Cities. It was with these biases that Bartholomew engaged in the preparation of the Vancouver comprehensive plan in 1926.
PREPARING AND PUBLICIZING THE PLAN

Plan Preparation

The operations of Bartholomew and Associates in Vancouver conform almost exactly to the standard procedure of the Company. From the start of communications between the company and the Town Planning Commission, Bartholomew made it plain that the company was not prepared to provide consultant services but was prepared to produce a comprehensive plan. This point was emphasized in a following letter that also outlined the company's policy regarding a resident engineer, visits from the associates and the preparation of preliminary reports. Included with the letter were an outline city planning program of the sort that the company provided and copies of the recently completed Memphis and Toledo comprehensive plans. Bartholomew offered to produce a similar product for $35,000.00 and expressed the hope that the Commission would see fit to engage his company's services. As we have seen the Commission did so see fit with the result that City Council voted on July 30th to sign a contract with Bartholomew, a contract that was signed on August 2nd.

H.L. Seymour was hired to fulfil the role of local engineer for the Vancouver study. As we have seen Seymour was in a position to announce the order of planning by late September. The order as announced - major streets, transit, transportation, recreation, zoning and civic art, followed exactly the order found in the 'principles' of 1922 and was an order followed in all Bartholomew comprehensive plans contracted after 1922. As was usually the case, the local engineer ran the day to day planning operations with major decisions being made by the associate members...
of the company, this usually following a visit to Vancouver. Both Bartholomew and his three associates, G.O. Mills, L.D. Tilton and W.D. Hudson, the latter a transportation engineer and recent associate, visited Vancouver on a number of occasions between the Fall of 1926 and the late summer of 1928 when the last of the preliminary reports, that on zoning, was submitted to the city Council. In addition to these personal visits the associates were kept in contact with the progress of the plan by means of weekly reports submitted to the home office by both Seymour and Elliott. Progress on the plan proceeded in an orderly fashion with the first preliminary report, that on major streets, being completed by May 1927. By July of that year the transportation and zoning reports were also nearly complete and by May 1928 all reports, with the exception of recreation, had been completed. The final Comprehensive City Plan was submitted to the Town Planning Commission in a letter of transmittal dated December 28th 1928.

Progress had been equally smooth in Point Grey and the final plan as presented covered both the City of Vancouver and the Municipality of Point Grey where as we have already seen the zoning recommendations of Bartholomew were incorporated into a zoning by-law that was passed in October 1927. By the end of 1928 Bartholomew had fulfilled the terms of his contracts with the Point Grey and Vancouver Planning Commissions. His work in Vancouver however was not yet finished. Early in 1929 he was hired to provide a plan for the area that had composed the old Municipality of South Vancouver. South Vancouver, Point Grey and Vancouver amalgamated on January 1st 1929 and so this area now fell under the jurisdiction of the
Vancouver Town Commission. Bartholomew was paid $9,500.00 to provide a plan within eight months with J.A. Walker, the secretary of the Town Planning Commission, as the local engineer. H.L. Seymour, the engineer for the Vancouver plan, was no longer available having accepted a job as Town Planning Director for the Province of Alberta from January 1st 1929. Progress in this plan was swift requiring only two visits from Bartholomew, one in January and one in July. By August the preliminary reports had been forwarded to St. Louis for approval and the final plan submitted to the Vancouver Town Planning Commission in a letter of transmittal dated September 19th 1929. With the exception of the preparation of a zoning ordinance to cover the whole of the newly amalgamated city the work of Bartholomew and Associates was finished.

The Nature of the Plan

The comprehensive plan for Vancouver was typical of the comprehensive plans prepared by Bartholomew during the mid and late nineteen twenties. The plan was structured around the six elements outlined in the 1922 'Principles' with reports being presented on the Major Street Plan, Transit, Transportation, Public Recreation, Zoning and Civic Art. That the Vancouver plan was prepared to conform with the general pattern is demonstrated not only by the announced order of planning, made before any local work had been completed and duplicating exactly the list of elements in the Principles, but also by the fact that H. Seymour used reprints of the article as a means of explaining to interested parties just what it was that Bartholomew and Associates were doing.
The major street report follows very closely these general principles. The existing network was compared against the standards laid out in the Principles,

"Vancouver of the present is judged in accordance with these standards ..."77

Recommendations were then made on how to improve the present layout. This involved the improvement of existing radial highways and the provision of several new connecting cross-town thoroughfares designed to make this element of Vancouver's major street plan more in accordance with the ideal street pattern discussed in the Principles.78 The pattern of radial and crosstown thoroughfares proposed reflects very closely the ideal pattern discussed in the 1922 article.

Bartholomew's transit proposals again reflect this desire to make the downtown business district the focus of the city's circulation system. The street car system he proposed follows very closely the major street plan being primarily a system of radial lines focusing on the downtown core with a subsidiary system of crosstown routes.79 The electric interurban railway routes were to remain focussed on the central business district.80

The transportation report is divided between the proposals for port development and the proposals concerning railroad transportation. The section on the port concerns proposals to provide a fish dock, adequate tugboat wharfage and other similar matters. The importance of the port of Vancouver is discussed as are various methods of financing port expansion.81 This section of the plan is of less interest to us than are most other sections. Much of the railroad section discusses the need to make switching
more efficient, the need to build a union passenger depot and the need to redevelop the north shore of False Creek. As with the section on the port this section of the plan is of peripheral interest only.  

The Public Recreation proposals are organized as one would expect in the hierarchial quasi neighborhood manner that typified Bartholomew thinking on the subject at this time. The six types of recreation facilities that he discussed in the 'Principles' all became elements in the Vancouver Plan. An hierarchial system of playgrounds, neighborhood parks, recreation fields, community centres and large parks is proposed; all making as much use as is possible of pre-existing school facilities. For each square mile of residential territory Bartholomew proposed to provide:

Four, one acre playlots.

One elementary school playground of three acres.

Six acres of recreation fields located half at the junior high school and half at the senior high school.

One twenty to thirty acre neighborhood park.

One mile of pleasure drive and Thirty to fifty acres of outlying park.

He also proposed use of the junior high schools as community centres. Each playground and neighborhood park was to serve the area within half a mile and each playfield and community centre the area within one mile. These proposals are based on the 'Principles' of 1922.

The zoning report was to be the most important of all the reports in shaping the future urban structure of Vancouver. Prepared as three
separate ordinances, one for Point Grey, one for Vancouver and one for South Vancouver the details of the zoning report are complex. The general underlying form of the proposals however are easily discernable. Working outwards from a downtown commercial core one passed through successive rings of apartments, two family homes and finally single family homes. Major streets are "strip zoned" for commercial and multiple residential use with a regular grid of local commercial areas established throughout the single family residential areas. Industrial areas are restricted to those areas with both good rail and water access. This pattern of land uses was discussed in the 'Principles' and was a standard arrangement in Bartholomew's plans. It is interesting to note that the zoning for Marpole is a small scale version of the zoning pattern for the city as a whole. Working northwards from the commercial area centred on Hudson Street one passes through successive zones of multiple dwellings, two family homes and single family homes. A Bartholomew plan was nothing if not predictable! As previously mentioned the final zoning report had been prepared as three reports; one for each of Point Grey, Vancouver and South Vancouver. All these had pre-existing zoning by-laws, the interim zoning by-law of 1927 in Vancouver, the 1922 by-law in Point Grey and the 1924 by-law in South Vancouver. Details of the Point Grey and South Vancouver by-laws can be seen in Map 3; these bear interesting comparison with the zones proposed by Bartholomew. In both cases the Bartholomew zones are no more than sophisticated versions of the earlier zones. That these original plans provided the bases of the later ordinances is attested to in Bartholomew's discussion of zoning Point Grey and South Vancouver. The
The zoning pattern proposed by Bartholomew is presented in Maps Five, Six and Seven and as before stated, it bears comparison with Map Three.

The final section of the plan was the Civic Art Report. Based on the premise that:

"the plan, to be properly balanced and complete, must clearly show how the city may be made more pleasing to the eye"88

this report covered a wide range of topics that did not fall in the bailiwick of any of the other reports. Much of the report is taken up with a discussion of the need to build 'a great civic centre' and with the reasons why this should be located to the south of Davie Street and to the west of Burrard Street. Following this comes discussion of the need for well designed public buildings, of the need for an impressive rail terminal, of factory design, of street design and of various other topics deemed as being concerned with the city's appearance. Much of this report is very general with large sections being taken verbatim from previous comprehensive plans. A comparison of the Civic Art reports of the Vancouver and Memphis plans is instructive in this regard.

The Vancouver Comprehensive Plan then was a typical Bartholomew product. Produced in a standard manner the result was likewise standard. As we have seen Bartholomew's experience, although quantitively extensive, was geographically extremely concentrated in the American Mid West and Eastern Plains. The cities with which he was familiar represented only a small segment of the American urban experience. His plans reflect this experience; especially in the zoning reports where his ordinances present
an 'ideal' view of the urban structure of those cities with which he was familiar. Much of the Vancouver plan reflects the mid-western experience of its creator. Before we move on to a discussion of the effects of this plan on Vancouver's urban structure we must take a brief look at the efforts made to publicize the plan and to have the plan adopted, efforts spearheaded by an organization that has already played a major role in the history of the plan, the Board of Trade and its many bureaux.

Publicizing the Plan

Earlier in this Chapter it was noted that the Vancouver Board of Trade had maintained close contact during 1926-1927 with the work of the Town Planning Commission through a series of talks given to the various bureaux of the Board from members of the Commission. This liaison became formalized in 1928 when, at the request of the Town Planning Commission, the Board of Trade appointed a Town Planning Committee. The members of this Committee were naturally "drawn from the ranks of the business community" and included such individuals as Jonathan Rogers, Chris Spencer, the director of Spencer's store, E.G. Baynes, and W.G. Murin the Vice-President of the British Columbia Electric Railway. Of the twenty-two members of the Committee, seventeen were either merchants, contractors, realtors or financiers with the remaining five either engineers or architects. This Committee held a series of joint meetings with the Town Planning Commission, the first taking place in early December at which H.L. Seymour outlined progress on the town plan and problems still to be confronted.
Earlier in the year the various bureaux had received their customary visits from members of the Commission in the form of J.W. Allan, who addressed the Engineering Bureau on the proposed Zoning by-law, and E.A. Cleveland, an exofficio commission member who addressed the civic bureau on the general value of town planning. Early in January the Board was addressed by H. Bartholomew who spoke of the need to publicize the plan if it was to be a success. The need for public support was well known to the Commission who throughout the fall of 1928 had engaged in a series of activities to try and accomplish this end.

Under the energetic chairmanship of W.E. Bland the Publicity Bureau of the Town Planning Commission set out to cultivate public support for the soon to be completed town plan. In February 1928 the Commission ran a High School Planning competition in an attempt to foster interest amongst the young and in the fall launched a major campaign to raise funds for publicity purposes. In a letter addressed to one hundred and fifty of Vancouver's leading industrialists and businessmen Bland solicited $50.00 donations to a total of $7,500.00. This money was to be used to publicize the plan, which Bland emphasized, was necessary if Vancouver was to develop in an efficient manner.

"A plan accordingly has become absolutely necessary to the future efficient development of Greater Vancouver".

Stressing the economic loss resulting from the lack of planning he emphasized the need for public support and expressed confidence that the business community would see fit to support the appeal for -
"There is probably no publicity that will more favorably place Vancouver before the World than the fact that she is placing her future commercial and industrial development on sound, economically scientific lines."

This appeal to the self interest of the businessman met with only limited success and in November the campaign was called off and the few subscriptions received returned to their donors. The business community it seems was not prepared to invest money on an individual basis in promoting planning. A possible explanation of this lack of support may be that the Board of Trade represented the most eminent businessmen and not the smaller entrepreneurs. This latter group was included in the appeal and was not supportive. As an organization the Board was prepared however to support the work of the Commission and mounted a publicity campaign on its behalf in the Spring of 1929. Writing to the Board of Trade on behalf of the Commission, Bland thanked the Board's Advertising Bureau for its campaign of publicity to 'cultivate the citizen spirit necessary to the efficient development of our Greater Vancouver'. He expressed the sentiment that "we have already sold the businessmen on the plan" but emphasized the need to raise the level of public concern and support. The Board could materially assist in raising such support.

The Vancouver Board of Trade played a similar role in publicizing the city plan to the one it played in the movement to get planning legislation enacted. While declining as a body to take the lead in organizing support it was prepared to materially assist the efforts of organizations
that were so prepared. In the case of the drive to get planning legislation adopted the Board supported the efforts of the Town Planning Institute while in the effort to publicize the plan the Board came to the assistance of the Town Planning Commission. As we have seen the support of the Board of Trade for the enactment of planning legislation is but one strand of a wider reform concern including the desire to modify existing government institutions in the interests of civic efficiency. The support offered the Town Planning Commission is to be seen in a similar light. The Board's interest in the various reform concerns waxed and waned in the period before the enactment of planning legislation in 1925. The last half of the nineteen twenties was a period in which interest in planning ran at a high level. Having been successful in getting planning legislation adopted the Board wished to see that the newly appointed Town Planning Commission operated in a manner that met with the Board's approval. Thus the Board and the Commission kept in close contact throughout the period of the preparation of the plan, and the Board was prepared to publicize the need for public support. By keeping in close contact with the Commission the Board could exercise a great deal of influence on its work. As we have seen the Commission requested that the Board assist it in its work, and it was to the Board that the Commission turned whenever it required help in gaining support for the Commission's work. This close liaison is well illustrated in the comments of W.E. Bland on the occasion of his retirement from the Chairmanship of the Publicity Committee of the Town Planning Commission. Said Bland;

"I would like to leave the following thoughts with
my successor on Publicity Work, namely that the fullest advantage should be taken of the valuable assistance of the Board of Trade through the Special Committee on City Planning they formed at the request of the Commission, as they represent by far the most influential body of businessmen in the City or Province ... I wish to stress that in carrying out ... urgent features of the plan this Committee should be made full use of ... and should assist materially in influencing the City Council to action.\(^{105}\)

In the next section we shall see how successful they were in securing support for the implementation of the plan. Before we look at this however we should like at least a brief look at the continuing interest of the Board in other aspects of the reform movement for the interest in planning is but an aspect of this wider concern.

Other Reform Activity

In Chapter Two a discussion of reform thought in both Canada and the United States was presented in which the desire of the reformers to create 'efficient' civic institutions was emphasized. This desire it was suggested was the motivating force behind the reformers interests in non-partisan and at large elections, in the establishment of city manager or commission forms of government, as well as in the establishment of planning agencies at the city and regional scales. We saw in this Chapter that
these ideas had a great effect on the nature of Canadian planning practice and in Chapter Four saw how the Board of Trade became a focus of reform activity; activity that was to lead to the enacting of planning legislation late in 1925. The reform activity of the Board during the 1920's was particularly concerned with the establishment of planning legislation in the first half of the decade and with seeing that the comprehensive plan of Bartholomew got public support during the latter years of the decade. The 1930's however were to see a shift in the focus of the Board's reform activity with the new centre of attention being the restructuring of governmental institutions. This had always been a major element of reform concern but activity in this area had declined during the prosperous twenties. It was to reemerge with a vengeance with the changed economic circumstances of the thirties.

Before 1930 had ended two talks had been presented advocating the establishment of more businesslike government at city hall. A talk in November saw Commission Government held up as a means to control spending and hence aid in civic efficiency. A week later the retiring Mayor, W.H. Malkin, returned to address his fellow Civic and Advertising Bureaux members on the need to restructure the civic administration. Advocating what he termed 'a council executive' form of civic government he dubbed the present administration inefficient:-

"The present form of civic administration in Vancouver is unwieldy, cumbersome, costly in time and money and is responsible for delays and mistakes"
This could all be rectified by the establishment of the council executive form of government which strictly speaking was not a government at all but a form of administration. The day to day administration of the city would be handled by the executive committee comprising the Mayor, the City Engineer and the City Comptroller. This Committee would also prepare the city budget, bringing it to its final form when it could be passed by council in a minimum of time. If such action was to be taken Vancouver's future greatness was assured. Malkin's suggestions were warmly received by the members present. Such calls for the restructuring of civic government were to become commonplace throughout the decade as were calls for the abolition of the ward system and the establishment of at large elections. Early in 1931 it was proposed that a council of citizens be appointed to assist council in budgetary matters while in the fall the Board called for the abolition of the ward system in the interest of curbing civic expenditures. A similar meeting occurred early the next year. The loss of faith in the ability of existing political institutions to cope with the problems facing them was expressed in talks heard over the next year from a Vancouver City Alderman, J.J. McRae, and a former member of the Town Planning Commission and Civic Bureau Executive Member, A.E. Foreman. Both accused politicians of making 'political' rather than 'rational' decisions and both called for the reform of present institutions to ensure that this could not occur in future. Such calls for reform were based as we have seen on a desire to see government depoliticized with a transfer of power into the hands of the administrative branch of government whom it was assumed would make rational businesslike decisions
free of political considerations. The form of government most usually advocated was that of city manager government and Vancouver proved no exception in this regard. Late in 1935 the Civic Bureau adopted the city manager scheme as a topic to be investigated in the coming year. The years 1936 and 1937 saw considerable discussion of the topic but it was not until 1938 that any real action was taken, when following Board of Trade discussions on the topic, the City Council dispatched E.A. Cleveland, a member of the Board of Trade and an ex officio member of the Town Planning Commission, to investigate the performance of the manager form of government in Toledo, Cincinnati and Kansas City. He presented the report in mid June and it immediately stimulated a great deal of interest being used as the basis of a great deal of debate. As with the other reform activity that took place in the 1930's it was to lead to no action, being acted out on the level of discussion only.

Enough has been said to indicate that the reform activities of the Vancouver Board of Trade continued past the point at which the Bartholomew report was presented. The Board provided a great deal of support to the Town Planning Commission on its attempts to increase public awareness of the plan during the later years of the nineteen twenties and became heavily involved with the move to restructure government institutions in the 1930's. Several of the men who played important roles in this movement were also heavily involved with the Town Planning Commission demonstrating the continuity of interests that underlay these two strands of the reform movement.
PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

The Zoning Ordinances

Of the six reports that comprised the comprehensive plan only one, the zoning report, was officially adopted by the City Council. The history of the enactment of this section of the plan is more complex than one would suspect due to the fact that the zoning recommendations of Bartholomew were prepared originally as three separate reports. The first report to be acted upon was the report submitted to the Point Grey Town Planning Commission in the summer of 1927. As we have seen this report was forwarded to the Point Grey Council in September and, after being presented at a series of public meetings, enacted as a by-law on October 24th 1927. This by-law was enacted under the provisions of the Town Planning Act and was of a more comprehensive nature than the by-law enacted under the provisions of the Municipal Act. The provisions of this ordinance were deliberately made to be compatible with the ordinance that Bartholomew was preparing for the City of Vancouver, for according to the terms of the amalgamation of Point Grey and South Vancouver with the City of Vancouver on January 1st 1929 a zoning by-law for the whole City had to be passed to take the place of all existing zoning by-laws. In order to facilitate this process Bartholomew deliberately made the provisions of the separate Point Grey and Vancouver ordinances compatible so that the combined ordinance could, in effect, be nothing more than a combination of the two pre-existing ordinances.

As enacted the Point Grey ordinance divided the Municipality into zones in order to control land use, building height, building lines and the area of a lot that could be utilized for building purposes. Seven types of
district were specified; each with its associated height, lot use and building line regulations. The seven district types were: one family dwellings, two family dwellings, three story multiple dwellings, local commercial, three story commercial, six story light industrial and heavy industrial. The disposition of the zones can be seen in Map Six. As before stated a comparison of the zones in this 1927 ordinance with the zones established in the 1922 ordinance indicates the influence this former by-law had on Bartholomew. Some typical Bartholomew features are however discernable. Most noticeable is the 'strip zoning' along the major streets of the three story commercial areas. Forty-first Avenue and the Boulevard in Kerrisdale, Dunbar Street, Oak Street and Tenth Avenue all received the commercial strips so typical of Bartholomew's plans. The treatment of the original centre of Point Grey, Eburne, (now called Marpole) is worth noting also. It reflects in miniature the pattern of zones found in the ordinance Bartholomew prepared for the City of Vancouver. From October 1927 onwards all building developments in Point Grey were subject to this by-law which was soon regarded as being a major reason for the preservation of Point Grey as a 'first class residential district'.

As was discussed earlier in this chapter the Vancouver City Council passed an interim zoning by-law in February 1927. This zoning by-law was to be kept in force until a comprehensive ordinance was passed by the Council. This ordinance, prepared over a two year period, was forwarded to the City Council as part of the preliminary zoning report in August 1928. During September the report was considered by Council and at the end of the month it became evident that there was a possibility of the
ordinance being either drastically modified or shelved altogether. The major bone of contention was that there was no time available in which to make the adjustments to tax assessments that the by-law would make necessary. Informed of this setback Bartholomew reacted with an uncharacteristic display of emotion. In a telegram sent to his resident engineer, H. Seymour, he claimed that the Council were acting from emotion and not reason and that his ordinances were not arbitrary but based on wide experience.

"Classifications are simple and district boundaries are not arbitrary. Both correspond to standard practice in several hundred cities. Proportionate areas of property used based upon actual standards of measurement found to be constant elsewhere. He claimed that the proposed ordinance could direct and control growth; something of which the interim ordinance was not capable. The argument that the ordinance might restrict growth he dismissed as nonsense,

"Zoning has not hurt Chicago, New York or Los Angeles and they have grown as fast as Vancouver ever will."

The City Council was to change its mind, and the ordinance was approved in principle with only minor revisions in late October. On December 17th 1928 Council passed the first comprehensive zoning ordinance in the history of the City. Repealing the interim zoning by-law and its amendments as well as twenty-six 'residential property only' by-laws this ordinance was the first legislative effect of Bartholomew's work in the City of Vancouver.
A ten zone ordinance, the Vancouver City ordinance contained the seven zones of the Point Grey ordinance plus three additional zones. These zones were the six story multiple dwelling zone, the six story commercial zone and the general business zone. Some of the specifications with regard to building heights, yard sizes and building bulks were less restrictive in the Vancouver ordinance than was the case for the corresponding zone of the Point Grey ordinance. None of these was of a particularly significant nature in order to maintain an essential compatibility between the two ordinances. The disposition of the zones can be seen in Map Five and the pattern revealed is an interesting one as it clearly reflects its ancestry. Industry is located wherever there is good access to the waterfront, or to the railroads. The other zones form successive rings of land use centered on the general business zone. Beyond this comes a band of multiple dwellings, six stories being permitted in the west end with three stories being permitted in the less centrally located areas south of False Creek. Interspersed with this multiple dwelling zone is a great deal of light industrial zoning creating a belt of the City reminiscent of the 'zone of transition' of the urban ecologists. Beyond this comes a zone of two family residences and finally the zone of single family residences. Major streets within the residential areas are zoned for commercial purposes with six stories being permitted in those areas most adjacent to the city core, namely in the West End and in Central Broadway from Granville Street to Cambie Street. In the less centrally located residential areas three story commercial activity is permitted. The similarity of this pattern to the pattern of zones proposed by the urban ecologist Burgess is striking but
I have come across no evidence to the fact that Bartholomew was familiar with this work. The similarity in the two 'models' of the city is derived I suspect from the fact that both Bartholomew and Burgess were basing their views of the City on experience derived primarily from the cities of the American Mid-west. Both presented 'ideal' versions of these cities - hence the great similarities.

The amalgamation of the Municipalities of Point Grey and South Vancouver with the City of Vancouver took place on January 1st 1929. As we have seen prior to this date both the City and Point Grey had prepared comprehensive town plans including zoning by-laws. Although without a town plan South Vancouver had a town planning by-law that zoned the Municipality into residential, commercial and industrial districts. Shortly after amalgamation a comprehensive town plan for the area of South Vancouver was approved by the Vancouver Town Planning Commission under the guidance of H. Bartholomew and Associates. For a period of a year after amalgamation the Point Grey and Vancouver Commissions carried on independently administering their separate zoning ordinances. In January 1930 the by-laws constituting these Commissions were repealed and a new 'Commission', with powers covering the whole of the expanded city, formed. This new by-law was identical textually with the old Vancouver by-law so no change was made in the powers and duties of the Commission. This commission, with the assistance of Bartholomew, continued work on the drafting of a comprehensive zoning by-law applicable to the whole city. This by-law, with its associated zoning map, was enacted into law by the City Council on June 6th 1930.
There was a marked adherence to the zoning by-law of the City of Vancouver in this new by-law, but a few changes were made to both the provisions of the law and to the zoning map. These changes were made primarily as a result of the experience gained in administering the previous by-laws and were of a minor nature. Changes to the zoning map were also minor; the most important being the substitution of a three story multiple dwelling zone for a two family dwelling zone in an eight block area of Fairview and the upgrading to heavy industrial from light industrial of a few blocks of waterfront property in east Hastings. With these changes the zoning by-law as passed corresponds with Map Five. This zoning by-law, with minor modifications, provided the basis for land use decision making over the next thirty-five years and as such was extremely influential in determining the major lineaments of Vancouver's urban structure. The present pattern of land uses found within the City of Vancouver is very largely a function of the 1930 zoning ordinance as can be seen from a comparison of the patterns revealed in Maps Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

The pattern revealed is one firmly focused on the downtown core. Progressing onwards from this central core with its commercial land uses one finds successive zones possessing distinctive land use characteristics. The one major exception to this pattern is provided by the industrial areas. These are concentrated where there is good waterfront access or failing this, good access to railroads. As such the major industrial areas are found on the Burrard Inlet waterfront, along the north bank of the Fraser River and along the False Creek waterfront.

With these exceptions the land uses define a pattern of successive
zones focused on downtown. Adjacent to the commercial core is a band of multiple dwellings. 'High Rise' apartments are characteristic of the more centrally located 'West End' with low rise apartments being characteristic of the areas to the south of False Creek. Beyond this apartment zone comes a zone of duplexes and conversions; the latter being single family homes that have been divided into several suites. Beyond this zone is the largest of the land use zones, the area of single family dwellings. Throughout the city the major streets are characterized by commercial or multiple dwelling land uses.

This pattern of commercial core, multiple dwelling zone, single family dwelling zone is repeated on a smaller scale around several minor centres within the city. The most significant of these is the Marpole area with its apartment, duplex and single family land uses to the north and east of the commercial core on Granville Street and Marine Drive. A similar sequence occurs on a smaller scale at Kerrisdale and at Oakridge.

This pattern is a direct result of the zoning by-law which as noted served as the basis of land use decisions for nearly forty years. Another aspect of Vancouver's land use pattern attributable to the zoning by-law is the mutual exclusivity of land uses within the city. The city is presently divided into discrete areas within which land uses of one type only are found. Areas of mixed uses such as residential-industrial or commercial-residential areas do not exist to any significant extent. With few exceptions the land uses within the areas outlined above are remarkably 'pure' and as one would expect coincide with the uses 'zoned' in the 1930 by-law. This lack of mixed uses has led to very clear boundaries developing
between the various land use areas. Sharp breaks rather than areas of transition characterize the pattern, another aspect of the city's land use patterns directly attributable to the zoning by-law.

Other Aspects of the Plan

Unlike the zoning report the other reports of the Comprehensive Plan were not formally adopted by the City Council. The general recommendations of the plan were however enacted over a period of years for the Town Planning Commission based its own recommendations to City Council on the recommendations of the Bartholomew report. Very little action was taken to implement the Comprehensive Plan during the nineteen thirties due to the depressed state of the economy and the constant need to cut civic expenditures. Towards the end of the decade however the Town Planning Commission adopted a five point plan for the development of Vancouver that was plainly based on Bartholomew's recommendations. The five points were False Creek Development, reploting the South-east corner of South Vancouver, acquiring the English Bay foreshore for recreation purposes, developing the downtown distributor street and advancing regional planning. With the exception of the point on regional planning all these had been projects listed for implementation in the comprehensive plan and in fact three of them had been the focus of separate reports. These proposals met with no more success at City Hall than had the Comprehensive Plan but over the years the general recommendations of the Plan have served as the basis upon which major land use decisions have been made. The pattern of present day major streets parallels very closely the proposals of
Bartholomew. As can be seen from Map eight the major street system is focused on the downtown core. A series of major streets; Point Grey Road, Granville Street, Cambie Street, Main Street, Kingsway, Hastings Street and West Georgia Street provide radial access with crosstown movement being provided for by a series of east-west routes such as King Edward Avenue, Forty-first Avenue and Marine Drive. Functionally the pattern is one of radial arterials focused on the downtown core intersected at regular intervals by crosstown routes. Between them these radials and crosstown streets define a regular grid of major streets. A major east-west route (some being radials, eg. Hastings Street, and some being crosstown routes, eg. Broadway) occurs roughly every eight blocks. From north to south these streets are Hastings Street, First Avenue, Point Grey Road, Broadway, Sixteenth Avenue, King Edward Avenue, Thirty-third Avenue, Forty-first Avenue, Forty-ninth Avenue, Fifty-seventh Avenue, and Marine Drive. There are additions to the grid in certain areas and these tend to occur at about the half way point in a grid as in the case of Fourth Avenue or Twelfth Avenue. The north-south major streets (largely radials) also occur at regular intervals, the interval being five blocks in the central area and about eight blocks to the west of Granville Street and to the east of Fraser Street. Thus Dunbar Street, MacDonald Street, Arbutus Street, Granville Street, Oak Street, Cambie Street, Main Street, Fraser Street, Clark Drive, Victoria Drive and Rupert Street form the north-south elements in the grid. Almost without exception these streets were designated as 'major streets' in the Bartholomew report and have been developed as such as a result of this recommendation. The present transit system, although now in the form of
buses rather than street cars, is very close to the system of 'ultimate routes' proposed by the plan, and the network of Community Centres, parks and recreation fields proposed in the report corresponds closely to the present network. Only in the rejection of the Burrard Street Civic Centre site in favor of the Strathcona Park site did the Council deviate significantly from the plan's proposals. To belabor the fact that the Bartholomew Plan had a significant effect on the evolving city structure of Vancouver is unnecessary as the case has been argued in discussions of the effects of differing government structures on urban form. By the end of the decade of the thirties 'non-partisan expert' government had emerged in Vancouver. The culmination of the reform movements efforts, this form of government was 'non-partisan', at large and dominated by businessmen with a commitment to see Vancouver grow through the rational application of 'non-political' decisions. The dominant political force from the point until its demise in the 1970 civic election was the Non Partisan Association. Formed to ward off the threat of a C.C.F. takeover of City Hall the N.P.A. provided the organizational continuity that saw the reform ideology of the first thirty years of the century carried through the forties and fifties and into the sixties. It was not until the political demise of the N.P.A. that the underlying assumptions of the Bartholomew Plan were challenged. This however takes us into an area that requires a great deal more space to do it justice than can be provided here. The role that the N.P.A. played in maintaining 'reform' criteria as a guide to urban growth is a topic that could illuminate several very central problems in urban political geography. This, however, is not the appropriate place to follow the lead offered.
Conclusion

The Bartholomew Comprehensive Plan of 1929 was an extremely significant event in the history of Vancouver for from this point in time until the late nineteen sixties it provided the criteria, in the form of the zoning ordinance, against which all land use decisions were evaluated. In addition it provided a broad framework within which the transit, road and recreation systems of the City were developed. In short the present urban structure of Vancouver can be seen as being a function of the recommendations contained in the report. Vancouver's present urban structure is the Bartholomew report writ large on the landscape, just as Bartholomew's report was itself the concretization of a generation of reform ideology.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE


2. City of Vancouver By-law #1771 1st February 1926 "A By-law to create a Commission to be known as the Vancouver Town Planning Commission".

3. I bid. Section 4(1).

4. Members of the Town Planning Commission were informed of their appointment in a letter from the City Clerk. A letter was also sent to the Secretary of the Town Planning Commission informing him of all appointments. Copies of all these letters are available in the Correspondence of the Vancouver Town Planning Commission held at the Vancouver City Archives. Volume 20 of Series A-1 of Record Group 9, "Commission Personnel" contains the relevant documents. Referred to as RG9. Series A1 Vol 20. henceforth.


6. Report of Commission, 1925. This is the report of the unofficial 1925 Town Planning Commission. It is available at the Vancouver


8. I bid.


10. Corporation of Point Grey. By-law #198. 1926 "A By-law to create a Commission to be known as the Point Grey Planning Commission" 9th March 1926.


12. I bid.


14. Letters were sent to: M. Knowles, J. Ewing, N. Couchon, Seymour and Dalzell, Technical Advisory Corporation, J. Nolen, T. Adams,
H. Bartholomew, E.H. Bennett and R. Whitten. These letters were sent on May 17th 1926. All letters are available in Record group 9, Series A1, Volume 1, File 2 at the Vancouver City Archives.

Scott, op.cit. Chapter 3 'Science and the City Functional' p 110-182 and Chapter 4 'City Planning in the Age of Business' p 183-269 provides the background for this discussion. Multiple references to all the planners discussed can be found in these two Chapters.


17. Vancouver City Council Minutes. Meeting of July 30th 1926.


19. Letter from N. Cauchon to J.A. Walker, Secretary, Vancouver Town
Letter from T. Adams to J.A. Walker, Secretary, Vancouver Town Planning Commission. September 20th 1926.


24. I bid.


27. Letter from H. Bartholomew to A.G. Smith, Chairman, Vancouver Town Planning Commission. August 9th 1926.


In RG9, Vol. 5, File 5. Vancouver City Archives.

28. This attitude is plainly stated in the Commission's reaction to the West End Zoning controversy. See footnote 25 for specific references.


"A By-law prescribing residential and other areas in the Municipality of Point Grey and fixing building lines".


"A By-law to regulate the use of buildings and the use of land within the Municipality of Point Grey; to limit the height of buildings; to prescribe building lines and the area of yards and other open spaces; and for these purposes to divide the
Municipality into districts".

34. Vancouver Board of Trade Engineering Bureau Minutes. Meeting of October 6th 1926.

35. Vancouver Board of Trade Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of October 11th 1926.

36. Vancouver Board of Trade Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of January 10th 1927.


38. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes Meeting of November 14th 1927.


47. Johnston. op.cit. p 122.


49. Johnston. op.cit. p 140.

50. Johnston. op.cit. p 141.


54. I bid.


57. Johnston *op.cit.* p 154-184 provides a discussion of the major plans of this period.

58. Nolen *op.cit.* p 23-25 provides a list of the cities for which Bartholomew had prepared a comprehensive plan.


60. Letter from H. Bartholomew and Associates to J.A. Walker, Secretary
of the Vancouver Town Planning Commission. June 22nd 1926.

61. Vancouver City Council Minutes. Meeting of July 30th 1926.


63. V.D.P. September 25th 1926. p 1.

64. I bid.

65. The report of the zoning committee was forwarded to the City Council in a letter of 27th August 1928.
Between August 1926 and August 1928 Bartholomew visited Vancouver on four separate occasions, Mills on three, Hudson on two and Tilton on one. Details of the visits can be found in the correspondence of Bartholomew and Associates with the Vancouver Town Planning Commission. This is contained in RG9. Series A1. Volume 5. Files 5-8. Vancouver City Archives.


72. Details of Bartholomew's visits are contained in the correspondence of Bartholomew and Associates with the Vancouver Town Planning Commission. This is contained in RG9. Series A1. Volume 5. Files 5-8. Vancouver City Archives.

74. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 303.

75. V.D.P. September 25th 1926. p 1.


77. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 27.

78. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 43-45.


80. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 130.


83. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 176.

84. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 173.

Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Executive Minutes. Meeting of October 8th 1928.

92. I bid.


94. Vancouver Board of Trade. Engineering Bureau Minutes. Meeting of May 9th 1928.


99. I bid.

100. I bid.

101. Vancouver Town Planning Commission. Publicity Committee Minutes Meeting of November 5th 1928.


103. I bid.

104. I bid.


106. Vancouver Board of Trade. Legal and Legislative Bureau Minutes. Meeting of November 17th 1930.
107. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Joint Meeting with the Advertizing and Sales Bureau, November 24th 1930.

108. I bid.

109. I bid.


111. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Executive Minutes. Joint Meeting with the Vancouver Real Estate Exchange, the Associated Property Owners and the Mortgage and Loan Association. September 17th 1931.


114. Vancouver Board of Trade. Civic Bureau Minutes. Meeting of April 3rd 1933.


117. V.S. June 14th 1938. p 1, p 12.
V.N.H. June 14th 1938. p 2.
The text of the report is included in the article in the Vancouver Sun.


119. The three by-laws under discussion are:
Municipality of Point Grey. By-law #44-1922. 'A by-law establishing areas and classifications for building restrictions and fixing building lines'. September 5th 1922.
Municipality of Point Grey. By-law #1032-1926 'A by-law prescribing residential and other areas in the Municipality of Point Grey and fixing building lines' December 3rd 1926.
Municipality of Point Grey. By-law #727-1927. 'A by-law to regulate the use of buildings and the use of land within the Municipality of Point Grey; to limit the height of buildings; to prescribe building lines and the area of yards and other open spaces, and for these purposes to divide the Municipality into
districts'. October 24th 1927.

120. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 235.

121. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 298.

122. See footnote 79, this Chapter.

123. V.S. September 29th 1928. p 1.

124. I bid.


126. I bid.


128. City of Vancouver. By-law #1951. "A by-law to regulate and restrict the location and use of buildings and the use of land within the City of Vancouver; to limit the height and bulk of buildings; to prescribe the size of yards and other open spaces and the maximum density of population, and for these purposes to
divide the city into districts." 17th December 1928.


131. The original zoning by-law was passed in 1924 but was amended over the years. In force at the time of amalgamation was Municipality of South Vancouver By-law #1933. 8th November 1928. "Town Planning By-law #1933".


133. City of Vancouver By-law #2074 "A by-law to regulate and restrict the location and use of buildings and the use of land within the
City of Vancouver; to limit the height and bulk of buildings; to prescribe the size of yards and other open spaces and the maximum density of population, and for these purposes, to divide the city into districts". 6th June 1930.


135. I bid.

136. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 298. This was the case for the Point Grey and the Vancouver City Reports.


138. Bartholomew. op.cit. p 266 and 289 discuss the Distributor Street. I bid. p 266 and p 291 discuss False Creek development I bid. p 267 and p 295-296 discuss the English Bay Foreshore. I bid. p 330 discusses replotting the South Vancouver area.

139. See Bartholomew. op.cit. p 46 for the Regional Major Street Plan. I bid. p 124 for the Ultimate Transit Plan and I bid. p 194 for the Proposed Neighborhood Parks and p 194 for the Proposed Playfields.

See especially p 27-31.


CHAPTER SIX

THE LIBERAL RESPONSE TO URBAN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

At the beginning of this dissertation, the emergence of the reform movement as a response to the social and environmental problems of rapid urban and economic growth, was discussed in some detail. It was noted that this reform response occurred at both the national and the civic levels, and that the form of the response was similar in both cases. The civic manifestation of this reform activity was discussed at length in Chapter Two, as was one element in the national level response, the formation and activities of the Commission of Conservation. The operations of this organization have not as yet been set within the context of the changing national liberal ideology, that also provided the context within which the civic response occurred. In the next section, this national-level response will be discussed in order to provide this context, and to show how the civic reform response was no more than a specific example of much more general ideological changes that were taking place at the national scale.

During the period 1890 to 1920 Canada underwent dramatic change. Her population increased by over three million, two new provinces in the west entered Confederation, and a tentative start was made in opening up the north in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. Foreign investment and trade rose to unprecedented heights, and in the west wheat developed as a new staple to replace fur. Two new transcontinental railroads were chartered and a start made on the development of a national road system.
Change was not just quantitative, however, for the Canada that entered the 1920's was qualitatively different from the Canada of 1890. Ethnically, the composition of the country was much more diverse, with large Eastern European minorities found in most major cities. The west emerged as a significant political force in this period, adding sectional, as well as linguistic, components to the country's diversity. By far the most significant change, however, was the one that took place in the urban centres of the country. One cannot understand the history of Canada in this period without recognition of the central importance of urbanization. The history of the Laurier-Borden years is the history of a people attempting to bring their institutions into conformity with the demands of a new and much more complex society.¹ For many the adjustment was not easy, leading to a great deal of protest. The 1921 'Progressive' revolt of the farmers, the growth of trade unionism, and the Winnipeg strike of 1919 are all, partially, symptoms of the tensions caused by this transition to an urban society. For businessmen it was a period of enormous expansion of investment, output, and profits, and the period during which the joint stock company replaced the privately owned firm as the characteristic economic unit. With the emergence of the joint stock company, financiers and managers became significant people in society for the first time.² Much of this change was based in the urban centres, areas which came to present problems of a scale and complexity that had never before thrust themselves into the unwilling laps of the politicians. Traditional responses were no longer socially or politically acceptable. New approaches were demanded; what form did these responses take?
THE EMERGENCE OF POSITIVE LIBERALISM

This is not the place to attempt a comprehensive account of the manner in which liberalism became the dominant political ideology of nineteenth century Canada. We must content ourselves with a brief look at some of its more important features, see how it became an untenable ideology in the face of urban and industrial growth, and see how it became recast in response to these new conditions. The reader interested in pursuing the nature of liberalism in more depth is referred elsewhere.

The central tenet of classical liberalism was that man's essence is his freedom. Through the unimpeded use of his reason he can discover the natural laws that govern the universe and the economic affairs of man. The discovery of these laws enables him to control the material world through technology and allows him to organize society in such a manner that it will allow individuals to coexist in harmony. In this way, society continuously progresses to a higher level of development. Society is a voluntary coalition of free individuals and has no valid existence outside this social contract. Economic laws are the only true laws governing human relations. Obedience to these laws of supply and demand, and free entry to the market, will bring wealth; disobedience, poverty. Hence the only intelligent policy regarding the economic realm is one of 'laissez faire'. To interfere in the economy would be ruinous. To the classical liberal society consisted of a coalition of individuals who, through the application of reason, discover the means to continuously improve the world within which they live. Control of the material world is made possible through the use of technology based on scientific knowledge while, in the social realm, the
most desirable results are to be achieved through a policy of 'laissez faire'; the common wisdom being that to interfere with the 'natural' operation of the economic system would be disastrous. By following such a course society would continually progress in an efficient manner.

By the turn of the century, this formulation of liberalism was challenged throughout Europe and North America as the extremes of wealth and poverty that it implied became all too evident, especially in the newly emerging urban centres. The traditional liberal social policy of laissez faire became simply unacceptable to unemployed and exploited workers, with the result that social malaise grew within the urban areas of industrial societies. If it was to maintain its political appeal, liberalism needed a reinterpretation to fit it for urban industrial society. This was particularly true for Canadian liberalism in the years immediately following the end of the First World War. Faced with the effects of a post war economic depression, the strains and problems of rapid urban growth and rapidly declining farm prices, a demand for a reformulation of classical liberalism arose both within the Liberal party (one of the organizational adherents to liberalism in Canadian politics) and within the radical liberal Progressive Party. Upon succession to the party leadership in 1919 Mackenzie King inherited a Liberal party that was split, not only by language and race, but also by the very vocal demands of the 'radical liberals'. The challenge King faced was to reunite the shattered forces of the Liberal party through a reintegration of ideology and practice; Government intervention in economic affairs having been a fact for many years, as we saw in our discussion of the Commission of Conservation.
Faced with this challenge, King proposed two major changes in Liberal ideas. The first was a modification of the concept of laissez faire; the second, a modification of the concept of individual, as opposed to collective, action. Both played an important facilitative role in the emergence of the City planning movement. The classical liberal view of economic liberty was, as we have seen, a negative one; that of laissez faire. The best economic policy, it was argued, was the one that allowed the individual businessman to operate free of government control, for only he knew what was best for his company and, in the long run, society. This view King repudiated in the light of the ideas of 'positive' liberalism propounded in England by liberals such as L.T. Hobhouse and by the 'progressives' in the United States. Hobhouse, in his 'Liberalism', published in 1911, argued that individual liberty was hampered and restricted as much by the lack of certain things as it was by the onerous restrictions of over zealous governments. Inadequate food and housing, unemployment and the lack of medical care all denied liberty to many members of society. In order to provide liberty for all members of society, government action was necessary:

"Once again to maintain individual freedom and equality we have to extend the sphere of social control."

This government action King believed should be based on scientific investigation and the use of experts. If society was to be managed, then it was going to be managed 'rationally'. 'Reason' to the liberal meant the application of the scientific method, to discover 'natural' laws. In his
advocacy of the role of scientific experts in managing a complex society, King displays his affinity with the progressive reform tradition of the United States, as well as with the English tradition of positive liberalism, as expounded by Hobhouse.  

His faith in science as a means of progress is clearly displayed in his 'Industry and Humanity', published in 1918, just one year before he became Liberal Party leader:

"Science may do much that is yet undreamed of to ameliorate the human lot ... wars will altogether cease when Science is ... at the service of nations to further the principles underlying health, in the building of houses, developing transportation, designing cities, controlling land, improving sanitation and eliminating slums".

This liberal faith in the ability of man to improve the World through the use of scientific reason and technology was clearly displayed in the reform ideology we discussed in Chapter Two. Another aspect of King's thought that displays great similarity with the ideas of American Progressive reformers is his desire for social and economic efficiency:

"This faith in the efficiency of larger units, usually combined with scorn for those who would turn the clock back to pre-monopolistic days of unfettered competition between small producers was an essential feature of the progressivism trumpeted by Roosevelt in the 1912 election campaign and later almost completely adopted by
President Wilson. It is evident that King lost none of his faith in these ideas for they emerge clearly in *Industry and Humanity*. At one point the reader is told that "large organization of industry and vast wealth are in themselves neither good nor evil" while at another King alludes directly to the greater efficiency and problem solving ability of large productive units, "There is this about powerful combination ... that its knowledge of conditions and its command of resources wherewith to cope with difficulties are greater than those of lesser units." Such beliefs are unmistakably close to the thoughts of prominent American theoreticians of the Progressive cause. 12

King was able to accept positive liberalism's rejection of the classical notion of 'laissez faire', for society was still viewed in individual terms. Collective action was only for the purpose of maximizing individual initiative and opportunity, i.e. its purpose was to ensure that everyone enjoyed the prerequisites for liberty.

This idea that individual ends could sometimes be best served through collective action is seen in King's other major contribution to the ideology of Canadian liberalism; his treatment of social class and industrial strife. 13 Classical liberalism saw the common interest of society as being the sum of the interests of the individuals who composed it. Any subgroup that acted in concert was regarded as an 'artificial'
(i.e. unnatural) creation concerned with securing special privileges for the members against the best interests of society at large. King accepted the basic idea that economic conflicts were not based on any objective class conflict of interest but on the failings of individuals who through ignorance or selfishness failed to see the more important common good. He realized, however, that in a society as complex as the industrial societies of the 1920's, individual interests would most satisfactorily be served through collective action. He was thus prepared to accept unions as the worker's representatives with the government playing the part of the referee in the battle between employer and employee.

"One of the institutional spheres is a coordinating body the function of which is to deliberate on the inconsistencies that naturally arise in such a complex arrangement, to smooth out these wrinkles with legislation and to adjudicate between the conflicting claims of different sectors of society. This institution is called government." 

This 'jigsaw theory' of society has become a central tenet of Canadian liberalism. His position then was in no way revolutionary or even socialist. He wanted no fundamental changes in the distribution of society's wealth and power of the sort sought by the more militant left. He was not in favor of the nationalization of enterprise or of worker control. His aim was the minimal one of ensuring that the lot of the worst off within the system was tolerable. The driving force behind all his actions was the desire to see capitalism survive; an aim in which he
succeeded in no small measure. This reformulation of liberalism to fit the needs of an urban industrial society was his greatest contribution to the ideology of Canadian liberalism.

The ready acceptance by the populace of King's version of positive liberalism was probably due to three factors. The first of these was the fact that Canadian liberalism had always been subject to the Tory touch. One way in which this faith in an organic collectivity had traditionally manifested itself was in 'the far greater willingness of English Canadian (compared with American) political and business elites to use the power of the State for the purposes of developing and controlling the economy'. The use of State power to control individual behavior was not quite the ideological anathema it was in the United States. The second reason grows out of the first and is the fact that the Federal government had a history of direct intervention in the economic affairs of the country. One writer has even gone so far as to suggest that the Canadian Economic Culture is typified by public and not by private enterprise. One organization that had already had an important impact on the economic life of the country was the Commission of Conservation. The Commission was created as a direct result of reform activity in the United States and was clearly a precursor of the sort of organization envisaged by King, being designed not to challenge the capitalist order of Canadian business but to make it more efficient and rational. The third and most important reason was the fact that King's reformulation was indeed a liberal one. To use a rough metaphor, he had moved the furniture in the house around but he had not rebuilt the house. The central argument of the ideology was unchanged; namely that,
through the use of reason, mankind could discover the natural and social laws that governed existence and that, having done so, could then organize society in a manner that would ensure a continuous progression to more desirable states. What had changed was not this central structure, but the details of one aspect of it. Whereas classical liberalism regarded the natural laws of economics as indicating the necessity of a 'laissez faire' economic and social policy, positive liberalism substituted the necessity for purposive action based on the laws of the newly emergent social and economic sciences. The desired end result was not changed, nor was the fundamental means of attaining this end. The changed nature of the society in which the ideology was held, however, necessitated a modification of the economic common wisdom. A belief in Laissez Faire was no longer acceptable once it became apparent that it lead to social disruption, rather than social harmony. As such, the derivative 'lower order' belief was modified in order that higher order belief that social progress and harmony could only be achieved through 'appropriate' political action, could be preserved. Such lower order beliefs are often radically altered or abandoned in order to preserve the integrity of more valued higher order beliefs. King's formulation of liberalism was as such, readily acceptable.

It should be evident from the foregoing discussion that the urban reform ideology discussed in Chapter Two is no more than the municipal expression of positive liberalism. Let us examine this contention in a little more detail. As we saw, the urban reform movement started with a multi-faceted concern for the ills of urban North America. These concerns were to coalesce into a concern over the structure of urban government which
was regarded as being hopelessly inefficient and incapable of solving the problems confronting it. This inefficiency was seen as not being due to the corruption of the incumbents, but to the inappropriate form of the institutions themselves. Councils formed of Aldermen elected on a ward basis, it was argued, would make decisions on a 'political' basis. Each Alderman would represent the interests of his own constituents, without regard to the consequences for the rest of the populace. 'Political' bargains between the Aldermen would then form the basis of decision. Such a government structure was, of course, anathema to liberals who, as we have seen, regarded all sub-groups of society as being 'artificial' creations working against the best interests of society at large. Political activity as the basis of decision making was thus socially undesirable and inefficient. What was needed was a government that represented the 'public interest' and that used reason, rather than 'selfish self interest', as the basis on which to take action.

Salvation, of course, lay in replacing the old institutions with new ones that were specifically designed to ensure efficient and progressive civic administration. To the reformers, this meant the institution of non-partisan, at large electoral procedures, and the transfer of a great deal of the decision making power of the politicians into the hands of professional administrators. At large, non-partisan elections would ensure that the elected members represented the whole populace rather than the members of a small sub-group. Having established the broad goals of the council, the politicians left the day to day implementation and administration of this policy to the professional experts who, through the exercise of their expertise, could do so in an efficient and rational manner. Many of the
decisions formerly made by politicians engaged in bargaining were now to be made by professional administrators utilizing their 'scientific' knowledge. Reason would thus replace 'politics' as the guiding principle underlying the decision making process. Through the use of their expertise these men would ensure that social development took place in accordance with the natural laws of society and hence in an efficient and socially harmonious manner. Progress was thus guaranteed through the use of scientific knowledge gained from the application of reason. This reform argument, of course, parallels completely the structure of the 'positive liberalism' formulated by King at the national level. As such the urban reform movement is best regarded as one aspect of liberalism's response to urban complexity.

The transfer of much of the day to day decision making from the hands of the politicians into the hands of 'experts' led, as we saw in Chapter Two, to the emergence of a wide range of bureaucracies. These expert bureaucracies were given the task of ensuring that the administration of their duties was carried on both efficiently and rationally. One such bureaucracy was concerned with the administration of the planning process. Established in order to ensure efficient and rational urban growth early Planning Commissions are clearly examples of reform bureaucracies. The paradigm underlying their function is the familiar one, that progress can be assured through the application of rational, scientific procedures. This progress it was always assumed would take place within the framework of society as it existed. Major social change was not a goal of the planning movement, for it was always assumed that the desired goals of economic growth and social harmony could be achieved within the framework of a liberal free
enterprise system. Planning's role was to make the system work more efficiently, not to replace it with something new. The values of the early planners are clearly very close to those that King systematically expounded in the early 1920's.

The planning movement then possessed a clearly defined goal; that of rational and efficient urban growth. How was it to ensure that this occurred? As we saw in Chapter Five, the goal was to be ensured through the 'rational application of their scientific knowledge'. Convinced that the fundamental problems of planning had been solved, and that planning was an 'exact science' the planners devised systematic and mechanical methods of planning that were applicable to all situations. Once trained in the details of the methods it became a relatively easy task for a practitioner to produce a plan for a given city.

The history of planning in British Columbia and more particularly Vancouver follows almost exactly the picture outlined above. The motives and goals of the early planning advocates, the source of support for the enactment of planning legislation, the nature of the bureaucracy created, the close liaison of the Planning Commission with the business community, the hiring of 'planning experts' and the nature of the plan produced all support the thesis that the planning movement was part and parcel of the urban reform movement which was itself the urban expression of 'positive liberalism'.

The concrete expression of the goals and values of the Vancouver planning movement was the Bartholomew city plan. This plan as we have already shown was based on the assumptions and values implicit in the urban
reform movement. These values led to a method of planning that was mechanical in form and that aimed at guiding growth in an efficient manner. Based on Bartholomew's experience in the American mid-west and great plains the Vancouver plan was an archetypal product of the archetypal city efficient planner. This plan was an important determinant of the evolving urban structure of Vancouver being particularly important in the areas of land use and major street patterns. As such Vancouver's present urban structure reflects the goals, desires and methods of the urban reform movement.

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

In Chapter One three major goals were established for this dissertation. The first of these was to demonstrate that an understanding of a landscape is best achieved through an historical account of the actions and ideological underpinnings of the important land use decision makers. Throughout the study this relationship between action, idea and outcome has been central. The evidence presented demonstrates the validity and interest of such an approach to the landscape by using the relationship between the urban structure of Vancouver and the ideas of the urban reform movement as a case study. As we have seen these ideas had a direct and important impact on Vancouver's evolving urban form. It has been argued in the context of economic geography that the fundamental problem of the discipline is the impossibility of inferring process from form. Several different processes can lead to the same spatial form which then obviously becomes a useless predictor of the process from which it emanated. Historical geography has I believe fallen too often into a similar trap. By concentrating on changes
in the landscape rather than on the process of change it has too often produced unsatisfying answers; we have been informed of the 'what' of landscape change but not of the why. It is only through a detailed study of the process of landscape generation that we can hope to come to an appreciation of the landscapes which we inhabit. Landscapes do not just happen; they are created. If we are to understand the creation we must understand the creators. This task, it is argued, necessarily involves the detailed historical analysis of human actions in a manner not yet commonplace in the discipline. Those studies that have made an attempt to historically relate process to form have frequently fallen into an historical analogue of the ecological fallacy. Noting the historical coincidence of a specific period of landscape generation and the development of a specific set of ideas, many researchers have made the assumption that the landscape was thus generated by actors operating under the sway of these ideas. This is not a valid inference to draw for as we have seen in this study the landscape impact of an ideology may well occur well after the ideology itself is no longer held. There is often a time lag between the development of an idea and its use as a guide to decision making. Unless evidence directly linking the idea, the actor, and the action is presented the inference cannot be assumed to be valid. An attempt to present such evidence was made in this dissertation. This first goal of the dissertation is to be considered as much methodological as substantive.

The second major purpose was to offer an analysis of a particular ideological position; that of the reform movement. This analysis was conducted in Chapter Two and provided a great deal of insight into the
actions of several groups concerned with the urban environment of Vancouver in the 1920's. Connections between this urban reform ideology and a more general ideological position developed at the national scale allowed certain generalizations to be made about the form and method of operation of a wide range of government planning agencies. By seeing urban reform within the context of these more general concerns a certain degree of depth has been given to the analysis of the early planning movement that would not otherwise have been possible. Given the demonstration that the planning movement had a major influence on urban development it is important to understand how this movement originated and developed for in so doing the third goal of the dissertation is achieved; that of quelling some widely held views on the nature and origins of Canadian city planning. The evidence provided amply demonstrates the conservative business origins of the movement and quells the notion that planning is an outgrowth of radical activity aimed at social change. In dispelling this misconception the dissertation does much to clarify the present debate on the true role played by planning over the past few decades.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX


2. I bid. p 94.

3. The literature on the emergence and nature of liberalism is enormous. To attempt to synthesize this literature would be a foolish waste of time. Several studies played an important role in what I say. Specific references are made where appropriate but in general much is owed to the following:


On the Canadian scene the following are invaluable.


K. McRae The Structure of Canadian History p 219-274 in Hartz (1964) op.cit.


5. Christian and Campbell argue that the Liberal Party provides the major organizational expression of liberalism in Canada p. IX.

6. This section owes much to the analysis of Christian and Campbell op.cit. p 33-75.


10. I bid.


13. This discussion of King's view of industrial strife and social class is based largely on Christian and Campbell. *op.cit.* p 55-57.


17. King's faith in scientific knowledge as a means to improve man-kind's lot is clearly expressed in *Industry and Humanity* see footnote 20.


P. Nuttgens. *The Landscape of Ideas* (London. Faber. 1971) offers a similar view. Especially relevant is his discussion of the implementation of the Garden City ideas of Ebenezer Howard.

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