

HISTORY OF THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT IN CANADA 1890-1930

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at the history of the City Beautiful movement in Canada. Literature pertaining to the American City Beautiful was reviewed first in order to arrive at a definition of the movement and, in particular, to ascertain its design principles. In order to investigate Canadian City Beautiful philosophy, the content of several professional journals was examined for the period 1890-1930. For a case study of early planning in the Prairies, archival material was consulted, including City Council minutes, Parks Commission and City Planning Commission files, newspaper reports and actual plans.

The American City Beautiful movement was most popular between 1900 and 1915. While the term "city beautiful" implied a range of civic improvement efforts, most planning historians have emphasized the so-called "comprehensive schemes of city beautification" which focussed on the treatment of streets, parks and/or civic centres. Design principles included axial arrangements, vistas and focal points, classical touches, and a tendency towards order and symmetry. While never denying the importance of aesthetics, utilitarian considerations took on greater importance as years passed until the City Beautiful was eventually supplanted by an era in planning that has since been labelled the City Efficient.

In Canada, several major plans and civic improvement projects were prepared before World War I with almost all being clearly derived from American City Beautiful efforts. A case study of early planning in Prairie cities revealed that City Councils' involvement in planning

was probably viewed as a form of publicity. Failure to implement the plans was due largely to the fact that Canada entered a major economic depression in 1913, while in 1914, energies turned towards World War I.

Between 1910 and 1913, the journals published numerous articles devoted to planning, and while they displayed varying emphases and levels of detail, writers supported the need for beauty and usually discussed planning in terms of streets, parks and/or civic centres. However, arguments were often vague, and Canada lacked an articulate spokesman for the City Beautiful.

The arrival in 1914 of a British planner, Thomas Adams, served to give planning in Canada both a focus and a new direction. Emphasis turned towards the need for legislation, urban development plans, and adequate housing. At the same time, writers began to issue harsh criticisms of the American City Beautiful.

With the founding of the Town Planning Institute of Canada in 1919, planning began to be thought of as a profession. Emphasis was now on zoning and the claim that planning implied economy and efficiency. The American City Beautiful continued to be the object of severe criticism until the mid-1920's when the country experienced a return to prosperity. At that time, civic beauty began once again to be promoted, while planners made detailed proposals for civic improvement schemes which were rooted in the design principles of the City Beautiful.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1915, Thomas Adams, who at the time was Town Planning Adviser to the Canadian government, wrote:

"City planning in its more modern application probably had its genesis in the grouping and spacious lay-out of the buildings erected for the Chicago Exhibition of 1893. Springing from such a source it has developed into a movement for remodelling existing cities especially in regard to the grouping and situation of their public buildings and parks."¹

Not only was this viewpoint expressed by Adams and his contemporaries but it has become a standard observation of urban historians in recent decades. It is often said that the buildings and grounds of the fair delighted all who came and precipitated a plea for comprehensive schemes of civic beautification. This so-called City Beautiful movement eventually evolved into "planning".²

This thesis attempts to examine the history of the City Beautiful movement in Canada. Three major divisions are drawn: (1) the City Beautiful movement in the United States, (2) the concept of civic beauty and the evolution of planning thought in Canada and (3) Canadian planning during the City Beautiful period.

The City Beautiful in the United States

Since the City Beautiful was primarily an American movement, it was felt that an overview of American experience would be an appropriate starting point, both in terms of its concerns and its design principles.

Major emphasis in this section is on the elements and principles of the City Beautiful, as defined by two of its chief proponents. In addition there are brief discussions of the park and boulevard movement, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, the European origins of the design principles and the role of civic beauty within its successor, the City Efficient movement.

The concept of civic beauty and the evolution of planning thought in Canada 1890-1930

In order to examine the role of civic beauty in Canadian planning thought, it was decided to concentrate on early professional journals. Beginning around 1890, the examination included not only the period up to World War I (the traditional City Beautiful) but through to 1930. This was done for several reasons:

(1) there may not have been any reason for the Canadian City Beautiful movement to coincide with that of the United States,

(2) any attempt to examine the concept of civic beauty in the era which followed the City Beautiful would lead to a better understanding of the earlier period, especially with respect to its fate and influence, and

(3) Walter van Nus, in his thesis on the history of Canadian planning indicated that civic beautification schemes enjoyed a brief revival in the late 1920's,³ and it was therefore felt that an examination of this period and the events leading up to it was necessary.

The major journals used were the Canadian Architect and Builder (1888-1909), the Canadian Engineer (begun in 1893), the Canadian Municipal Journal (begun in 1905 and reorganized in 1922 as the

Municipal Review of Canada), the Contract Record (begun in 1909), Town Planning and Conservation of Life (1914-1920) and the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (1920-1931). The Annual Reports of the Commission of Conservation (1910-1919) were also examined.

In this section civic beauty is discussed in terms of (1) planners' attitudes towards beauty and (2) the role of beauty in the context of the evolution of Canadian planning thought. Since the City Beautiful emphasized civic design, actual plans and projects are examined whenever possible.

City Beautiful planning in Canada: A case study of the Prairies 1900-1915

Canadian planning histories have tended to concentrate on either the process of planning⁴ or on the theory of planning.⁵ The plans themselves have not been stressed.

In his thesis, van Nus listed a number of pre-World War I city plans.⁶ An examination of this list led to the decision to concentrate on the four Prairie cities of Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton. Firstly, these cities appeared to have been particularly active in planning and secondly, it was felt that their histories of similar development would provide a good basis for a comparison of their planning efforts.

In this section, pre-War planning in the Prairies is looked at in terms of (1) the planning process and (2) the content of the plans. Sources included Council minutes, City Clerks' correspondence, Reports to Council, newspaper accounts, the plans themselves and secondary sources where available.

CHAPTER 1

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

I. Overview

While the 1893 Chicago World's Fair is viewed as the main impetus, a few have traced planning to an earlier origin -- the park and boulevard movement which began in the 1870's.¹ The need for park and boulevard systems enjoyed widespread popular support and conditioned people to the idea of "comprehensive schemes of beautification". It is important to stress that City Beautiful philosophy incorporated that of the parks and boulevard movement.

In general, the "City Beautiful" was an amorphous concept. According to both Mel Scott in his history of American city planning and Jon A. Peterson in an article on the origins of the movement, the term "City Beautiful" came into popular usage in the late 1890's.² At no time did it imply a well-defined and agreed-upon set of principles. In fact, the term "City Beautiful" was seen to encompass any attempt (no matter how small) to "improve" or "beautify" a city.

The desire for a "City Beautiful" would appear to have manifested itself in three ways:

(1) the provision of "beautiful" and "monumental" public and semi-public buildings such as libraries, museums and railway stations,³

(2) the efforts of hundreds of voluntary civic improvement organizations⁴ who tended to involve themselves with small scale projects such as the cultivation of vacant lots and the control of billboards,⁵ and

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(3) the preparation, generally by architects and landscape architects, of a number of large-scale beautification schemes.⁶ It is this last feature which is of the most interest to planners since these schemes are seen as the forerunner of the master plan approach to planning.⁷ It is also important to mention that after 1901, many of the civic improvement societies began to shift their focus away from small improvements and towards encouraging comprehensive schemes of city beautification.⁸

City Beautiful plans centred on three elements of the city: (1) streets, (2) civic centres and (3) parks and boulevards. Any given plan might contain just one of these elements (civic centres were the most popular) or it might contain more than these three (e.g. transportation improvements or a plan for neighbourhood social centres). Plans also differed in terms of their emphasis and their attention to detail. One planner might be very interested in streets while another might dwell on civic centres. One might emphasize forest preserves and another local parks and playgrounds.⁹

Around 1910, the City Beautiful movement began to be the object of much criticism. It has been said by both contemporary and present critics that the movement met its demise not as a result of disenchantment with the notion of civic beauty but simply because it was found lacking.¹⁰ Many have argued that City Beautiful planners maintained an aesthetic focus at the expense of utilitarian concerns. The problems of the growing commercial/industrial city were ignored, and instead, early planners presented unrealistic and costly schemes of grandeur couched in prose that was both naive and sentimental.¹¹

Another favourite criticism has been that the City Beautiful failed to deal with housing and social concerns. For example, George Hooker, a contemporary critic of the City Beautiful, complained that the 1909 Chicago plan had not used any statistical information, its recommendations were too general, and no attention had been paid to the housing conditions of the working class or the distribution of commercial and industrial areas.¹²

The movement was supplanted by another era in planning: the so-called City Efficient or City Functional. These are modern appellations; early planners were more likely to speak of the "City Practical" although this term never enjoyed the same popularity and widespread recognition of its predecessor. After 1910, planning became more problem-oriented and began to address a wide variety of issues including sanitation, housing, transportation, land subdivision and zoning.¹³

II. Origins of the City Beautiful

Following are brief discussions of the American park and boulevard movement, the Chicago World's Fair (formally known as the World's Columbian Exposition) and the elements of European civic design which so impressed Americans.

A. Park and Boulevard Movement

More than anyone else, Frederick Law Olmsted Sr. (1822-1903) influenced the development of public parks in North America, both through his writings and the nature of the parks he designed.¹⁴ He had toured England in 1850 and was especially impressed by the city park at

Birkenhead (near Liverpool), characterized by irregularly-shaped artificial ponds, both wooded and grassy sections, playing fields, narrow pedestrian paths and a roadway.

In the 1850's, he and Calvert Vaux (1824-1895) developed the design for New York's Central Park, the first large public park in the United States. The park's topography was preserved and its natural character emphasized in an effort to provide contrast with the city. It was the belief of Olmsted (and other park crusaders) that urban parks were a means of bringing the country into the city. They were seen as natural and relaxing oases in the midst of artificiality and unhealthiness. But a "natural" park did not imply that the park was to be left in its natural state; rather every opportunity was to be seized to exaggerate nature and to create a romantic composition. In addition, parks provided recreation opportunities for children and "lungs" for the city as a whole.

Besides the "natural" portions, part of Central Park was given over to recreation facilities (pavilions and playing fields), and there was one concession to formalism (a one-quarter mile promenade flanked on either side by two rows of elm trees).¹⁵ Circulation through the park was by means of four separate systems - one each for pedestrians, equestrians, and slow and fast vehicles.

Central Park became a model for the North American urban park, and the Olmsted was called upon to design many others over the next thirty years, including parks in Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, Washington, Boston and Mont Royal in Montreal. He also laid out the university campus at Berkeley and the grounds of the Columbian Exposition.

It was Olmsted's desire that Central Park become part of a system of parks connected by tree-lined boulevards. This never materialized for New York but Olmsted's writings and park designs acted as a direct influence in advancing a park and boulevard movement beginning in the 1870's.

By the 1880's Chicago had developed an impressive and much admired park and boulevard system and by 1893 Minneapolis could boast a system comprising twenty-nine parks.¹⁶ George Kessler's 1893 park and boulevard plan for Kansas City, Missouri had been the culmination of a twenty-year public crusade; implementation began immediately with steady progress being made over the next twenty years.¹⁷ Also in 1893, a park commission under Charles Eliot was established in the Boston area with a view to setting up a metropolitan park system; within ten years the commission had acquired 15,000 acres of parkland and had made a start on connecting boulevards.¹⁸ Finally, initial public acceptance of large parks connected by grand boulevards paved the way for acceptance at the turn of the century of small parks and playgrounds in working class areas.¹⁹

It can be readily seen that the park and boulevard movement in the late nineteenth century met with considerable success. One critic has concluded that this success was primarily due to enthusiasm for a rural way of life and the claims that the urban park offered the city dweller a bit of the country.²⁰ Support for the establishment of parks was based as much on the belief that they would contribute to public health as on a desire for civic beautification.²¹

B. The World's Columbian Exposition

The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 celebrated the 400th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of North America and was the nineteenth century's largest world's fair.²² Frederick Law Olmsted Sr. was retained as consulting landscape architect and the partnership of Daniel Burnham and John Root as consulting architects. Later Burnham was promoted to Director of Works.

Burnham and Root's first task was to devise a tentative ground plan and their second to invite the participation of ten other architectural firms. Each of the participating architects was responsible for a building but proposals were always discussed by the whole group and subsequently modified in an effort to attain a unified composition. The tentative ground plan was ratified and a neo-classical theme decided upon, with virtually all buildings tracing their origins to the architecture of Greece and Rome.²³ According to Henry Van Brunt, one of the participating architects, the neo-classical style was one that was "evolved from and expressive of the highest civilization in history".²⁴ In addition, all buildings were to be painted white.

Burnham's chief design role seemed to be that of giving critical comments. It was he who considered the relationship of individual buildings to the entire scheme.²⁵

The composition centred around the Court of Honor - a basin and court surrounded by impressive formal buildings which were similar in style. The court lay on an east-west axis and was bisected by another less monumental axis. This second axis, a canal, led northward to a series of irregularly shaped lagoons with a wooded island in the centre.

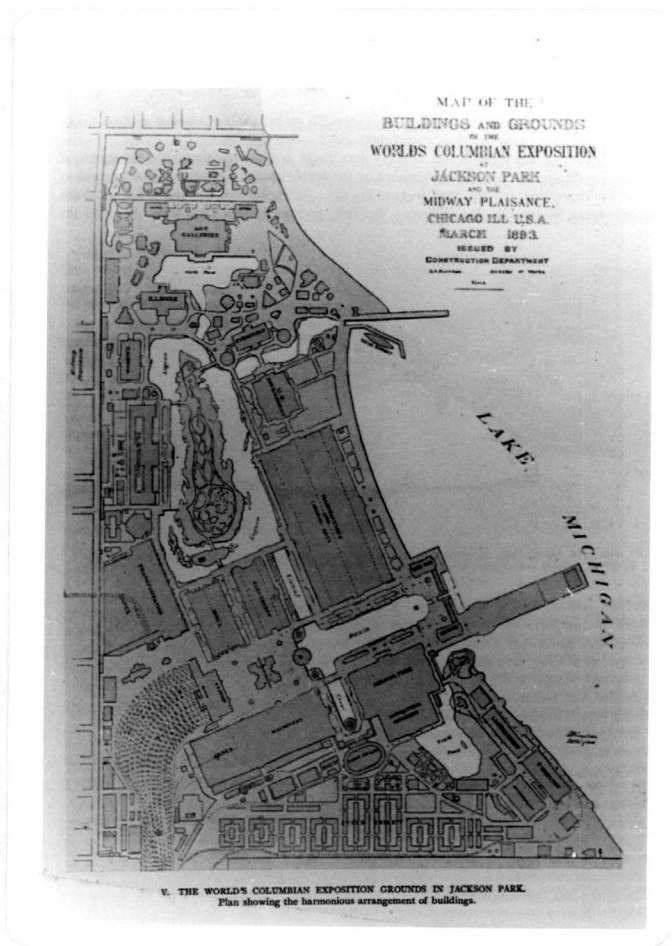


Fig. 1 -- Chicago World's Fair: Grounds plan. (Source: Daniel Burnham, Plan of Chicago)



Fig. 2 -- Chicago World's Fair: Court of Honor.
(Source: Chicago Historical Society)



Fig. 3 -- Chicago World's Fair: Art Gallery. This is now the Museum of Science and Industry and is the only fair building still standing.

More flexibility of style and a less impressive tone was permitted for those buildings fronting the lagoons. In addition, all buildings could be approached by either water or land.

The fair met with instant success. In the words of A.T. Taylor, a Canadian architect:

"To pass from the noisy, dirty, half-paved, half-baked chaotic city of Chicago, to the fair white city on the shores of Lake Michigan, with its lagoons and islands, pleasant winding walks, fountains, statuary and architecture, is like a translation from Purgatory to Paradise."²⁶

The fair opened in May of 1893 and closed in October of the same year. It was visited by over twenty million people and received enthusiastic praise in the newspapers and popular journals of the day.

The so-called "White City" had sprung up in startling contrast to the grime and greyness of nineteenth century industrial America. It provided visitors with an immediate sense of continuity as if America had discovered its roots, and in a time when urban reform was looked on as a distinct possibility, the fair gave people a tangible example of one of the directions which such reform might take.

The fair would appear to have had three major and immediate impacts:

(1) It educated and inspired. The idea of civic beautification began to be accepted, and more and more Americans started to think about shaping cities according to a pre-established plan.²⁷

(2) The fair offered a concrete model which real cities could follow. The popularity of the classical style was revived resulting in the repression of the Chicago School of architecture.²⁸ In the

decades following the fair, America embarked on the construction of monumental public and semi-public buildings in the neo-classical style -- state capitols, city halls, libraries, museums, railroad stations, banks and universities.²⁹

(3) It brought widespread recognition to Daniel Burnham and started him off on a highly successful twenty-year crusade as promoter and designer of the "city beautiful".³⁰

C. The Influence of Europe

Before continuing an examination of the City Beautiful movement -- its principles and practitioners -- it might be useful to explore for a moment the origins of those ideas.

Consistent with the Victorian quest for history and knowledge, interest in Europe increased in the late nineteenth century. Travel abroad became more common among the wealthy while others were informed by magazines of the day. Europe was looked at as a model; for example, Harper's Monthly sent Rochester journalist Charles Mulford Robinson on a European tour in 1899 in order that he might report on urban improvements abroad.³¹ In the case of established architects, it was common practice to embark on frequent European tours. For example, Burnham made trips almost annually and in the course of preparing a plan for Washington, Burnham and his co-workers made an extensive European tour including Paris, Rome, Venice, Vienna, Budapest, Frankfurt, Berlin and London.³²

For the nineteenth century student of architecture, Paris was the favourite destination, and beginning in mid-century, Americans had begun to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts. The Ecole stressed unity of composition and taught its students to view a building in terms of a series of relationships. Buildings were generally characterized by two (or sometimes more) axes suggesting movement and a symmetrical layout of clearly defined geometric spaces. Interior spaces were linked with exterior ones such as gardens and courtyards. Attention was also paid to the site - how the building would be viewed from various vantage points and what relationship it would have to existing buildings. In keeping with the Ecole's emphasis on the need for historical continuity in architecture, Beaux Arts buildings exhibited a variety of past architectural styles but the major influences were Greece and Rome.

Among Americans who had studied at the Ecole were three who had been involved with the Chicago Fair -- Richard M. Hunt, Charles F. McKim and Louis Sullivan. In addition, two other World's Fair architects, Henry Van Brunt and George B. Post, had been students of Hunt's. Although Burnham had never studied at the Ecole, he remained its loyal supporter, surrounding himself with former students. One was John M. Carrère, who participated in the Cleveland civic centre plan. Another was Edward H. Bennett, who assisted Burnham in preparing plans for San Francisco and Chicago and who was later to become involved with the 1915 plan for Ottawa.

Insofar as city design is concerned, elements of Baroque planning impressed North Americans the most. The Baroque plan had its roots in the fourteenth century with a new interest in geometry, perspective, organization, symmetry, the use of vistas and axes, and a return to classical elements in architecture. The style evolved over the next 500 years and reached a pinnacle in nineteenth century Paris.

Elements of Baroque planning included straight broad avenues flanked by uniform buildings, whose horizontal roof lines stretched unbroken towards some vista. Emphasis was on the view from the avenue -- the entrance and long approach, the vista, the framed picture. Squares and other open spaces were commonplace and typically contained statues, fountains and other monuments. Surrounding the square might be public buildings organized in a symmetrical fashion while a series of avenues radiated outwards from the square itself. Greenery was present in the Baroque city in the form of parks, formal gardens and tree-lined boulevards.

Paris, the queen of Baroque cities, had begun its transformation from mediaeval town during the reign of Henri IV (1589-1610) when two open spaces were created, a view from the river was opened up and the Champs Elysées was laid out. After the French Revolution, Napoleon I (1769-1821) attempted to transform Paris into the "new Rome". New streets were created, the first uniform street facades appeared, and various focal points were linked.

Finally, under Napoleon III (1808-1873), Baron Georges-Eugène Haussman began, in 1853, to undertake a comprehensive plan of urban improvement. Haussman opened up through streets in an effort to

facilitate movement, military and otherwise, and to allow light and air to penetrate the dense city. Two axes were created, and the old city walls were replaced by two concentric boulevards. Open spaces were created which included promenades, squares, public gardens and suburban parks. In the city as a whole, unity of composition was attempted; for example, a new square was created in the southeast to balance the Place de l'Etoile which was situated in the northwest. On the more practical side, Hausmann also undertook slum clearance, street paving, street lighting and the installation of sewers.

Although Paris claimed the most admiration, Americans were also impressed by townscape elements of other cities -- the squares of Rome and Venice, the grand avenues and monumental bridges of Berlin and the Ringstrasse in Vienna.³³ One city that generally did not receive praise was London. It was a common belief that a grave error had been made in not implementing Wren's Baroque plan for rebuilding the City of London after the fire of 1666.³⁴

III. The City Beautiful

The design principles of the City Beautiful are ill-defined and in an effort to provide some definition, it was felt appropriate to look at individuals and their ideas. Among the leaders of the City Beautiful movement were Daniel Burnham (architect), Arnold Brunner (architect), Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. (landscape architect), John Nolen (landscape architect) and Charles Mulford Robinson (writer/educator). At least one of these five men took part in almost three-quarters of the forty-two pre-1912 comprehensive plans.³⁵ For this

discussion it was decided to focus on two of them: Charles Mulford Robinson and Daniel Burnham.

Charles Mulford Robinson was a Rochester journalist, and according to Scott, it was his writings which directly stimulated the formation of countless civic improvement organizations and gave definition to the term "civic improvement".³⁶ The Improvement of Towns and Cities, published in 1901, was intended as a kind of manual and according to one contemporary source, cited by Peterson, it became the "bible of the believers in the city beautiful".³⁷

Daniel Burnham, the man who had headed the design team at the fair, went on to undertake plans for Washington, Manila, San Francisco and Chicago. He continued to be an untiring and influential crusader for planning until his death in 1912. His personal fame was widespread while his plans for Washington and Chicago were extremely well-known and provided models for other cities. It is Burnham whom critics generally regard as the movement's main practitioner.³⁸

Robinson's major writings and Burnham's plans were looked at in an attempt to uncover the movement's design principles. Primary attention was paid to the treatment of streets, civic centres and parks. Since the movement has been criticized for both its failure to deal with a city's practical problems and its failure to address housing and social issues, attention was also paid to Robinson's and Burnham's views in these respects.

A. Charles Mulford Robinson

(1) His life

Charles Mulford Robinson (1869-1917) was writer, educator and planner. He wrote extensively for newspapers and periodicals and was a frequent contributor on the subjects of "civic improvement" and "city planning" in such journals as The Architectural Record, Harper's Monthly, The National Municipal Review and The Survey (a social work journal). He was the author of eight books, with the most planning-oriented being: The Improvement of Towns and Cities (1901), Modern Civic Art (1903) and City Planning (1916).

His writing obviously enjoyed much popularity. After completing a series of articles on municipal improvements in North America for Atlantic Monthly (1899), Harper's Monthly sent him abroad to do a similar series on Europe. Material collected on that tour formed the basis for The Improvement of Towns and Cities. By the time of his death, it was in its twelfth printing and Modern Civic Art in its fourth.³⁹ In addition, The Improvement of Towns and Cities had "stimulated the formation of improvement groups and civic art societies throughout the United States".⁴⁰

Despite the fact that he had never received any professional training, Robinson was one of the most productive planners of his day. Between 1902 and 1917, he had acted in the capacity of planning adviser to thirty cities,⁴¹ producing "improvement reports" for Buffalo, Detroit, Denver, Oakland, Los Angeles, Honolulu and numerous smaller cities. Approximately half of his published reports had been commissioned by various municipal art societies.⁴²

He belonged to diverse civic organizations including the American League for Civic Improvements, the National Alliance of Civic Organizations, the National Municipal League, the National Housing Association, the National Conference on City Planning, and the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York. In addition, he had held the post of Professor of Civic Design at the University of Illinois since 1913, a position that had been created specifically for him. In that capacity he taught a course each year on the history and future prospects of city planning.

Robinson's most important roles were those of publicist and educator. Following his death, Landscape Architecture (the journal of the American Society of Landscape Architects) reported:

"In view of the extraordinary timeliness of his writings and of his professional efforts with individual American communities, he may, with reason, be regarded as the prophet of city planning in this country."⁴³

(2) Elements of the City Beautiful

The endeavours of Charles Mulford Robinson spanned both the eras of the City Beautiful and the City Efficient, and he made a successful transition between them. For the purposes of this section, emphasis is on The Improvement of Towns and Cities and Modern Civic Art.

Streets. In Robinson's conception of the "city beautiful", the street system was by far the most important element. A complete plan of circulation was seen as the first priority of "civic art".

In order to do such a plan, one was advised to start with existing focal points in the city's business district (most likely major public buildings). From these, a street network could be built up, resulting

in a framework of radials and ring roads reminiscent of "a wheel superimposed on a checkerboard".⁴⁴

Radials (or diagonals) were seen to have three benefits: (1) they facilitated communication, (2) they opened up vistas, and (3) they presented opportunities to create squares and other public open spaces. They were to be wide and straight and without steep grade but aesthetic considerations too had a large role to play.

"In laying down the precise location of any one of (the radials), we shall note what views it opens, what its accents are, and, if possible, we shall proportion its width to its length or seeming length."⁴⁵

Vistas and focal points comprised an integral part of the street plan. Robinson opposed the notion of "interminable distances", feeling that main streets in the business district should be broken at intervals by vistas. It was also desirable to have a number of streets converging upon a focal point. In both the above instances, appropriate termini included public buildings, railroad stations, monuments and small parks or squares. In the residential areas, the intersection of radials and local streets created the opportunity for local foci -- schools, churches, police stations, firehalls and libraries.

Every street demanded certain necessities -- good pavement and sidewalks, cleanliness, adequate maintenance, underground wiring, the control of advertisements and the suppression of unnecessary smoke and noise. Beyond this there was the matter of street furnishings; e.g. lighting, street signs, letter boxes and fire alarms. Robinson advocated the development of standard designs which included aesthetic touches and hoped that "clutter" could be minimized by the use of

multiple-use fixtures. It was proper to locate only practical items in the street itself and on the sidewalk but the numerous public squares would provide ample opportunity for the sort of embellishment that fountains and sculpture could offer.

The extension of the radials into the residential areas (1) facilitated future expansion of the downtown core, (2) ensured better communication and (3) brought unity to the city. Between the radials, however, the guiding principle was to be variety. There would be a variety of streets (broad and narrow, straight and curving) and a variety of open spaces (playing fields and playgrounds and public gardens). Streets could conform to topography which would be both more attractive and less costly. Greenery was to be encouraged everywhere in an effort to bring to the city a bit of rural landscape. To borrow a much used word from the late nineteenth century, it was hoped that the end result would be "picturesque".

Finally, Robinson conducted a lifelong crusade against standardized streets. In the business district, wide streets would decrease traffic congestion, let in the fresh air and sunlight and accentuate a building's architectural effect. In residential areas, streets would be as wide as traffic demanded. Parkways, connecting the various parks, were seen as true beauty roads while speedways were of the finest construction, lacked cross-streets and displayed an "engineering exactness" which was beautiful in its own right.

Civic centre. A civic centre had several advantages over scattered public buildings: (1) it saved time by making public

business more convenient, (2) it symbolized co-operation among the various levels of government and among departments within the same level, (3) it emphasized civic power and the importance of public life, and (4) it presented a composition in which each building in the group complemented the others, resulting in more dignity and importance than each could offer separately. Finally, all this was gained at no extra cost since the various structures would have to be built anyway.

The civic centre was seen as centrally located or associated with some special natural feature of the city such as a hill or waterfront. The least desirable location was along the gridiron since (1) private buildings could detract from the civic centre's impact, (2) there would be no opportunity for creating vistas and (3) the buildings would denote no special importance.⁴⁶ The most desirable locations were on a hill, along the waterfront, facing a park or square or surrounding a courtyard. If none of these was possible, Robinson suggested a location at the intersection of two main streets. Finally, it was considered quite desirable to have more than one 'centre'; e.g. an administrative and an educational centre.

It was advised that the buildings themselves be of the same scale and exhibit a similar style. White was considered the best colour since it represented purity and would stand in dramatic contrast to the "sordidness" of the nineteenth century industrial city. Classic was considered the best style if a vista could be obtained. Although he was generally vague on architectural details, Robinson did hold up

the Court of Honor at the Chicago World's Fair as an appropriate civic centre model. If satisfactory public buildings already existed, Robinson suggested that these buildings be made to appear as a group by linking them with arcades, colonnades and formal tree-lined avenues.

Although not strictly a public building, it was felt proper to include a railroad station (and most especially the Union Station) either as part of the civic centre composition or adjacent to it. The station was a gateway to the city and its architecture and placement should be suggestive of as much. For example, a large open space could be located in front of the station with a number of radials converging onto it. Such a treatment would serve to facilitate travel, attract visitors to the city and make the city more attractive. To the visitor the railroad station would be a most striking entrance while to the resident it would be an important focal point. As an excellent example, Robinson pointed to the new Union Station in Washington and noted that its architecture emphasized its importance and its location its role as gateway.

Parks. Like the park reformers of the day, Robinson envisioned a system of parks linked by boulevards (or parkways). He felt "no need to present arguments"⁴⁷ for such a system since widespread public support already existed. Immediate acquisition was recommended since this would be the least costly procedure in the long run with first priority for parks being given to stream banks and distinctive natural features which once lost could never be regained.

Large suburban parks, equidistant from the city centre, were intended to "to soothe the spirit and calm tired nerves with peaceful

outlooks and beautiful views".⁴⁸ Their tranquility and natural beauty would offer the city dweller a place of refuge where he could be refreshed. And like the park reformers, Robinson also adhered to the notion of landscaping a "natural" park so that it became even better than nature.

"In the treatment of the water surface and their margins, that they may not give an air of formality to a scene which is meant to be natural, both the taste and training of the landscaping architect will be required. In the planting there must be often clever exaggeration of the suggestions of Nature, lest the inexperienced overlook the niceness and the fineness of her distinction and lose a charm of the park. But all these are professional questions."⁴⁹

The connecting parkways would tie the city together, thus emphasizing its unity. In their treatment, beauty was to take precedence over utility. A natural treatment was appropriate if the road led to a natural park and formal if it led to a formal park.

Within the city itself, Robinson saw the need for small open spaces, which could take a variety of forms; e.g., public square, garden or playground. A given treatment depended on three considerations: (1) travel requirements,⁵⁰ (2) the character of the surrounding neighbourhood and (3) the character of adjacent buildings.⁵¹ For example, a public square in the city might be characterized by diagonal pathways and a formal geometric design while in residential areas there would abound flowers and grass and an "invitation to idleness and loitering".⁵² It was to be remembered that "the beauty of the space itself is not the goal we seek, but rather the addition, by its support, of the beauty of the city".⁵³

In the case of playgrounds, however, beauty occupied a very secondary role. They were justified for reasons of public health; public acceptance and support had already been translated into dozens of playgrounds. He did suggest some natural landscaping, though, in order "to give city children a bit of country".⁵⁴

Waterfronts demanded special treatment. Robinson felt that parkland was the ideal use but recognized that the demands of economics often necessitated an industrial use. In such a case, Robinson felt that the waterfront should not be adorned with a few natural elements; he felt it better that "the shoreline be made richly urban than allowed to become degraded nature".⁵⁵ A possible urban treatment for the waterfront might include observation points, a shaded promenade and a shoreline drive, with a grassy strip separating it from the buildings. Ideally the buildings would be of similar style with uniform heights and curving with the shoreline. Overall the treatment would be characterized by "utility, dignity and harmony" while a curving shoreline presented an ever-changing vista.

(3) The wider view

Robinson's vision had always extended beyond mere civic ornamentation, and as time passed his conception of planning grew ever broader. In addition to the design of streets, civic centres and parks, he devoted a great deal of attention to problem-solving (e.g. congestion, land speculation) and the need for a comprehensive plan of development -- a blueprint for the future "so that there may be nothing haphazard and conflicting in the successive steps".⁵⁶ He tried to analyse the dynamics of city growth and to address the

question of the slums, giving serious thought to the extent of public responsibility.

In view of later criticisms of the City Beautiful movement it would be useful to examine two aspects of this wider view more closely. They are (1) the relationship between beauty and utility and (2) the treatment of housing problems.

The relationship between beauty and utility.

"There can be only one successful civic art.
This will be one which joins utility to beauty.
Cities are not made to be looked at but to be
lived in. . . ."57

Throughout his works, Robinson stressed that the practical needs of a city must come first "as ever" in civic art. "The greater part, if not the best, of civic art is that which first does something else than please the senses."⁵⁸ For example, in the comprehensive plan, "circulation" was emphasized as the most important consideration followed by hygiene and then beauty. In presenting an ideal street plan, Robinson noted that he wasn't creating an exposition layout but rather a "simple, practical, and systematic ground plan available for busy city or quiet village".⁵⁹ Diagonals were admired firstly because they facilitated communication and only secondly because they opened up opportunities for vistas.

Public squares and other open spaces were also to meet practical requirements first. It was Robinson's contention that "a city square which has no practical use is sad, deserted, out-of-place".⁶⁰ Parks and trees, of course, were felt to have obvious "hygienic" benefits.

Even beauty itself was grounded in rationality. It was psychologically uplifting, it was good for health, it inspired children to

become better adults. "Modern civic art desires the beauty of towns and cities not for beauty's sake, but for the greater happiness, health and comfort of the citizens."⁶¹

Robinson stated time and time again that "clean orderly cities" took precedence over all else. Further, the majority of his recommendations were supported by both utilitarian and aesthetic rationales. But despite the importance he explicitly accorded utility, Robinson rarely developed his utilitarian concepts. Rather it was beauty that claimed most of his attention -- at least in his first two books. For example, the railroad station's architectural treatment and its role as a land portal were discussed at great length but only fleeting mention was made of items like the desirability of eliminating grade crossings. Indeed Robinson was prone to complete immersion in aesthetic details; for example, in Modern Civic Art, seventeen pages were devoted to "fountains and sculpture" and eleven to "temporary and occasional decoration".

But once something had been deemed necessary, it was appropriate "to clothe utility with beauty".⁶² To Robinson, civic beauty remained ever the highest state of city building. However, such a level could be attained only after the city's utilitarian requirements had been met.

"The wish for a beautiful street will remain always visionary until the want is felt of a good street and a clean one. . . Communities that are going about the provision of adequate water and sewage facilities, that are spending their resources in the opening and paving of streets and for keeping them clean, are taking the first steps, even if unconsciously, toward municipal art."⁶³

Housing and social issues. In the two years between the publication of The Improvement of Towns and Cities and Modern Civic Art, Robinson's conception of planning (or as he then called it, civic art) broadened considerably. In the former, the slums are written off almost in the same breath as a discussion of appropriate street names. While an entire chapter is given over to "the advertisement problem" and another to "sculpture", the problem of the slums is dealt with in a few paragraphs. Robinson openly admitted to the existence of "tenement districts" and felt that civic art ought to confront them but he lacked strategies for doing so.

On the other hand, a whole chapter of Modern Civic Art is devoted to tenement areas, and it is evident that Robinson had given considerable thought to the problem. He cautioned that it was civic art's responsibility to seek solutions -- firstly, by decreasing congestion and secondly, by improving the environment of the slum.

Several strategies were offered. These included the establishment of:

- (a) industrial suburbs,
- (b) cheap rapid transit to encourage suburbanization for the working classes,
- (c) direct streets so that walking distances would be minimized (resulting in less congestion),
- (d) an independent street system so that "formal approaches to better residential areas (would not be) ruined",
- (e) parks, trees, playgrounds and recreation facilities,

(f) broad, clean sidewalks and tree-lined streets to cater to a pleasant street life, and

(g) housing regulations (e.g. fire safety, air wells, maximum lot coverage).⁶⁴

To a present-day observer, the quality of Robinson's recommendations varies greatly. Some seem to indicate tremendous foresight, while others seem to be mere nonsense.⁶⁵ But his acceptance of environment as a variable in social problems, his inclusion of tenement districts within the responsibilities of civic art and his generation of a grab-bag of strategies with which to confront the problems all indicate Robinson had taken a large step in two years. By 1909, he was to drop the more nonsensical strategies and add those of land grants and municipal land banking (to discourage speculation).⁶⁶

"Modern civic art may not have solved the problem, but it has a dream of doing so. It has dared to acknowledge the existence of, and then has had the courage to try to remedy, that evil which the civic art of other times did not admit. Until the municipality is beautiful in every portion; until there is complete adaptation to purpose and functions; until its citizens, the lowly as well as the rich, are rendered as comfortable as municipal science and humanity can make them, modern civic art will scorn to call its conquest complete. That is why a discussion of the tenement district is necessary now as well as possible in considering civic art, and that it is discussed is the highest glory of that art."⁶⁷

B. Daniel Burnham

(1) His life

Daniel Hudson Burnham (1846 - 1912) had been Director of Works at the Chicago World's Fair and went on to take a leading role in the

development of city plans for Washington, San Francisco and Chicago in the United States and Manila in the Philippines. Simultaneously with his planning work, he maintained an architectural practice -- first in partnership with John Root (1850-1891) and later in charge of his own firm. Although he wrote no books and only a few very short articles, he was a prolific letter writer (e.g. to government officials, newspapers) and speech giver (e.g. to commercial clubs, planning conferences). His other honours and achievements comprise a varied list -- in 1884 he founded the Western Association of Architects,⁶⁸ in 1893 and 1894 he served as president of the American Institute of Architects, in 1894 he received honorary degrees from Harvard and Northwestern Universities and in 1910 he was appointed president of the National Commission on Fine Arts. This last organization was responsible for commenting on federal building projects from an architectural perspective and in essence concerned itself with the implementation of the Washington plan.

The firm of Burnham and Root was founded in 1873. The imaginative Burnham suggested the overall concepts and took care of administration and public relations. Root was the designer; it was he who developed Burnham's concepts and filled in the details but with a degree of critical guidance from Burnham.⁶⁹

Their first commissions were in the Victorian eclectic style of H.H. Richardson but they soon moved to buildings with simpler lines becoming leaders of the so-called Chicago School. Competition for downtown land and the new availability of electricity and elevators made skyscrapers feasible in the 1880's and the firm produced its

first wall-bearing skyscraper in 1881. In 1890 they were responsible for the first all steel-frame building.⁷⁰ The ten-storey structure was characterized by a minimum of external decoration, extensive use of glass, and masonry covering only the frame -- in short a clear prototype of the modern office building.

In 1890 Burnham and Root began work on the upcoming Columbian Exposition.⁷¹ For Burnham the Fair was a turning point.

"In a number of curious and important ways, it dominated his thought for the rest of his life and in so doing affected profoundly the cultural landscape he was trying to transform. In his own mind, he came to see the White City of 1893 as his life's most significant watershed. Ultimately, both for him and for American architecture, it was even more important than he realized."⁷²

Root had died in 1891. Hines has suggested that if he had lived, the Fair might have been designed differently, and Burnham may never have latched on to classicism in architecture.⁷³

In 1901 Burnham was invited to chair a commission responsible for producing a plan of parks and public buildings for Washington, D.C. The other members were Charles F. McKim and Augustus St. Gaudens, both of whom had participated in the Fair, and Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., whose father had worked on the Fair. Publication of the Washington plan in 1902 met with enthusiastic acceptance.

In fact, America had already had its first taste of Baroque planning in 1791 when Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a former resident of Paris was commissioned to prepare a plan for the new city of Washington, D.C. After the future location of major focal points (e.g. principal buildings) had been decided, L'Enfant imposed a

framework of tree-lined boulevards radiating from each focal point and linking the focal points together. His plan also included a mall, a civic centre, several squares and a pot-pourri of monuments and fountains. Throughout the 1800's many of L'Enfant's recommendations were carried out, but as time passed, deviations from the plan became common. Burnham's task had been to revive and update the plan of 1791.

The fame of both the fair and Washington led to plans for other cities. Burnham, along with architects John M. Carrère and Arnold W. Brunner, completed a civic centre plan for Cleveland in 1903. In 1905, a plan was published for Manila and a summer capital, Baguio, some 150 miles away, and in 1906 there appeared a plan for San Francisco. This latter plan was largely prepared by Burnham's assistant, Edward H. Bennett, a former student at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.⁷⁴ A plan for Chicago, undertaken with the assistance of Bennett and presented in 1909, was Burnham's final planning effort. It was both the greatest achievement of the City Beautiful and the first of the City Efficient plans.

Burnham's expertise was much in demand and for every plan he undertook, there were several more he turned down.⁷⁵ One of these requests had been made by Sir William Van Horne of the Canadian Pacific Railway and chairman of Montreal's plan commission, who had wanted Burnham to do a plan for that city.⁷⁶

Throughout his life, Burnham took pleasure in European tours and consistently looked towards Europe for architectural models. He was especially impressed with Rome and Paris. He remained a life-long supporter of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and in the 1890's he and McKim

founded the American Academy of Fine Arts in Rome, a school which would offer young men the opportunity to study classical architecture.

Finally, alongside all his planning and other endeavours, Burnham maintained an architectural practice. At the time of his death in 1912, D.H. Burnham and Co. employed almost 200 persons including as always several graduates of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Over 200 buildings were produced during the firm's twenty-two year existence, mainly public buildings in the classical style and skyscrapers, often displaying classical elements on the facades.

(2) Elements of the City Beautiful

Emphasis in this section will be on the plans for San Francisco and Chicago since only these are readily available. Information about the remaining plans has been derived from secondary sources.

Streets. Street improvements were always Burnham's first priority. Large portions of the plans for San Francisco and Chicago were taken up by recommendations for the widening and extension of existing roads and the building of new ones. He felt that a complete system of circulation served to (1) facilitate travel between areas and (2) unify the city by linking together the various districts.

A typical Burnham plan included the following elements:

(a) axis and cross-axis. Such streets either offered an unobstructed view or were terminated by a vista, usually a public building or a special feature of the city (e.g. a park). Their intersection was normally the site of the civic centre.

(b) diagonal streets. These were the main element of any Burnham plan and would radiate outwards from the civic centre. In the San Francisco plan, this concept was taken one step further; each of the main radials was to "periodically widen into traffic circles and spawn more subsidiary radiating streets".⁷⁷

(c) circumferential streets. This concept first appeared in the San Francisco plan with the recommendation that all major streets terminate in an encircling shoreline drive. Then in the Chicago plan, it was recommended that four ring roads be constructed in the city and outlying region. Instead of all main roads converging on the central core, the opportunity would now exist for the rider to skirt the congested business district. The final result would be much as Robinson had envisioned -- a wheel imposed on a gridiron.

(d) boulevards. Boulevards made up a second road system. Linking together the various parks, boulevards were green pleasure drives and were to be considered part of the park system.

It was Burnham's desire that the system of main roads and boulevards would ensure that "circulation shall be everywhere promoted but never impeded".⁷⁸ His streets were broad and long and direct. Order and symmetry were his keywords; in Chicago, he even hoped for uniform building facades such as there existed in Paris. But practical considerations were important too; the Chicago plan called for noiseless streets with smooth pavement, safety islands, subway crossings, attractive signs and of sufficient width to meet the need. Existing conditions, too, were taken into account; for example, some roads in

San Francisco and Baguio adhered to the topography, and in Manila, he recommended that residential streets continue to be narrow and "picturesque".

Civic centre. Burnham's earliest civic centre plans (Washington and Cleveland) borrowed heavily from the Court of Honor at the fair while his later plans adapted elements of the civic centre to the needs of traffic.

Common civic centre elements included:

(a) axis and cross-axis. In Washington, the main axis extends from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial and the cross-axis from the White House to the Potomac. Their intersection was to be marked by fountains and sculpture as well as the already-existing Washington Monument. In Cleveland, the main axis ran north-south while the cross-axis ran along the lake. A railroad station was to be built at the intersection. In Chicago, the two axes were to be roads which converged not on public buildings but on an obelisk. This was recommended in the interests of maintaining traffic flow.

(b) a "mall" or open space, around which public buildings were situated. Malls were to be created along the main axis in both Washington and Cleveland. The former was to receive a formal treatment of a long rectangular reflecting pool at the west end and a double row of elm trees flanking a 300-foot wide grass strip at the east end. Roads were permitted to criss-cross the mall. Cleveland's mall was to be park-like and was offered as a contrast to the city's artificiality. In San Francisco and Chicago there were to be no malls.

(c) buildings. In all cases the public buildings were to be monumental in scale and classical in design. They were to be of similar height, mass and treatment; in fact, two of Cleveland's buildings were to be nearly identical.

The civic centres were to display order and harmony. In the Cleveland plan, the two nearly identical buildings were to form a southern terminus and two other buildings faced each other across the mall. A new railroad station was to be the northern terminus.

Chicago's civic centre was to be hindered by the intrusion of roads but buildings would be tied together visually through the use of porticoes, statues, open plazas, subways and bridges.

(d) gateway. It was felt that every city should have an impressive gateway, and Burnham usually included a railroad station as part of or adjacent to the civic centre.

Parks. Burnham considered parks second only to streets in importance, and as has been mentioned already, the notion of parks enjoyed considerable popularity. Park systems were recommended in all of Burnham's plans, including the one for Cleveland despite the fact that its scope was to be confined to a civic centre.

Burnham supported the popular concept of a system of parks and boulevards. A range of parks was envisioned: forest reserves, large urban parks, small parks and playgrounds. On the connecting boulevards, heavy traffic was to be prohibited and the boulevards themselves lined with fine residential buildings. There would be a park-like quality to them -- complete with grass, shrubs, trees, statues and fountains.

Other elements of Burnham's park system included:

(a) forest reserves. In the Chicago plan, Burnham incorporated the proposals of the Special Park Commission's 1904 report in recommending the continued acquisition of "forest reserves".⁷⁹ He saw such reserves as conserving both public health and natural resources, providing relief from the city, increasing land values and attracting tourists. Any landscaping was to be "natural", and only a few country roads would be allowed to intrude.

(b) large urban parks. These were the parks that were commonly called the city's lungs. It was felt they opened up space to light and air and provided healthy recreation opportunities for urban residents. In Chicago, Burnham recommended an even distribution of such parks so that they might be equally accessible to all.

The large urban parks might also be located according to a city's special features. In San Francisco, those hills that were unsuitable for building were to be transformed into parks containing abundant greenery amidst a formal framework of terraces, colonnades and statues.

In Chicago, a waterfront park system had long been one of Burnham's special projects. In the 1909 plan he recommended twenty-one miles of waterfront park with landfill being used to create islands and lagoons. Overall there would be a natural treatment with grass, trees, shrubs and winding pathways in the three major parks. A new lakeshore drive was to parallel the shoreline and an "artistic" centre containing a museum and library was to be built in Grant Park just south of the city core. Recreation facilities would include playing fields and space for boating, swimming, golfing, a marina, an auditorium and restaurants.

(c) Small parks and playgrounds. These were to be distributed according to population density. Intended to be much more than just "breathing spaces", they were to contain a variety of recreation facilities including playing fields, playground equipment, swimming pools, baths, gymnasiums, clubhouses, auditoriums and libraries. Such a system of parks and playgrounds was already being developed in Chicago, and Burnham suggested that a similar undertaking be initiated in San Francisco.

It was also in the San Francisco plan that Burnham made the innovative recommendation to replace backyards with a linear park system. Such a park would be safer for children, it would induce foot travel and it would provide green space without the risk of ending up with an unused ill-maintained public square.

(3) The wider view

In general, it is difficult to evaluate Burnham's overall view of planning and whether his conception of it changed over the years since his plans would tend to reflect the expectations of his clients. It seems safe to assume, however, that his chief interest lay with design. His plans typically contained a list of concrete projects and an ideal vision of that city in the future. Consideration of wider issues tended to be sparse.

Relationship between beauty and utility. Both of Burnham's comprehensive plans (San Francisco and Chicago) are characterized by a mix of the aesthetic and the practical. First priority in both plans was given over to traffic requirements. Beauty in the street was

desirable but only insofar as it could be had without impeding traffic.

As Burnham remarked in the San Francisco plan,

"the first step in civic improvement should be towards ideal streets, faultless in equipment and immaculately clean. Until this is taken, monuments and statues are out of place; men and events can be much more effectually commemorated by street improvements."⁸⁰

Accordingly a large part of both plans is taken up by detailed descriptions of road improvements. Yet the long list of recommended widenings and extensions and proposed new streets is sometimes augmented by descriptions of the view from the road or the visual impact of the road itself.

In the San Francisco plan, aesthetic considerations often took the forefront. It was Burnham's hope that San Francisco become a truly monumental city.⁸¹ For example, the suggested treatment of those hills too steep for building was strongly reminiscent of ancient Greece and Rome, replete with terraces, colonnades, statues and amphitheatres.⁸² Elsewhere in the report he suggested cutting a new parkway through existing blocks merely to create a dramatic view of Twin Peaks while another recommendation involved the city's water supply.

". . .a superb effect might be produced by using a number of reservoirs at successive heights. The water, arriving at the highest point through a triumphal entrance, would fall from one level to another in cascades, thus, producing a veritable 'Chateau d'Eau'."⁸³

Yet alongside such fanciful notions, Burnham talked briefly of practical concerns -- the importance of efficient goods distribution between industrial and commercial districts, problems of factory location, the need for an even distribution of playgrounds containing extensive recreation facilities.

The same sort of dichotomy (but not nearly as pronounced) appeared in the Chicago plan. Here Burnham was devoted to both the City Practical and the City Beautiful. On the one hand he made detailed transportation recommendations aimed at expediting goods movement in and through Chicago, he recommended the provision of space for schools, playgrounds, libraries and neighbourhood centres in the laying out of new subdivisions, and he outlined a great many specific road improvement schemes. Yet the entire report is permeated by a certain vision of Chicago -- a future city of order and uniformity with streets that were to be broad and straight and buildings that were to be of similar style and equal height. The civic centre, symbol of Chicago's power and dignity, would give the composition a visual focus while park and road systems would tie all the parts together in symmetrical fashion.

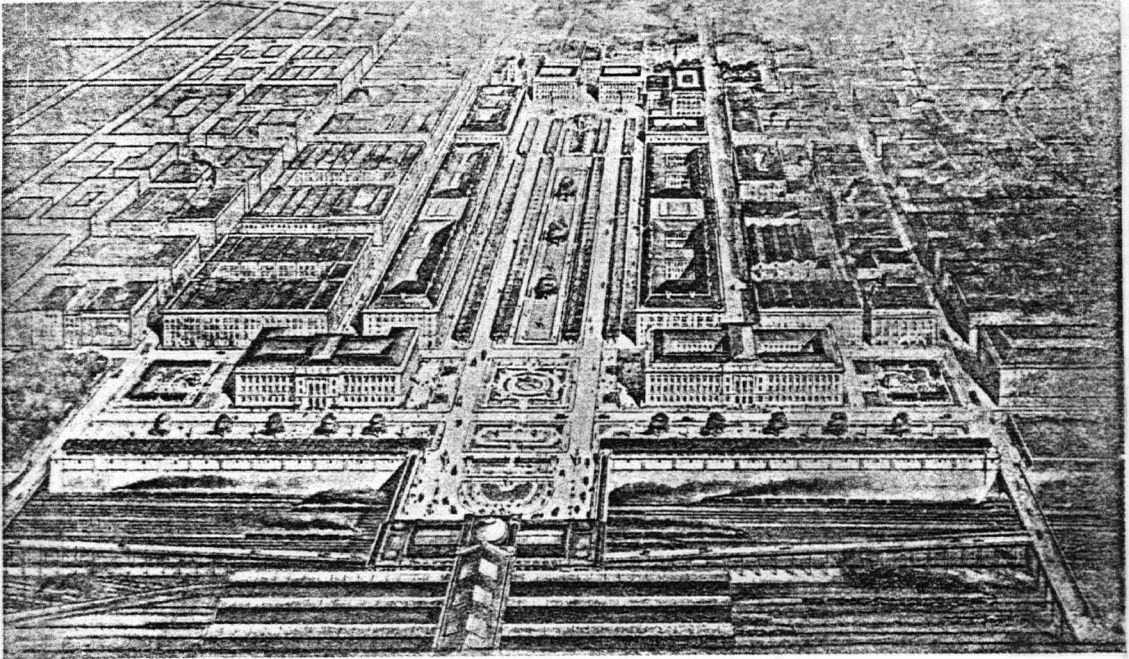
Housing and social issues. Burnham exhibited some concern for housing problems but didn't expend a great deal of energy seeking solutions. One is left with the impression that there really was no sense of urgency. In fact, it wasn't until the Chicago plan that he devoted any time to the problem of the slums. In Chicago, he recommended cutting new streets through slum areas and providing grassy tree-lined boulevards on some of the existing streets. He recommended that strict sanitary regulations be enforced lest Chicago (like London) be forced to provide housing for its citizens at some date in the future. This suggests either that Burnham was willing to consider public housing as an eventual part of government's responsibility or that he simply chose to avoid dealing with housing problems by putting them off.



Fig. 4 -- Washington: The Mall. Looking towards the Washington Monument from the steps of the Capitol.

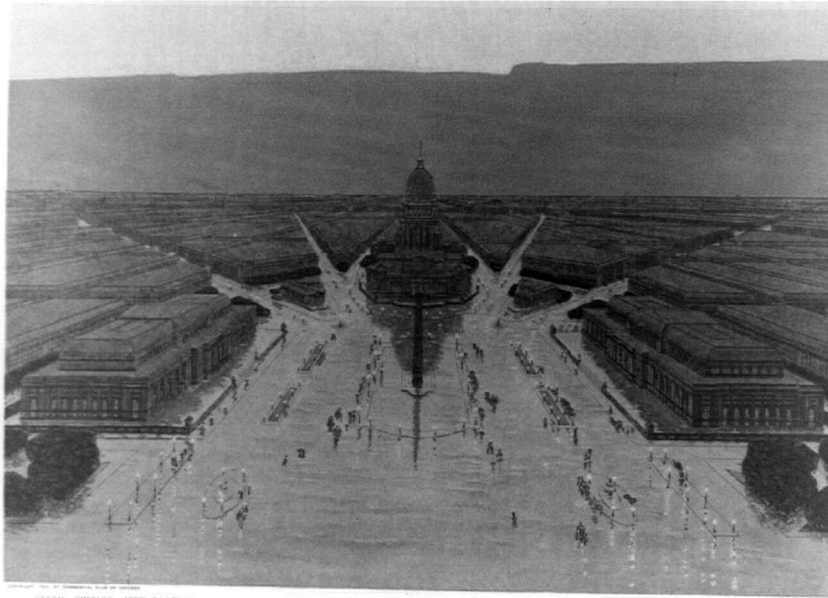


Fig. 5 -- Washington: Small square created where a diagonal road has crossed the gridiron.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW LOOKING SOUTH

Fig. 6 -- Cleveland: Civic centre. (Source: P. Abercrombie, "Cleveland: A Civic Centre Project", Town Planning Review, Vol. 2, 1911, pp. 131-135)



PLAN OF CHICAGO. VIEW, LOOKING WEST, OF THE PROPOSED CIVIC CENTER. STATE AND CITY HALL. DANIEL BURNHAM. 1887.

Fig. 7 -- Chicago: Civic centre. (Source: Daniel Burnham, Plan of Chicago)

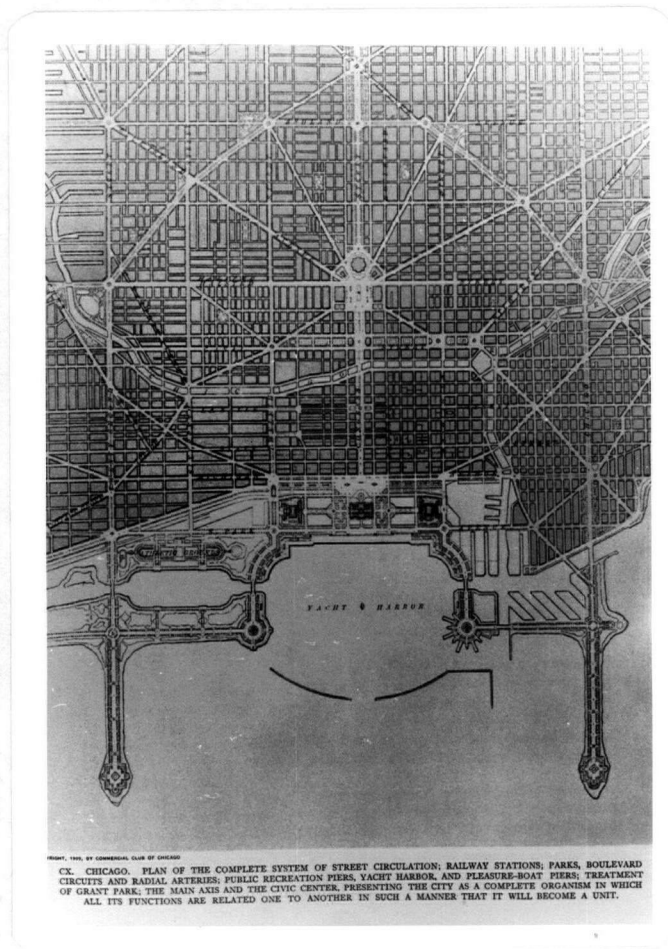


Fig. 8 -- Chicago: Part of proposed street plan. (Source: Daniel Burnham, Plan of Chicago)

Although unwilling to tackle housing questions head on, he did favour the establishment of extensive recreation facilities available to all. He felt, too, that many of the city's special features belonged to the public. In retrospect, it is easy to conclude that Burnham's concern for the poor was half-hearted and that his recommendations were not well thought out. This may be true but at least one of his recommendations for Chicago met with support from one of the prominent housing reformers of the day.

"On December 4, 1907, the celebrated social worker, Jane Addams, came to lunch as Burnham's guest, to see the plans and discuss the city's problems. Though in his 1897 speech, Burnham had speculated on the possibility of elegant residences along the south shore, he had changed his mind over the years and by 1907 had determined that the shore should remain open and available to all the people. Addams strongly approved the notion and encouraged the development of lakeshore and other parks for the public benefit of the poorer, immigrant groups."⁸⁴

IV. The End of an Era

Both contemporary and modern writers have judged City Beautiful plans to be deficient on several counts including lack of attention to both housing and social concerns. As the preceding discussion has shown, City Beautiful planners were indeed concerned with a city's practical needs. How could something be beautiful if it were not first useful?

Despite the fact that recommendations were usually based on both utilitarian and aesthetic grounds, utilitarian concepts tended not to be developed. There was an implicit (and often explicit) assumption that the engineer already possessed sufficient expertise to satisfy a city's practical needs, and little more need be said. On the other hand, both Robinson and Burnham loved to glorify beauty.

However, as time passed, the balance between the aesthetic and the practical altered somewhat. It could have been due to their changing conceptions of planning or perhaps it was simply a response to the demands of a cost-conscious public. But whatever the impetus, it did happen. In his later years, Robinson became increasingly involved with street plans, the demands of traffic, the layout of residential subdivisions, the development of implementation strategies and the progress of planning legislation. With Burnham, the Chicago plan placed more emphasis on practical needs and less on aesthetic vision than any of his previous endeavours. Indeed he himself called it a plan that would bring about the City Practical.

Regarding the alleged lack of concern for housing problems, a degree of concern did exist but few strategies were developed to deal with the problems. This may be largely due to the fact that many City Beautiful planners conceived of only very limited public responsibility for housing.

But their views were not wildly different from the housing reformers of the day. Jane Addams applauded Burnham's plan for the Chicago lakefront. Further, the first priority of outspoken housing reformer, Benjamin C. March,⁸⁵ was to decrease population density,

and Robinson, speaking at Marsh's 1909 city planning exhibition, had advocated industrial suburbs and cheap efficient rapid transit, both very effective means for doing just that.

The City Efficient planners of later decades were to show even less concern for housing problems. Harland Bartholomew, one of the City Efficient's most prolific planners, had devoted a section of one of his early plans to housing but abandoned it in later planning efforts. Municipalities simply weren't interested.⁸⁶

Over the first decade of the twentieth century, both Robinson and Burnham exhibited a growing concern for the problems of the poor. Robinson especially had given the matter great consideration and had begun to support goals such as livable housing for all and strategies such as industrial suburbs patterned after the English garden city concept. It seems that far from showing a lack of concern for housing and social problems, City Beautiful planners had begun to develop a humanity that was later lost.

In time the City Beautiful movement gave way to another era in planning; the so-called City Efficient was both a reaction to the City Beautiful, as several critics have suggested, as well as a natural extension of it. The development of planning was an evolutionary process: over the years the City Beautiful movement changed and evolved, its concepts undergoing continual refinement, with new ideas being added and others dropped. Utilitarian concerns had always been present and in the movement's later years, planners and writers had begun to devote more attention to them. Housing and social issues were also the object of increasing attention for awhile but got left behind in the new movement.

The Chicago plan was followed both by a wider view and a change of focus. Nelson Lewis defined city planning in 1916 as:

"the exercise of such foresight as will promote the orderly and sightly development of a city and its environs along rational lines with due regard for health, amenity and convenience and for its commercial and industrial advancement."⁸⁷

The keywords of the new movement were "economy" and "efficiency". There was heightened concern for a city's future development and for solving current problems such as traffic congestion. The concept of planning expanded to include not only streets, civic centres and parks but also transportation, rapid transit, garden cities, industrial suburbs, land subdivision, neighbourhood centres, planning legislation and zoning. The first practical manuals began to appear: Robinson's City Planning, Nolen's City Planning and Lewis' The Planning of the Modern City (all 1916).

In this new and larger view of planning, one is left to ask whether beauty had a role to play. The treatment of the core elements of the City Beautiful -- streets, civic centres and parks -- remained basically the same but practical considerations took on a much greater importance. For example, parks became justified almost solely on grounds of recreation, "refreshment" and an increase in property values.⁸⁸ Civic centres were still to be monumental and expressive of the civic spirit but their location was to depend on accessibility, the need for future expansion and the criterion that business was never to be hindered.⁸⁹

Beautiful cities were still to be sought but the creation of beauty became largely a matter of seizing opportunities. The British

planner, Raymond Unwin, commented at the London Town Planning Conference in 1910 that "we have not really learned to do any work until we have learned to do it beautifully".⁹⁰ Even Nelson Lewis, an eminently practical engineer, spoke of the need for beautiful bridges, dignified railroad gateways and vistas for public buildings.⁹¹ Perhaps Olmsted said it best:

"The kind of beauty most to be sought in the planning of cities is that which results from seizing instinctively, with a keen and sensitive appreciation, the limitless opportunities which present themselves in the course of the most rigorously practical solution of any problem, for a choice between decisions of substantially equal economic merit, but of widely different aesthetic quality."⁹²

In practice the City Beautiful remained a strong influence. In City Planning Progress, a 1917 publication of the American Institute of Architects, more than half of the 227 illustrations depicted traditional City Beautiful elements -- civic centres, parks and parkways, public squares, monumental bridges.⁹³

The years immediately following the City Beautiful period marked a coming together of certain ideas and trends that had been developing since the nineteenth century, a sort of coalescence. The first permanent city planning commission was established in 1907. The Chicago plan, published in 1909, became a prototype, and the same year saw the first city planning exhibition, the first National Conference on City Planning,⁹⁴ and the first university course devoted to city planning.⁹⁵ Between 1907 and 1917, improvement plans were developed for over 100 urban places including half of the 50 largest American cities.⁹⁶ The year 1917 also marked the formation of the American City

Planning Institute (forerunner of the American Institute of Planners); with an initial membership of 52, it was a professional subset of the National Conference on City Planning.⁹⁷ While some ideas and concerns faded, others grew closer together and adapted themselves to one another. The result was the institutionalization of planning, complete with an increasing degree of standardization.

CHAPTER 2THE CONCEPT OF CIVIC BEAUTYAND THEEVOLUTION OF PLANNING THOUGHT IN CANADA1890-1930

The remaining two chapters are devoted to an exploration of the Canadian City Beautiful movement. This chapter looks at the desire for a "city beautiful" as it was reflected in the professional journals of the day (1890-1930) while the last chapter is a case study of planning in four Prairie cities in the period 1900-1915.

The original intent in reading the journals was to arrive at an outline of City Beautiful philosophy in Canada. But this was soon transformed into a look at the role of civic beauty within the evolution of Canadian planning thought. Firstly, City Beautiful philosophy was never well defined. Secondly, between 1890 and 1930, planning underwent tremendous changes -- all the way from non-existence to master plans.

Since the Canadian City Beautiful lacked a clearly articulated philosophy, it was decided to seek out articles in which there was any discussion of aesthetics. Sources for this chapter were the Annual Reports of the Commission of Conservation and the major Canadian professional journals -- the Canadian Architect and Builder, the Contract Record, the Canadian Municipal Review, the Canadian Engineer, Town Planning and Conservation of Life and the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada.

Many articles were unsigned, and it has been assumed that such articles expressed editorial viewpoints. Signed articles generally came from one of three sources:

(1) Some were written especially for publication. This happened more frequently after World War I.

(2) Some had been papers read at conferences or addresses given to various organizations. And while it didn't happen all the time, there was often quite a bit of room for editorial interference. Firstly, the journals would often paraphrase the papers or addresses selecting only those aspects which were deemed important. Secondly, the journals tended to include introductory or closing remarks.

(3) Articles would often be reprinted from British and American sources. Such articles were numerous and generally covered the same range of topics as those by Canadian planners. In general, these were omitted from the analysis and were only included if there was some special reason for doing so.

In the discussion which follows, every effort is made to identify the source of any article used. The author, if known, is always identified. Where editorials have been used, the journal's title is always cited.

Based on a reading of the journals, it was possible to divide changing attitudes towards the role of civic beauty into five time periods: (1) 1890-1909, (2) 1910-1913, (3) 1914-1918, (4) 1919-1924, and (5) 1925-1930.

1890-1909. This corresponds to the "traditional" City Beautiful period. However, in Canada, "pre-planning" might be a more appropriate

phrase. Before 1900, "planning" took the form of (1) relatively small civic improvement projects and (2) the establishment of a park and boulevard system. After 1900, some attention was paid to the idea of comprehensive schemes of beautification but support was not sustained. Interest was sporadic despite the fact that City Beautiful-style plans had been prepared for Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal.

1910-1913. These years saw the flowering of the City Beautiful in Canada. Planning began to be promoted in the journals, and a number of plans and projects were undertaken. Throughout this period, aesthetics played a large role, and writers and planners spoke frequently of the need to create a "city beautiful".

1914-1918. The year 1914 marked a major turning point brought about by (1) the arrival of Thomas Adams, (2) the Commission of Conservation's hosting of the sixth annual National Conference on City Planning and (3) the war. Interest turned to public health, housing, planning legislation and the need for controlled urban growth. The new keyword was "economy". The City Beautiful began to be criticized on the grounds that (1) it was too expensive and (2) it ignored urban problems.

1919-1924. The year 1919 marked the formation of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and the start of the crusade for zoning. In an era characterized by its emphasis on "economy" and "efficiency", there was a reluctance to address the concept of civic beauty. While the monumental style of the City Beautiful continued to be criticized, others felt civic beauty had a role to play. However, no one attempted to give the concept any definition, and it remained vague.

1925-1930. This was a period of reawakening. Beauty began to be openly promoted as a legitimate (although small) part of planning, and the notion of architectural control began to be discussed. A number of beautification schemes were conceived during this period, and for the first time, the journals held them up as desirable planning models.

In reading the journals, it soon became apparent that they were not a completely accurate reflector of Canadian planning. While they would publish articles on planning, actual plans received little attention. This was especially true before World War I. Plans were being undertaken in several Canadian cities but at best they received only a brief mention in the journals. Wherever possible, more information of these plans was sought -- either from the plans themselves or from articles in other journals, notably Britain's Town Planning Review. A number of plans and projects are summarized at the end of each section while pre-war plans for four Prairie cities are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

I. The beginnings: 1890-1909

Of the journals under consideration, three started publication prior to 1909. The Canadian Municipal Journal began in 1905 but unfortunately none of the first four volumes were available. The Canadian Engineer, which began publication in 1893, would later become a major proponent of planning but during this period, the journal ignored both the City Beautiful and planning.

The Canadian Architect and Builder, which was published between 1888 and 1908, devoted considerable attention to the area of "civic improvement", and it is in the pages of this journal that the earliest threads of Canadian planning are to be found. The campaign for civic improvement manifested itself in four ways. Firstly, the journal consistently lent its support to the notion of parks and park systems. This was especially true during the 1890's. Secondly, it campaigned for several civic improvement projects during the same period. Thirdly, there were two brief periods (1893-1894 and 1900-1902) when the grounds of the Chicago World's Fair were held up as a possible design model for parks, university campuses, exhibition grounds and in one instance, for cities. Finally, after 1900, sporadic attention began to be paid to "plans" and "planning" as well as a few very brief reports of contemporary planning endeavours.

A. Parks

There was widespread and sustained support for parks with arguments echoing the parks philosophy currently in vogue. For example, in 1892 the editors of the journal argued for the development of a park system in Toronto. Such a system of parks "more or less connected by drives" would serve to supply citizens with "pleasure grounds, breathing places, and at the same time glimpses of nature to add in their intellectual and moral improvement".¹

On another occasion, Frederick G. Todd, a highly successful Montreal landscape architect,² called for "restful" parks containing

only a few "inconspicuous" roads. He advocated that the

"park scenery be kept as natural and as restful as possible, remembering that such scenery gives us the greatest relief from the noisy confusion and worry of the city and that on this relief, not only our comfort depends, but also our ability to maintain a temperate, good-natured and healthy state of mind".³

In general, parks were favoured as a public health requirement and not because they tied the city together or contributed to a composition. In fact, the healthy qualities of parks and open spaces were deemed more important than even industry. In Toronto, where railway tracks run parallel to the lake and act as a barrier, the journal's editors argued for better public access to the "cool and refreshing lake breezes", stating that "the convenience of the railways is of comparatively little importance, compared with the convenience to, and the health of, the citizens of Toronto".⁴

After 1900, parks plans began to be advocated -- both plans which laid out the grounds of individual parks and plans which laid out a system of parks. At one point, Ottawa and Cleveland were held up as precedents, showing the direct impact of City Beautiful planners.⁵ In 1902, the journal presented a summary of Frederick G. Todd's park and boulevard plan for Ottawa⁶ and advocated that such a plan be undertaken in Toronto.⁷ It was also reported that Todd had been hired by the Park Committee of Sherbrooke to devise a plan for parks and squares and make an annual report on city growth and its future needs regarding the location of streets and public buildings and the "beautifying of the city".⁸ After 1903, however, parks were rarely mentioned.

B. Other urban improvements

In the period prior to 1900, the Canadian Architect and Builder made suggestions for a number of civic improvement projects. The proposals reflected a desire for public squares, open space around public buildings, "noble" avenues and impressive city gateways. For example, the journal recommended that a grand avenue be built to connect Toronto's proposed Union Station and the Parliament Building, thereby adding to the city's attractiveness and creating a dramatic city entrance.⁹

In 1891, the journal conducted a campaign to improve what was then Toronto's main intersection -- King and Yonge.¹⁰ It was argued that the intersection needed to be widened in order to alleviate congestion. In the centre, a public square could be provided -- complete with a fountain or statue. It would be

"an oasis or stand where a person could wait for a car, or take refuge in crossing the busy and crowded thoroughfare. These corners - the principal ones in Toronto - will have to be dignified in appearance, and will never cease to be dangerous and overcrowded till they are widened and beautified".¹¹

The development of Toronto's waterfront was one of the Canadian Architect and Builder's major campaigns. Between 1888 and 1893, no less than six articles appeared on this question. Various schemes were presented. While adequate public access to the waterfront remained the journal's chief concern, attention was also paid to the importance of industry. Continued industrial use was recommended with public access being assured by means of some or all of the

following (depending on the particular scheme under consideration):
a lakeshore drive, a promenade, a public square, and elimination
of level crossings with convenient access to the ferry docks.¹²

A proposed public square for downtown Toronto¹³ was the one
improvement campaign that had civic centre overtones. However,
it owed its support just as much to the perceived need for "breathing
spaces" as to the desire to set off public buildings. The so-called
Victoria Square was to be located on the southeast corner of Queen
and Bay Streets across from the new City Hall and Court House.

"A public breathing and resting place
in the business district is one of the
greatest needs of the city at the
present time, and will become more
vitally necessary in years to come.
The square is also required to enhance
the appearance of the new civic
buildings."¹⁴

The proposal was officially turned down by the City of Toronto
because of financial considerations in 1898¹⁵ but the Canadian Architect
and Builder continued to campaign for the square until 1901. It is
interesting to note that despite the journal's advocacy of a means to
view the city's municipal buildings, the vista offered by City Hall
down Bay Street was recognized for its "fine effect" but considered
of minimal importance compared to the design of City Hall itself.¹⁶

C. The aftermath of the Chicago World's Fair

The impact of the 1893 fair was immediate, although not enduring.
Its buildings and grounds received high praise¹⁷ but the only practical
application lay in a suggestion to use it as a model for laying out

Toronto Island.¹⁸ To A.T. Taylor, of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (P.Q.A.A.), the Fair suggested possibilities for ideal cities but he didn't believe the visions to be practical.

"It is not the happy lot of any members of our profession to be called upon to design an ideal city. The average modern city is not planned - like Topsy, it just grows, and we are only allowed to touch with the finger of beauty a spot here and there."¹⁹

One year later, Taylor's views had changed somewhat, and his article entitled "Notes on Some Aspects of the City of the Future"²⁰ could be called Canada's first planning article. In it, he pointed out that the "city of the future" would be controlled by "wise and comprehensive building bylaws" and "wise and artistic guidance in the laying out and beautifying of its conformation, its buildings and their surroundings and general embellishments". His emphasis, however, was on the second feature. He claimed that the gridiron plan was "prosaic and inartistic" and that buildings had generally been "planted down without any regard to vistas". Paris and Washington received his highest praise, and an art committee was advocated as the means by which the necessary "artistic guidance" could be provided.

"All cities of the future ... will be laid out with some regard to numerous open spaces, radiating boulevards and noble buildings, placed in such positions as to afford vistas. There will be more gardens and parks, because men will have learnt that these are greater moral factors in the well-being of mankind, than crowded tenements and low saloons."²¹

In 1900, the Chicago World's Fair was once again brought to light, and for a few years, it was held up as an appropriate design model for exhibitions and universities.²² The Ontario Association of Architects took up the cause and developed a grounds plan for the Toronto Industrial Exhibition (now the Canadian National Exhibition). It boasted a main north-south axis extending through a circular open space and terminated by the lake. A series of avenues converged on the central space, focussing on a sculpture or fountain "after the manner of the axes in Washington". At the end of each avenue was some sort of vista; e.g. a tower or arcade.²³ It was also suggested that the buildings exhibit harmony, both in the similarity of their architecture and in their relationship to one another.²⁴ But despite the journal's acceptance of a balanced design for exhibitions and universities, the idea was never extended to entire cities.

D. Planning the beautiful city

With the exception of Taylor's 1894 article, the first small burst of interest in planning occurred during 1901 and 1902 with the publication of a few signed articles devoted to general discussions of planning. The impetus is unclear but the articles in question relied heavily on aesthetics. For example, Albert E. Kelsey argued that "modern city making" entailed three aspects -- circulation, hygiene and beauty; however most of the article was devoted to beauty and the need to create a desire for beauty in the general population.²⁵

W.A. Langton, president of the Ontario Association of Architects, stated in his article entitled "City Planning":

"I want to begin at the very first principles and find out what it is that makes a city beautiful; for if you fill a city with statues and fountains, you have but filled it with beautiful objects. What we want to do is to make the city itself beautiful. At the bottom of everything that is beautiful, there is a plan."²⁶

To Langton, planning involved a diverse mixture of elements: segregation of land uses, the relocation of factories to the suburbs, the development of workingmen's villages, the role of the railway station as city gate, the reservation of the best sites for public purposes and the building of diagonal roads.²⁷

Also about this time, the journal reported on the planning efforts of an organization known as the Toronto Guild of Civic Art. In 1901, its members established a committee which would attempt to gain City Council's support in the preparation of "a general improvement plan" to include parks, squares, boulevards, well-designed buildings and the layout of streets.²⁸ The Guild had come a long way since its inception four years earlier. At that time its stated objectives were:

"to promote and encourage art, to arrange for the execution of works of art by competent artists to be chosen by competition or otherwise, and to hold exhibitions of architectural and stained glass designs, mural decoration, etc."²⁹

In turn-of-the-century planning issues, the Canadian Architect and Builder's primary (and almost exclusive) focus was aesthetics.

In fact, the need for beauty was virtually never questioned. It would seem that, in the editors' view, utility came first in many of the civic improvement projects but that utility was simply not the main concern of architects. Perhaps the sentiment was best expressed in 1900 when the Canadian Architect and Builder criticized the Toronto Guild of Civic Art for not taking a sufficiently active role in the campaign for civic beauty.

"It may no doubt be assumed that every or nearly every proposed improvement has a good reason at its back, but in carrying it out some thought is necessary to make it serve beauty as well as convenience. Here is the field for a body which concerns itself with the beauty of the city."³⁰

After 1902, interest waned. Planning articles stopped, and there appeared to be little interest in park developments or civic improvement projects. There were a few cursory reports of current planning endeavours but few details and no sustained interest.

In 1901, the journal had reported enthusiastically of the Guild of Civic Art's efforts to prepare a plan. When the plan was finally completed in 1906,³¹ its details were never specified in the journal. Also in 1906, the Province of Quebec Association of Architects completed a "sketch plan" of Montreal,³² which was comprised of (1) two diagonal roads radiating left and right from Victoria Square to St. Catherine Street and (2) "a number of fine avenues forming uninterrupted circuits and connecting the principal parks and open spaces."³³ No further details were given, and although the scheme had been put forth as a tentative proposal, the Canadian Architects and Builder noted a few months later that even its creators,

the Civic Improvement Committee of the P.Q.A.A. appeared to have lost interest in it.³⁴

E. The plans

For the Canadian Architect and Builder, planning was never more than a minor concern. This may have been a reflection of either low public support or the belief that planning could only be of very peripheral interest to architects and builders. But these were the years of the American City Beautiful and Canada, too, had begun to be involved in planning. For the period 1890-1909, the Canadian Architect and Builder noted the existence of three city plans: Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. There is evidence to suggest that the Montreal "sketch plan" may have been no more than a map of Montreal, on which was superimposed two new diagonal roads and a number of street widenings. When the Canadian Municipal Journal presented this plan, it printed only this map.³⁵ Todd's parks plan for Ottawa (1903) and the Toronto Guild of Civic Art's two city plans (1906 and 1909) were larger efforts. These plans have been summarized in the following paragraphs. While both reflect American City Beautiful thinking, the Toronto plan was the most ambitious and had been clearly modelled after American city plans.

(1) Ottawa

The Ottawa Improvement Commission, appointed by the federal government in 1899, owed its existence to Wilfred Laurier's desire to see Ottawa transformed into the "Washington of the North".³⁶

It received an annual grant of \$60,000 to be used in the development of a park and boulevard system. This move was heartily applauded by the Canadian Architect and Builder, which stated that "a feature of our national ambition should be to make the capital...in the highest degree attractive and interesting".³⁷ Frederick G. Todd was commissioned to prepare a plan, and his "comprehensive scheme for the systematic improvement of the city" was submitted in 1903.³⁸

The Todd report recommended a park system comprised of forest reserves, suburban parks, connecting boulevards, waterway parks, city parks and squares, and playgrounds. Emphasis was placed on the first three features. The forest reserves, two or three in number, were to be "picturesque" and with "diversified scenery", offering people the opportunity to enjoy nature. A balanced system of suburban parks would surround the city, easily accessible to the "great masses of people". Two received particular attention -- the existing Rockcliffe Park in the east with its "rugged animated scenes" and the proposed Chaudiere Park in the west which was to abound with "quiet peace and restful views, the play of light and shadow among the groups of trees and over the sunny green sward".³⁹

A number of connecting boulevards were recommended but special attention was paid to a proposal to link Rideau Hall and the Parliament Buildings.

"Paris may spend a fortune on her grand avenues, Washington and Chicago may spend millions on constructing boulevards but none of them can equal in grandness or impressive scenery, a boulevard constructed along this bank of the Ottawa River."⁴⁰

In addition to scenic views up and down the river and past the city to the Laurentians, the boulevard would offer a most impressive terminal vista -- "an imposing monumental circle", above which would rise the Parliament Buildings.⁴¹

Finally, in his concluding remarks, Todd stressed the rigidity of the plan and the sense that one was creating a composition.

"...(I)t is absolutely necessary that the improvements be carried out in a thoroughly systematic manner and in strict accordance with a pre-conceived plan, which once approved must on no account be subject to alterations to meet the wishes or whims of self-interested parties.

I cannot well conceive of anything more disastrous than that when once it has been sanctioned and partially carried out the general idea should be liable to alteration, and the general effect of the whole thereby destroyed."⁴²

(2) Toronto

The plan for Toronto, financed by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art and prepared in conjunction with the Ontario Association of Architects, was presented at the O.A.A.'s 1906 meeting and illustrated with slides depicting American improvement plans.⁴³ Three years later, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art published a revised version of the plan.⁴⁴ It was an impressive document; printed on the best paper, it included numerous full-page engravings of the projects and plans of other places and a large fold-out colour map of the proposed plan for Toronto. There were no illustrations for Toronto.

Its creators conceived the plan itself to be a rigid blueprint

for the future. Properties were to be acquired now before the opportunities for doing so had passed. The improvements could be undertaken gradually and if the technique of "excess condemnation" was used, many would pay for themselves. "Excess condemnation", which was very popular among City Beautiful planners, involved expropriating more property than was needed for the improvement and selling the excess lands later at a profit.

Several examples of "comprehensive" beautification schemes were cited: Cleveland's civic centre, the park systems of Chicago and St. Paul, the layout of the Fair, and the plans of Paris and Washington. In praising the plan of Washington, Byron E. Walker, General Manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and one of the founders of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, asked:

"What kind of people are we in Toronto if we have not something serious to do?...

...It is not a question of the city beautiful, it is just a question of practical common sense. Do we really believe in the city of Toronto; do we believe it is going to be one of the great cities of North America?"⁴⁵

W.A. Langton noted that the plan would save future expense by "doing things...well in the first place". It would also facilitate communication and give the city character. Like other City Beautiful thinkers, Langton acknowledged the pre-eminence of utilitarian considerations but was apparently satisfied that such matters would be taken care of automatically. The time was right for cities to turn to beauty.

"The first step in city planning was to look after the sanitation of the city. A couple of hundred years ago such a thing was unknown. No one thought of drains or roads or lighting. But that became a matter of course; and it is to us a commonplace that if a city is to be founded it must have drainage, lighting, water supply and things which to our ancestors would have been a dream. Now we have advanced a step; the world is interested in making cities beautiful...What interests us most as being nearest in circumstances to our own case is what is happening in the United States, it is the progress of culture, in what was, from want of opportunity, the uncultured class...And the result is the effort to make their surroundings beautiful which is at the bottom of these prodigious schemes which we see going on in the United States now. It is a movement which has the mark of all great and lasting movements -- that it comes from the people."⁴⁶

The 1906 plan had three components -- waterfront treatment, two diagonal roads, and a park and boulevard system. Consideration of the waterfront was subsequently omitted from the 1909 plan because of the "railway problem". No further details were given.

Waterfront. In 1906, Toronto's York Street was one of only a very few which crossed the railway tracks by means of a grade separation. It began at Queen Street just east of the Court House (Osgoode Hall) and terminated at the lake. The plan recommended that the street be widened in such a manner that an axial line be created between Osgoode Hall and a new waterfront park, which in turn would be approached "by a grand flight of steps". The park itself would be "natural" -- a broad and level expanse planted with trees; it was seen as an attempt "to redeem the waterfront we have lost".⁴⁷ The widened York Street would run past the proposed Union

Station. No attempt was made to have the street terminated by the station. In fact, Langton referred to the creation of such "gateways" or "portals" as "nonsense" and "falling into the vulgarity of swaggering pretentiousness". Instead it was decided to emphasize the "natural character of such a place".⁴⁸

Adjacent to Osgoode Hall and running north from Queen Street was a street referred to in the 1906 plan only as the Avenue. Since the 19th century, University Avenue had been a wide, tree-lined boulevard with the Ontario Legislature providing an impressive vista at its northern end. It was now recommended that a new heavy traffic street be constructed to the east, leaving the Avenue open for "the largest type of building".

"The Avenue is meant to be used for some fine purpose. It should not be wasted. It is one of our civic centres and this is a means of bringing it into use."⁴⁹

The waterfront park, widening of York Street and treatment of the Avenue were the closest the 1906 plan came to the notion of a civic centre. All three were omitted in the 1909 edition of the plan.

Streets. Two diagonals were conceived. Each began at Queen Street and continued for some miles outward -- one in a northwesterly and one in a northeasterly direction. Both were eventually terminated by rivers. The actual routes of the diagonals were specified in detail. Existing roads were not to be used, and the improvements would pay for themselves using "excess condemnation".

The major purpose of the diagonals was to facilitate traffic.

They would be comprised of a central boulevard, four sets of street car tracks, three lanes of traffic in each direction and wide sidewalks. Total width would be in the neighbourhood of 130 feet.

The diagonals were cited as being a particularly satisfactory improvement because they served to meet the needs of traffic and make the city attractive, giving Toronto much of its needed character.

"It is easy to see how much variety will be introduced into our uninteresting street plan when every street north of Queen Street is crossed by one of the diagonals, making pleasant irregularities, striking building sites, small open spaces, places for monuments, fountains and seats under trees. And wherever there is a junction of street cars which makes a large space necessary, natural squares or circles will be opened up, to form landmarks and places of distinction."⁵⁰

Park system. In 1909, Toronto had 1600 acres of parkland ranging from one-acre squares to the 389 acres of Toronto Island Park. Five parks were greater than 100 acres in size. The Guild proposed that 13 major parks and 250 acres of small parks and playgrounds be added to the system.⁵¹ The major parks would preserve some of Toronto's special features -- rivers and ravines, the waterfront, an escarpment (the ancient shoreline of Lake Ontario) and various heights of land. The entire system (including cemeteries) was to be connected by pleasure drives.

II. The Canadian City Beautiful: 1910-1913

A. Planning thought

Three of the journals were being published during this period -- the Canadian Engineer, the Canadian Municipal Journal and the Contract Record, the latter having absorbed the Canadian Architect and Builder in 1909.

It would appear that planning thought in Canada had its real beginning during these years. Between 1910 and 1913, these journals published about seventy articles devoted to planning. Although the term "civic improvement" still received some mention, almost everyone now spoke of "town planning" or "city planning", depending generally on whether the impetus for the article was British or American.

Reasons for the sudden surge of interest are not given in the journals; it will be remembered, however, that planning thought and practice was also beginning to take shape elsewhere at this time. In 1909, the Chicago plan had been published, the first National Conference on City Planning had been held, and Great Britain had passed its Housing and Town Planning Act.

In the Canadian conception of planning, its role was vague and its elements ill-defined. Articles covered a wide variety of topics and often seemed to be just a "grab-bag" of ideas related to civic improvement. Some campaigned for town planning commissions, some stressed housing, some concentrated on civic design, one urged zoning, several restricted their discussions entirely to streets, and others presented a mix of anything that might conceivably "improve"

the city. If there was any common thread among writers it was the tendency to discuss either the role of beauty in town planning or the "true" meaning of the "city beautiful". In the Canadian Engineer, for example, the writers of virtually all the major planning articles had entered into this sort of discussion, while in most of the remaining articles, the concept of beautification received at least passing mention.

Articles devoted to general discussions of planning exhibited varying emphases and varying levels of detail. However, they exemplified the City Beautiful in several ways.

Firstly, it was usually recognized that planning entailed more than beautification, and many writers were careful to emphasize that utilitarian considerations always came first.

Secondly, planners had a vision of an ideal city, one that was characterized by convenience, health and beauty. In fact, this trio of goals was to be repeated again and again throughout this and the next decade.

Thirdly, financial considerations were rarely mentioned. Although reduction of future expenditures was sometimes cited as a benefit, planning's major justification lay in the fact that it helped create better cities, where people would be healthier and happier. This viewpoint was held by almost all writers regardless of whether their particular emphasis was aesthetic or utilitarian.

Finally, when the elements of planning were presented, the arguments either depended on aesthetics or were a mixture of utility

and beauty. But whatever the claim, writers usually fell back on the principal elements of City Beautiful thinking -- diagonal streets, civic centres and parks.

While there was evidence of a growing interest in the more utilitarian aspects of planning, most articles tended to be grounded in the ideas and principles of the City Beautiful movement. Summarized below are four major planning articles -- all from 1912 and 1913. They also serve to illustrate some of the varying emphases adopted by writers.

Thomas Mawson, an English landscape architect,⁵² presented a lecture on the "main principles of street planning" at the University of Toronto. He argued that the gridiron plan forced people to take a zig-zag route; in addition, it was monotonous, without opportunity for vistas. In its place he advocated the City Beautiful concept of a system of diagonal and circumferential roads. Where all the diagonals converged at the city centre, a visual focus was recommended in the form of an important building surrounded by a plaza. However, to avoid congestion, traffic was to be diverted by means of a ring road in a park-like setting. Numerous traffic circles were also advocated in order to alleviate congestion and to provide sites for focal points.⁵³

Malcolm Ross, Regina's Parks Superintendent, defined landscape art as involving not only trees and grass but also "all the objects that go to make up the surroundings of a city". In city design, he stressed that utility was of first importance and that town planning included "provision for sanitary drainage, means of

communication (roads and car lines), suitable buildings, spaces for recreation and the supply of those conveniences such as water and light".⁵⁴

But beauty was seen as an integral part. In both the man-made and the natural environments, he stressed the need for contrast and variety. His conception of civic beauty had nothing to do with principles of order and symmetry; he called uniformity but "another name for monotony". Nowhere did he advocate grandiose schemes of diagonal streets, civic centres and park systems; rather he seemed to suggest that city design should be approached in much the same manner as a landscape architect would approach the design of a large urban or suburban park.

While not advocating the monumental style of planning, he did subscribe to the view that civic beauty helped create real satisfaction and happiness. A beautiful city was as necessary to the soul as was a convenient and healthy city to one's state of physical well-being.

"The great difficulty here in formulating any plans for improvements is to overcome the opposition of the 'practical' man, the man who prides himself that he is above all such petty matters as those which we have been considering...No sane man will pretend that we should spend lavish sums on purely ornamental parks and surroundings while money is urgently needed for such essentials as water and roads, but the danger is that having spent our money on these things and having provided all the means whereby population may be attracted and money made, and having obtained both, we may then be disappointed to find that there is something missing, and that it is the very thing that we have been unconsciously striving and fighting for all our lives."⁵⁵

Christopher J. Yorath, a City Commissioner in Saskatoon, discussed a number of planning elements. This article was repeated in slightly different versions at least once in each journal. Yorath had had British planning experience, and his conception of the ideal city was influenced by garden city philosophy. He claimed that the aim of every city should be

"the one implied by the term 'Garden City', beautiful, well-planted, and finely laid out, known and characterized by the charm which it can offer to those who seek a residence or dwelling removed from the turmoil, stress and discomforts of a manufacturing district".⁵⁶

The elements of planning, as cited by Yorath, contained a mixture of aesthetic and utilitarian features. In order to facilitate traffic, he advocated a system of radial and circumferential roads with public buildings and open spaces being used to break up the monotony of long, straight avenues. The civic centre, as "one of the most important matters to be considered", was seen to be "dignified and impressive, whilst at the same time in harmony with the characteristics of the town itself and in keeping with the resources of the public".⁵⁷ As far as parks were concerned, he stressed the preservation of natural beauty and the need for parks "within easy access of the public". Parks were seen as providing some of the benefits of country life, which Yorath acknowledged to be "more healthful, more restful, more natural and less wearing than that of the town".⁵⁸ Finally, he recommended the encouragement of industrial suburbs patterned after Bournville and the institution of building regulations; e.g. the

number of houses per acre, maximum height of buildings, and some segregation of land uses.

C.H. Mitchell, vice-president of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, discussed a number of aspects of planning including the construction of diagonal roads to facilitate traffic, the establishment of street widths according to need, the control of signs, the removal of poles and wires underground or to back lanes, the creation of attractive city gateways (railway stations, waterfronts), the encouragement of trees and flowers, the development of a park and boulevard system, the building of a civic centre, the institution of building regulations and the encouragement of garden suburbs.⁵⁹ Beauty was seen as only one part of a planner's responsibilities.

"It has been a common idea in American cities until quite recently that city planning has been almost exclusively identified with city beautifying. This view is not fair to the whole subject because it loses sight of the practical sides of the question, which are very many and complex, as can readily be seen. City planning should mean the acquiring of the city convenient, useful, economical and healthful, as well as a city beautiful."⁶⁰

B. Other trends

Some writers began to speak of the "City Practical" and of planning's change in emphasis away from "artistic considerations" to "practical" ones. It would appear that this was largely a result of the National Conferences on City Planning. In 1911, the Contract Record published short synopses of the papers given at the third annual conference held in Philadelphia.

"It will be seen that these papers were confined almost exclusively to the practical phases of city planning and not to the aesthetics of the subject. The idea of the new city planning movement is not so much the 'city beautiful' as the basic plans of the city, including streets and parks, and the relation of public and private buildings to each. It is the practical side of the work which demands the more serious consideration at this stage."⁶¹

After attending the 1912 National Conference on City Planning in Boston, G. Wray Lemon, the secretary of Calgary's City Planning Commission, reported that the conference marked

"a new epoch in the history of city planning. We are now in the era of the Practical. The great outstanding feature of the recent conference was that so much time was devoted to practical everyday matters".⁶²

However, he failed to indicate just what those "practical everyday matters" were. In general, the celebration of the "City Practical" seemed to be more a desire than an indication of knowing how to proceed.

C. The practice of planning

Based on information contained in the journals, it would seem that for many, "beautifying the city" meant the introduction of natural touches -- parks, boulevards, trees, flowers. This is apparent both from articles (e.g. on the "value of trees") and from the number of such improvement efforts underway across Canada.⁶³ In fact, early planning endeavours were often undertaken under the auspices of a parks commission. For example, in 1909, a citizens' committee in Toronto was appointed to work with the City Parks

Committee on a "comprehensive plan for improving and beautifying the city".⁶⁴ In Montreal, a Metropolitan Parks Commission was appointed "to plan a beautiful and convenient Montreal"⁶⁵ with one of its first tasks being to report on an underground railway scheme.⁶⁶ And in Calgary, the first duties of the City Planning Commission were to "beautify" playgrounds and vacant lots, plant trees and flowers, acquire more playgrounds and boulevard some of the streets.⁶⁷ However, its perceived role was much broader; its objectives were listed as (1) better traffic facilities, (2) better housing conditions, (3) equipped playgrounds for children, (4) a system of parks connected by drives and (5) an "economical and convenient grouping of our public buildings".⁶⁸

The journals also reported on a few civic improvement projects. These tended to be in the traditional City Beautiful manner. For example, the city of Ottawa was considering the creation of a public square. To be called Plaza Laurier, it was to contain a central statue and be bounded on its sides by Parliament Hill, the Chateau Laurier and the new railway station.⁶⁹ Also in Ottawa, the federal government had announced a competition for the design of new government buildings. Competitors were to take into account the need for harmony with the Parliament Buildings, Chateau Laurier and the railway station and the provision of vistas along main streets.⁷⁰ In Vancouver, the winning design for the new University of British Columbia exhibited an axis and cross-axis and buildings which were similar in style.⁷¹ Finally, Toronto's waterfront plan (detailed in following section) was reminiscent of Burnham's Chicago.

D. The plans

While the number of planning articles had increased dramatically during these years, reports of planning activities were relatively few. For example, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Winnipeg and Ottawa became involved in the preparation of city plans but Calgary and Ottawa were the only ones to receive any mention in the journals. The plans for the Prairie cities are discussed in detail in the next chapter. The Ottawa plan was not submitted until 1915 and will be summarized in the next section. Following are short summaries of three schemes: the Toronto waterfront plan, a Toronto civic centre scheme, and a plan of improvements to the entrance of Vancouver's Stanley Park. The Toronto waterfront was a favourite topic in the journals during these years but no mention was ever made of the other two schemes.

(1) Toronto: Waterfront

The plan for the development of Toronto's waterfront, as proposed by the Toronto Harbour Commission, was concerned with the development of port facilities, industrial sites and parkland.⁷² Montreal and Vancouver were also engaging in harbour improvement schemes at this time but parks were absent from them.⁷³

While providing for docks, warehouses, a ship channel and two new industrial districts, the Toronto plan made ample provision for parks, much in the manner of Burnham's Chicago plan. A total of 900 acres of new parkland was recommended including an extra 350 acres on the Island. A lakeshore drive was to be built on land-

fill in the eastern and western sections while it traversed the Island in the central section. Other features in the eastern and western sections included a protected waterway for small craft, a park and lagoon system, bridlepaths, footpaths and sites for aquatic clubs. The western section was to be further developed with a public square and playground, a bathing beach and a terrace promenade 1 1/3 miles long. By the end of the 1920's, part of the lakeshore drive had been constructed and many of the park improvements completed.

(2) Toronto: Proposed Federal Avenue

In 1909, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art had induced City Council to appoint a Civic Improvement Committee. Their 1911 report included a civic centre proposal, prepared by John M. Lyle, an architect trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.⁷⁴

A plan of the scheme appears on the following page. Proposed buildings are in black. It is interesting to note that Union Station was built in the recommended location in 1918 and the building bounded by Albert, Chestnut, Louisa and Terauley some time before that. Both were in the Beaux Arts style. Federal Avenue was never constructed but the civic centre site is now occupied by City Hall and Nathan Phillips Square, both built in the mid-1960's.

(3) Vancouver: Entrance to Stanley Park

In Thomas Mawson's 1912 plan for the improvement of Coal Harbour,⁷⁵ he recommended that a portion of it be dammed, thus creating a circular

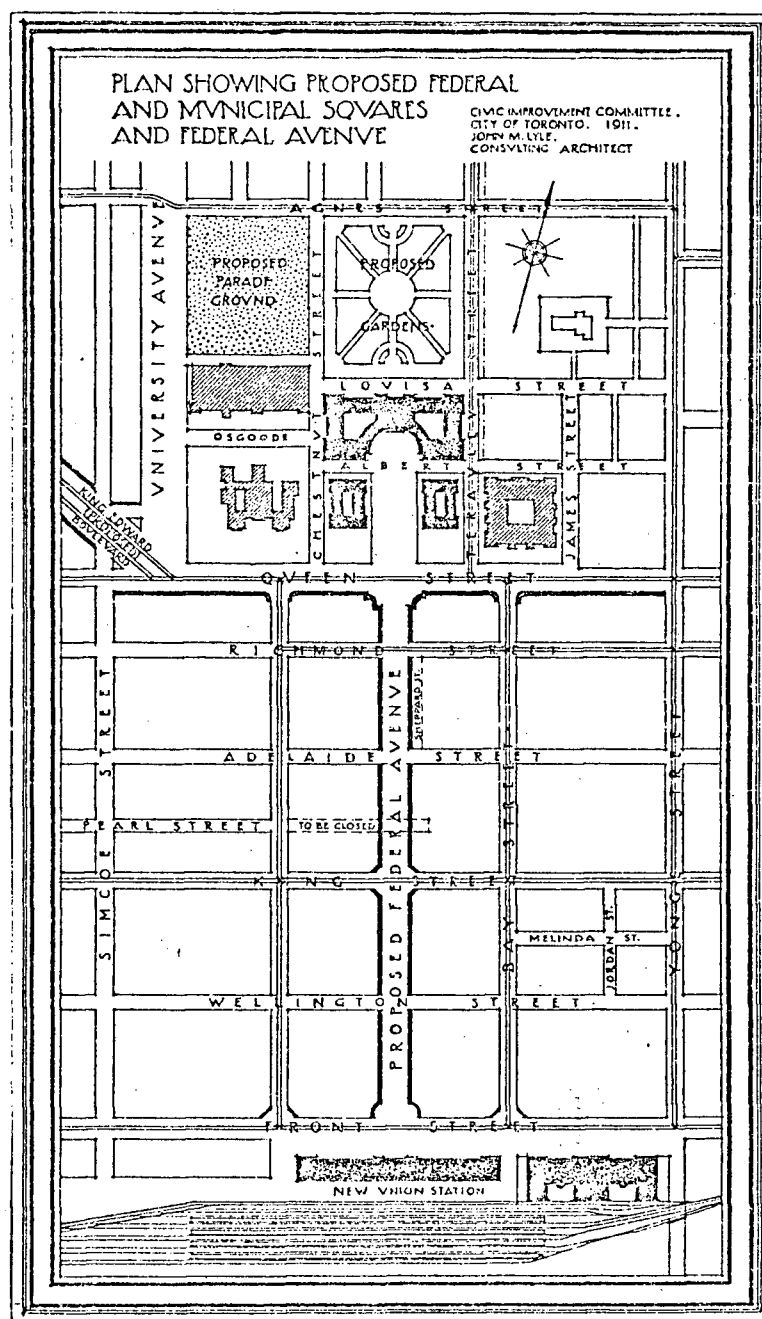


Fig. 9. -- Toronto: Proposal for Federal Avenue and civic centre. (Source: Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission, 1929)

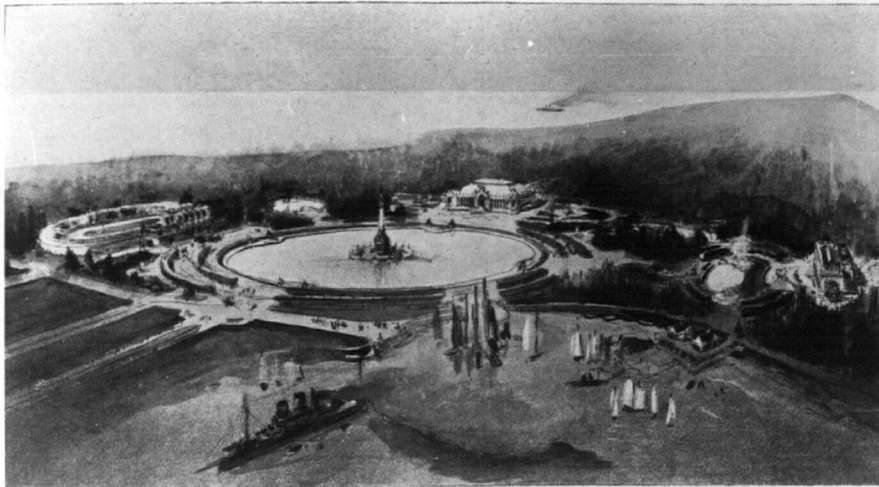
pond (now Lost Lagoon). The axial line of Georgia Street extended through a statue in the centre of the pond and was terminated on the other side by a museum. A cross-axis through the statue would be created by the construction of a stadium and restaurant/social centre, facing each other across the pond.

"The entire scheme is conceived as a great composition in which ordered balance and symmetry predominate, the great museum which closes the axial line down George (sic) Street being supported on the cross-axis by the restaurant on the east and the stadium on the west, the forest providing a unique background to the whole and a highly effective setting for the architectural features."⁷⁶

A boulevard, 150 feet wide and accommodating both vehicles and pedestrians, encircled the pond while it was suggested that the central statue should be an obelisk 180 feet high. Such a height was needed "in order to obtain the correct balance between (the statue) and its surroundings". In general, Mawson felt that Stanley Park should be left as natural as possible over most of its area, the only modifications being the improvement of roads and footpaths and a "little opening out of distant views here and there".

Mawson's belief that the Coal Harbour scheme should be linked to the city centre in some grand way led him to propose that Georgia Street be widened over its entire length and that a railway station be built at the False Creek end and a civic centre somewhere in the middle. The civic centre would consist of a four-block open square, around which would be situated public buildings while a monument stood in the centre. The axial line of Georgia Street would therefore extend from the classical columns of the museum entrance and the

imposing obelisk to the civic centre monument and from there to the plaza and entrance of the railway station.



SCHEME No. 4. VISUALISED
showing formal treatment of Coal Harbour

Fig. 10 -- Vancouver: Proposed Stanley Park entrance.
(Source: T.H. Mawson, "Vancouver: A City of Optimists",
Town Planning Review)

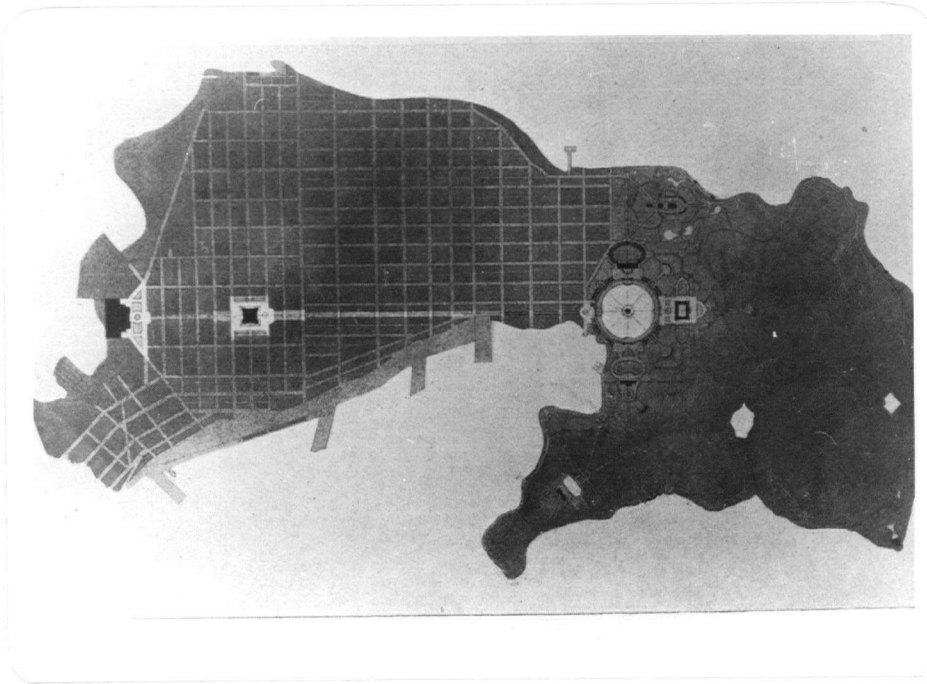


Fig. 11 -- Vancouver: Plan showing Stanley Park entrance, Georgia Street, civic centre, and railway station.
(Source: T.H. Mawson, "Vancouver: A City of Optimists", Town Planning Review)

III. The war years: 1914-1918

With the advent of the war, planning activity in Canadian municipalities largely ceased while many of those who had been contributing articles to the journals were now silent. During these years, planning thought was dominated by Thomas Adams and the Commission of Conservation, an organization appointed by the federal government in 1909.

The Commission's hosting of the 1914 National Conference on City Planning and the subsequent hiring of Thomas Adams as Town Planning Adviser went a long way towards giving planning thought in this country a focus. Aesthetic arguments began to be brushed aside, and there arose a new concern for economy. Emphasis turned towards guiding future growth rather than "costly replanning".

The Commission made Annual Reports to the federal government and published its own magazine, Town Planning and Conservation of Life. During this period, Thomas Adams wrote almost all the articles. The other three journals -- the Canadian Engineer, the Canadian Municipal Journal and the Contract Record -- relied heavily on the Commission as a source of information. Over one-half of the Canadian planning articles printed during this period had either appeared originally in Town Planning and Conservation of Life or were reports of the activities of the Civic Improvement League -- a voluntary organization set up by the Commission of Conservation.

In late 1913, Canada had entered a period of economic depression while 1914 marked the start of World War I. These events probably affected planning thought in a number of ways. Firstly, the realities

of Canada's economic situation would have lent support to the practical views being espoused by the Commission. Secondly, some planning advocates would undoubtedly have redirected their energies to the war effort. Thirdly, most Canadian planning advocates had been employees of either municipal or provincial governments; the economic constraints being experienced by these levels of government would have stifled much of the enthusiasm -- both at a personal and at an official level. All these factors would help to explain the dominance of Thomas Adams and the relative absence of other voices.

A. Thomas Adams and the Commission of Conservation

The Commission of Conservation had been created by the Laurier government in 1909.⁷⁷ It was charged with considering "all questions which may be brought to its notice relating to the conservation and better utilization of the natural resources of Canada".⁷⁸

The Commission's conception of natural resources encompassed that of human resources, and one of its first actions was to appoint Dr. Charles A. Hodgetts as its Adviser on Public Health.⁷⁹ Hodgetts' conviction that bad housing and congestion were closely related to crime, social problems and disease⁸⁰ prompted the Commission to become involved in the joint field of housing and town planning. Britain's garden cities and suburbs and its Housing and Town Planning Act were held up as examples of appropriate ways to deal with housing problems.⁸¹ The American notion of the City Beautiful was soon dismissed. As early as 1912, Hodgetts criticized this style of planning, calling it

"a washing and a decorating of the outside of the municipal platter - a good thing in its way - while leaving the inside a slumdom, and the suburbs a paradise for the land speculator".⁸²

This passage appeared in 1912 as part of the Commission's Annual Report and hence, few would have been exposed to it. It was not until two years later that the Commission began contributing regular articles to engineering and municipal journals.

In 1914, the Commission decided "to take up more actively the question of housing and town planning" by hosting the sixth annual National Conference on City Planning. It was hoped that the conference would "strengthen" and "advance" the planning movement "in favour of a more scientific town planning and more vigorous attention to the housing requirements of the population". Short-term goals were the "arousal of public interest and the securing of legislation".⁸³

Fig. 12 is an advertisement for the conference which appeared in the Canadian Municipal Journal.⁸⁴ The degree of clarity and conciseness which it exhibited was new to Canadian planning thought. In addition, its substance was an accurate representation of the Commission's planning perspective. Throughout its life, the Commission would continue to be characterized by its emphasis on controlling future development, its criticisms of costly and superficial improvement projects which aimed at replanning already built-up areas. Its concern for maximizing "convenience, cleanliness, happiness and health" in cities and its overriding emphasis on education and implementation.

CITY PLANNING IN CANADA

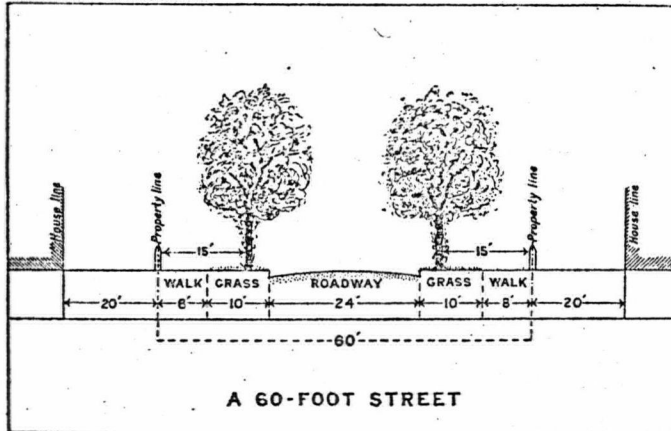
WHAT CITY PLANNING IS

It is the selection and adaptation of the site of a city or town so as to obtain the maximum of convenience, cleanliness, happiness and health of all the citizens.
It is a definite plan of orderly development into which each improvement will fit as it is needed.

WHAT CITY PLANNING IS NOT

It is not merely superficial beautification.
It is not extravagance, dreams or fads.
It is not the immediate execution of the whole plan.
It is not wholesale alterations at great expense, with no assured financial returns.
It is not merely expensive boulevards and parks available only to the rich.

COMMISSION OF CONSERVATION



CITY PLANNING AIMS

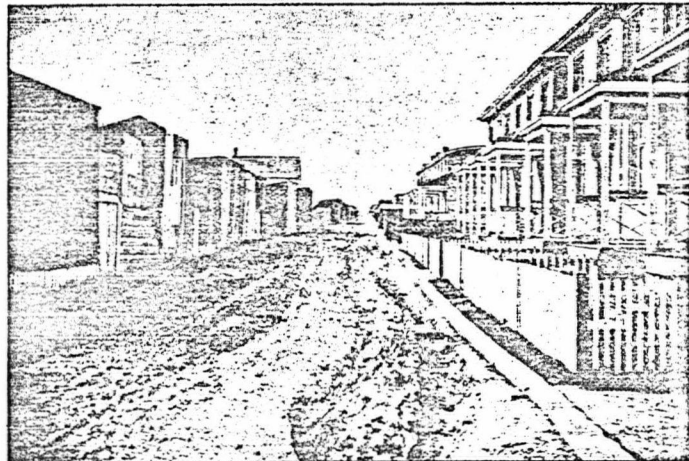
- 1—To provide a clean and healthy home for each and every citizen.
- 2—To equip cities with good streets with proper provision for rapid transportation to and from business sections, and with properly planned and boulevard-residential streets.
- 3—To diagnose the troubles of a community from all points of view, social, political, economic and aesthetic.
- 4—It would determine the relative urgency of the various needs, and plan a constant programme of procedure covering every phase of the subject.
- 5—It would concentrate on these matters in turn and get concrete results.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN CANADA.

- 1—Legislation covering certain aspects of the problem has been passed by the legislatures of New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and Alberta.
- 2—A few instances of plans for garden cities, and small suburban areas; incomplete and sometimes ill-advised park and driveway systems, etc.

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE IN CANADA.

- 1—Arouse public interest and sentiment.
- 2—Get at the actual conditions.
- 3—Create an organized community spirit.
- 4—Cultivate civic foresight.
- 5—Make planning worth while by giving a large degree of municipal control.
- 6—Provide and enforce carefully considered legislation in each of the provinces.



Row of Houses for Artisans located in a lane.

Finally, will your city or town be represented by a delegation at the great International Conference on City Planning to be held in Toronto, on May 25-27, 1914? The Dominion Government will act as hosts and every Canadian city and town should have its delegates in attendance.

Write the Commission of Conservation, Ottawa, for particulars.

Fig. 12 -- Advertisement for the National Conference on City Planning, hosted by the Commission of Conservation. (Source: Canadian Municipal Journal, Vol. 10, April 1914)

Papers read at the conference covered a variety of topics including German districting (the forerunner of zoning), garden cities, rapid transit, the size and distribution of playgrounds, England's experiences with planning legislation and a draft Town Planning Act for Canada. Aesthetic concerns were conspicuously absent, and there was greater concern for economy and efficiency.⁸⁵ In his closing address to the conference, Clifford Sifton stated:

"...(O)ur people must appreciate the idea that town planning is not born with the intent of spending money, it is not simply a new kind of extravagance, but is conceived with the idea of preventing extravagance and preventing waste and getting good value for the money which is expended."⁸⁶

Following the conference, other journals spoke enthusiastically of new directions in planning, their arguments being presented with a new-found forcefulness. The Canadian Engineer pointed to the conference as evidence of progress "toward an intelligent and scientific treatment of the growth of our towns and cities"⁸⁷ while the Canadian Municipal Journal commented:

"Perhaps the keynote of the thought that permeated the Conference was expressed by the Hon. Mr. Sifton at the Banquet when he claimed that Town Planning today was not the fad of idealists, nor the expenditure of money for the sake of change or show, but that it meant tremendous economy both in money and in lives."⁸⁸

Thomas Adams⁸⁹ had represented the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain at the conference, and in October 1814, he was hired as Town Planning Adviser to the Commission. His reputation preceded him. An attempt to secure his services had been made the previous

year but the request that he be loaned by the Local Government Board of Great Britain for a few months was turned down. At that time, the chairman of the Public Health Committee (of the Commission of Conservation) had called him "the one man (at the third annual National Conference on City Planning in Philadelphia) who apparently had very sound and business-like ideas on the subject of housing and town planning".⁹⁰

Adams, who was born in Edinburgh in 1871, had been trained as a lawyer. Prior to his arrival in Canada, he had spent almost five years as an Inspector of the Local Government Board of Great Britain, the body that had done all the preliminary work for and was now charged with administering the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act. He had recently been elected first president of the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain and was also an Honorable Fellow of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, an External Examiner of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool, and a Fellow of the Surveyors' Institute. In the past he had been secretary of the First Garden City Company at Letchworth and had worked on several garden suburbs.

Throughout his years in Canada, Adams stressed British planning models -- garden suburbs, controlling new development, and the need for legislation. Emphasis was on legislation, research, demonstration projects, education and advice. One of his major concerns was that recommendations be implementable.

Adams' first priority was given to securing legislation. By the end of 1918, he could claim to have had a hand in either drafting

or amending the Town Planning Acts of seven of the nine provinces.⁹¹

During these years, Adams travelled widely across the country giving assistance and advice to all levels of government, organizing conferences and lecturing to university and citizens' groups. His involvement in the preparation of a number of specific plans was viewed as undertaking demonstration projects; chief among these were (1) a regional plan for Saint John, (2) the replanning of Halifax (after the explosion), (3) a plan for Kipawa, a resource town to be built on Lake Temiskaming in Northern Quebec and (4) a model "garden suburb" in Ottawa (Lindenlea).

In 1916, he initiated the formation of a national Civic Improvement League; its aims were to encourage and publicize the cause of "civic improvement", to undertake research and to provide a means by which all the voluntary organizations across Canada could exchange views. Founding members included Adams, Sifton, J.S. Woodsworth of the Canadian Welfare League (Winnipeg), F.G. Todd, G. Frank Beer of the Toronto Housing Company, and Noulan Cauchon, an Ottawa engineer, later to become an originator of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and chairman of the Ottawa Town Planning Commission.

In his writings, Adams was a forceful and articulate spokesman for planning. He was also prolific,⁹² writing most of the planning articles which appeared during these years. His writings and work with the Commission went a long way towards organizing planning in this country and giving it direction.

B. The role of civic beauty

In general, beauty was relegated to a very minor role during this priod. There was no more talk of creating a "city beautiful" except in the ideal sense of a beautiful city being first and foremost a healthy and convenient city. But the notion of civic beauty wasn't entirely absent.

Beginning in 1914, it became all of a sudden fashionable to criticize the monumental planning associated with the City Beautiful movement. Such criticism was usually followed by a discussion of other areas of planning endeavour. Charles A. Hodgetts qualified as the movement's severest critic when, in 1914, he wrote in the Canadian Municipal Journal:

"We do not want the thrills of the American method which parades in all the noon-day effulgence of the City Beautiful, and pays no attention to the great essential which is the Town Healthy. A system which provides for boulevards and parks for the millions, while it permits them being herded together in skyscraper offices and monstrous tenements and apartment houses is not good enough for Canada."93

Thomas Adams, while critical of the City Beautiful, always felt that beauty (and especially natural beauty) had a rightful (although small) place in planning. He faulted the Chicago-inspired Ottawa plan and others like it not so much for what they did do but for what they didn't do. In particular, they failed to deal with current problems. They didn't address the question of controlling urban development, concentrating instead on the replanning of existing areas. They made no attempt at comprehensiveness, having ignored

engineering and health perspectives. Finally, implementation costs were beyond a city's financial resources.⁹⁴

While the City Beautiful-style of planning was found lacking on all these counts, Adams pointed out that "this does not mean that the aesthetic features of town planning are to be ignored".⁹⁵ In fact, he thought traditional City Beautiful elements were desirable urban features but that they were precluded at the present time by economic constraints and other needs that were more pressing.⁹⁶ In his report on the replanning of Halifax, Adams stated that "one must be practical in method to get a thing done at all - and it is a waste of time to set up idealistic utopias of what we would like to do but cannot".⁹⁷

The following passage illustrates well Adams' general attitude towards civic beauty. It is from a 1915 issue of Town Planning and Conservation of Life.

"The worthy desire of many citizens to make their cities and towns beautiful, to secure wide roads, fine groups of buildings, large open spaces, etc., must not be lost sight of, but after all these are, to some extent at least, the luxuries and not the necessities of the city or town. We should plan to have artificial beauty but not at the expense of business efficiency, or health, or cleanliness. Natural beauty can usually be obtained by mere planning and without extra cost. A city that is healthy and clean may be beautiful even if it be without expensive ornament; it can never be really beautiful if it is unhealthy or unclean, however ostentatious its public buildings may be."⁹⁸

While there may have been little room for the City Beautiful, the idea of adding natural touches to the city continued to receive

support in the journals. However, goals had been scaled down considerably. There was no longer any talk of extensive park and boulevard systems; rather it was tree-planting and smaller scale beautification efforts which were advocated. For example, Montreal's City Improvement League sponsored a clean-up week and undertook the cultivation of a vacant lot as a demonstration project⁹⁹ while the St. Thomas Horticultural Society was praised on a number of occasions for having planted 20,000 tulips along roadsides.¹⁰⁰

Finally, there were a few anomalies. For example, A.A. Stoughton discussed the subject of street beautification in the Contract Record. Stoughton was a professor of architecture at the University of Manitoba and was a member of the Greater Winnipeg Plan Commission. His efforts after the war would result in the creation of a boulevard approach to the Manitoba Legislature while in the late 1920's he would become a strong advocate of architectural control. In this article, Stoughton lamented the decline of the City Beautiful, stating that "for the last few years we have been so industrious in telling city officials and commissions that city planning does not mean the city beautiful that we have almost persuaded ourselves that it is true". He went on to talk of the importance of street amenities:

"...the chance to pause in the mad rush to get a glimpse of nobler things than trolley cars; to get a new hold on common life by a suggestion of greatness from a monument or of grace from an object of art; to get the uplifting effect of a noble colonnade or tower seen at the end of a vista; or to get a refreshment of mind from the greenness of ordered trees or sward".¹⁰¹

C. The plans

With the exception of the work of the Commission of Conservation, most planning activity in Canadian cities had dried up because of the war. Reference could be found to only two planning projects:

(1) a civic centre scheme for Vancouver, for which a competition was held in late 1914, and (2) the plan for Ottawa, which had been commissioned in 1913 but wasn't completed until two years later.

The civic centre competition was written up only in the Contract Record, and no diagram accompanied the article. The discussion here is based mainly on an article in the Town Planning Review, a contemporary British journal.

Similarly, the Ottawa plan received little attention. When the Federal Plan Commission was established, the Canadian Engineer noted that "federal buildings, parks, railroads, streets, boulevards and the general view from Capital Hill will be within the scope of the Commission's activities". Then, in a somewhat contemptuous fashion, the journal's editors wondered aloud whether Ottawa would ever have pure water. This was a reference to several cholera outbreaks in the first years of the century; the Canadian Engineer considered the securing of an adequate water supply to be far more important than any plan to make Ottawa a "real capital".¹⁰² When the plan was finally submitted, the Canadian Engineer summarized its central features without comment while the other journals paid no attention.

(1) Vancouver: Civic centre

In 1914, a City Beautiful Association (soon renamed the Planning

and Beautifying Association) sponsored a civic centre competition for the eight-acre site bounded by Pender, Beatty, Georgia and Hamilton. When City Council refused to grant \$1500 for prize money, the B.C. Telephone Company made the funds available. Thirty-seven entries were received, and Thomas Adams chose the winner.¹⁰³ The winning design belonged to Theodor Korner and R.H. Mattocks, draftsmen in the office of T.H. Mawson and Sons.

Korner and Mattocks proposed a scheme¹⁰⁴ which would require the closing of portions of Cambie and Dunsmuir Streets and the opening of two short new diagonal roads, originating at the corner of Cambie and Pender. The apex of the triangle formed by the diagonals was to be occupied by a circular-shaped formal garden set against a new City Hall. As can be seen in Fig. 13, the arrangement of streets, open space and public buildings provided the opportunity for a very effective vista. The diagonals were viewed both as part of a composition and as a means to facilitate traffic. A modern critic would be quick to note that the roads also served to fragment the northern end of the civic centre but this was apparently not a consideration in 1915.

The area behind City Hall was to be free of through traffic, necessitating the closure of two streets. The centre's main axis followed the line of Cambie Street and consisted of two plazas connected by a broad avenue. The cross-axis was aligned approximately with Dunsmuir, and the proposed public buildings were to be arranged symmetrically around the two axes.

Thomas Adams considered the scheme to be a very fine one despite

the considerable expenditure that would be involved. At the same time he was a strong believer in the notion that planning should not be approached in this manner and took "the liberty of volunteering a separate report" on the need for a comprehensive plan for Greater Vancouver. This report said in part:

"However excellent separate schemes may be for creating civic and university centres, new harbours, railway terminals, industrial areas and means of transportation, they will all lack the chief quality of a proper city plan if they are not considered in relation to the general business interests and health of the citizens."¹⁰⁵

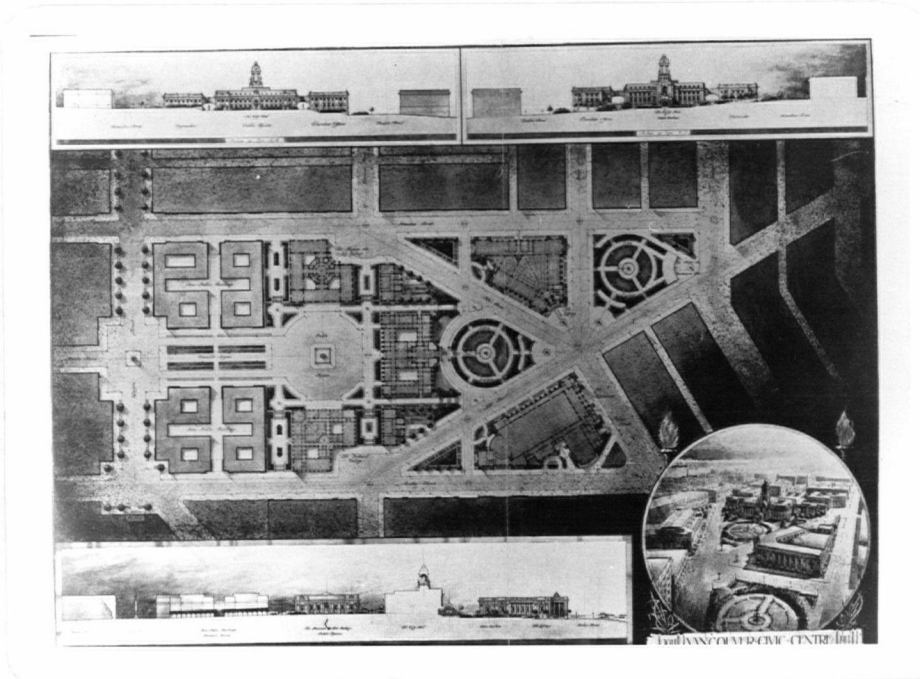


Fig. 13 -- Winning design for Vancouver civic centre. (Source: Thomas Adams, "Vancouver Civic Centre Competition", Town Planning Review)

(2) Ottawa: Report of the Federal Plan Commission

The Federal Plan Commission had been established in 1913 to take

"all necessary steps to draw up and perfect a comprehensive scheme or plan looking to the future growth of the City of Ottawa and the City of Hull, and their environs, and particularly providing for the location, laying out and beautification of parks and connecting boulevards, the location and architectural character of public buildings and adequate and convenient arrangements for traffic and transportation within the area in question."¹⁰⁶

E.H. Bennett, Burnham's assistant on both the Chicago and San Francisco plans, was hired as Consultant on the City Plan and E.L. Cousins of Toronto as Consulting Engineer. Drawings were done by Jules Guerin, the man who painted the watercolours for the Chicago plan. As one might naturally expect, Washington was cited as "one of the finest capitals in the world" and an appropriate model for Ottawa while many of the plan's features were clearly derived from the Chicago plan.

Recommendations covered seven major areas: (1) streets, (2) railway transportation, (3) government buildings, (4) district control (zoning), (5) parks, parkways and playgrounds, (6) water transportation, and (7) street railways and other utilities. Both utilitarian and aesthetic considerations were deemed important.

"The two chief factors in making a city attractive are, first, the convenience of its arrangements in respect to the business, comfort and enjoyment of its inhabitants, and, secondly, its general aspect in regard to dignity and beauty."¹⁰⁷

It was stressed that the plan was not to be undertaken at once, that it was merely a guide for controlling growth. It was strongly recommended, however, that a Federal District Commission be established to oversee this growth and carry out the plan. Bennett stated that the plan could be implemented without great cost¹⁰⁸ but nowhere in the report was the question of expenditure or the problems of implementation really addressed.

Streets. In order to facilitate traffic in a city fragmented by waterways and rail lines, a number of recommendations were made involving widenings, extensions, connections, grade separations, the construction of bridges, the rearrangement of bridge approaches and the development of highways using abandoned railway rights-of-way. No attempt was made to superimpose a system of diagonals on the pre-existing road network because the city was viewed as being adequately supplied with a series of radials converging in the vicinity of the Parliament Buildings.

A few of the recommendations had an aesthetic basis; for example, it was suggested that Laurier Street be developed as a heavy traffic artery in order to relieve Wellington Street. This latter street ran past the Parliament Buildings causing a situation felt to be "objectionable". It was also recommended that a short diagonal be built across the canal, providing a defining edge to the proposed municipal centre.

Civic centre. It was recommended that a municipal civic centre be developed in the vicinity of the Grand Trunk Station (future Union Station). The railway station and post office were to be on

one side of the canal and City Hall, Court House and other buildings on the other. The railway tracks and canal would be largely covered over by a plaza, which in turn would open up more area for traffic.

"The traveller who arrives in Ottawa will step out upon an attractive scene as he emerges on the Plaza from the station. The view northward will be free, for the present Post Office will have been removed. At his right he will see the Chateau Laurier and the East Block of the Parliament Buildings, with trees in the open spaces and the river and the distant Laurentian mountains in the farther background."109

With respect to the federal government, the Parliament Buildings were praised for their architecture and harmony. Particular mention was made of the silhouette created by the arrangement of "towers and pavilions" set against a background of "wooded slopes" and "sweeping" hills. Although it was regretted that the Parliament Buildings lacked a main axial approach, there were no recommendations made to rectify the situation.

Since further expansion of government offices was inevitable, the Commission recommended that space be reserved west along Wellington Street and north along Sussex Street, forming a very elongated L-shaped arrangement.

"The various subdivisions of the entire composition are connected, not only by Wellington Street and Sussex Street, but also by a succession of courtyards, walks and drives."110

It was felt that new buildings should be made to harmonize with existing ones, "never competing with, but always recalling the present group". Finally, since the government buildings would only occupy one side of Wellington Street, it would be necessary to acquire

architectural control over the other side -- control over "height, colour, material and general architectural design, and to some extent the uses to which the buildings may be put".¹¹¹

Parks. The Commission envisioned a comprehensive system of parks, parkways and playgrounds. To this end, numerous recommendations were made that if carried out, would increase park area from 1720 to 3160 acres, boulevard area from 3 1/2 to 10 square miles and waterfront parkway area from 10 1/2 to 46 square miles.¹¹² Major recommendations included the acquisition of an extremely large forest reserve in the Gatineau Hills and a large suburban recreation ground in the southern part of the city. Special mention was made of the desirability of a parkway connecting the Parliament Buildings and Rideau Hall,¹¹³ a portion of which had already been completed by the Ottawa Improvement Commission (according to one of Todd's previous recommendations). Finally, the Commission stressed the need to acquire as much of the Hull waterfront as possible. This was necessary in order to ensure a good view from the Parliament Buildings although the Commission also warned against interfering with industry.¹¹⁴

Other elements of the plan. These comprised a very large part of the plan. Some of the more important recommendations dealt with the implementation of a zoning scheme, the setting up of industrial districts, the protection of residential areas, the rearrangement of rail lines and the building of rapid transit lines to make more land available for residential use.



Fig. 14 -- Ottawa: Civic centre site. (Source: Federal Plan Commission, Report)



Fig. 15 -- Ottawa: Proposed civic centre. (Source: Federal Plan Commission, Report)

IV. The City Efficient: 1919-1924

A. Planning thought

Planning articles continued to appear in the Canadian Municipal Journal (renamed the Municipal Review of Canada in 1922) and to a lesser extent in the Contract Record. After World War I, the number of articles devoted to planning in the Canadian Engineer increased dramatically, transforming it into a major vehicle for the promotion of planning thought. In addition, each journal regularly reprinted articles from the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, which began publication in 1920.

In 1918 Adams had taken on four assistants: A.G. Dalzell and H.L. Seymour to help with town planning schemes in the west and east respectively, W.D. Cromarty to work on model house designs¹¹⁵ and Alfred Buckley, as his secretary.¹¹⁶ After the war, Adams himself focussed less on the theory of town planning and more on housing (e.g. drawing up a draft Housing Act, advising on a \$25 million federal housing loan) and on what he considered to be demonstration projects (e.g. Lindenlea).

Clifford Sifton resigned as chairman in 1919, which was the same year the Commission made its last Annual Report.¹¹⁷ The Commission was abolished in 1921, apparently because it was felt to be duplicating the services of other departments.¹¹⁸ Thomas Adams was retained as Town Planning Adviser to the federal government, a post that he held until 1923. Between 1923 and 1930, he was Director of the Regional Plan of New York and Environs.

In 1919 the Town Planning Institute of Canada was founded by a group of eighteen professionals, five of whom were Adams and his four assistants.¹¹⁹ At the group's second meeting in 1920, bylaws and a constitution were adopted, and publication of the Journal was begun a few months later. The organization was aimed primarily at architects, engineers and surveyors although practising artists and 'sociologists' were equally eligible for membership. Initial membership stood at over 100, and Thomas Adams was its first president. Other presidents would include J.P. Hynes, Noulan Cauchon, James Ewing, Horace L. Seymour, Percy E. Nobbs and Arthur G. Dalzell.

The Institute's objectives were outlined in the first issue.

These were:

- "(a) to advance the study of town planning, civic design and kindred subjects, and of the arts and sciences applying to these subjects,
- (b) to promote the scientific and artistic development of land in urban and rural districts,
- (c) to secure the Association of those interested in the study of Town Planning and to promote their interests."¹²⁰

These objectives were refined in 1923. The intent of the Institute remained essentially the same but the new objectives explicitly emphasized planning as a profession and the creation of job opportunities. The Institute's original objectives gave equal emphasis to both the artistic and the scientific but by 1923, these concepts had given way to professional knowledge, professional interests and the professional planner.¹²¹

By 1919 Canadian planning thought had entered the era of the

City Efficient. Favourite topics included zoning, transportation, housing, the control of suburban development, regional planning, the decentralization of industry, skyscrapers and garden cities. Many articles had become very technical in nature; e.g. the specification of appropriate symbols and colours for a zoning map.

To most writers during this period, town planning implied foresight, a preparation for future growth. It was seen as a strategy that would bring about the needed order and efficiency while minimizing the cost to the taxpayer. Zoning was its chief tool, and in fact, the two concepts (town planning and zoning) were virtually inseparable.

Writers never seemed to tire of proclaiming that town planning, largely through zoning and building regulations, paid its own way and even yielded monetary returns. They argued that it would stabilize and enhance property values, thus ensuring the land owner of his investment while providing the municipality with increased tax revenue. It would also enable the municipality to provide the necessary services without wasted expense; the money could then be put towards extra public improvements such as connecting streets that jogged. In the words of Frank Buck, of Vancouver, planning was "fundamentally and all the time a business proposition".¹²²

While it was claimed that town planning's chief virtue was financial, writers also asserted it could attack problems associated with congestion and 'jumble building'. For example, ensuring minimum levels of air and sunlight would lead to better health. Town planning would also ensure an orderly environment and hence, one that was "sightly" or "beautiful". These views were reflected in the definition

of planning adopted by the Town Planning Institute of Canada in 1923:

"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."¹²³

B. The role of civic beauty

This period was characterized by conflicting opinions. Some ignored the concept completely while many writers were anxious to dispel the belief that planning was associated with beautification. Some of these criticized "embellishment" schemes specifically while others stated that they had purposefully omitted such schemes from their proposals. Many felt that beauty had a proper place in town planning but weren't at all sure what that place was. Some argued that it was a natural by-product of economy while others encouraged only those schemes which cost no money. There was a reluctance to approach the issue of civic beauty directly and hence, it remained a vague concept. In fact, it was quite possible for the same writer to appear to take slightly different viewpoints in different articles.

Many writers continued to issue sharp criticisms of the City Beautiful movement. It was assailed again and again as being "mere embellishment" and an "expensive decorative luxury". Further, it ignored urban problems; readers were reminded on more than one occasion that "behind the great European boulevards the people were crowded into monstrous tenements".¹²⁴ These writers believed that town planning's progress was being hindered by those who associated

it with the City Beautiful and were eager to point out that the two were not linked. In the words of J.P. Hynes, a one-time member of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art:

"The objective of town planning is to promote better living and working conditions. The earlier presentation of the subject as the artistic embellishment of cities has chilled public sympathy and it is now our task to convince the public that town planning is not a decorative luxury. Town planning is an urgent and economic necessity and a very effective means for the prevention of waste in civic expenditure and in human life."¹²⁵

Some planners noted that they had purposefully omitted City Beautiful concepts from their articles. H.L. Seymour, in addressing a group of engineers, said:

"I hope you will note that I have said nothing this evening of a Union Station, of street widening, of a civic centre. I have tried to confine my remarks to those things which can be done with little or no expense and which will form a stable foundation for further constructive town planning work."¹²⁶

Some, notably Thomas Adams, indicated that civic beauty was desirable if it could be had without cost. For example, Adams complained that the buildings on Ottawa's Sparks Street were overshadowing those on Wellington and ruining the view from the Parliament Buildings; through control of building heights on Sparks Street, beauty could have been had without cost.¹²⁷ In another article, he cautioned municipalities against erecting "extravagant" public buildings when "a beautiful building should cost no more than an ugly one".¹²⁸ In his plan for Lindenlea, a residential subdivision of Ottawa, economy and utility were his primary objectives when

designing the road layout but opportunities for aesthetic touches at no extra cost were seized upon; e.g. a vista of downtown Ottawa and the Parliament Buildings and the creation of a small square and five converging streets.¹²⁹

Still others argued that beauty was a natural by-product of efficiency. In an article on his home city, James Ewing, of Montreal, stated:

"Before closing I would like to say a word or two regarding the embellishment of Montreal, about which a good deal has lately been spoken. Candidly, I have no liking for the word, it savors in my mind entirely too much of artificiality, and in any case is beginning at the wrong end. If we can plan wisely and well on useful, economical, orderly and symmetrical lines, the city will naturally embellish itself."¹³⁰

A few stated that beauty was a legitimate part of planning but failed to elaborate further. For example, Morris Knowles¹³¹ claimed that planning must concern itself with "the development of the entire city for use as well as beauty" but nowhere else in the article did he mention beauty.¹³²

And finally, there were anomalies. Henri Hebert, a sculptor, recommended an art jury for Montreal, hoping the time had gone by when men would put the practical before the beautiful.¹³³ Burn Helme, a student, in his glowing description of Paris, commented that "the nobler ideals are the better ones and there is nothing mean or petty about the plan of Paris".¹³⁴

C. The plans

Unlike past years, the planning profession now had its own voice in the form of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. Plans prepared by the Institute's members were often published in one or more of the professional journals. This period saw the publication of two 'model' plans -- Kitchener and Ottawa. While they were definitely not City Beautiful plans, they are summarized below in order to illustrate the sort of plans deemed to be appropriate.

(1) Kitchener-Waterloo: Comprehensive plan

The major planning event in Canada during these years was the development of a comprehensive plan and zoning bylaw for Kitchener and Waterloo.¹³⁵ Its authors, Thomas Adams and H.L. Seymour, stressed that the plan was only a general guideline and that planning was a continual process.

The plan called for five zoning districts: heavy industrial, light industrial and commercial, business, residential and detached private residential. In addition, a number of specific cost-conscious recommendations were made which the planners felt would alleviate problems and help accommodate future growth. For example, they advocated the acquisition of a large riverfront park on land unsuitable for other development and 160 acres of other parkland for future needs. In order to deal with traffic congestion on the main street, it was recommended that the building line be set back when lots were redeveloped and that a height restriction be enforced. Widening

was not recommended because of the cost although a number of new streets were proposed in suburban areas which would serve to alleviate some of the congestion.

Aesthetics weren't entirely forgotten. The planners recommended that in order to create a "dignified entrance to the city", two presently-occupied blocks should gradually be acquired and redeveloped as a station approach. Finally, they recommended that

"the land around the new City Hall should be carefully planned under expert advice, so as to make a dignified approach to the new building and create an environment that will add to its attractiveness as a monumental structure. A small expenditure in this direction in securing a proper design will save the city much money and by the display it gives to the building add to its appearance. Some action will have to be taken by the council to protect the City Hall Square from the erection of undesirable structures on the frontages facing the square".¹³⁶

The Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and to a lesser extent, the Canadian Engineer devoted a great deal of attention to this plan. It was considered a model of appropriate planning with particular attention being paid to the zoning bylaw. A City Hall Square and station approach happened to be part of the plan but they received no special emphasis.

(2) Ottawa

The other 'model' plan of this period was prepared in 1922 by Noulan Cauchon, chairman of the recently-appointed Ottawa Town Planning Commission. He wrote in the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of

Canada:

"Every Canadian citizen who visits Ottawa has the right to feel that in some real sense he is a citizen of the capital city and he has a right to expect that some effort will be expended by the Dominion Government to make the national seat of its operations conform to the dignity, order and beauty which every country demands from its capital city."¹³⁷

Despite what the proposal appears to imply, the resulting plan emphasized railroads, canals, arterial roads, industrial areas and zoning. National parks were advocated but only on land too low for inexpensive sewerage or too high for normal water pressure. Thus, in 1922, a plan to give Ottawa "dignity, order and beauty" emphasized highly utilitarian considerations. Aesthetics were not even mentioned.

(3) Other projects

Despite the 'practical' emphasis of the journals and the obvious trend towards planning that was both problem-oriented and aware of costs, there is some evidence that City Beautiful-style projects were still being proposed or undertaken. Some were, in fact, revivals or continuations of projects that had been begun before the war. For example, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art was still promoting a new avenue linking Union Station and a proposed civic centre.¹³⁸ In Vancouver, an "elaborate approach to the Canadian Northern and Great Northern railway station" was being considered,¹³⁹ and in Winnipeg, Memorial Boulevard was made into an approach to the Parliament Building.¹⁴⁰

But such projects were only mentioned in passing. Very little

importance was attached to them. One such example was Noulan Cauchon's scheme for Hamilton. Illustrations in the Canadian Engineer indicated a wide avenue flanked on either side by a double row of trees and with a visual terminus at either end. At one end was a civic centre characterized by classical-style buildings facing a circular plaza and obelisk. The other terminus was a stadium sitting atop Hamilton Mountain and evoking images of a Greek temple. The accompanying article, however, was called the "Economics of town planning" and contained no mention whatsoever of the illustrations.¹⁴¹

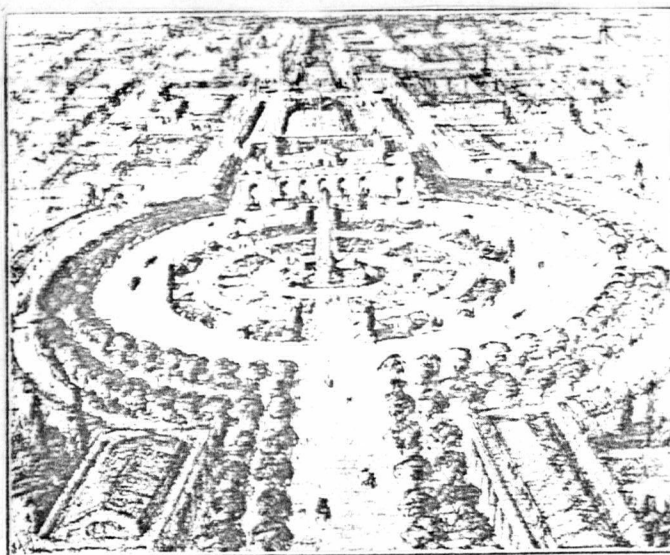


Fig. 16 -- Hamilton: Proposed civic centre.
(Source: Noulan Cauchon, "Economics of Town
Planning", Canadian Engineer)

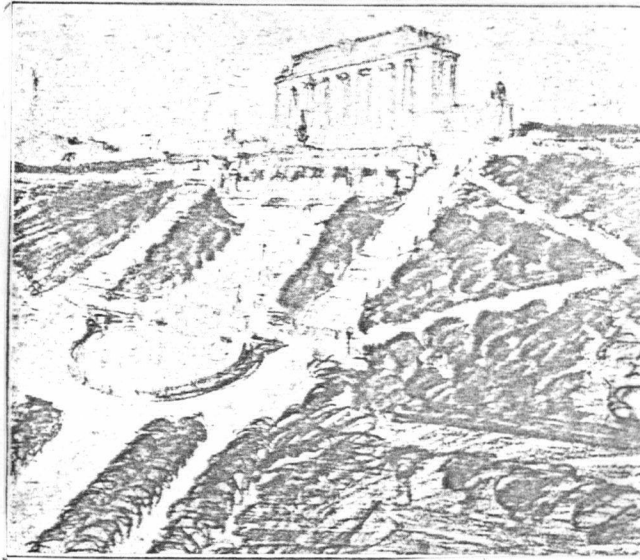


Fig. 17 -- Hamilton: Proposed stadium.
 (Source: Noulan Cauchon, "Economics of Town
 Planning", Canadian Engineer)

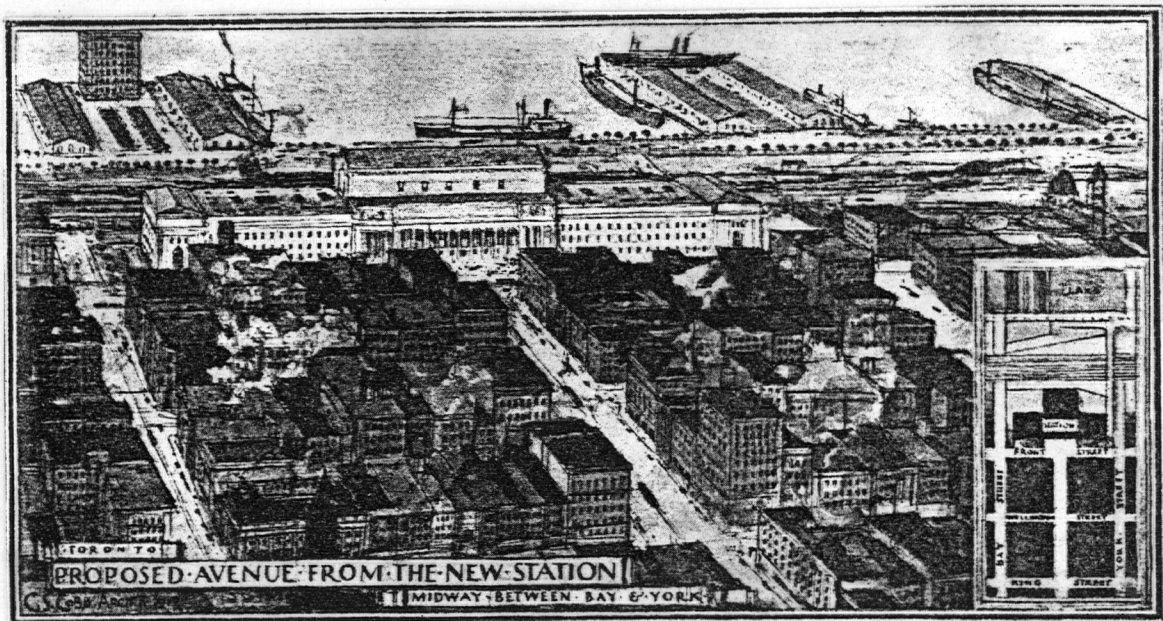


Fig. 18 -- Toronto: Proposed avenue linking Union Station and Queen
 Street. (Source: Toronto Municipal Yearbook, 1919)

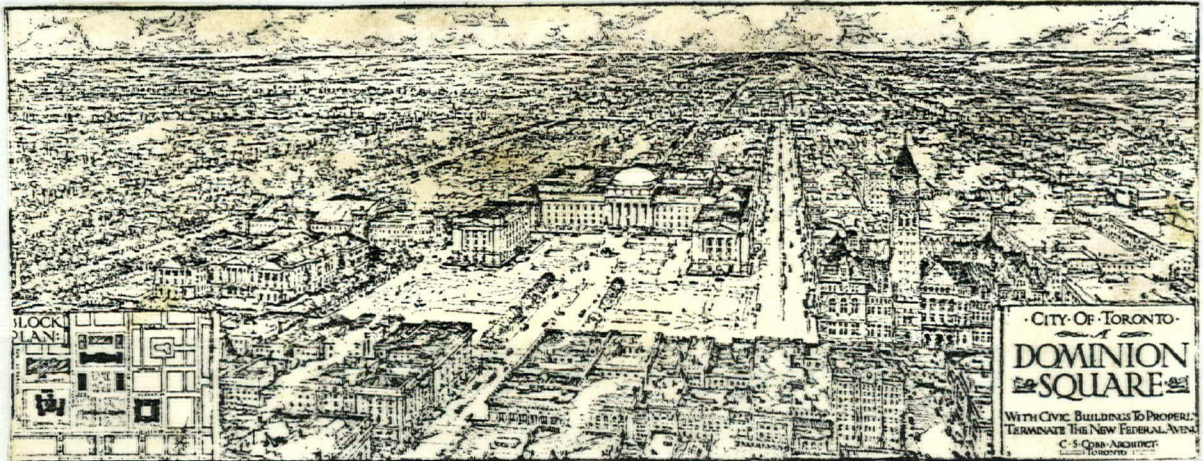


Fig. 19 -- Toronto: Proposed civic centre. (Source: Toronto Municipal Yearbook, 1919)



Fig. 20 -- Winnipeg: Memorial Boulevard. Approach to the Manitoba Legislature.

V. A place for beauty: 1925-1930

This period is covered here by five journals: the Canadian Engineer, the Municipal Review of Canada, the Contract Record, the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. The last mentioned had begun publication in 1926; however its interest in planning was mainly confined to the odd article on architectural control.

During these years, articles devoted to planning continued to encompass a broad range of topics. In particular, the pro-zoning debate continued unabated although it had begun to be argued that zoning was just one part of a comprehensive plan. While not enjoying the same degree of support as zoning, a few individuals campaigned consistently for better housing conditions and an end to land speculation. Many articles appeared which reported on the progress of planning in Canada (legislation, establishment of town planning commissions, the undertaking of zoning bylaws, the progress of Vancouver's comprehensive plan, proposals for Toronto's University Avenue extension). The move away from articles entirely devoted theory indicated that municipalities were actually becoming involved with planning projects.

Although the journals' primary interest still lay with economic efficiency and the financial benefits of planning, these years saw a renewed interest in the concept of civic beauty. It received the most attention in the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and the least in the Canadian Engineer. One could argue that only a journal entirely devoted to planning would have seen fit to publish

a number of articles either addressing the question of civic beauty or outlining the details of some improvement project.

A. The revival of beauty

The reawakening first appeared in 1924. Harsh criticisms of civic beauty at the annual conference of the Town Planning Institute of Canada prompted Alfred Buckley, editor of the Journal, to write:

"It does not seem to occur to many of our lawless town builders that people will not live among them because they cannot bear the intolerable ugliness that characterizes most of the new towns of Canada. Much was said at the conference in deprecation of the demand for beauty and the usual claims for utility were set in violent contrast to it. It is a false and mischievous antithesis and what good there was in it - the insistence that town planning was not a decorative luxury but an urgent economic necessity - has by this time surely been absorbed. Ruskin, Morris, Rodin and Carpenter have spoken and written in vain if we do not yet realize that beauty is as useful as love and hope and happiness and religion and that these make the spiritual dynamic which is the real source of even physical energy."¹⁴²

The next indication of civic beauty's rising status appeared in the June 1925 issue of the same journal. Noulan Cauchon, in the President's address, noted that people wanted beauty,¹⁴³ W.W. Cory wrote that "utility, comfort and beauty" were prerequisites to "decent" city life,¹⁴⁴ and George B. Ford, an American planner, celebrated the fact that "civic art is rapidly regaining its place in city planning".¹⁴⁵

From this point, civic beauty became openly promoted. For example, John M. Lyle claimed that the "appeal of efficiency alone is nearly

over" and that "beauty is the natural and logical next step".¹⁴⁶

Noulan Cauchon presented a most forceful argument. Note that he blames the politicians for past inattention to beauty.

"Engineers should get, as an indispenble part of their education, a serious grounding in the principles of Art; without this they are not safe to have at large. Look at the resultant atrocities of the merely utilitarian which some of them have perpetrated on the unsuspecting democracy.

...It is the civic power which is always skinning the engineer's estimates to the bone and generally leaving us without flesh and blood to fatten our skeletons into those forms and colours without which there can be no appeal to beauty."¹⁴⁷

The question of civic beauty was even addressed by A.G. Dalzell, a planner whose primary interest was housing and whom, in the past, had never exhibited any concern for aesthetics. In 1926, he encouraged architects to pay more attention to the creation of interesting skylines. While he didn't consider architectural control to be a part of planning, he thought that "a more varied and interesting skyline" might be a sort of bonus.¹⁴⁸ Dalzell's views are indicative of a desire to find a place for beauty in the city without violating beliefs about efficiency and economics.

B. The practical value of beauty

For the first time, the relationship between civic beauty and cost took on new meaning. Planners began writing of the "social costs" of ugliness and the material value of beauty. G. Gordon Whitnall, Director of City Planning for Los Angeles, told members

of the Town Planning Institute of Canada in 1927 that beauty "means more to the average community than probably any other single thing".¹⁴⁹

The same year, Thomas Adams attempted to show "the fallacy of assuming that merely ornamental improvements are luxuries and not good economy". Using the Rockcliffe Park and Parkway outside Ottawa as an example, he claimed that "the value of ... a combined park and driveway is not fully appreciated by those interested in developing and improving highway systems, or in increasing land values". It was argued that in addition to increasing accessibility over a large area, a roadway such as this would provide views, increase property values and make the suburbs attractive to the middle classes.¹⁵⁰

In another article, he addressed the question of "the die-hard economist and the subject of civic beauty". Ten years earlier Adams had omitted aesthetics from his Halifax plan because other needs were thought to be more pressing.¹⁵¹ Now he claimed that the time had passed when economics alone should be considered, pointing to the relative prosperity of the times and a public desire for beauty.

"With the changes being wrought and the new desires being created, people have more means to satisfy their tastes than they ever had before. They have the money to get what they want and to travel. And so everything takes on a new meaning, and money-making ceases to be a satisfaction in itself."¹⁵²

C. Architectural control

The notion of an art jury or art commission had been advocated from time to time since the 1890's. Before World War I it was seen

as a body which would give architectural advice both to municipalities on proposed public buildings or civic improvement schemes and to private citizens who wished to endow the city with monuments, concert halls, etc. Since the war, art juries had been suggested infrequently but it became more of a campaign in the late 1920's. However, their perceived role had broadened considerably. In late 1927, Vancouver City Council was considering making "all new buildings conform to the principles of good taste in architecture".¹⁵³ In 1928, Ottawa's Federal District Commission obtained architectural control over Elgin Street,¹⁵⁴ while in Quebec City, an art jury was established which had control over all buildings. It had "powers of veto, on the design, spacing, location, height, area of land to be covered, access of light and air and general suitability of all buildings proposed from the point of view not only of safety of structure, but also of architectural harmony and the rights of the community and of neighbouring property owners".¹⁵⁵

Percy Nobbs, of the Department of Architecture at McGill University, argued against the concept of architectural control in favour of "elastic" bylaws; e.g. specifying building heights as a proportion of street width, or specifying floor space ratios. Other than that, he felt it was the responsibility of cultural tradition to determine architectural styles and the responsibility of an architects' association to qualify competent architects.¹⁵⁶

Arthur Stoughton, of the Department of Architecture at the University of Manitoba, was a strong supporter of architectural control over (1) construction, (2) health and amenity, and (3) aesthetics.

He felt that if a city were to achieve some "overall composition", public control over private buildings was mandatory.¹⁵⁷ In an earlier letter to the Winnipeg Free Press and reprinted in the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, he asked:

"Why create avenues like Memorial Boulevard and Osborne Street extension if the quality of their architecture is not safeguarded by being subject to the approval of some authority such as was urged on the city council by the Manitoba Society of Architects? Why build a capitol, a university, a church and a war memorial on three corners if a filling station is to occupy the fourth? Why try to create residential or other neighbourhoods without the protection to the owners of a zoning ordinance?"¹⁵⁸

It can be readily appreciated from the arguments of Nobbs and Stoughton just how little control municipalities had over private building. In 1930, only a few municipalities had zoning bylaws. The fight for architectural control seemed to emphasize not only control over architectural style but also a struggle for the segregation of land uses, adequate access to light and air, and maximum densities.

D. The plans

In the past civic beauty had been a vague concept. It is true that a number of City Beautiful plans and projects had been suggested over the years but in general, they had received very little attention in the journals. Now, for the first time, actual plans and projects were being discussed. Civic beauty was beginning to become better defined.

Following are summaries of four schemes presented in 1928 and 1929. Each was presented in the journals although much of the discussion on Toronto is based on the actual planning document.

(1) Hamilton: Highway entrance

The competition for a Hamilton highway entrance had been sponsored by the city's Board of Park Management. While highway considerations were to take precedence over aesthetics, it was stressed that

"an adequate and dignified highway is of paramount importance, and that the purpose is not only to advertise the city, but also to provide enjoyment and pleasure for its citizens".¹⁵⁹

As indicated by the illustrations, the designs of the winners depended on City Beautiful concepts, including long and broad tree-lined avenues, vistas, monumental structures and classical details.

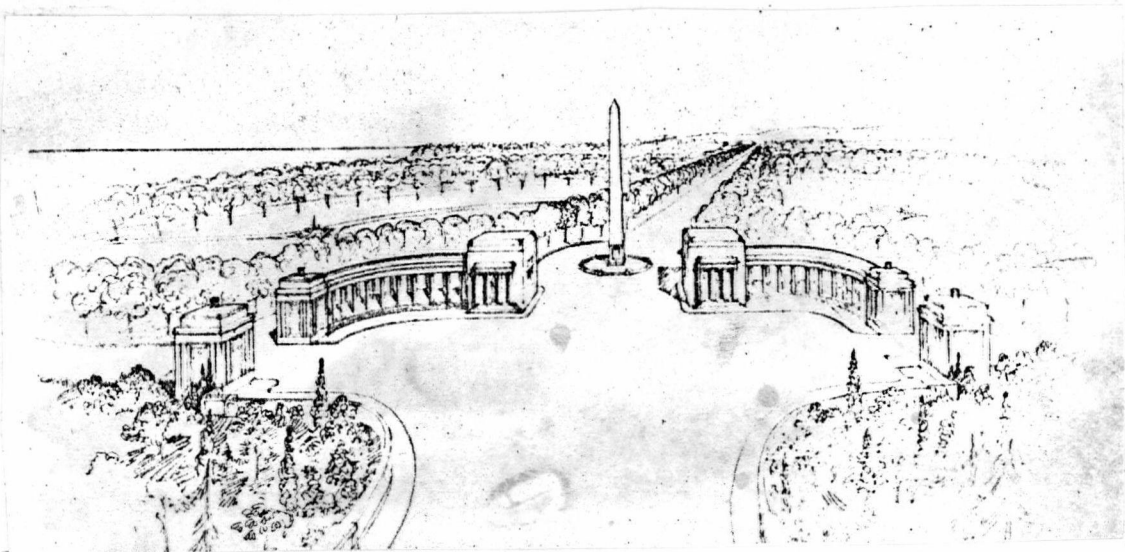


Fig. 21 -- Hamilton: Entrance to city. First prize winner. (Source: Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, April 1928)

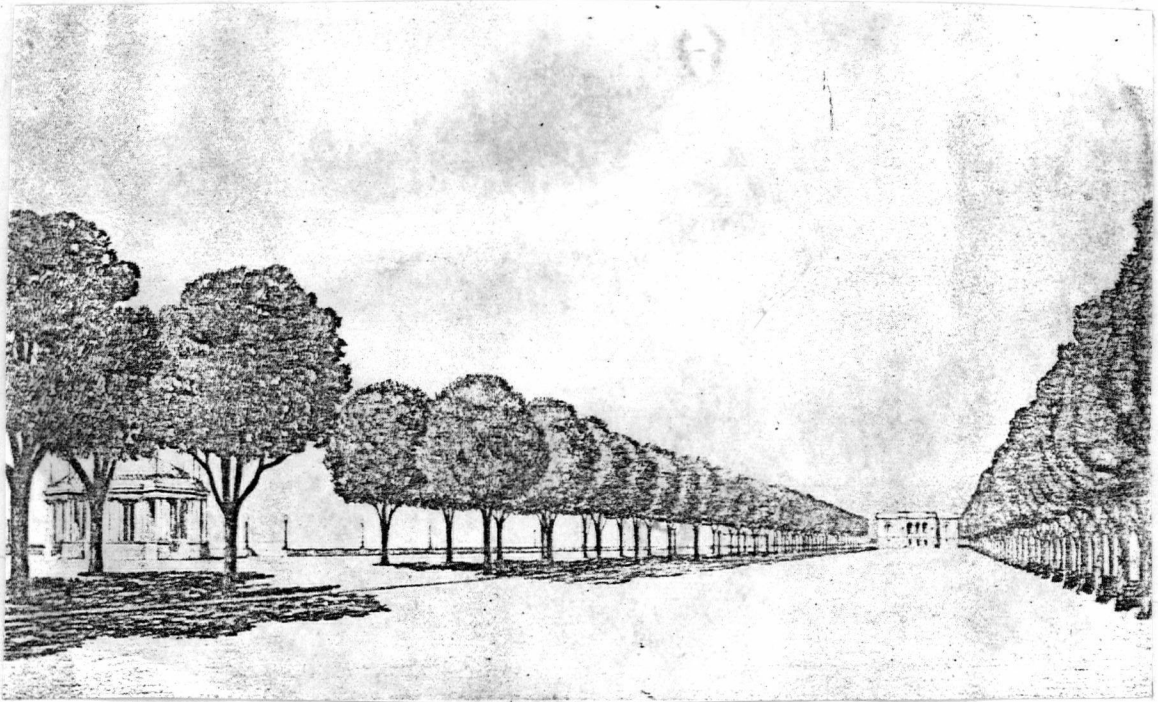


Fig. 22 -- Hamilton: Entrance to city. Second prize winner. (Source: Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, April 1928)

(2) Ottawa: Central area improvements

The City of Ottawa had appointed a Town Planning Commission in 1921 with Noulan Cauchon as chairman, a position he would retain until his death in 1935. In 1924, he prepared a zoning bylaw for the city but it was shelved by City Council two years later. In 1926, he published a number of planning priorities for Ottawa and Hull including railway reorganization, the development of an expressway system, a zoning bylaw, a national park in the Laurentians, a system of inner parks and parkways (the parks to be on land unsuited for other uses) and the laying out of new residential subdivisions in such a way that the streets formed hexagons (less street area, greater visibility at intersections, increased sunlight, the provision of restful traffic-free interior spaces). The article was devoid of aesthetics.¹⁶⁰

While utility was undoubtedly Cauchon's primary emphasis, he also produced a number of beautification schemes during these years. However, as it will shortly be seen, Cauchon's schemes were intended to take both aesthetic and traffic considerations into account.¹⁶¹

Vimy Way. Conceived as a "great highway" extending far beyond the Parliament Buildings, Vimy Way would also be a national war memorial. In Cauchon's plan, which only dealt with the Parliament Hill area, he recommended that the Vimy Way be situated between the buildings and the river. At one point, where the road isolated "a large block of rock", he recommended that it be sculpted into a "soaring, colossal, unique cenotaph", situated at the intersection of Vimy Way and a proposed bridge across the Ottawa River. In order

to accentuate the effect of the cenotaph, he suggested that the sloping ground between it and the proposed government buildings be terraced.

Confederation Place. This was seen as both a "clearing house for traffic and as the forum of public and official receptions". At its centre, a national war memorial would be the focus of a number of converging streets. Cauchon emphasized the need for a sense of enclosure, recommending that public buildings be placed around it (City Hall, Post Office, railway station). While the space could be used as a public meeting ground on ceremonious occasions, it would usually be used by street cars and automobiles as a sort of huge traffic circle. In fact, the place's adaptability to traffic was strongly stressed.

"The route planning thus presented for Confederation Place affords a completely organic and rapid one-way traffic circulation relatively free from cross interruptions and delays. Every feature of this plan is predicated on the recognition of the necessity of provision for traffic diffusion so essential in the sole connecting channel and traffic link between Upper Town and Lower Town."162

Elgin Street. It was recommended that Elgin Street be widened to 159 feet from Confederation Place to Cartier Square, a distance of five blocks. The National War Memorial in Confederation Place and a civic war memorial in Cartier Square would be situated at either end of the axial line, visually linked by the new Elgin Street with its central boulevard. However, Cauchon was quick to note that the street improvements had been "designed to meet the economic

requirements of traffic trend, volume and distribution".

Approach to Parliament Buildings. Consideration was given to a "classical" approach where a broad and direct avenue would form an axis leading to the Parliament Buildings, which in turn would be symmetrically arranged on either side of the axis. However, this was rejected as being too costly; Cauchon reasoned that in order to obtain exactly the right perspective, it would be necessary to lower the existing street (Metcalf) by several feet.

The recommended approach was felt to be more "in the Gothic spirit". It involved building a new street adjacent to the Rideau Canal which would traverse Confederation Place and enter Parliament Hill at the southeast corner, the entrance demarcated by statues of Laurier and Macdonald.

"Its site and motif is magnificent, sweeping up along the western brink of the deep ravine with the Chateau Laurier rising in terraced beauty on the opposite bank, with the Major's Hill Park, Nepean Point and the Ottawa River as a rapidly changing panorama - the Laurentian Hills melting into a distant haze. On approaching the northern end of the East Block and there losing the distant view, this avenue sweeps in a wide graceful curve towards the West, the Parliament Buildings with the Victory Tower looming suddenly into view towering above the oncoming observer, the Buildings and the Tower all appearing in echelon and giving their most effective impression of angle and deep shadow, a truly Gothic rendering in its element of surprise of changeable massing and irregular sky line."163

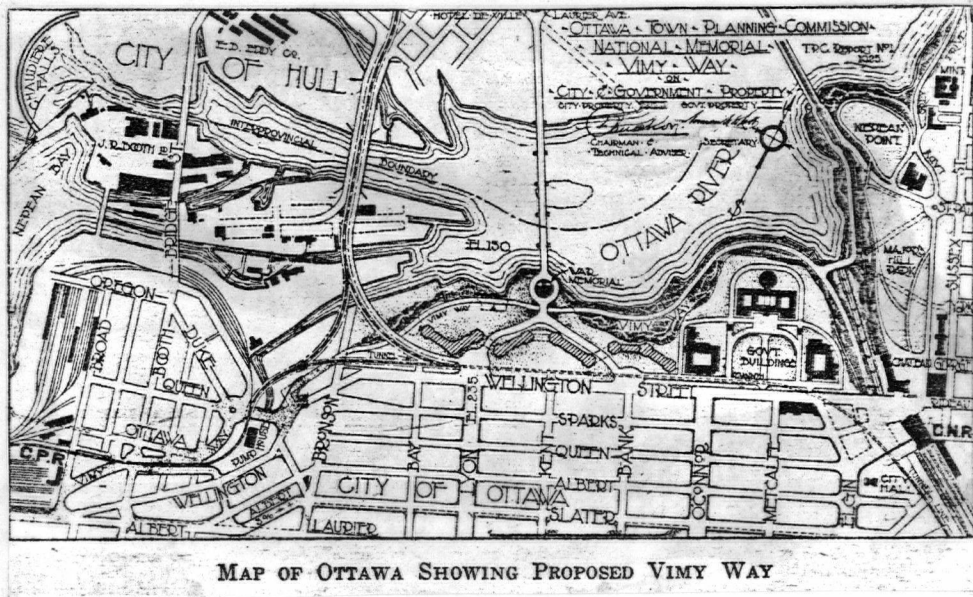


Fig. 23 -- Ottawa: Proposed Vimy Way. (Source: "Ottawa Memorial Drive", Canadian Engineer)

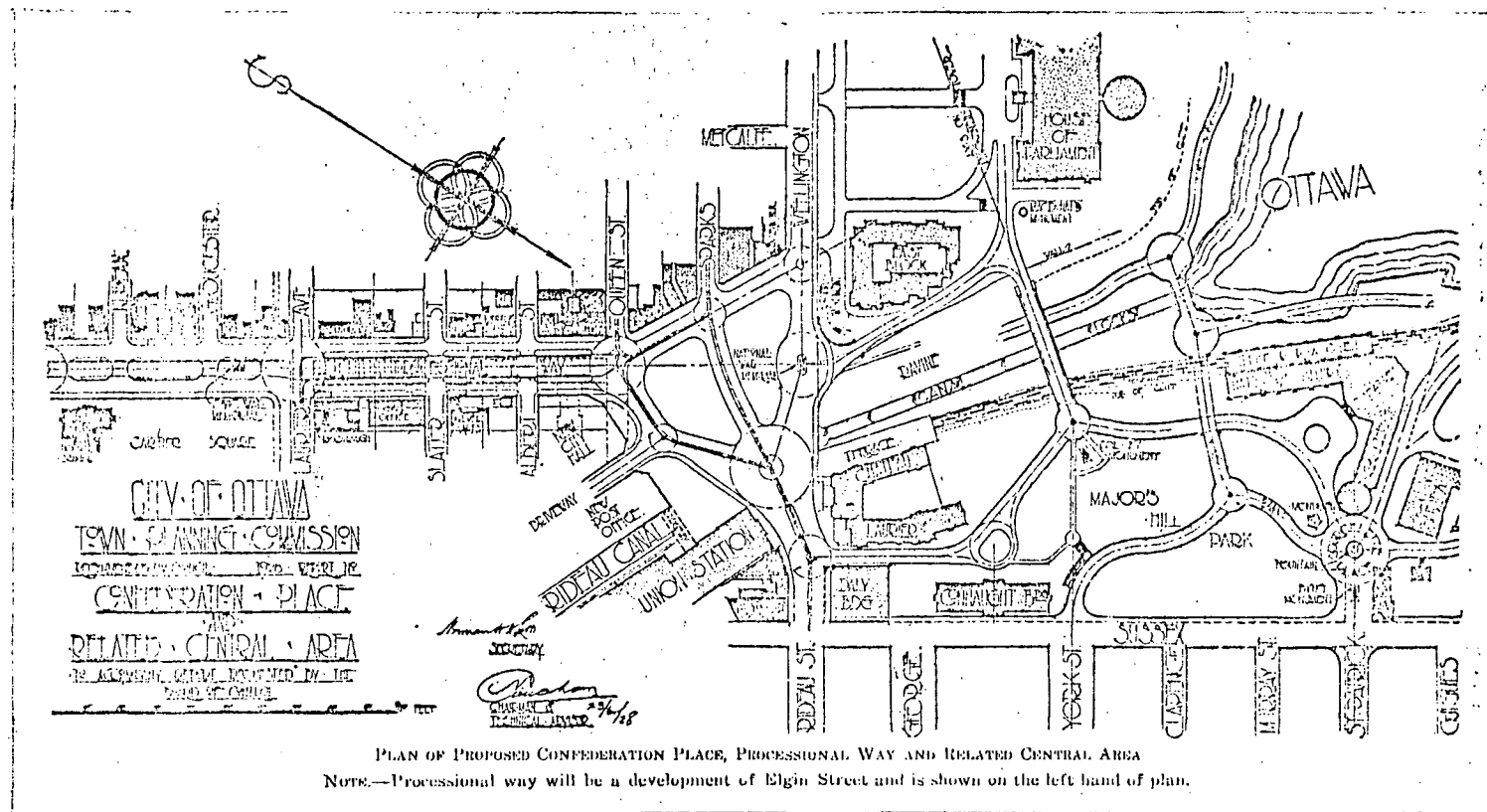


Fig. 24 -- Ottawa: Proposed central area improvements. (Source: "Improvement of Central Area, Ottawa", Canadian Engineer)

(3) Vancouver: Civic Centre

The 1929 Bartholomew plan encompassed a number of areas: major streets, transit, railways, harbours, parks and recreation, zoning, civic art and the civic centre. The Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada reported in detail on one aspect of that plan in an article entitled the "Vancouver Civic Centre and English Bay Development Scheme". J.F.D. Tanqueray, of the Vancouver Town Planning Commission, pointed to Chicago as the origin of planning and spoke of the civic centre in language reminiscent of the first years of the century.

"To the orderly grouping of the buildings and arrangement of the grounds at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 can be attributed the conception and realization of the tremendous Chicago Plan. Indeed the whole planning movement on this continent is traceable to that outstanding example of effective arrangement and design.

The Civic Centre is a gauge of citizen realization of the communal nature of the civic organism, and is indicative of civic ideals, culture and progress. It is the hall mark of the attainment of metropolitan status. Any development of this nature will cost money, but money so spent will be fully justified by the returns rendered in the consequent fostering of civic pride and community consciousness."¹⁶⁴

The possibility was also raised that the scheme could be made to pay for itself through the use of "excess condemnation" but no great stress was placed on this; the fame of the city and the pride of its citizens were considered sufficient.

The civic centre was to be located on the north shore of False Creek near Burrard Street. The buildings appear to be situated on

three sides of a city block, leaving an open space in the middle and on the fourth side. Between this and the water was to be a substantial expanse of sloping lawn. Approach to the main entrance was by a series of terraces. It was recommended that architectural control over buildings adjacent to the site be secured and that the entire shoreline of English Bay (including Kitsilano) be acquired for park purposes.

A monumental Burrard Street bridge was conceived as an integral part of the scheme, the importance of which "cannot be too emphatically stressed". As well as being "the most conspicuous unit in the entire project", it would serve to screen from view neighbouring industrial development.

Tanqueray made an interesting point regarding public reaction to the scheme. In his words, the civic centre was regarded "as a medium by which Community interest in the Plan can be aroused". To this end, the plans were exhibited in the windows of two large department stores, whereupon they were "thronged by interested spectators both day and night". According to Tanqueray,

"(t)hese displays were coincident with the closing days of a keenly contested election campaign in which the issue was between the old unordered civic policy and one of progressiveness, the Civic Centre and its early construction being one of the planks of the latter party. It should be a source of satisfaction to local planners that the latter party was victorious".¹⁶⁵

Despite the plea not "to let this magnificent opportunity pass", the civic centre as envisioned was never realized.

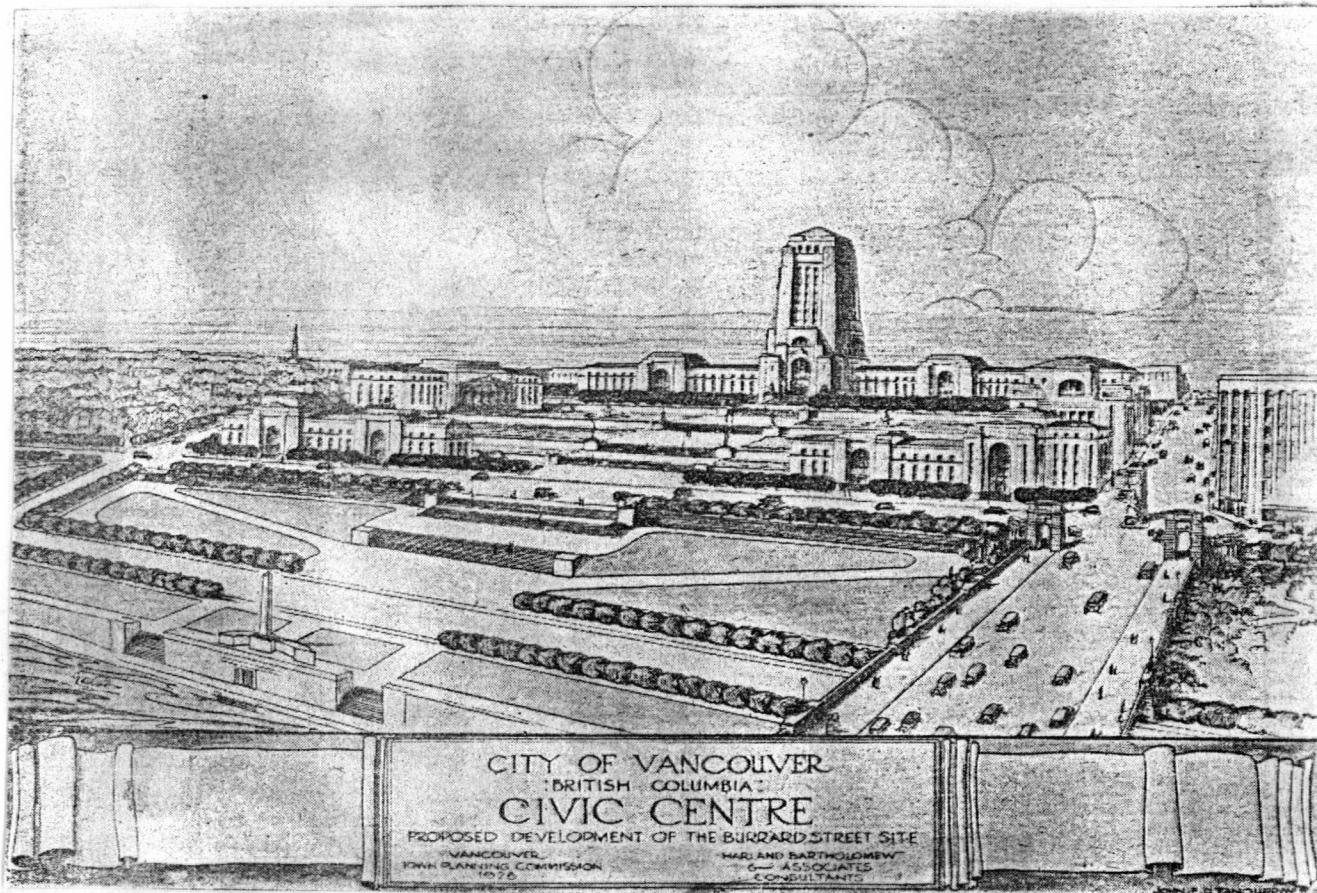


Fig. 25 -- Vancouver: Proposed civic centre. (Source: J.F.D. Tanqueray, "Vancouver Civic Centre and English Bay Development Scheme", Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada)

(4) Toronto: Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission

In 1928, Toronto City Council appointed an Advisory City Planning Commission and in 1929, it presented its first report. It noted that the "primary need (of Toronto) is the development of a series of through streets for motor vehicle traffic and this need is particularly felt in the downtown area". To this end, a number of specific recommendations were made regarding street widenings, extensions, diagonal connections and the elimination of jogs. After all recommendations had been made, the report went on to state:

"When completed the city will have a downtown section which in beauty and dignity, ease of traffic flow, and business utility, will be equal to that of any city on the continent."¹⁶⁶

The report's primary focus was the proposed University Avenue extension. Other major elements were proposals for a gateway street (Cambrai Avenue), civic centre (St. Julien Place) and a memorial plaza (Vimy Circle).

University Avenue extension. In April 1928, the City of Toronto had obtained the necessary legislation to extend University Avenue, the cost to be paid through the use of "excess condemnation". According to the 1929 report, the University Avenue Extension Act "crystallized the growing demand for the opening of a new artery to provide traffic relief to downtown Toronto, as well as for the development of a noble street at the main entrance to the city".¹⁶⁷ Since the Act would expire at the end of 1929, the Commission had chosen to concentrate its energies on a scheme for this street.

With respect to the alignment of the extension, three options

were considered. In the favoured scheme, the 180-foot wide University Avenue would be extended one block south to a large circular plaza (Vimy Circle). From there it would continue in a southeasterly direction to a point just west of Union Station; this section would be 100 feet wide. The extension would serve to make University Avenue, with its ample width and lack of street car tracks, a major through artery for automobile traffic.

But it was also to be a "noble street", similar to New York's Fifth Avenue. To this end, it would be necessary to secure a degree of architectural control over buildings both on the Avenue and visible from it. A uniform cornice line of 100 feet was recommended; if increased height was desired, the Commission suggested the use of towers and setbacks "or similar diversified treatment"¹⁶⁸ (as in New York).

At this point in time, University Avenue was already a wide tree-lined boulevard focussing on the Parliament Buildings just north of College Street. To improve the composition, the Commission recommended a monument in the centre of Vimy Circle. Although the street itself would curve at this point, it was felt that an impressive building should be placed on the street's axial line, thus providing a terminal vista as viewed from the Parliament Buildings.¹⁶⁹

While the extension would not focus directly on the railroad station, the need to see it from the station was felt to be imperative. It was intended that University Avenue would fulfil the function of a "noble gateway street".¹⁷⁰

Finally, comparisons were made between expropriation costs

and the selling price of the excess lands. The recommended option would realize an estimated \$900,000 profit while the others showed losses.¹⁷¹ It must be emphasized that the cost comparisons were not based solely on the cost of actually carrying out the work. The option that would most likely result in a monumental street (closer to the central business district, linked to Union Station, etc.) would also carry with it higher property values and hence, more money could be realized from the sale of excess lands.

The promise of monetary returns was appealing. In the Municipal Review of Canada's synopsis of this report, this was cited as a primary justification for implementation. The article went on to say that if Montreal had carried out the 1906 plan, the city would have realized a "handsome profit".¹⁷²

The University Avenue extension was carried out with the exception of Vimy Circle. Architectural control was also secured over cornice height, exterior colours and materials while overhead wiring, billboards and illuminated signs were prohibited. However, the depression put an end to development, leaving the Canada Life Building, begun in 1929, as the only example of the type of monumental structure envisioned for the Avenue.¹⁷³

Vimy Circle. This was conceived as a circular plaza with a war memorial at its centre. It would be the focus of several wide roads including a new 100-foot wide diagonal extending to the Exhibition Grounds (to be called Passchendaele Road).¹⁷⁴

Cambrai Avenue. This was simply a revival of the old Federal Avenue proposal. Since the construction of major buildings now

prevented the avenue from being driven through in a straight line to Queen Street, it was recommended that the street be constructed around them -- one direction on either side. Visual focus would be provided by Union Station at the southern end and these recently-constructed buildings at the northern end.¹⁷⁵

St. Julien Place. For years a public square had been advocated in the vicinity of Queen and Bay Streets -- the Canadian Architect and Builder's campaign for Victoria Square, the Civic Improvement Committee's proposal for a public square terminating Federal Avenue and the Toronto Guild of Civic Art's scheme for Dominion Square. St. Julien Place was a direct descendant of these. As can be seen from the illustration, the scheme was characterized by a balanced arrangement of buildings, harmony of design, vistas and a public square. In addition, seven roads are shown as converging in the vicinity of the monument, including a proposed diagonal extension of York Street, recommended as a heavy traffic route.

Neither Vimy Circle nor Cambrai Avenue were built. Nor was St. Julien Place but the site is presently occupied by the City Hall and Nathan Phillip's Square, built in the mid-1960's.

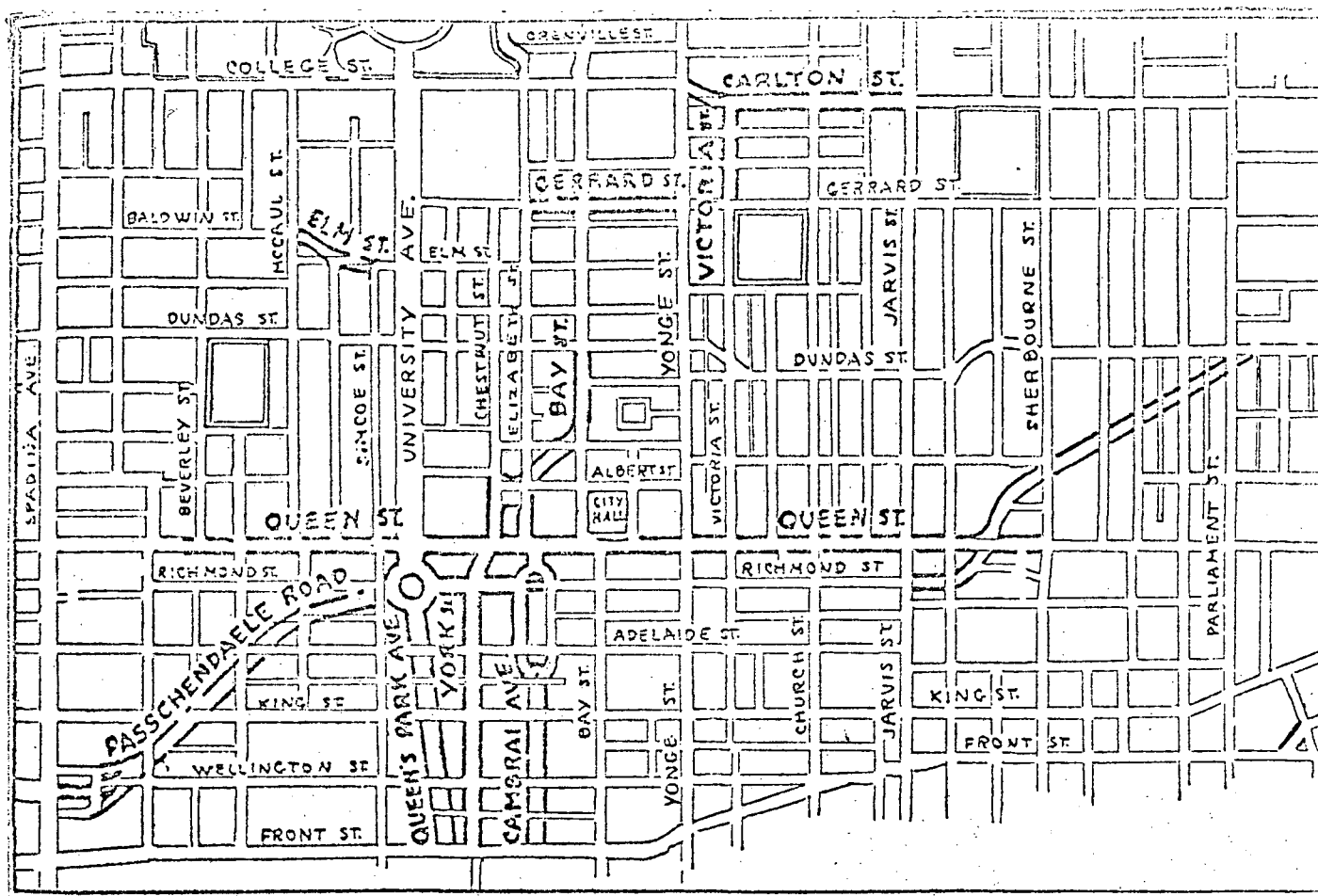


Fig. 26 -- Toronto: Plan of major improvements proposed by Advisory City Planning Commission. (Source: "Toronto City Planning Recommendations", Canadian Engineer)

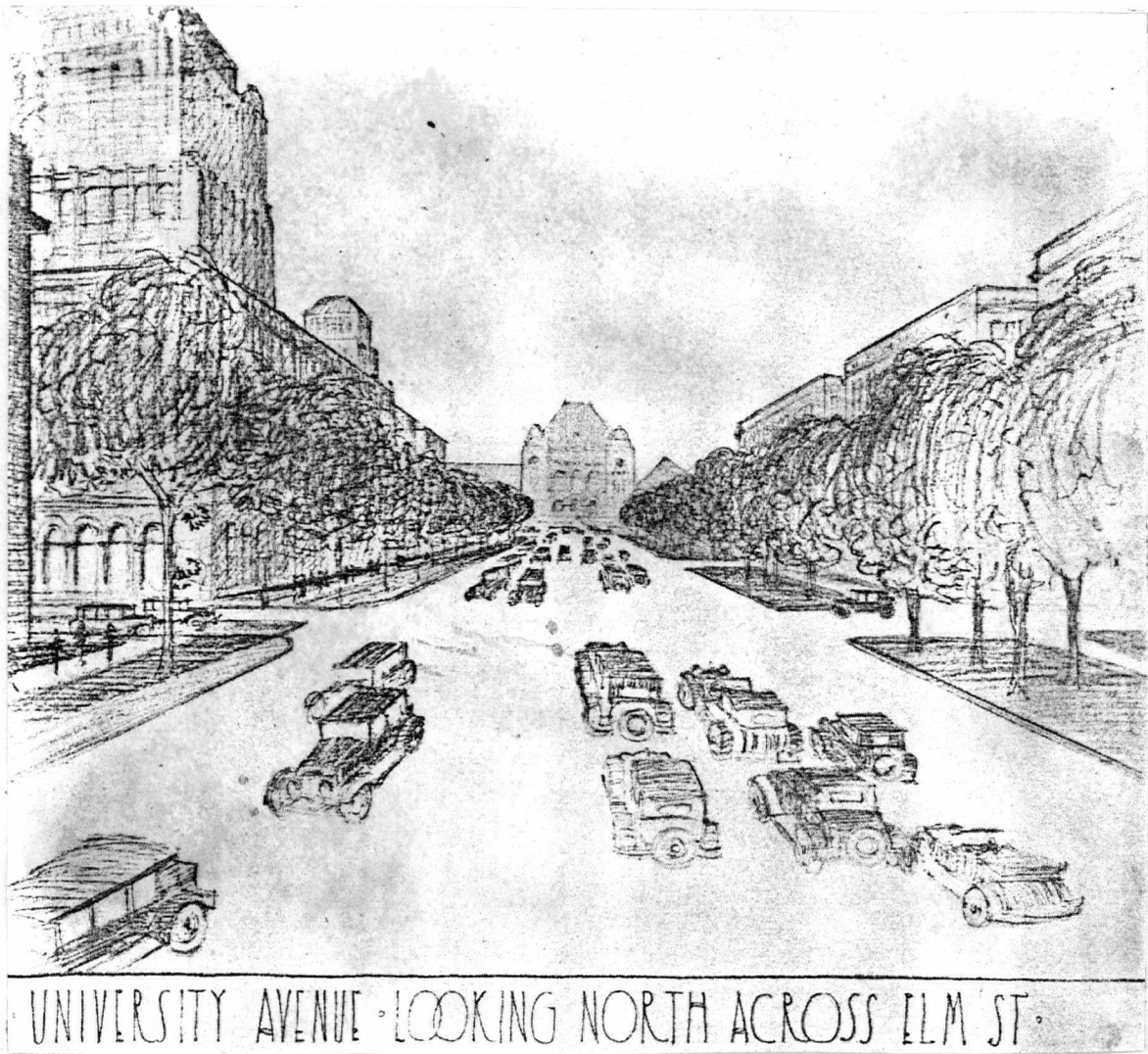


Fig. 27 -- Toronto: University Avenue. (Source: Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission)

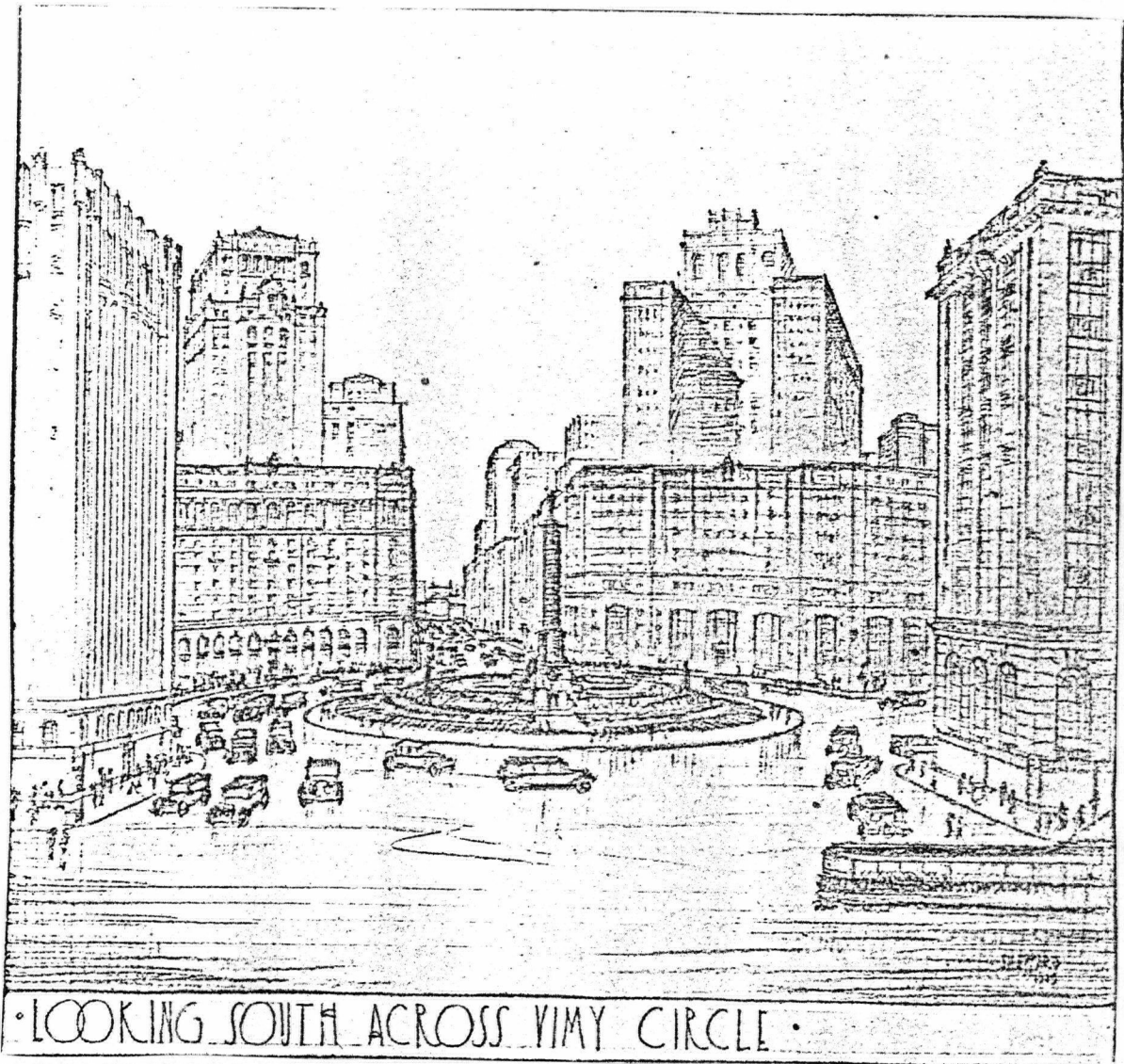


Fig. 28 -- Toronto: Vimy Circle. (Source: Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission)

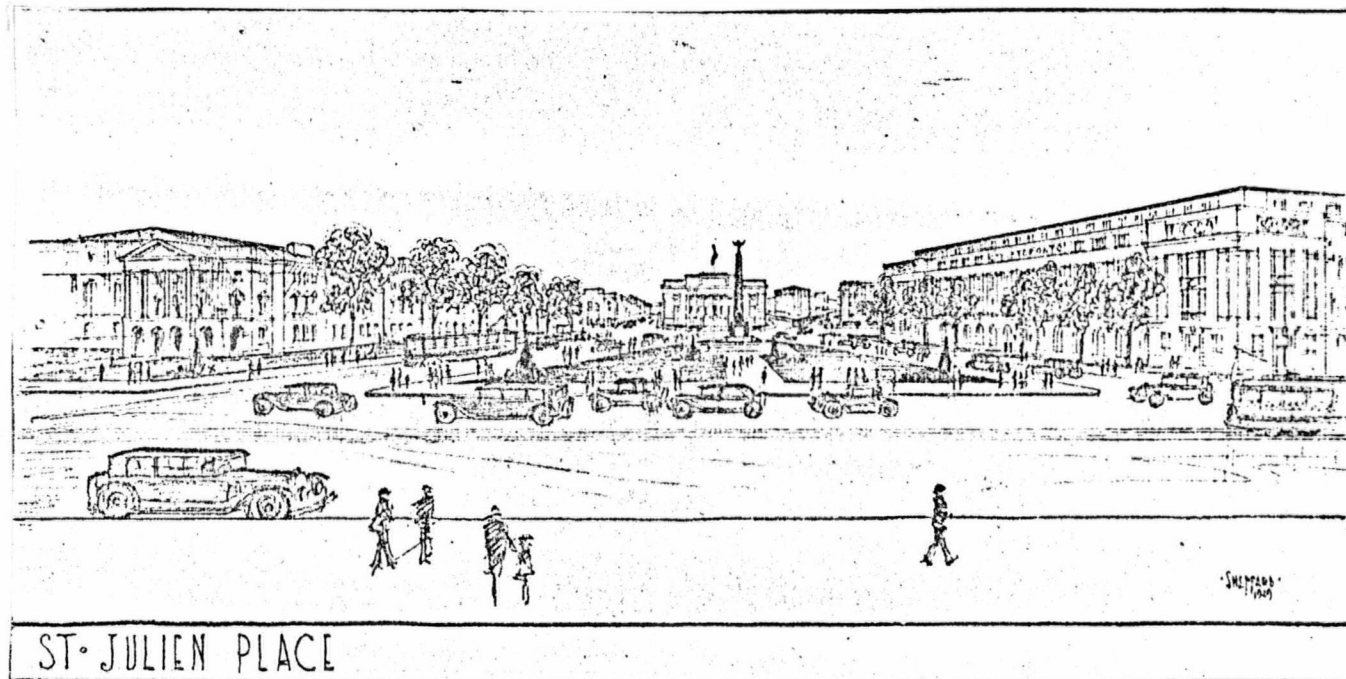


Fig. 29 -- Toronto: Proposed civic centre. (Source: Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission)

E. A final note

In conclusion, the concept of beauty had gained tremendously in importance during the last few years of this period but its place alongside other aspects of planning must not be exaggerated. It was still very much the age of efficiency, except that for many, civic beauty now occupied a rightful place. When a planning commission was appointed for Quebec City, Noulan Cauchon argued that it should be called 'comité d'urbanisme' rather than 'comité d'embellissement'.

"This comment is not a call for the neglect of beauty but a plea to correlate it with other equally important elements of town planning. This has got to be said again and again. The impulse to call for more beauty is right and sound but town planning is the science of the social organism and has as much to do with sewers and water supply and the regulation and encouragement of business activity and railway reorganization as it has to do with parks and boulevards."176

CHAPTER 3CITY BEAUTIFUL PLANNING IN CANADA:A CASE STUDY OF THE PRAIRIES1900-1915

The Canadian City Beautiful movement peaked in the years just prior to World War I. Particularly active in planning during these years were the Prairie cities. This last chapter looks at pre-war plans prepared for Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary and Regina. The order is according to the date the plans were commissioned.

For Prairie cities, the first decade of the 20th century was characterized by tremendous population growth, land subdivision far in excess of need and a conviction that future decades promised even more growth and more prosperity. Prairie cities competed vigorously with one another in an attempt to attract industry and population; to this end, many thousands of dollars were spent on various publicity measures. Involvement in planning can be viewed as one such measure.

I. WinnipegA. Early parks planning

In 1893, City Council established a Parks Board. Its initial objectives were to acquire "small urban parks, ornamental squares, or breathing spaces" evenly distributed throughout the city,¹ and within two years, the Board had obtained 8 park sites, comprising some 33 acres. By 1910 the city could boast 500 acres of parkland

including two larger suburban parks (282 acres and 97 acres) and 26 other parks and squares.² The city had also undertaken an extensive boulevarding program whereby the majority of paved streets had received a strip of grass and trees between the curb and sidewalk.³

B. Events leading up to the plan

In 1910 two planning organizations were founded: a seven-member citizens' group and the town planning committee of the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau. At the request of these two committees, City Council appointed a City Planning Commission in June 1911 "to consider and report ... upon a City Planning Scheme".⁴

Artibise has pointed out that in 1910, the notion of "city planning" was all of a sudden very popular in Canada.⁵ While several individuals in Winnipeg and elsewhere exhibited a genuine commitment,⁶ many others did not. For these, planning may have been no more than a fad.

"...one suspects the concept (of city planning) was often accepted simply because it was a new and exciting idea rather than a sincere attempt to improve local conditions. Involvement in 'planning the city beautiful' was suddenly the acceptable thing to do."⁷

Artibise has suggested that for many in Winnipeg, planning was seen as a way to increase prosperity and foster economic growth. Still others saw the city's formal involvement in planning as a means of publicity which in turn would lead to increased economic growth.⁸

The City Planning Commission was established on June 5, 1911.⁹

In order to carry out their work, a sum of \$15,000 was requested; \$9,500 was granted over a twelve-month period, out of which had to be paid a full-time secretary. However, funds were cut off after the expenditure of \$7119.¹⁰

Sixteen people were appointed to the Commission along with the Mayor and six aldermen and/or controllers. In addition, other members included the Provincial Municipal Commissioner and representatives from the following organizations: Association of Architects, Winnipeg Real Estate Exchange, Trades and Labour Council, Board of Trade, Industrial Bureau, Provincial Board of Health, Parks Board and Winnipeg Electric Street Railway Committee. Since the Commission felt adjoining areas should be included, invitations were sent out, and representatives from five neighbouring municipalities were taken on as honorary members. Finally, a number of citizens were invited to sit on the committees.¹¹

The City Planning Commission's report was submitted to City Council in January 1913. According to Artibise, "the only recommendation acted on was that proposing an increase in the staff of the Health Department".¹²

C. The plan

The Commission readily admitted that the whole field of planning was a new one, lacking "definite guidance as to the best methods to be followed". It was also noted that City Council's instructions had been "broad and indefinite" and that Manitoba had no Housing and Town Planning Act, under which to carry out any recommendations.

Given all these constraints, the Commission concluded that it "had to rely upon its own judgment as to the methods and plan of action which best suited its own resources and the special conditions prevailing in this City and Province".¹³

The report listed the three main objects of planning as health, convenience and beauty. Following is a rather long passage but it explains the meaning of these three goals better perhaps than anywhere else.

"The ideal city must be laid out as to assure for all the citizens proper light and air, recreation spaces and sanitary facilities, and must in addition have such restrictive regulations and such equipment for inspection as will tend to secure to all citizens the maximum of good health. The ideal city must be as convenient as it is possible to make it, and this will involve the proper width and direction of main highways and subsidiary streets, adequate and properly distributed transportation facilities, etc., and these questions must be studied with a view to the present and probably future movements of the people between their homes and the places of recreation, and would involve ultimately the planning of zones which would bring about an economic distribution of places of work and places of residence. In respect to all changes the aesthetic consideration must be kept in view, for the element of beauty in architecture, in the arrangement of streets, bridges, boulevards and parks, in the proper treatment of focal points and the creation of attractive vistas, as well as in the detail of street lamps and of everything else allowed upon the streets is a most important factor, in educating the taste and stimulating the pride of citizens and attracting the better classes of those who travel and those who seek homes."¹⁴

Although the report contained many specific recommendations, the Commission placed its greatest emphasis on data collection and intended that the report should be the foundation for a more complete plan to be done by 'experts'.

"The Commission should as a first step investigate actual conditions in the City and collect the many and varied facts which must form the basis for a plan that will correct existing defects and properly provide for future development. It was recognized that it would be wise, and, indeed, necessary to submit the final drafting of a plan to experts of world-wide experience, but the elementary local material for such work must first be gathered."¹⁵

Six committees were established. The first five were instructed to gather data in specific subject areas and make recommendations, while the sixth was to incorporate the suggestions of the other five. The six committees were:

- (1) Social Survey Committee (3 members),
- (2) Housing Committee (7 members),
- (3) Traffic and Transportation Committee (28 members),
- (4) River Frontage and Dockage Committee (unspecified),
- (5) Aesthetic Development Committee (10 members),
- (6) Physical Plan Committee (8 members).

The membership levels of each committee give some indication of the relative importance of each subject, as perceived by Commission members. In view of the limited funds, it was decided to limit the work of the River Frontage and Dockage Committee to some general observations and recommendations, leaving any detailed studies to

experts.¹⁶ Similarly, the Aesthetic Development Committee limited its data collection to only those documents provided free by other cities; such an action was felt necessary "so that other Committees, whose work was of a more pressing nature, might have sufficient funds".¹⁷ The termination of funds also served to curtail some of the surveys of other committees, notably that of Traffic and Transportation.¹⁸

Although aesthetic considerations were an important part of the Winnipeg report, it could not be called a 'City Beautiful' plan. To discuss it in terms of a streets/civic centre/parks framework is not appropriate. Instead the work of each of the six committees plus the Joint Committee's Report on the Proposed Civic Centre will be summarized briefly. Major emphasis will be on the civic centre proposal and on the report of the Aesthetic Development Committee but it must be stressed that these sections were presented as neither less nor more important than any of the other committee reports.

Joint Committee's Report on Proposed Civic Centre. The Joint Committee was comprised of the Aesthetic Development, the Traffic and Transportation, and the Physical Plan Committees. The fact that the question of a civic centre received special consideration and that the proposal itself was fairly detailed is indicative of its perceived importance. In general, civic centre schemes for other cities had received widespread recognition and approval; it is probable that committee members were similarly supportive of the concept while the schemes themselves provided ready-made models.

"In all schemes designed for the improvement of cities an effort should be made to so locate buildings of a public character that each will be seen to advantage, and the entire group of buildings will represent the public activities, and taken together will form a Civic Centre. Such buildings will necessarily be of such importance that they will be monumental in character and of the highest standard of architecture, in contrast with buildings erected by private individuals for purely commercial purposes."¹⁹

The report stressed that the civic centre should be begun immediately -- the provincial government was about to build the new Parliament Building, the City would soon be in need of a City Hall, and as yet, there was only one substantial building on the site.

The main axis of the civic centre would be a "mall" or "plaza" -- in reality, a tree-lined road 134 feet wide. Closing the vista at the south end would be the Parliament Building and at the north end City Hall. Lining the street would be important public buildings; e.g. public library, museum, art gallery, Post Office, auditorium.

Several streets crossed the main axis but Portage Avenue was shown as a main arterial while Broadway, which is immediately in front of the Parliament Building, was shown with a row of trees down either side and another down the centre. Immediately adjacent to the western edge of the scheme was the proposed "Trans-City Highway", the result of a number of streets being widened so that together they formed a reasonably direct north-south traffic artery.

Aesthetic Development Committee. The committee did not suggest a comprehensive scheme of beautification; rather it made a number of



Proposed new civic centre for Winnipeg

Fig. 30 -- Winnipeg: Proposed civic centre. (Source: "Winnipeg", Contract Record)

individual recommendations on a very wide variety of concerns. It was the committee's belief that "artistic results" could be secured with very little money.²⁰

The committee had hoped to purchase documents and books in order that it might discover what other cities had done in the way of civic art. This request was turned down; however the committee noted that many cities had provided information free of charge.

The recommendations are summarized below. It will be seen that while not talking about park systems and radial road systems, City Beautiful principles play a large part in the recommendations. In fact, virtually all of them had appeared in the writings of Charles Mulford Robinson.

(1) Build new City Hall on the site of the proposed civic centre.

(2) Secure legislation so that the city could control "the class of buildings to be erected on focal points, so that our opportunities of securing the erection of commanding structures at such points would not be lost in the future".

(3) Change the alignment of streets "to break the dreary monotony of an endless vista".

(4) Sponsor an architectural competition for workingmen's houses.

(5) Establish an even distribution of small squares adjacent to busy roads.

(6) On central streets and in new suburbs, put utility poles underground and in back lanes respectively.

(7) Secure legislation to control signs and billboards (size, height, style, size of letters).

(8) Enact bylaws requiring buildings to be 1.1/2 times the street width -- for "purely aesthetic reasons".

(9) Enforce the smoke prevention bylaw "to preserve the buildings, parks, streets and lawns of the City from disfigurement due to soot, and to preserve the purity of the atmosphere".

(10) Establish river driveways.

(11) In building new bridges, consider their architecture.

(12) Encourage Street Improvement Associations (to plant lawns, co-ordinate house colours, etc.).

(13) Appoint a permanent Board of Advisers on Civic Aesthetics "to give professional advice to the Council on such matters as the treatment of statuary and monuments, building restrictions, bridge design, docks and river banks, boulevards, parks and streets".²¹

Social Survey Committee. Over 2000 houses were visited jointly by this committee and the Housing Committee, compiling information on nationality, length of time in Winnipeg, nationality of landlord, kind of house, rent, condition of exterior and interior, number and sex of residents including lodgers and children, number of rooms, number of bedrooms, size of rooms, number of rooms without windows, number of people living in cellars, plumbing, bath, sink, toilet facilities, condition of yards and type of house (private, tenement, boarding house, private house converted into tenement house).²²

The committee concluded that bad environmental conditions "notably insanitary premises, overcrowding and insufficiency of fresh air and sunlight" were correlated with a high rate of infant

mortality and a high degree of "parental ignorance". It recommended the establishment of a Child Welfare Bureau, education "on the laws of domestic hygiene and child care" and the encouragement of philanthropic organizations.²³

Housing Committee. This committee utilized the above survey as well as the "building codes and tenement house bylaws of a great number of cities in North America", reports of the National Housing Associations of Great Britain and America, and information on model towns and suburbs. Various problems were pinpointed: insufficient light and air, overcrowding, poor construction (resulting in frozen plumbing, inadequate heat), understaffed Health and Building Inspector's Departments and a high incidence of bad repair in those houses being held for commercial speculation. Recommendations included several specific amendments to Winnipeg's tenement house bylaw, cheap rapid transit to the suburbs, the encouragement of model suburbs, the establishment of a zone system (because bad housing was found to be related to mixed use areas) and more vigorous building inspections.²⁴

Traffic and Transportation Committee. This committee surveyed over 4000 houses and prepared maps linking residence with workplace. It was originally intended to survey the entire city but this was prevented by lack of funds. Facilitation of traffic was the major (almost sole) goal. Recommendations took the form of a number of specific street improvements -- connections, widenings, straightenings, extensions, bridges and subways.²⁵ The only exception was a suggestion to develop a particular street as a river drive in a park-like setting.²⁶ Some attention was also paid to alleviating congestion on the street

railway system and discussing conflicts occurring between traffic and the multitude of rail lines.²⁷

Dockage and River Frontage Committee. It was believed at this time that the Red River was destined to become an important north-south water route. Lack of funds caused the committee to abandon a survey here, believing it to be a matter for experts. However, it was stated that the water frontage should not only accommodate shipping but should be attractive as well. A number of recommendations were made, which dealt primarily with the appearance of the buildings and docks.²⁸

Physical Plan Committee. Charged with the task of integrating the other five reports, this committee presented a number of recommendations which the city was in a position to implement. They included reserving the civic centre site, obtaining the legal right to construct highways by means of "excess condemnation", building an auditorium, undertaking a model housing scheme for workmen as a demonstration project, setting building height as a proportion of street width, and establishing a system of parks, playgrounds and small supervised neighbourhood centres.²⁹ This last recommendation was a product of the Physical Plan Committee's own research and was based on the belief that parks and recreation facilities would provide enjoyment, improve health, decrease juvenile delinquency and offer a number of learning experiences.³⁰

The Physical Plan Committee recommended that the report be turned over to an expert who would prepare a comprehensive plan. This expert was to be a "master designer -- a landscape architect --

a man to take the available material and build it up into a convenient, beautiful mass without waste of material".³¹

Over and above the various committee reports, there were a few general recommendations. These included the establishment of a permanent planning commission, the enactment of planning legislation, and the encouragement of voluntary citizens' organizations.³²

D. Following the plan

Very little came of the plan, and Artibise has suggested that this was due to Council's lack of commitment. Firstly, the Commission had received less than half the money it had requested, despite the fact that seven of the eighteen members also sat on Council. Secondly, these seven politicians had a very poor attendance record at committee meetings; two had never attended and the others attended only once. Finally, the City Planning Commission hosted the Winnipeg Town Planning and Housing Congress in 1912 but requests for funds to send delegates to the annual National Conferences on City Planning and in 1912 to the first convention of Western Canada building inspectors were all denied.³³ In Artibise's view, the above actions served to illustrate that Council's concern for 'planning' was simply a means of gaining publicity for Winnipeg and not a sign of any genuine commitment.

Artibise has further suggested that the general thrust of the Commission's endeavours would have displeased Council considerably. The Commission was interested in pinpointing urban problems and developing strategies to help solve them. Council was interested

in growth, prosperity and boosting Winnipeg's image.

"Through 1911 and part of 1912 the setting up and support of a city planning commission and even the hosting of a planning conference had been considered useful moves, actions that could be pointed to as examples of the city's coming of age. But with the first intimation in 1912 that many of the Commission's findings showed Winnipeg was far from a progressive city it was decided to strangle their activities by cutting off funds... To a body as concerned with growth as was Council, the type of publicity being presented by the Commission was less than satisfactory and Council thus refused to accede to that body's request for financial support."³⁴

In 1913, following the demise of the City Planning Commission, a voluntary group, known as the Winnipeg Housing and Town Planning Association, was organized. One of its principals, William Pearson, had chaired both the City Planning Commission and the seven-member citizens' group which had preceded it. The new organization "urged civic authorities to carry out the Commission's recommendations and supported public education, the promotion of governmental housing and town planning legislation, and the improvement of local housing through progressive building bylaws and promotion of a model housing project".³⁵ The Association's efforts went a long way towards (1) the appointment by Council in 1914 of the Greater Winnipeg Plan Commission and (2) the enactment of a provincial Town Planning Act in 1915.³⁶

The Greater Winnipeg Plan Commission was charged with the task of preparing a comprehensive city plan. Funds were cut off with the advent of World War I but the commission continued to meet throughout the war.³⁷ Its Professional Adviser, Arthur A. Stoughton,

has been credited as the driving force behind the commission.³⁸

Although no report was ever published, the Commission had concerned itself with the proposed Cross-Town Highway (as recommended earlier in the City Planning Commission's report), the architectural treatment of a viaduct and three bridges, an approach to the Parliament Building, and a comprehensive street plan aimed at facilitating circulation.³⁹

One of the Commission's recommendations was carried out after the war, and Memorial Boulevard from Portage to Broadway became an approach to the Parliament Building and part of a future Cross-Town Highway.⁴⁰ After 1920, when two members moved away and another died, the Commission became inactive.⁴¹

In 1927, a town planning committee of City Council was set up with the Greater Winnipeg branch of the Town Planning Institute of Canada acting as an advisory body. The committee began by studying previous plans and in particular, a river drive and the Cross-Town Highway. However, its primary emphasis was on the preparation of a zoning bylaw, and in 1936, such a bylaw was passed.⁴²

II. Edmonton

A. Early parks planning

In 1906, both Edmonton (north of the river) and Strathcona (south of the river) hired Frederick G. Todd, of Montreal, to prepare parks plans. Separate (but similar) reports were submitted in April and May of 1907 respectively. Each plan consisted of written recommendations and a map indicating the location of existing and proposed parks and boulevards.⁴³

In his introductory remarks, Todd spoke optimistically of the "great futures" of both cities. Edmonton, in particular, was destined to become an intellectual and cultural centre. Todd urged each city to provide for future needs now while land was relatively inexpensive and as yet undeveloped. He pointed out that the American government was currently spending many millions of dollars in an effort to realize L'Enfant's plan for Washington, drawn up over a hundred years before.⁴⁴

Like other parks enthusiasts, Todd supported the need for nature in the city. "If we examine carefully the reports and statistics of the larger cities we find that they prove nothing more clearly than that a crowded population, if they are to live in health and happiness, must have space for the enjoyment of that peaceful beauty of nature which because it is the opposite of all that is sordid and artificial in our city lives, is so wonderfully refreshing to the tired souls of city dwellers."⁴⁵ In developing large parks, for example, he recommended that "as much as possible of their present natural beauty be retained, and that their natural picturesqueness be further increased by the planting of many trees and shrubs in an irregular and natural way".⁴⁶

In 1907, Edmonton already had two large suburban parks (100 and 148 acres) that had been acquired a few years earlier,⁴⁷ and Strathcona had made a start on a boulevard overlooking the North Saskatchewan River.⁴⁸ Todd recommended a balanced distribution of large parks (one in each direction) as well as the acquisition of as much ravine land as possible. The ravines, with their wooded

slopes and walking paths and scenic drives atop their ridges, would serve to increase the value of adjacent property, while being unsuited to any development themselves. A boulevard system connecting all parks and following creeks and rivers wherever possible was proposed for each city. That part of the boulevard system which approached the Legislature could be given a special planting treatment in order to enhance the vista. Finally, he urged that several city blocks be acquired at tax sales and developed into small parks and playgrounds.⁴⁹

When Todd's Edmonton report was submitted to City Council, no action was recommended other than reading it at a Canadian Club luncheon.⁵⁰ There the mayor told his audience that "the civic authorities should keep the plan in mind, and gradually carry it into effect".⁵¹ Officially the report was filed,⁵² and over the next few years, very little parks acquisition and development actually took place.⁵³

B. Events leading up to the city plan

In 1911, acting on a recommendation of its Parks Committee, City Council established a Parks Commission⁵⁴ "to manage, control and embellish" all parks, playgrounds and athletic fields in Edmonton.⁵⁵ Three months later, Paul A. von Aueberg was hired as Superintendent of Parks and on April 1, 1912 was put in charge of the newly-established Parks Department.⁵⁶

The responsibilities of the Parks Commission were expanded on April 30, 1912:

"The Parks Commission shall have an initiative and advisory status with and under the City Commissioners in the general management, regulation and control of all parks, boulevards, drives and public places... (It) may initiate, plan, develop and recommend to the Council through the City Commissioners such civic improvement schemes, city planning and civic centre projects, and such other betterment movements as may be deemed worthy of their recommendations."⁵⁷

City Council went on record as saying:

"The work of initiating, planning and advising on civic betterment schemes and on City planning, parks and playgrounds, is we feel an important work which in the hurry of a rapidly growing City has been too much neglected and requires the thoughtful care and attention of a permanent initiatory and advisory body such as a Parks Commission, if our City is to attain to that beauty which its position as our Capital entitles it."⁵⁸

Throughout 1912, the Parks Commission carried out a vigorous program of parks acquisition and development. Public support was substantial, as evidenced by a referendum whereby voters authorized the spending of \$150,000 to extend the park and boulevard system.⁵⁹ A large tract of river frontage, land for a fifteen-mile river drive and several small parcels were acquired. Depending on the nature of the park, trees were planted, footpaths laid out, picnic facilities built, playground equipment installed and athletic fields graded. By the end of 1912, Edmonton (Strathcona had amalgamated with Edmonton that year) could boast of 800 acres of parkland and a system of connecting boulevards. The Commission also outlined specific proposals to acquire more ravine land and river frontage in the next few years.

Small parcels would continue to be secured by means of a bylaw which required all land subdividers to donate five per cent of their holdings for parks purposes.⁶⁰

The Parks Commission had also been active in the area of town planning. Its First Annual Report stated that:

"The Committee on Civic Planning and Housing put in a great deal of time in endeavoring to secure the best ideas on this subject and it was finally recommended to the City Council that the services of the best Civic Planning Expert be secured to lay out a plan of the City improvements, which would include the whole Parks and boulevards systems and possibly housing also, in the City."⁶¹

On July 11, 1912, letters were sent to several landscape architects, including Thomas H. Mawson and Sons, the Canadian firm of Grubb and Harries, Frederick G. Todd of Montreal, the American John Nolen, and the Minneapolis firm of Morell and Nichols. In part, these letters read:

"The Parks Commission of this City are considering the appointment of a Civic Planning expert to co-operate with their superintendent in the preparation of plans for future growth and to advise, generally, as to the best methods for development on healthy, convenient and artistic lines and in detail as to certain special features."⁶²

Three weeks earlier, Edmonton had sent four delegates to the Winnipeg town planning conference -- von Aueberg, a member of the Parks Commission, the mayor and one of the aldermen.⁶³ It is possible that what they saw and heard at Winnipeg strongly influenced the decision to employ a "civic planning expert". The idea of "city planning" and "civic betterment" had been mentioned in the past but

it wasn't until after the conference that von Aueberg (and the others) began to give definition to these concepts.

On July 12, 1912, one day after the letters were sent, City Council reserved a three-block area adjacent to the central business district for a civic centre. The Parks Commission was requested "to make a report as to the proper development and beautification of the said district as a civic centre".⁶⁴

On August 6, 1912, Morell and Nichols were hired to prepare a plan for Edmonton.⁶⁵ It was to be primarily concerned with parks and boulevards but they were also instructed to report on a civic centre, an approach to the Parliament Building, street furnishings, street railway development and "any feature of growth which appears undesirable and which might be remedied by civic legislation".⁶⁶

The press associated the proposed plan with the concept of beautification, calling it "a large park, boulevarding and city beautification scheme".⁶⁷ Anthony U. Morell visited Edmonton in September and returned with a "preliminary" report some two months later.⁶⁸ City Council "placed itself on record as being heartily in accord with the general outline" of the plan and on the recommendation of the Parks Commission, decided that "a further sum of \$8500 be authorized to make a complete report".⁶⁹ Such a report would focus only on those projects deemed desirable by the Commission.⁷⁰ The bill for the firm's preliminary report was \$3274.⁷¹

C. The plan

The Morell and Nichols plan could not be located. However, it

is possible to reconstruct a good part of it using a variety of sources. The Edmonton Daily Bulletin published a summary of the plan when it was first submitted.⁷² In addition, Morell wrote a series of articles for the same newspaper which appeared approximately weekly between November 25, 1912 and January 27, 1913;⁷³ the newspaper had announced that Morell's articles would be "on town planning generally and his recommendations in regard to Edmonton more particularly" and that each article would focus on "one individual phase of the report".⁷⁴ Finally, the invoice for the firm's planning work included a list of sixteen maps and sketches, several of which were photographed for newspaper publication.⁷⁵

In his newspaper articles, Morell assured readers of Edmonton's continued growth and prosperity. He told them that other cities in Canada and the world were preparing planning schemes and implied that Edmonton would not want to be left behind. Improvements could be undertaken over time ensuring that growth would be guided.

"Planning ... is not primarily a matter of aesthetics but of economics. The main object is to prevent or remedy the physical or moral evils and losses which accompany the growth of any city or town in a haphazard way." 76

Streets. With the objective of increasing accessibility over the city, Morell envisioned a comprehensive system of north-south, east-west and diagonal roads. To this end, a number of existing roads were designated as main and secondary arteries, and specific improvements were recommended -- widenings, connections and extensions -- in order to complete the system. It was further recommended that four existing diagonal roads be linked with other main arteries

and that several new diagonals be built in areas not yet developed. No new bridges were felt to be necessary. Other recommendations included the widening of sidewalks along busy streets, the installation of additional street lighting and the building of a "speedway" for fast traffic. The city was also urged to hire experts to make a study of the railroad situation and report on ways to solve the problem of level crossings.⁷⁷

Civic centre. Two separate schemes were produced for the same site; however, the differences between them appear to be very minor. In general, the proposed civic centre was very similar to Burnham's schemes: block after block of identical flat-roofed buildings stretching to the horizon, a grassy rectangular mall with a terminal vista at either end, a central obelisk, a symmetrical layout and an abundance of classical elements (building facades, colonnaded pavilions). In addition to the civic centre, a formal approach to the existing Parliament Building was also proposed.

Parks. Proposed improvements to Edmonton's park and boulevard system included the acquisition of more ravine land, more land for small parks throughout the city, and the entire riverfront. Morell spoke of the need "to restore and preserve the natural beautiful appearance of the river" and recommended that existing industries be gradually re-located. In the meantime the industries could be encouraged to reduce their smoke output by means of "scientific methods of burning coal and other scientific arrangements". Finally, the system was to be completed by 35 miles of boulevards connecting the various parks.⁷⁸

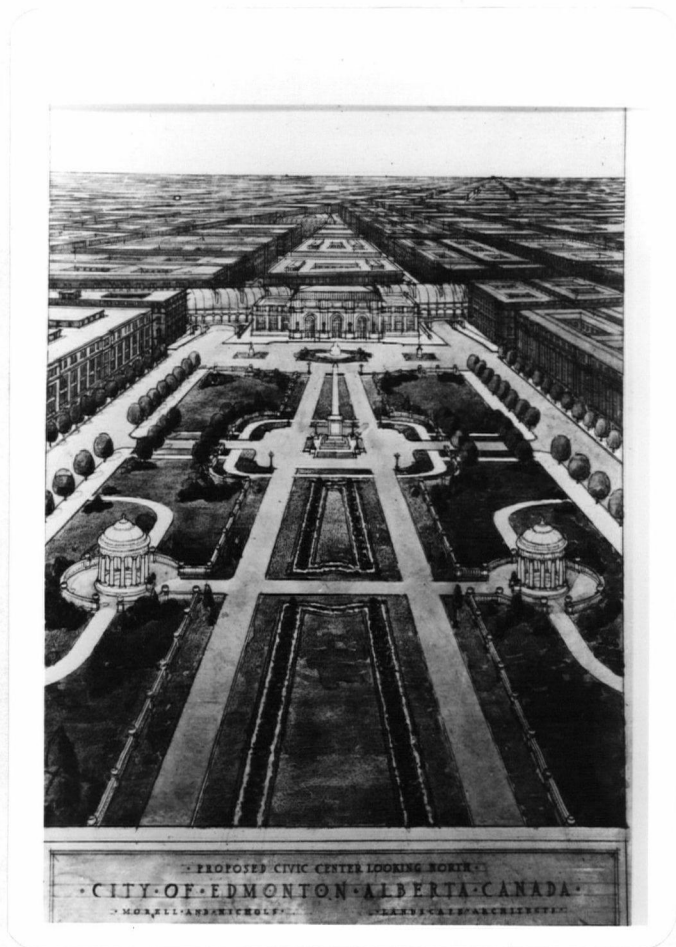


Fig. 31 -- Edmonton: Proposed civic centre.
Looking north. (Source: Glenbow-Alberta
Institute)

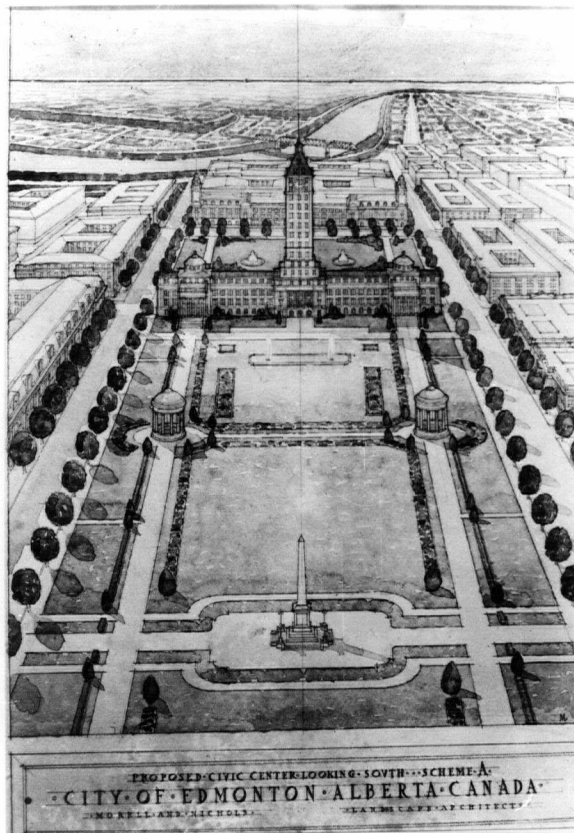


Fig. 32 -- Edmonton: Proposed civic centre. Looking south. (Source: Glenbow-Alberta Institute)

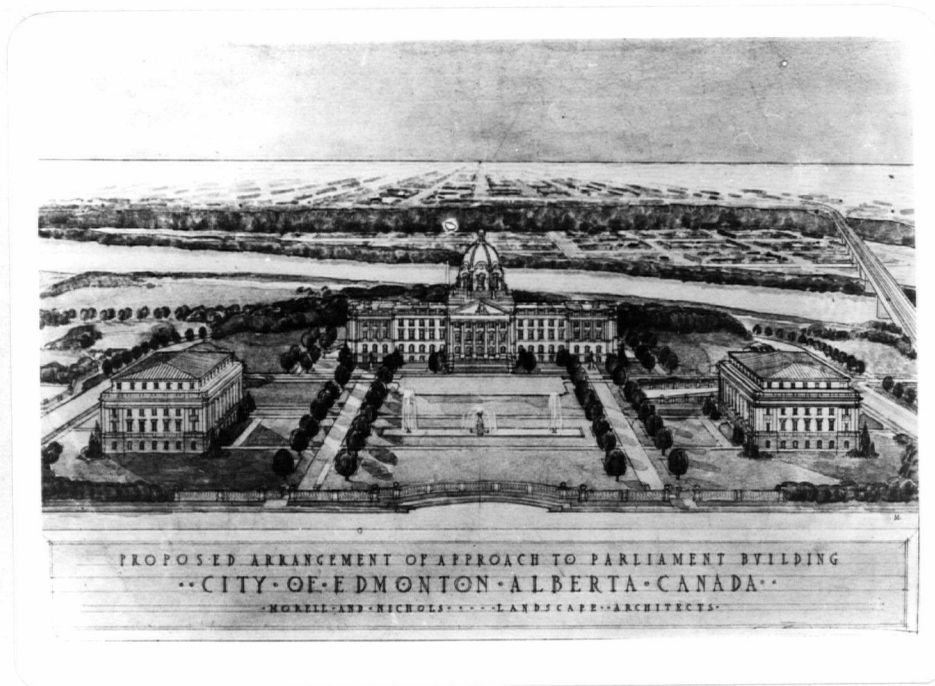


Fig. 33 -- Edmonton: Proposed approach to Parliament Building. (Source: Glenbow-Alberta Institute)



Fig. 34 -- Edmonton: Civic centre.
Today's civic centre is on the 1913
site. The building in the foreground
is the library. Across the park is
City Hall while to the left the C.N.
railway station terminates the street.

Other elements of the plan. In the field of housing, the following recommendations were made:

(1) the enactment of building regulations which would ensure adequate light and air,

(2) the establishment of a municipal housing scheme for city employees which would set an example for private industry, and

(3) the establishment of "workmen's colonies" (garden suburbs) under municipal or co-operative ownership.⁷⁹

Finally, Morell urged that the city be divided into zones -- industrial, business, wholesale, restricted residential (for the better class of housing), workingmen's areas and unrestricted areas (for small businesses, apartments, etc.).⁸⁰

D. Following the plan

Early in 1913, obviously enthusiastic about the future of planning in Edmonton, von Aueberg recommended that the Parks Commission expand its name to the Parks and Civic Planning Commission and that a former vice-president of the Canadian Housing and Town Planning Association be taken on as a new member. In addition, he suggested that the Parks Department should become the Parks and City Planning Department.⁸¹

A few days later, von Aueberg recommended that the appropriation of \$8500 be used in the following manner:⁸²

To hire Morell and Nichols to prepare a final report	\$7500
To print 2000 copies of Morell's first plan	500
To print 500 copies of the First Canadian Housing and Town Planning Congress	250
To print 500 copies of the First Alberta Housing and Town Planning Congress	250

There is no record that any action was ever taken on either of von Aueberg's recommendations. It seems that few at City Hall were willing to lend active support to the notion of planning. The first request was fairly innocuous and the second was only a recommendation of how to spend money that had already been approved. It may have been that von Aueberg was the only one who was truly committed to planning or that Edmonton's economic fortunes had already begun to turn.

But while City Council may not have been willing to spend \$7500 for a final report from Morell and Nichols, its members had no intention of abandoning the civic centre scheme. Rather they vigorously promoted it.⁸³

E. Civic centre proposal

Individual asking prices for the site ranged between \$700 and \$1800 per foot.⁸⁴ Total cost would be \$2.7 million,⁸⁵ a figure which was over \$1 million in excess of the 1912 assessment.⁸⁶ Most of the fifteen owners were willing to accept 40-year debentures in lieu of cash⁸⁷ but the high cost of acquiring the property soon became a controversial issue.

At City Council, everyone seemed in favour of acquiring the properties, and the issue of cost was brushed aside. As one alderman commented,

"...it is up to us to buy this property while we have the opportunity. Let us put it up to the ratepayers. Ald. Tipton says that in five years, the population of the city will be 250,000. If that be the case, then the cost per year of getting this civic centre will only be a dollar per year per head."⁸⁸

When it was finally decided to submit the proposal to the ratepayers, all but one alderman voted in favour; the dissenting voice abstained not because he opposed the project but because he thought provision should have been made to acquire or control properties fronting the civic centre.⁸⁹

All of this occurred despite a recommendation from the City Commissioners that the entire project be shelved -- the asking price was too much and the time not right to undertake such a scheme.⁹⁰

The Edmonton Daily Bulletin interviewed "a number of well known citizens and property owners" and asked their opinion of the scheme. Most supported the concept but controversy continued to surround the price. Some thought the asking prices quite reasonable, others claimed they would never be cheaper, and still others thought them too high, one man going so far as to claim that "in view of the financial situation, it would be a suicidal business on the part of the city... The cost is altogether out of our reach".⁹¹

A money bylaw to raise the necessary \$2.7 million was submitted to the ratepayers on March 28, 1913. In what was the largest voter

turnout Edmonton had ever seen, 54% of the votes cast opposed the bylaw.⁹² A few days later, City Council attempted to resurrect the project by calling for "a more desirable scheme" to be prepared. The motion lost⁹³ and the scheme was laid to rest for another twelve years.

By this time, the boom would appear to have ended. The Parks Commission was reduced to suggesting names for city parks,⁹⁴ and the Parks Department was abolished.⁹⁵ The annual report for 1913 indicated that parks expenditures had been well below the amount budgeted owing "to the financial stringency which necessitated the abandoning of all permanent work".⁹⁶ In February 1914, the Parks Department was re-established, only to be abolished again a few months later. It was to remain dormant until 1947.⁹⁷

F. The 1920's

The civic centre concept was revived in 1925. By this time, some of the land had reverted to the city for non-payment of taxes while the estimated cost of acquiring the rest had fallen to \$165,200. However, two money bylaws were defeated.⁹⁸

There was a renewed interest in aesthetics in the mid-1920's. According to E.H. Dale, the Local Council of Women petitioned City Council to undertake a number of activities including the provision of "a dignified and attractive approach from the proposed Canadian National Railway station to Jasper Avenue and the Macdonald Hotel" and the architectural control of buildings around the hotel in order to ensure harmony. No action was taken.⁹⁹

In 1929, a Town Planning Commission was established and in 1930, it published its first report -- a major street plan.¹⁰⁰ Its author, J.D. Tanqueray, had previously worked on Bartholomew's Vancouver plan. Emphasis in the report was on the creation of a system of radial arterial roads with specific recommendations taking cost, topography and the existing road network into account. Little came of the street plan. The Commission's next effort was a zoning bylaw, adopted in 1930 and in effect until 1950.¹⁰¹

Throughout the Depression, the City continued to acquire land for a civic centre, and by the end of World War II owned three blocks of continuous frontage. Two civic centre plans were drawn up in 1947 and another in 1950; all were defeated when submitted to the ratepayers. In 1962, City Council adopted a new civic centre plan, which has generally been followed.¹⁰² Today's civic centre, a combination of public and private development, is approximately on the site of the 1913 proposal.

III. Calgary

A. City Planning Commission

Calgary's City Planning Commission¹⁰³ was appointed by City Council in November 1911.¹⁰⁴ Initial membership stood at 34 persons,¹⁰⁵ and it received a grant of \$3000 to cover its first year's activities, of which \$1700 went to pay the secretary's salary.¹⁰⁶

Its terms of reference were:

"to obtain data and information on the subject of town planning and to prepare and recommend a comprehensive scheme of city planning which will meet the requirements of this City for its future development."¹⁰⁷

Although specifically instructed to prepare a plan, the City Planning Commission had no intention of restricting its activities to this alone. From the beginning, it exhibited a much broader view of planning. It saw itself in two roles: (1) educating both individuals and municipalities about planning and (2) acting as an advisory body to be consulted by City Council on a wide variety of issues.¹⁰⁸

There were eight standing committees which were required to report monthly at general meetings. They were:

- (1) Housing and sanitation,
- (2) Arts and buildings (including a civic centre and general plan),
- (3) Traffic and transportation,
- (4) Parks, boulevards and playgrounds,
- (5) Drafting,
- (6) Legislative,
- (7) Street improvements (including street widening, electric lighting and street cleaning), and
- (8) Publicity.¹⁰⁹

In the first five months of its existence, the Commission was involved in a number of activities. It was attempting to secure for the City legal power to clean up vacant lots, adding the cost

to the absentee owner's taxes. Consideration was also being given to turning some of the vacant lots into playgrounds until such time as the land was needed for development. The Commission had begun to pressure City Council to take action on a civic centre, and members were currently negotiating with various city officials in an attempt to gain building code amendments; e.g. height, setback, residential restrictions.¹¹⁰

City Council minutes reveal that in the Commission's first year, it had made a number of recommendations to Council, some self-initiated and others at Council's request. Proposals for an ornamental lighting scheme were adopted and carried out. Also, at the Commission's request, City Council went on record as favouring the notion of a civic centre and within the month, it had appointed a special committee to confer with the Parks Board and the City Planning Commission on the subject of sites for open air spaces, playgrounds and a civic centre. With respect to securing a comprehensive plan for the city, the Commission recommended that Thomas Mawson, an English landscape architect, be hired.¹¹¹

B. Events leading up to the plan

Thomas Mawson first visited Calgary in April 1912 when he spoke at a Canadian Club luncheon. The Calgary Herald proclaimed him "to be a man thoroughly conversant with his subject, and his hearers were delighted with the way in which the subject was handled".¹¹²

Mawson told his audience:

"There are three broad principles on which all city builders must proceed, and each of such vast importance as to deserve a separate lecture. The City Beautiful can only be realized by the due observance of each and their proper correlation."¹¹³

The concerns in question were transportation (convenient transit, road surfacing, separation of modes), hygiene (controlling density, open spaces, food, water, sanitation) and beauty ("the perfect orchestration ... of nature, art and science"). The lecture concentrated on the ideal of beauty but on beauty that was a natural by-product of utility.

"I hold that beauty to be beauty must be real and not superimposed, and that every object which is needful and efficient is, at least, potentially beautiful ... What more beautiful thing is there than a yacht in full sail, every part of which is designed with mathematical precision - not to create beauty, but to secure stability and speed. Or take an automobile, as it approaches a greater degree of proficiency so it becomes more beautiful... In short, ugliness arises from two causes only, inefficiency and waste, and even dirt, if you will but look deep enough, is only matter in the wrong place."¹¹⁴

Mawson visited Calgary again in October 1912, at which time he was interviewed by the City Planning Commission for the job of preparing a plan.¹¹⁵ His presence in the city did not go unnoticed. Mawson's picture appeared on the front page of the Calgary Herald,¹¹⁶ and in an editorial, the same paper claimed that "town planning is a subject in which we are all vitally interested, and very properly so -- it means all the difference between light, air, and sanitation, and the absence of them".¹¹⁷ Mawson painted visions of an ideal city and

claimed that town planning would save money; indeed, it could even make money.¹¹⁸ He emphasized that it was not "a question of aesthetics ... (but) ... based on utilitarian necessity".¹¹⁹

"For insisting on the practical part of the art of town planning, Mr. Mawson should be thanked. For he, like the Herald, must have found that most discussions on this subject have a tendency to get lost in the clouds. The hygienic part of the art is almost always threatened with extinction under the frills."¹²⁰

On October 12, 1912, the City Planning Commission recommended that Thomas Mawson "or some other expert" be hired to prepare a plan for Calgary.

"We believe that the best man obtainable is none too good for Calgary, and that, furthermore it would be greatly to the City's advantage in every respect if, in calling in an expert to plan for the future needs of this City, for many years to come, we secured a man who is at the top of his profession and who is, therefore capable of accomplishing the best work. We also believe that the reputation that our City would obtain by announcement that we were employing an expert of this world-wide repute, would redound to our credit and that this, in its self, would be of great value to us from a publicity standpoint."¹²¹

It was suggested that a sum of at least \$10,000 be appropriated for completion of a preliminary plan and that if the plan were satisfactory, consideration could be given at that time to spending another \$25,000 on a final report. In the preliminary report, the planning expert would be required "to investigate conditions in Calgary and make a report covering the traffic and housing problems and a comprehensive scheme for parks, playgrounds, boulevard drives, a proposed

civic centre and such other matters as generally come under the head of 'City Planning'".¹²² Council adopted the report, giving its approval to the setting aside of \$10,000 to pay for both the expert and the publication of his report.¹²³ The employment of Mawson was officially approved on February 3, 1913.¹²⁴

It is interesting to note that both newspapers made mention of the decision to hire Mawson but refrained from giving any arguments about the desirability of planning as they had done in the past.¹²⁵ It seems that without the inspiration of one of Mawson's public lectures, the newspapers found themselves quite speechless. Mawson's official appointment the following February was ignored entirely.

Mawson arrived in Calgary in mid-May and stayed approximately six weeks. James Crossland, an employee from Mawson's Vancouver office had already been in the city for two months.¹²⁶ Mawson gave public lectures and met several times with the City Planning Commission and various civic officials.¹²⁷ The press gave some coverage to his activities including reports on specific projects. Upon his arrival, Mawson stressed the importance of utilitarian concerns. The Herald repeated Mawson's promise "that whatever changes in future arrangements his plans provide for, they will not entail any more expenditure than the city would have made under other circumstances."¹²⁸ while the Albertan proclaimed:

"The proper direction of traffic, the placing of public buildings for convenience and utility, the comprehensive planning of streets, parks and boulevards for usefulness and service will be carefully considered first of all."¹²⁹

It is extremely probable that the newspapers were not expressing

their own views but rather paraphrasing Mawson, a practice that was very common.

Mawson left Calgary in June 1913, having completed his inspection of the city. Over the next few months, he made several requests for funds in order to have the report printed. At first the City Planning Commission insisted on obtaining the report in typewritten form but eventually succumbed to Mawson's arguments that coloured prints could not be done in Canada.¹³⁰ Finally, in December, the Commission recommended that the City spend \$500 to have the plan printed in England, claiming that "considerable revenue will be derived from the sale of the report". City Council approved the recommendation.¹³¹

Despite the City Planning Commission's impressive record of achievement in 1912, things began to slow down the following year. It made fewer recommendations to Council, and it was not being consulted by Council.

At the same time, public enthusiasm for planning seemed to be declining. In February 1914, for example, the Commission's Publicity Committee declared its intention to organize a series of planning lectures. A week later the same committee reported having made an arrangement with the newspapers whereby the Commission would submit weekly planning articles.¹³² However, neither specially-written articles nor reports on lectures appeared in any of the papers.

In June 1914, the Alberta Town Planning and Housing Association held a three-day convention in Calgary; the Herald published only a couple of very short reports on the conference¹³³ and the Albertan

none at all. This occurred despite the fact that the City Planning Commission had displayed Mawson plans for Calgary, Vancouver, Regina and Banff as well as planning material from other Canadian cities at the convention.¹³⁴

In April, Mawson requested \$100 to have extra copies of the plan printed and put on exhibition in London. He was turned down.¹³⁵

Mawson's final report was submitted to City Council on August 3, 1914.¹³⁶ Final cost had been \$6000.¹³⁷

C. The plan

Mawson claimed that his plan for Calgary was not the vision of an ideal city. Rather it was a vision of the best future possible given existing conditions. Improvements were to be undertaken over a long period of time as the need and opportunity arose. In this way, cost would be minimized; the only expenditures would be those that were required anyway.

"This is how Paris has been made beautiful, and there is no doubt that Calgary can do it too without it really costing you a cent if you only have the patience for the sustained effort which is necessary."¹³⁸

Cost was one of Mawson's greatest concerns. Planning was said to pay both in terms of not having to correct errors in the future and in terms of raising property values and encouraging the best class of development. He stressed that utility was his first concern but that even beauty by itself had practical value.

"I think I said enough in my various lectures in Calgary, and in my interviews with the representatives of your newspapers, to dispel the idea that city planning deals only with civic art, and has no direct bearing on the life and daily occupations of the people. Of course, even those portions which tend only to produce the beautiful as opposed to the useful, have an indirect cash value, not only because beauty makes for happiness and happiness makes for health, but also because anything you can do for the beautification of your city enhances the value of the land on which it stands, and makes it a more desirable place to come and live at."¹³⁹

Streets. In Mawson's view, Calgary had three major transportation problems: (1) the existence of a gridiron street plan which ignored topography and made no provision for diagonals, (2) standardized road widths, and (3) numerous railway lines which divided the city.¹⁴⁰ Traffic needs were viewed as a city's first priority, the objective being to maximize accessibility throughout the city and to minimize downtown congestion. Unfortunately, Calgary's city centre had already been built up, making street improvements downtown impossible.¹⁴¹

He did propose, however, two "gyratory" or circumferential roads, from which radials would originate at various points. The river prevented the development of a cross-axis, but 4th Street S.W., a north-south road, was suggested as the city's main axis.¹⁴²

Other suggestions included rounding corners at intersections, eliminating level crossings by constructing subways, and building bridges at several specific points. In residential areas, Mawson recommended that the roads be narrower than at present; the extra

width could be given over to grass and trees until such time as the road widening might become necessary.¹⁴³

Civic centre. A civic centre was defined as "a great place or plaza, round which to group all those large public buildings which are essential to every modern city".¹⁴⁴ Mawson stressed that a civic centre was a composition; buildings would be added as needed but always with a view to the final picture.

He envisioned a mall, extending the four blocks from 4th Street S.W. to Centre Street, terminated at either end by an impressive building. Both 4th and Centre Streets would be lined with fine buildings and be adorned with an obelisk or some other monument at the point where the mall was crossed. Centre Street was to be made particularly attractive since it was terminated on the south by the C.P.R. station and "first impressions count for so much".¹⁴⁵ In the case of 4th Street S.W., Mawson recommended that:

"a fine church or other monumental building should stand on the axial line of the street at the top of the bluffs in the oval space provided on our plans. Such a building would be a landmark for a distance of several miles and would give great dignity to the whole composition".¹⁴⁶

Both 4th and Centre Streets crossed the river, and Mawson stressed that the aesthetic treatment of these bridges was most important since each was part of the civic centre composition. At the time the plan was being prepared, Calgary had been considering a new Centre Street bridge. Mawson approved of a "low level" bridge since it would help make Centre Street "a self-contained artistic composition". In contrast, a "high level" bridge would not close

Centre Street "in an effective manner".¹⁴⁷

He chose a "low level" bridge on aesthetic grounds, assuming that both were equally feasible. It was mentioned that the "low level" bridge would require an elevator tower to take pedestrians, street cars and automobiles up to street level.¹⁴⁸ It apparently never occurred to Mawson to consider whether such an edifice would be possible from an engineering point of view or desirable from the viewpoint of traffic needs.

In addition to the main civic centre, Mawson urged that a number of small social centres be constructed in the suburbs. Each centre would accommodate an assembly hall, club house, branch library, and both indoor and outdoor recreation facilities. It was hoped that no new public school would be built without a social centre being built alongside it. Mawson justified the centres on the grounds that they would "help to create a spirit of citizenship and esprit-de-corps".¹⁴⁹

Parks.

"What we propose to do is to expropriate all ground which is too low and marshy to be healthy and convenient for building upon, and also all ground which is too steep for the purpose. It is fortunate that these are the very pieces of ground which will make the finest and most picturesque parks."¹⁵⁰

Specific recommendations included the acquisition of all riverfront land for a driveway, the acquisition of "many spots of rare natural beauty" and the establishment of two large suburban parks -- one in the east and one in the west. An even distribution of small parks and playgrounds was recommended in order to introduce variety into

the landscape and to ensure that playgrounds were easily accessible to all children. Connecting these small open spaces would be "pleasure promenades", which would attract the best residential development. The bluffs surrounding Calgary would provide both a green belt and a scenic drive. Finally, Mawson recommended that a scenic highway to the mountains be built.

Other elements of the plan. Considerable attention was devoted to the matter of housing for the working classes. Mawson recommended that industry be encouraged to relocate in suburban manufacturing centres and that working class communities be established adjacent to these centres "on garden suburb lines". To this end, he presented detailed plans for two such suburbs.¹⁵¹

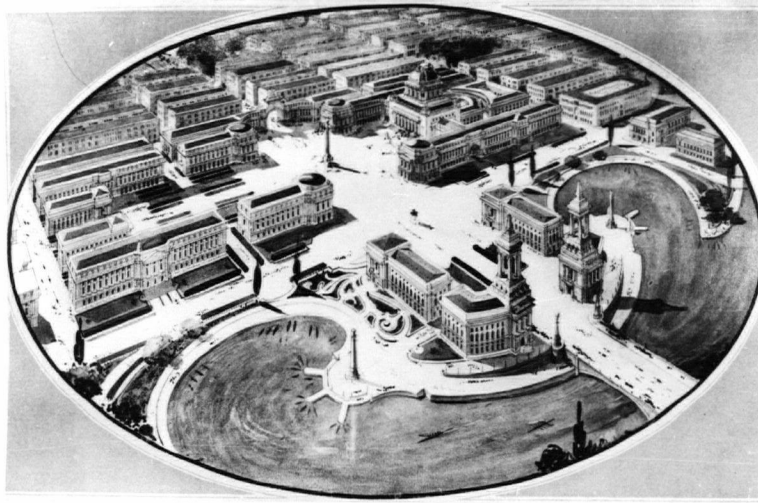


Fig. 35 -- Calgary: Proposed civic centre. (Source: T.H. Mawson and Sons, Calgary: A Preliminary Scheme)



Fig. 36 -- Calgary: Portion of street plan showing civic centre. (Source: T.H. Mawson and Sons, Calgary: A Preliminary Scheme)

D. Following the plan

With the plan's presentation, the City Planning Commission offered its resignation since the terms of the original contract had now been fulfilled. In terms of overall achievement, the Commission had been responsible for the Mawson plan, it had helped enact a Town Planning Act for Alberta, it had prepared a Bill for cheaper housing, it had helped the Building Department amend the building code, and it had "carried out a continuous educational campaign".¹⁵² Some of its other interests had included billboard control, ornamental lighting, stockyard location, width of residential streets, a scenic Glacier-Banff-Jasper highway, cultivation of vacant lots, street sanding, open air skating rinks, and schools as social centres. In addition, it sent delegates to three National Conferences on City Planning (1912-1914); in Boston (1912), a presentation was given while in Toronto (1914), it supplied an exhibit.¹⁵³

Upon tendering its resignation, the Commission immediately recommended that it be reconstituted as an Advisory Board. Both the plan and the recommendation were referred to the Recreation and Playgrounds Committee.¹⁵⁴

Disappointment with the plan ran high. The Calgary Herald covered City Council's response to the plan in its regular report on Council meetings. The headline on Page 9 read in part: "Mawson Report is Treated Casually -- Nothing Accomplished Beyond Pretty Pictures and Noble Plans".

"Although the Mawson report was accepted by the Council, there seemed an undercurrent of dissatisfaction to pervade the gathering. The prevalent idea is that although the city planners started out with good intentions, beyond reports and schemes, nothing has been accomplished, the presentation of pretty pictures and noble plans in book form not placing the city any nearer the practical accomplishment of its ideal...

As the Council did not appear to wish to be worried with the matter it was pushed along to the playgrounds committee to worry them."¹⁵⁵

Two days after the submission of the Mawson report, Britain entered World War I. From that point on, the city of Calgary (as reflected both in newspaper coverage and in the minutes of City Council) became increasingly involved with the war.

In November 1914, the Recreation and Playgrounds Committee submitted its report to Council. There was no mention of the Mawson plan so one must assume that it had been abandoned completely. However, the Committee did recommend that City Council appoint a permanent town planning committee of 5-10 members "to prepare and formulate a definite town planning scheme". Council adopted the recommendation.¹⁵⁶ It was felt that such a scheme was necessary in order to comply with the requirements of the Town Planning and Housing Act.¹⁵⁷ However, a reading of City Council minutes over the next six months revealed no mention of either the planning committee or of planning in general.

IV. Regina

A. Grounds of the Parliament Building

In 1907, the Saskatchewan government hired Frederick G. Todd to design a landscape treatment for the grounds of the soon-to-be constructed Parliament Building. He recommended that the building be located "at the axis of Smith Street, on the highest elevation across the lake". Landscaping adjacent to the building would include terraces, "broad lawns bordered with shrubbery" and a direct tree-lined avenue leading up to the entrance. The shoreline in front of the building was to be "straight and formal", and across the lake on a high point of land, there was to be built a pavilion, from which one could view the Parliament Building. The plans also reveal rather elaborate boulevarding of those streets bordering the park -- each with four rows of trees.

Elsewhere the park was to be given a "natural" appearance. The grounds were to be heavily treed and the remainder of the Wascana Lake shoreline left "as is". A boat house on the lake was to be concealed. Two circulation systems were proposed -- one for pedestrians and one for vehicles -- with each one winding its way around the lake and through the grounds.¹⁵⁸

Work on the grounds proceeded over the next few years, and by 1912, some 18,000 trees and shrubs had been planted.¹⁵⁹ However, Todd's plan had not been carefully followed, and consideration was given to the preparation of a new scheme.¹⁶⁰

In mid-1912, Thomas Mawson delivered a well received town planning lecture in Regina, and there is evidence to suggest that this led

directly to his employment by the provincial government.¹⁶¹ The firm of Thomas H. Mawson and Sons was hired to work in collaboration with Malcolm Ross, the provincial government's landscape architect.

Ross, who had only recently resigned as Parks Superintendent for the City of Regina, may have been instrumental in the decision to hire Mawson. He had already shown a greater than average interest in planning matters. Earlier that year he had attended the Winnipeg housing and town planning conference¹⁶² and had contributed articles to various Canadian journals on the relationship between landscape art and city design.¹⁶³

Compared with Todd's original scheme, Mawson's plan (submitted in late 1913) relied much less on the "natural" and much more on the "monumental City Beautiful" style of landscape treatment. Trees were relegated to the margins of Wascana Lake. But those portions of the lake immediately in front of and across from the Parliament Building were left open, evidently in order to afford good views of the Legislature. Both a footpath and tree-lined drive surrounded the lake but neither made a complete circuit.

Elsewhere the park was to be comprised of direct tree-lined roads, grassy open stretches and numerous buildings and other structures. The entire scheme was conceived as a geometric composition, replete with axes, cross-axes, radiating avenues, focal points and vistas.

The plan's main axis followed the line of Smith Street and took the form of a long and broad pedestrian mall, with varying treatment suggested over its length -- monuments, framed vistas, rows of trees -- all suggestive of movement towards some end. What seemed to be

desired most was a dramatic vista of the Parliament Building.

The area immediately adjacent to the Legislature exhibited a much more intensive use of land and a much more human scale. It was almost a microcosm of the overall plan -- the formal approach to the building's entrance, the alignment of the side wings with the monuments, the long views to be had down the various axes, the clumps of trees and small open squares.

Finally, Mawson included a plan of a residential subdivision -- a fan-shaped arrangement of streets with adequate provision for numerous internal focal points and views into Wascana. One street was deliberately laid out in direct alignment with the dome of the Parliament Building.¹⁶⁴

The next decades saw few improvements made to the grounds at Wascana Lake but Todd and Mawson were not entirely forgotten. A 1961 plan, which has formed the basis for present-day development, paid tribute to both its predecessors, but especially to Mawson.

"The wonderful Mawson Plan of 1913... has long ago set the theme to the whole south end of Wascana Lake. The Parliament Building and its beautiful surroundings form the base on which any plan must be laid. Thus the plan which is proposed here is an extension of the Mawson Plan."¹⁶⁵

The present-day Wascana Centre, comprising some 2000 acres, is a direct descendent of both the Todd and Mawson plans.

B. Events leading up to city plan

In connection with the Wascana plan, Thomas Mawson visited Regina in April 1913. At that time, he also met with Regina's City Commissioners,

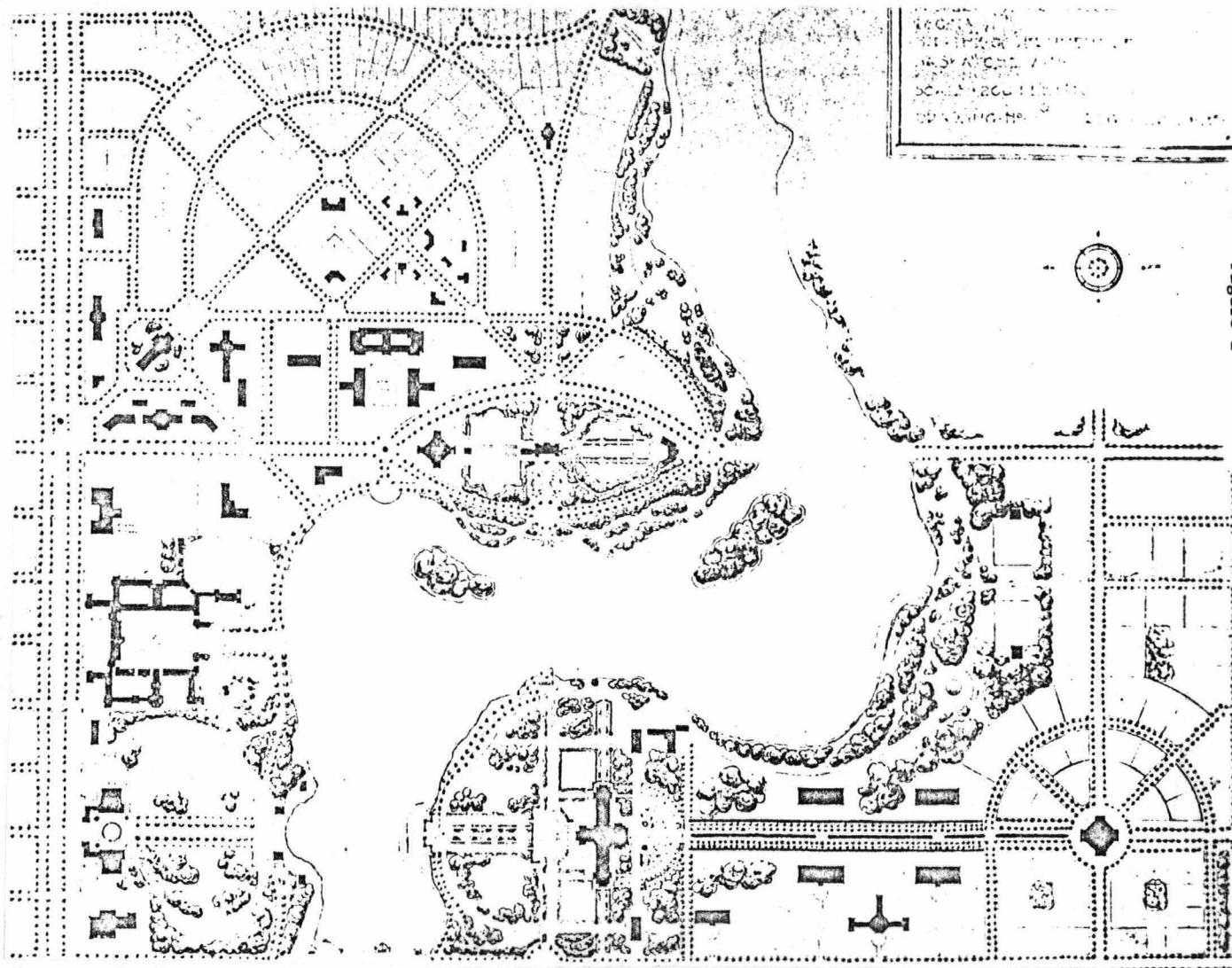


Fig. 37 -- Regina: Mawson plan for grounds of Saskatchewan Legislature. (Source: Saskatchewan Archives)



Fig. 38 -- Regina: Parliament Building. Looking across Wascana Lake. Such a view was envisioned by Todd.



Fig. 39 -- Regina: Parliament Building. Side view showing axial line from fountain to side wing. This is a realization of part of the Mawson plan.

who subsequently reported to City Council:

"Your Commissioners have had representations made to them on several occasions recently to the effect that the time has arrived when it is necessary to have consideration given to the question of preparing and deciding upon a concrete scheme for the beautification of the City by the provision of Parks, Boulevards, Playgrounds, etc.

Mr. Mawson's reputation in his profession is beyond question and your Commissioners are of the opinion that if his services can be obtained so that his plan might cover the whole of the City ... the general public interests would be better served than by the selection of another City Planning Expert."¹⁶⁶

In June 1913, City Council voted to hire Mawson to prepare such a scheme for a fee of \$8000.¹⁶⁷ This figure can be put into perspective if one considers that in 1914, the Board of Trade's annual grant was \$20,000.¹⁶⁸

Planning activity at this time was sporadic and without focus. City Council sent Malcolm Ross to the Winnipeg Housing and Town Planning Congress in 1912¹⁶⁹ and two years later, another delegate to the National Conference on City Planning in Toronto.¹⁷⁰

A citizens' organization, known as the City Planning Association, had been founded in 1913.¹⁷¹ Armed with a \$250 grant from City Council, their first task was to organize a "Clean-Up Day", during which 15,000 barrels of rubbish were collected.¹⁷² A few months later, the association asked City Council to hire a supervisor for a local park¹⁷³ while the next month it pointed out to Council "the desirability of the City obtaining from the Provincial Legislature at the present Session, the necessary powers to expropriate land

in excess of that required for carrying out of any scheme for the beautification of the City, to compel all owners of property that had been enhanced in value through such a scheme to share with the City the profit resulting therefrom, and to give the Parks Commission the necessary power and jurisdiction over everything appertaining to scientific City Planning".¹⁷⁴ The appearance of the delegation resulted in a meeting between the City Solicitor and representatives of the Association, held six months later in May 1914. Specific legislative changes were proposed but nothing was to come of it.¹⁷⁵

By mid-1914, the Mawson plan was nearing completion but Regina's economic fortunes had undergone considerable change. The City Planning Association became the Vacant Lot Garden Association and devoted its energies to demonstration projects, mainly to show how food could be grown on vacant lots.¹⁷⁶ In 1915, the Board of Trade asked for a grant of \$5000; it received one-half that amount "in view of existing conditions".¹⁷⁷ In 1916, City Council decided it was unable to send a delegate to the Civic Improvement League conference, hosted by the Commission of Conservation.¹⁷⁸

In a letter dated June 3, 1914, Thomas Mawson's son, John, informed the City Commissioners that the preliminary plan was now finished. He felt Regina would be eager to go ahead with the publication of a joint report, covering both the city plan and the work undertaken for the provincial government. It was suggested that a volume similar in format to the Calgary plan would be appropriate; in fact, it would probably make a profit.¹⁷⁹ The chronicle of events which was to follow this letter is highly illustrative of the degree of municipal commitment

to planning in the years during and after World War I.

In response, the Parks and Public Property Committee requested that the preliminary plan be sent from England. The Committee also wanted more information on publication costs and a copy of the Calgary plan.¹⁸⁰ J.W. Mawson replied that the plan was on its way, and publication would cost about \$1.00 per copy for a minimum of 1000 copies.¹⁸¹

Up until this time, Regina exhibited at least some interest in the plan. However, that interest soon dropped off completely. City Council's actions with respect to Mawson became more and more characterized by delaying tactics and an evident unwillingness to honour its commitments. As time passed, mere avoidance of the issue turned into deliberate disinterest.

On January 26, 1915, the Parks and Public Property Committee recommended that Thomas H. Mawson and Sons be paid an initial sum of \$2000 for work done on the "preliminary town planning scheme", this action having probably been initiated in response to a payment request from Mawson. However, there was no real interest in actually seeing the plan. The Committee had also recommended that

"having in view the danger of the proposed plan receiving any publicity before the necessary legislation governing such schemes has been obtained that Mawson be requested to hold the delivery of the final plan until such time as he is notified by the City that the necessary legislation has been obtained and the City is ready to take delivery of the plan and that the plans already prepared remain in the custody of Mr. Mawson until delivery of the final plan is requested".¹⁸²

These recommendations were not favourably received at the Mawson office, and J.W. Mawson responded:

"To bring the scheme to its present stage has involved an outlay on our part of approximately \$5000.00 (if desired we can give you the exact figures). The recommendation of your Committee therefore to pay us \$2000.00 on account of work done and allow the balance to lay over indefinitely is tantamount to asking us to carry the liabilities of your Council to the extent of \$3000.00. Under ordinary circumstances such a proposal would have worked no hardship on us and indeed we would probably have agreed to it without hesitation but today such a course is manifestly impossible and after our explanation we cannot imagine you will persist in it. To delay the completion of the scheme would be in itself a serious blow to us inasmuch as it would necessitate the dismissal of several members of our staff who have been retained at a loss with the idea of devoting their whole time to your work as soon as the plans were received from England."¹⁸³

In view of this letter, Council decided to increase the amount paid from \$2000 to \$3000. A cheque was issued in March,¹⁸⁴ some two months later, although it was not paid without some prodding. In a letter dated only Thursday, J.W. Mawson indicated both a desire to be paid and an unwillingness to abandon the scheme when he wrote:

"We need this money, need it badly and if you can secure for us a cheque for three thousand dollars you will find us duly grateful and in a position to give you much more careful attention to the details of this scheme than we would be should we be compelled to finish it entirely before drawing our commission."¹⁸⁵

In early 1916, J.W. Mawson wrote to advise City Council that his father would soon be visiting the city, at which time arrangements

could be made to finish the scheme. He pleaded and cajoled, warning City Council that his father would be resigning his private practice after the war to become involved in reconstruction while he was heading for the Front next week where he could very likely be killed.

"The City has already invested \$3000.00 in a scheme of which only two people - my Father and myself - have any knowledge and which it would be impossible for any third party to complete."186

The City Commissioners replied:

"It is regretted that the City is in no better position at the present time to arrange for the completion of this scheme, owing to the lack of adequate legislation governing the carrying out of any proposals which might be embodied therein. The Council duly appreciates the advisability of taking advantage of your Father's visit to Canada, in connection with the scheme, but is unable to make such necessary arrangements whereby this might at present be affected."187

Nothing more was heard of Mawson's plan until mid-1919 when Thomas Mawson wrote to enquire whether the city was interested in having the scheme completed. City Council directed the City Commissioners "to reply to Mr. Mawson's letter ... that the Council at the present time is not prepared to have him proceed with the said work".188

Several thousand dollars were still owing to Mawson and in December 1919, City Council resolved to settle the outstanding account and take possession of the plan. A Town Planning Act requiring all cities to file plans with the provincial government had been in effect for some eighteen months, and City Council was of the opinion that

the Mawson plan could be used to meet those requirements. When the proposal was presented to City Council, questions from aldermen included: "Who is Mawson?" and "What is he in the profession of
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Town Planning?"

In October, 1920, Council offered to pay Mawson \$2000 now for the plans in their present form and another \$1000 on completion of an Interim Report.¹⁹⁰ Mawson agreed, and a cheque for \$2000 was issued the following month.¹⁹¹ There is no record that the plan was received however; at this point City Council had paid \$5000, still \$3000 short of the original \$8000 contract.

In July 1921, Council resolved to pay the extra \$1000; it also appointed a special committee to consider the question of committing the final \$2000 in order to obtain a completed report.¹⁹² The matter was brought before the Special Committee and tabled and tabled again. Eighteen months later, it was still being tabled although Mawson had written in the interim with a further request for payment.¹⁹³ Finally, in January 1923, Council viewed the plan for the first time -- almost ten years after its completion.¹⁹⁴

C. The plan

Like other early planning documents, the Mawson report expounded at length on the promise of an exalted and prosperous future for the city in question.

"It is difficult to overestimate the possibilities of development in your Province. But if there be one prospect upon this Globe more assured than another it is that within the next few centuries Canada will rank as a Giant Country nobly filled and rich in all desirable things beyond the dreams of the most vivid imagination - in short a leader among the world's most famous and influential Nations. Saskatchewan cannot but loom large in such an association, and Regina must be equal to its status - in fact, it cannot afford to be left behind."¹⁹⁵

Mawson never intended that his plan be rigidly followed but that it be used as a general guide over the next fifty years. He emphasized that it was a plan of possibilities, the central objective being the creation of a "great and comprehensive composition". Deviations from the plan were quite acceptable as long as its spirit was retained. It was this notion of "composition" that was of paramount importance.¹⁹⁶

Mawson's plan was aimed at making Regina "an outstanding example of the 'City Beautiful'".¹⁹⁷ Aesthetics were his primary interest. He often claimed to have taken practical considerations into account but for one reason or another, they tended either to be dealt with inadequately or simply brushed aside.

Streets. In Mawson's view, the traditional gridiron street layout was lacking on two counts: (1) it was unaesthetic, and (2) it did not accommodate traffic adequately.¹⁹⁸ Emphasis was placed on the first reason.

"(The gridiron) does not attempt to seize hold of the little intricacies of the site in order to produce an effect which will make a city a little different from all other cities. It produces only the 'City of magnificent distances'; whereas, if the street vistas were closed in here and there, beautiful street pictures would be produced and the city would be brought down to a more human scale."¹⁹⁹

Consistent with City Beautiful thought, Mawson proposed that a system of radial and circumferential roads be superimposed on the gridiron pattern. Such a system would provide many opportunities to create vistas²⁰⁰ and link all the various neighbourhoods by means of direct roads.²⁰¹ Special mention was made of the needs of the central area where minimizing congestion and ensuring convenient access were the most important consideration.²⁰²

Examination of the "general plan", however, reveals Mawson's major interest was the creation of focal points. The city centre was treated entirely as a geometric composition. It was based on a triangle, with a sixteen-block section of the existing 16th (now College) Avenue forming the base and two new diagonals comprising the sides. A joint railway station, a new Grand Trunk Pacific station and another important public or semi-public building were to occupy the vertices of the triangle.²⁰³ Bisecting the triangle was Broad Street, one of Regina's major roads.

Elsewhere in the city, Mawson provided for a number of diagonal roads radiating from several nodes although very few of the diagonals extended into the downtown core. Implementation of Mawson's recommendations would not have maximized accessibility or minimized congestion.

It would, however, have resulted in some dramatic vistas.

Civic centre. Mawson envisioned a civic centre which would be planned in conjunction with the Parliament Building and the landscape treatment he had earlier recommended for the grounds. The Legislature dome already provided a vista from Smith Street but Mawson argued that the effect left much to be desired.

"The gap between the city end of the street and this building is too great. The street picture is not properly framed, the proper effect being lost through the liability of the eye to wander too much over the open middle distance, instead of being focussed on the climax of the vista."²⁰⁴

To remedy the imperfection, Mawson suggested that a civic centre be created on the axis of Smith Street between 16th Avenue and the Lake.

"Besides framing in the view of the Parliament Building, the Hall and Courts would be well placed for performing their civic functions while they would unmistakeably add to the dignity of 16th Avenue."²⁰⁵

Railway stations were not omitted from Mawson's vision of downtown. The new Grand Trunk Pacific station, closing 16th Avenue, would be an integral part of the civic centre, while the joint station would be dramatically linked with 16th by means of the two diagonals.²⁰⁶ Mawson stressed that "portal entrance(s)...should be so treated as to make a favourable first impression upon visitors".²⁰⁷ Specifically, he envisioned railway stations which fronted spacious plazas, and radial roads which originated at those plazas and were terminated by "splendid" vistas.²⁰⁸

In his recommended treatment of suburban areas, Mawson suggested the creation of community centres containing assembly halls, theatres,

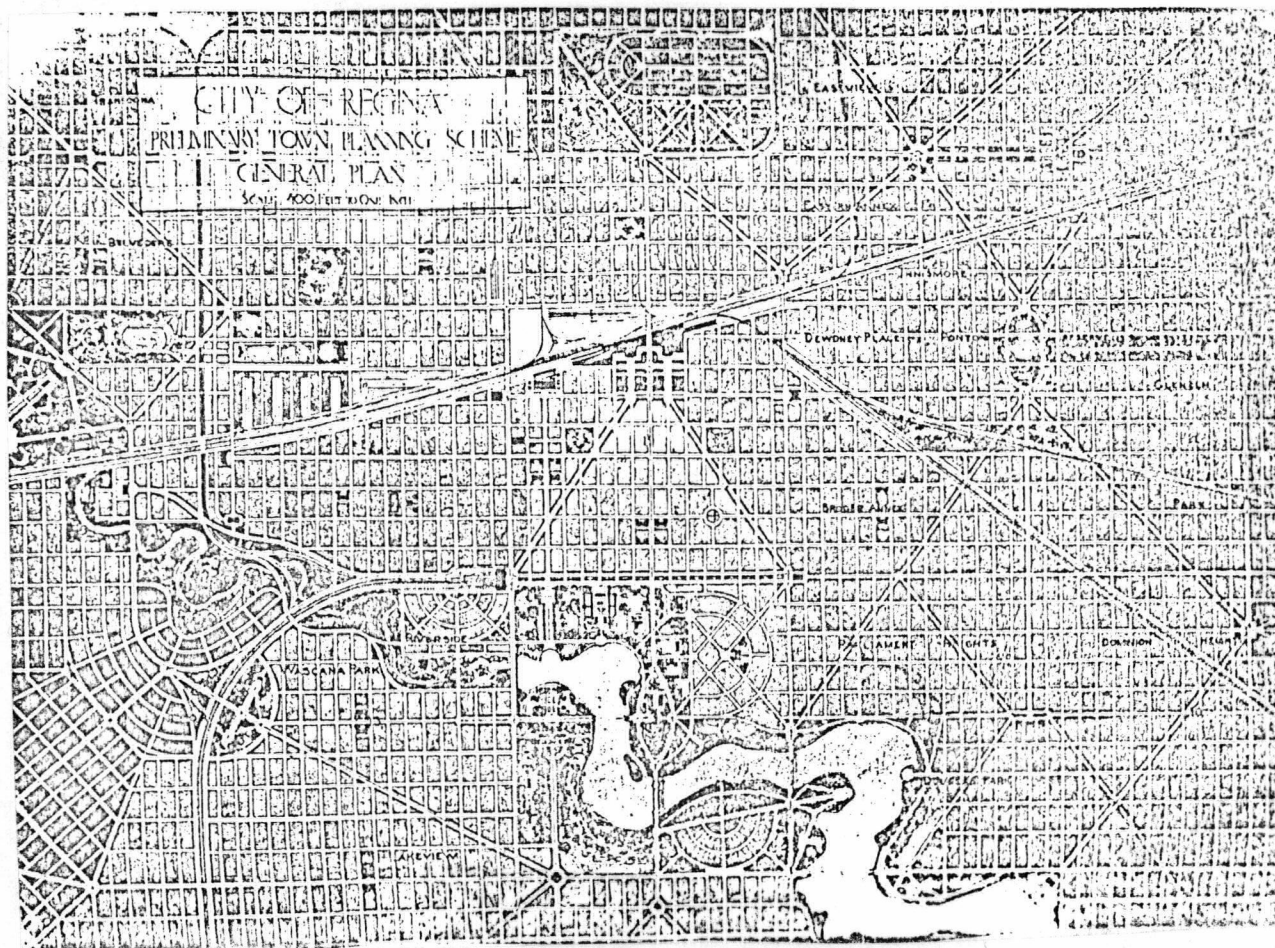


Fig. 40 -- Regina: General plan. (Source: T.H. Mawson and Sons, Regina: A Preliminary Report on the Development of the City)

schools, churches and stores. They would be characterized by similar signs, similar facades, a similar scale and an alignment of building fronts.

"In other words, each centre if it can be done, should be the result of a properly co-ordinated artistic conception and each community ought to show in a minor key the dignity and civic consciousness which should govern the great civic centre."²⁰⁹

Parks. Parks were considered the plan's most important feature; they tied the city together giving it cohesion and character.

"It is this Park System which we hope will raise Regina from its present treeless condition and so adorn it with sylvan beauty that it will become the Garden City of the Prairies, a worthy Capital of a Great Province."²¹⁰

He recommended an outer belt of suburban parkland completely encircling the city -- to be transformed from a treeless prairie by extensive planting. In addition to Wascana Lake, Wascana Creek was seen as a linear park connecting at either end with the outer park belt.

All other parks and open spaces were grouped under the category of "breathing spaces", but serving a variety of needs. Specific recommendations included laying out the Exhibition grounds for "spectacular" effect, establishing playgrounds, creating ornamental, natural, and recreation parks, and building connecting boulevards.²¹¹

Mawson apparently saw no incompatibility between parks and traffic. Rather they complemented one another. He felt that people would be attracted to one major park because a number of radials converged on it²¹² while in another park, bisection by a major road was seen as

providing opportunities for a formal landscape treatment.²¹³ Finally, no distinction was made between the connecting boulevards and elements of the major road system.

"How beauty and usefulness go hand in hand will become evident if a study is made of the boulevards. These have been arranged, not only to meet the need for connections with the Government radials and the necessity of providing cross-traffic routes, but for the purpose of connecting by a series of shady roads the various elements of the Park System, thus making it possible to pass from Park to Park, without losing on the journey all suggestion of their sylvan charm."²¹⁴

Other elements of the plan. This was not a problem-oriented plan and on the few occasions when Mawson attempted to deal with problems, he didn't fare very well. For example, his downtown street plan would have made little impact on traffic congestion. On another occasion, he spoke of the problem of level railway crossings but admitted that he didn't know what to do about them.²¹⁵

Other plan elements received only the briefest of mention. For example, Mawson indicated the desirability of building a model suburb adjacent to an industrial area but elaborated no further. Yet in the midst of his grandiose schemes for parks, civic centres and the creation of vistas, Mawson added zoning, almost as if it were an afterthought. Since no surveys had been done, he stated that a zoning map would be impossible. He did, however, include a "rough theoretical diagram" in the report.²¹⁶

D. Following the plan

Before making any further payment to Mawson, Council decided in January 1923 to exhibit the plan for two weeks in order to gain "an expression from Regina ratepayers".²¹⁷ A newspaper editorial, appearing a few days later, illustrates well the fact that the popular concept of planning had changed since the Mawson plan was first commissioned. Emphasis was now on controlling development.

"A good many changes have taken place in the city since the Mawson plan was first formulated and it is open to serious question whether it could be applied at this time in its entirety and without additions, without handicapping the city. This is a matter of no little importance to property owners. Quite likely the Mawson plan could be made the basis of a satisfactory scheme of development. The Town Planning Association, which is a body of disinterested citizens aiming solely to so provide for the future growth of the city that it may progress unhampered by mistakes, would seem to be the logical body to examine it and pass upon it."²¹⁸

And that is precisely what was done. The newly-organized Regina Town Planning Association was given the task of studying Mawson's plan.²¹⁹ Thereafter interest in planning increased but Mawson's ideas were soon laid aside.²²⁰ A Town Planning Board, appointed by Council in 1924, adopted the whole question of zoning as its first concern.²²¹ In 1927, the Board's first report detailed a zoning bylaw,²²² and in 1928, City Council gave its approval.²²³

CONCLUSIONS

The City Beautiful movement was primarily a North American phenomenon which enjoyed its greatest popularity between 1900 and 1915. The term "city beautiful" came into popular usage at the turn of the century and was used to describe all manner of beautification proposals -- everything from the cultivation of vacant lots to ornamental street lighting to park systems to large-scale beautification schemes. Planning historians have usually been interested in this last aspect of the movement since these so-called "comprehensive" schemes of city beautification are seen as the forerunner of the master plan approach to planning.

The movement is usually associated in the literature with the works of Daniel Burnham, especially the Columbian Exposition and the plans of Washington and Chicago. A few historians have also drawn attention to the writings of Charles Mulford Robinson. Both these men were recognized by their contemporaries as being major spokesmen for the movement.

While the campaign for a "city beautiful" could take diverse forms, it often revolved around the design of streets, civic centres and parks. Features that were characteristic of City Beautiful planning included diagonal roads, a hierarchy of parks, axial arrangements for both street systems and civic centre plans, the creation of focal points, and an overall tendency towards uniformity and symmetry.

Following an inspection of Burnham's works and Robinson's writings, it is possible to make two statements which contradict the popular

notion of the City Beautiful movement as expressed in the literature. Firstly, the movement has been criticized on several grounds including excessive cost, neglect of the growing city's utilitarian needs and a failure to deal with housing and social issues. While City Beautiful planners did emphasize beauty and recommend costly expenditures, both Burnham and Robinson consistently pointed out that their recommendations were based on both aesthetic and utilitarian grounds. In their earliest plans and writings, emphasis was clearly on aesthetics. However, as time passed, more attention began to be paid to utilitarian concerns. In addition, Robinson devoted a great deal of attention to housing and social issues.

Secondly, some modern critics have claimed that reaction to the costly and grandiose dreams of City Beautiful planners went a long way towards bringing about an era in planning that has since been labelled the City Efficient, an era characterized by its concern for "efficiency", "utility" and "economy". However, such claims are misleading since in reality, there was no clear boundary between the two styles of planning. The change from City Beautiful to City Efficient had been an evolutionary process. Planners like Burnham and Robinson had always stressed the importance of utility while over the years, they gradually expanded their conception of planning to include a greater variety of concerns. While it is true that City Efficient planners did reassess the role of aesthetics, one can view the City Efficient not so much as a reaction to the City Beautiful but more as an expansion of it. The City Efficient style of planning encompassed a wide variety of concerns, one of which was the need for beauty.

When translated into concrete proposals, this desire for beauty tended to find expression in ways not unlike the City Beautiful planners of the previous decade; e.g. civic centre plans, monumental bridges, etc.

For the purpose of this thesis, the history of the American City Beautiful was looked at in an effort to shed light on the movement in Canada. As outlined in the Introduction, there is little Canadian secondary material on the subject. Hence the American City Beautiful was investigated in order to give definition to the movement and to discover its design principles. Such an investigation was seen as both an ideal starting point for a Canadian study and a yardstick against which Canadian experience could be compared.

Investigation into the Canadian City Beautiful relied almost solely on primary sources. The content of a number of professional journals was looked at for the period 1890-1930. A time span well beyond the traditional demise of the City Beautiful was chosen for several reasons: (1) the Canadian City Beautiful period might not coincide with that in the United States, (2) an examination of later years would shed light on the fate of City Beautiful thought, and (3) there was a revival of City Beautiful ideas in Canada in the late 1920's. In addition to reading the journals, a number of planning reports were examined leading, in turn, to a case study of the planning process in Prairie cities in the years prior to World War I.

In reading the journals, attention was paid to any discussion of the role of civic beauty within the context of planning thought. From this, five periods emerged which reflected changing attitudes towards civic beauty. These periods are roughly as follows: the

beginning (1890-1909), the Canadian City Beautiful (1910-1913), the war years (1914-1918), the City Efficient (1919-1924), and the revival of the City Beautiful (1925-1930).

While some attention was paid to the area of "civic improvement" in the period 1890-1909, it was in 1910 that planning enjoyed a sudden increase in popularity, probably due to events elsewhere; e.g. the heightened interest in the United States, Great Britain and Europe, the implementation of British planning legislation, the initiation of the National Conferences on City Planning, the visits to Canada of British planners. The years between 1910 and 1913 can be termed the Canadian City Beautiful. Planning articles were abundant, and while they exhibited varying emphases and levels of detail, articles devoted to general discussions of planning tended to reflect City Beautiful principles. Canada lacked a spokesman of Robinson's calibre however. Canadian writers tended to be vague and failed to put forth clear and forceful arguments for creating a "city beautiful".

Despite the fact that the journals presented no clearly articulated philosophy of the City Beautiful during these years, several Canadian cities undertook plans or projects, most of which were in the traditional City Beautiful manner. In fact, six major plans were completed between 1909 and 1915 in addition to plans for a number of civic improvement projects. Sometimes these efforts would receive brief mention in the journals; sometimes they would be ignored completely.

The journals' low commitment to planning may have been indicative of low public support but another explanation seems more likely. The

journals represented various professional interests, and it was not quite certain to which of these interests (if any) planning belonged. The distance between planning thought (as reflected in the journals) and planning practice would not disappear until the 1920's when the Town Planning Institute of Canada was founded and a journal entirely devoted to planning begun.

Of these six major plans, four were prepared for Prairie cities. A closer inspection of plans and planning in these cities served to reveal further insights into the Canadian City Beautiful movement.

Typically, the Prairie city's first experience with "planning" occurred in connection with the development of a park system. Formal involvement with the preparation of a city plan took place either under the auspices of a parks commission or a planning commission which had been appointed specifically to obtain a plan.

Each of the four cities wanted an expert who was the best, and it was generally assumed that "planning experts" were also landscape architects. Perhaps the assumption was a natural one. Landscape architects had originally been involved in planning park systems (considered by many to be the chief way to beautify the city). When other ways to beautify the city were conceived (e.g. civic centres), landscape architects simply absorbed the new task until eventually, landscape architects became "planning experts".

Municipal involvement in the preparation of city plans was closely allied to the concept of "boosterism". Beginning at the turn of the century, Prairie cities grew very rapidly, each one competing vigorously for more population, more industry, more prosperity.

Expenditures for plans were apparently authorized without a second thought. These were boom times, and city plans were seen as a form of publicity. Similarly, the eventual implementation of monumental City Beautiful projects was seen as an indication of a city's greatness. In general, City Councils expressed little interest in problem solving despite the fact that the tremendous growth experienced by each of the four cities must have brought with it severe problems.

In Calgary, Edmonton and Regina, the planning expert was hired and the process set in motion. The resulting plans had several characteristics in common:

- (1) they promised a wealthy and prosperous future which could be augmented by a plan,
- (2) they presented a vision of the future which could be gradually implemented,
- (3) they exhibited a varying mix of aesthetic and utilitarian details but the bulk of the plans was devoted to the traditional City Beautiful elements of streets, parks and civic centres, presented in a Burnham-like fashion,
- (4) little attention was paid to problem solving, implementation or financial considerations, and
- (5) other elements of the plan were mentioned (usually zoning and industrial suburbs) but the concepts were not adequately developed.

Winnipeg's plan was prepared by members of the City Planning Commission, which was comprised of a number of individuals who had varying perspectives and priorities. Despite devoting considerable

attention to traditional City Beautiful elements, the Commission's report stands alone insofar as it made a genuine attempt to find ways to make the city more healthful, more convenient and more beautiful. It is neither a City Beautiful plan nor a forerunner of later efforts. However, if the report had been turned over as intended to a landscape architect in order that a final plan could be prepared, the resulting effort would probably have resembled the other three plans.

Finally, none of the four plans was implemented. While Winnipeg's City Planning Commission had been highly critical causing City Council to curtail funding before a final plan was prepared, the plans for the other cities were not problem-oriented or critical of the civic administration. Although the original terms of reference had generally been vague, the resulting plans seemed to respond well to the expectations of the various Councils.

In each case, timing was the critical factor. They were all commissioned when times were good, and they were all submitted after the boom had peaked. Not only was there no money for civic beautification schemes but there wasn't enough money for more traditional endeavours like Board of Trade grants and Parks Commissions. One suspects that if the plans had been submitted earlier, some of the suggested improvements would have been undertaken. This seems even more likely when one remembers the activity of a few years earlier: vigorous park acquisition programs and the construction of impressive Parliament Buildings.

During the war years, planning activity in Canada was relatively dormant. The journals were dominated by the writing of Thomas Adams

and the Commission of Conservation. Other voices were largely absent. It was during these years that the City Beautiful began to be openly criticized while the prospect of a legitimate role for civic beauty was rarely discussed.

In the years directly following the war (1919-1924), Canada entered the era of the City Efficient. The most important planning event during this period was the establishment of the Town Planning Institute of Canada and hence the beginning of planning as a profession. In the journals, the monumental City Beautiful style of planning was criticized again and again. Those writers who did mention the desirability of civic beauty rarely elaborated; there was a reluctance to approach the subject directly.

There was little place for beauty until the final period (1925-1930) when the nation experienced a return to prosperity. Civic beauty began to be openly promoted although it remained a small part of the total picture. Planning activity reached a peak during these years, and the journals devoted considerable space to the publication of various plans and projects, a number of which were rooted in the design principles of the City Beautiful.

Further research is needed into the legacy of the City Beautiful movement. Questions come to mind concerning (1) the degree to which civic centre proposals and plans for park and street systems have since been implemented, (2) the date of implementation and the surrounding circumstances, (3) the role of individuals in promoting aspects of the plans, and (4) the relationship between monumental planning and periods of prosperity. Officially most of the early plans were shelved;

however, at least some elements of those plans have since found their way into the modern urban landscape.

For example, the Calgary Tower (built in the 1960's) is on the exact site of a tower proposed by Mawson. Also in Calgary, City Council is currently acquiring several blocks of downtown land for a large civic centre project (although not on the site recommended by Mawson).

Edmonton began building a civic centre in the 1960's on the same location as the 1913 scheme. This was hardly coincidental. Despite losing the 1913 civic centre referendum, City Council initiated a policy of acquiring tax-forfeited land and revived the scheme every 10-15 years, sufficiently frequent to remain in public memory. While the buildings in the present civic centre reflect the architecture of the 1960's and 1970's, their arrangement is reminiscent of the City Beautiful -- formal park surrounded by public buildings, visual link with the railway station some blocks distant by means of the combined station and office tower (topped with a large neon C.N. sign) terminating a street vista.

Winnipeg's civic centre plan called for a formal approach to the Legislature and a boulevard link between the Legislature and the railway station. Both these exist today, the former having been built around 1920. The date of the latter improvement was not ascertained but it was probably undertaken around the same time.

In Regina, most of the landscape treatment in the immediate vicinity of the Parliament Building can be directly attributed to either Todd's 1907 or Mawson's 1913 plan. The Parliament Building

is today part of Wascana Centre, a 2000-acre park containing several public buildings and a university campus. Although Wascana Centre was largely developed in the 1960's, Mawson had made the original recommendations for such a centre, and the major promoter of the present development had insisted that the Mawson scheme be revived.

All the above observations suggest that the City Beautiful movement may have had a more tangible impact on the urban landscape than has previously been supposed. The legacy bears further examination.

FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations used:

ARCC	Annual Report of the Commission of Conservation
CA & B	Canadian Architect and Builder
CE	Canadian Engineer
CMJ	Canadian Municipal Journal
CR	Contract Record
JRAIC	Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada
JTPIC	Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada
MRC	Municipal Review of Canada
TP & CL	Town Planning and Conservation of Life

Introduction

¹Thomas Adams, "The Meaning and Practical Application of Town Planning", TP & CL, 1(4), July 1915, p. 74.

²Examples of those who have supported this view include: (1) Thomas S. Hines, Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 74; (2) John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 497; (3) Arthur B. Gallion and Simon Eisner, The Urban Pattern: City Planning and Design (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co. Ltd., 1950), pp. 81-82; (4) John L. Hancock, "Planners in the Changing American City, 1900-1940", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 3(5), 1967, p. 293.

³Walter van Nus, "The Plan-Makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975.

⁴For example: Alan F.J. Artibise, "Winnipeg and the City Planning Movement, 1900-1915", in Western Perspectives, ed. by David Bercuson (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974), pp. 10-18.

⁵For example: Van Nus, "The Plan-Makers and the City"

⁶Ibid., pp. 38-47.

Chapter 1

¹For example: (1) Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967), pp. 260-261; (2) William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City, University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XL (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1964), pp. xii-xiv.

²Mel Scott, American City Planning Since 1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), p. 45.

Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings", Journal of Urban History, 2(4), August 1976, p. 419.

Peterson has indicated that the term was originally derived from the English arts and crafts movement and was first applied to the American "municipal art" movement in 1897. "The new slogan, never before used in municipal art discussion, quickly took hold. By March 1898, Charles R. Lamb, an architect active in New York art circles, was exhorting his city to realize 'the dream of the idealist, the City Beautiful'. Municipal Affairs conferred full blessing upon the term in its December 1899 issue, splashing the work across its front cover." (Peterson, p. 419)

³Christopher Tunnard and Henry Reed, American Skyline (New York: The New American Library of American Literature, 1953), p. 137.

⁴Peterson has indicated that there were nearly 1000 such organizations in the U.S. in 1900, and by 1905 the number had increased to almost 2500. (Peterson, p. 429)

⁵Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement", pp. 415-434.

⁶Most critics have chosen to interpret the movement in terms of its impact on city plans.

⁷James G. Coke, "Antecedents of Local Planning" in Principles and Practice of Urban Planning, ed. by William I. Goodman and Eric C. Freund (Washington: International City Managers' Association, 1968), p. 18.

⁸Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement", pp. 428-429.

⁹Scott has presented brief summaries of many of these plans. (Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, pp. 47-109)

¹⁰For example: (1) Gallion and Eisner, The Urban Pattern, p. 84; (2) Harvey A. Kantor, "Benjamin C. Marsh and the Fight over Population Congestion", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 40(4), 1974, p. 428.

- 11 For example: (1) Glaab and Brown, A History of Urban America, p. 262.
(2) Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 24-25.
- 12 George E. Hooker, "A Plan for Chicago", The Survey, Vol. 22, 1909, pp. 788-790.
- 13 For example: (1) John Nolen, ed., City Planning: A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1916); (2) Nelson P. Lewis, The Planning of the Modern City: A Review of the Principles Governing City Planning (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1916).
- 14 There were others before him. Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852), North America's leading authority on landscape gardening, had influenced many including Olmsted. At the time of his sudden death in 1852, he was in the midst of crusading for a large public pleasure ground in New York City -- the present-day Central Park, designed by Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, Downing's pupil.
- 15 One critic has said that buildings and formal elements in Olmsted's parks were not in keeping with his philosophy but merely in response to popular demand. (Leonard J. Simutis, "Frederick Law Olmsted: A Reassessment", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 38(2), 1972, p. 278)
- 16 Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, p. 12.
- 17 Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City.
- 18 Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, pp. 19-23.
- 19 Ibid., p. 11.
- 20 Coke, "Antecedents of Local Planning", pp. 17-18.
- 21 Ibid.; Simutis, "Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.", p. 276; Glaab and Brown, A History of Urban America, pp. 70-71.
- 22 Hines, Burnham of Chicago, p. 73.
- 23 The dissenting voice was Louis Sullivan's Transportation Building.
- 24 Tunnard and Reed, American Skyline, p. 143.
- 25 Hines, Burnham of Chicago, pp. 73-91.
- 26 A.T. Taylor, "Brief Notes on the Architecture of the World's Fair", CA & B, 6(10), October 1893, pp. 104-105.

- 27 Glaab and Brown, A History of Urban America, pp. 260-261.
- 28 Louis Sullivan had been a bitter observer of the Fair's ability to alter public taste. "The virus of the World's Fair, after a period of incubation in the architectural profession and in the population at large ... began to show unmistakable signs of the nature of the contagion. There came a violent outbreak of the Classic and the Renaissance in the East, which slowly spread westward, contaminating all that it touched... The danger wrought by the World's Fair will last for half a century from its date, if not longer." (Louis H. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, New York, Press of the American Institute of Planners, 1926, pp. 324-325)
- 29 Tunnard and Reed, American Skyline, p. 137.
- 30 Hines, Burnham of Chicago; Glaab and Brown, A History of Urban America, p. 261.
- 31 Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, p. 65.
- 32 Hines, Burnham of Chicago, p. 146.
- 33 The U.S. had its own Baroque city -- Washington. Details of this 1791 plan will be presented later.
- 34 For example: Charles Mulford Robinson, Modern Civic Art (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), pp. 110-111.
- 35 Norman J. Johnston, "Harland Bartholomew: Precedent for the Profession", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 39(2), 1973, p. 116.
- 36 Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, p. 66
- 37 Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement", p. 428.
- 38 For example: Coke, "Antecedents of Local Planning", p. 18.
- 39 "American Society of Landscape Architects Minute on the Life and Service of Charles Mulford Robinson", Landscape Architect, 9(4), 1919, p. 189.
- 40 Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, p. 66.
- 41 Nolen, City Planning, preface.
- 42 "...Minute on the Life and Service of Charles Mulford Robinson", pp. 192-193. A bibliography of Robinson's writings appears in this article.
- 43 Ibid., p. 189.

- ⁴⁴ Charles Mulford Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), p. 24.
- ⁴⁵ Robinson, Modern Civic Art, p. 114.
- ⁴⁶ Later Robinson would oppose such a location on the grounds that it would hinder business by causing a break in the street. (Charles Mulford Robinson, City Planning, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916, p. 193.)
- ⁴⁷ Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities, p. 153.
- ⁴⁸ Robinson, Modern Civic Art, p. 342.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 344.
- ⁵⁰ Since public open spaces were most likely to be used as shortcuts, Robinson saw travel patterns as the first consideration.
- ⁵¹ Robinson, Modern Civic Art, p. 293.
- ⁵² Ibid., p. 299.
- ⁵³ Ibid., p. 30.
- ⁵⁴ Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities, p. 181.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 21.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 208.
- ⁵⁷ Robinson, Modern Civic Art, p. 29.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 30.
- ⁵⁹ Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities, p. 25.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 174.
- ⁶¹ Robinson, Modern Civic Art, pp. 305-306.
- ⁶² Ibid., p. 29.
- ⁶³ Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities, p. 10.
- ⁶⁴ Robinson, Modern Civic Art, pp. 247-266.

- ⁶⁵One of the most nonsensical (in light of current opinion) appeared in a previous chapter. "It has been found that often there is no better way to redeem a slum district than by cutting into it a great highway that will be filled with the through travel of a city's industry. Like a stream of pure water cleansing what it touches, this tide of traffic, pulsing with the joyousness of the city's life of toil and purpose, when flowing through an idle or suffering district wakes it to larger interests and higher purpose." (Robinson, Modern Civic Art, p. 120.)
- ⁶⁶Charles Mulford Robinson, "The City Plan Exhibition", The Survey, Vol. 22, 1909, pp. 313-318.
- ⁶⁷Robinson, Modern Civic Art, pp. 267-268.
- ⁶⁸This organization merged with the American Institute of Architects in 1889.
- ⁶⁹Hines, Burnham of Chicago, pp. 22-25.
- ⁷⁰They were not the first to use steel frame however. In 1885, William Jenny's Home Insurance Building in Chicago was the first skyscraper to use steel structurally. He had begun his building using cast iron and switched to steel mid-stream. (Hines, Burnham of Chicago, pp. 61-62)
- ⁷¹Root died a few months later but nevertheless was responsible for the ground plan.
- ⁷²Hines, Burnham of Chicago, p. 124.
- ⁷³Ibid., pp. 71-72.
- ⁷⁴Bennett would later work on the 1915 plan for Ottawa.
- ⁷⁵A list of refusals compiled by Hines from Burnham's letters includes: Springfield (Mass.), Oakland (Calif.), Fort Worth, Atlantic City, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Duluth, Portland, South Bend, Detroit, Nashville, Memphis, Newark, Brooklyn, Grand Rapids (Mich.), Elmira (N.Y.), Trenton, Erie (Pa.), Tampa, Montreal, Amherst College (Mass.), and the University of Illinois at Champaign. (Hines, Burnham of Chicago, p. 347.)
- ⁷⁶Daniel H. Burnham, "A City of the Future under a Democratic Government" in The Royal Institute of British Architects, Town Planning Conference Transactions (London: 1910), p. 369.
- ⁷⁷Hines, Burnham of Chicago, p. 183.
- ⁷⁸Daniel H. Burnham, Plan of Chicago (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970). This is a reprint of the 1909 plan undertaken for the Commercial Club of Chicago.

- ⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 86.
- ⁸⁰ Daniel H. Burnham, Report on a Plan for San Francisco (Berkeley: Urban Books, 1971), p. 67. This is a reprint of the 1906 plan.
- ⁸¹ The San Francisco plan's relatively greater emphasis on aesthetics may have been due to differences in client expectations. The San Francisco plan had been commissioned by the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco while the Chicago plan had been done for that city's Commercial Club.
- ⁸² The connection to the ancient world was hardly subtle. For example, "this amphitheatre would recall by its location the stadium in the hills at Delphi, which overlooks the Gulf of Corinth and the theatre of Dionysos, at the foot of the Acropolis, from which the Piraeus and the sea of Aegina come finely into view." (Burnham, Report on a Plan for San Francisco, p. 158.)
- ⁸³ Ibid., p. 182.
- ⁸⁴ Hines, Burnham of Chicago, p. 324.
- ⁸⁵ Benjamin C. Marsh, a member of the reform-oriented Committee on Congestion of Population, was a forceful supporter of lower densities, efficient inexpensive rapid transit, parks and playgrounds, building regulations, speculation taxes, and some segregation of land uses (factory areas, residential areas). For a brief period, Marsh's Committee on Congestion and the planners came together. In 1909, Robinson spoke at Marsh's city planning exhibition, and later that same year, both groups took part in the first National Conference on City Planning. Marsh became disillusioned soon after, however, and abandoned planning. (Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, pp. 84-99, 164; Kantor, "Benjamin C. Marsh and the Fight over Population Congestion", pp. 422-429.)
- ⁸⁶ Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, p. 228.
- ⁸⁷ Lewis, The Planning of the Modern City, p. 11.
- ⁸⁸ John Nolen, "Park Systems" in City Planning: A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan, ed. by John Nolen (New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1916), p. 159.
- ⁸⁹ Edward H. Bennett, "Public and Quasi-Public Buildings" in City Planning, ed. by John Nolen, pp. 105-109.
- ⁹⁰ Raymond Unwin, "The City Development Plan" in The Royal Institute of British Architects, Town Planning Conference Transactions (London: 1910), p. 265.

Unwin was highly critical of the kind of beauty conceived by City Beautiful planners. He thought Americans had placed too much emphasis on a grand design of order and symmetry without worrying about the characteristics of a particular site or whether an effective space had been created on that site. (*Ibid.*, p. 259.)

⁹¹ Lewis, The Planning of the Modern City, pp. 149-172.

⁹² F.L. Olmsted, Jr., "Introduction" in City Planning, ed. by John Nolen, pp. 17-18.

According to Scott, Olmsted was not able to follow his own advice. He remained firmly entrenched in the City Beautiful. (Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, pp. 118-120, 125.)

⁹³ Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, pp. 166-167.

⁹⁴ The exhibition and conference saw the brief coming together of both planners and housing reformers. The following year, the housing reformers left the movement while city planning took a decided turn towards the City Efficient.

⁹⁵ Britain was undergoing much the same process but with much greater commitment to planning. The year 1909 saw the first city planning department established at a university and the passage of the first Town Planning Act. This Act authorized local authorities to prepare comprehensive plans for development.

⁹⁶ Hancock, "Planners in the Changing American City, 1900-1940", p. 294.

⁹⁷ Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, pp. 163-164.

Chapter 2

¹ "North West Toronto Growing Rapidly", CA & B, 1(6), June 1888, p. 4.

² Todd's work in the first fifteen years or so of this century included preparing plans for park and boulevard systems (e.g. Ottawa, Edmonton, St. John's), plans for individual parks (e.g. Regina, Winnipeg, Stratford, Montreal), other types of grounds plans (e.g. St. James Cemetery and Trinity College in Toronto, the grounds of the Saskatchewan Legislature), and plans for residential subdivisions (e.g. Tuxedo Park in Winnipeg, Shaughnessy and part of Point Grey in Vancouver).

³ Frederick G. Todd, "Landscape Architecture", CA & B, 14(4), April 1901, p. 79. This was the journal's only signed article on parks.

⁴ "The City of Toronto Waterfront", CA & B, 2(8), August 1889, p. 87.

- ⁵"Ontario Association of Architects", CA & B, 16(11), November 1903, p. 186.
 - ⁶"The Improvement of the Capital", CA & B, 16(11), November 1903, p. 180.
 - ⁷"Ontario Association of Architects", CA & B, 16(11), November 1903, p. 186.
 - ⁸"The Beautifying of Cities", CA & B, 15(3), March 1902, p. 46.
 - ⁹CA & B, 7(5), May 1894, p. 61.
 - ¹⁰CA & B, 4(1), January 1891, p. 2; CA & B, 4(4), April 1891, pp. 42-43.
 - ¹¹CA & B, 4(4), April 1891, p. 42.
 - ¹²See especially: CA & B, 1(3), March 1888, p. 2; "The City of Toronto Waterfront", CA & B, 2(8), August 1889, pp. 87-89; CA & B, 2(9), September 1889, p. 98; CA & B, 2(10), October 1889, pp. 113-114; CA & B, 6(7), July 1893, p. 73; "Toronto Esplanade Improvement", CA & B, 6(10), October 1893, p. 101.
 - ¹³See: "A Central Park Proposed for Toronto", CA & B, 10(7), July 1897, pp. 125-126; CA & B, 10(11), November 1897, p. 206; CA & B, 11(1), January 1898, p. 1; CA & B, 11(4), April 1898, pp. 61-62; CA & B, 11(5), May 1898, p. 82; "A Work for the Guild of Civic Art", CA & B, 13(4), April 1900, p. 70; CA & B, 14(9), September 1901, p. 164.
 - ¹⁴"Proposed Victoria Square", CA & B, 10(11), November 1897, p. 206.
 - ¹⁵"Victoria Square", CA & B, 11(5), May 1898, p. 82.
 - ¹⁶"Toronto City Hall", CA & B, 12(10), October 1899, pp. 193-195.
 - ¹⁷"Notes from the World's Fair", CA & B, 6(10), October 1893, p. 102; A.T. Taylor, "Brief Notes on the Architecture of the World's Fair", CA & B, 6(10), October 1893, pp. 104-105.
- On these and other occasions, the Fair was mentioned because of the good influence it would likely exert in the field of architecture.
- ¹⁸"Toronto Island", CA & B, &(3), March 1894, pp. 38-39.
 - ¹⁹Taylor, "Brief Notes on the Architecture of the World's Fair", p. 104.
 - ²⁰This paper was read at the annual meeting of the P.Q.A.A.
 - ²¹A.T. Taylor, "Notes on Some Aspects of the City of the Future", CA & B, 7(10), October 1894, pp. 130-131.

- 22 See: "Competition for Exhibition Buildings", CA & B, 13(12), December 1900, p. 227; "O.A.A., Proceedings of the Annual Convention Jan 29-30, 1901", CA & B, 14(2), February 1901, pp. 33-47; "The Toronto Exhibition", CA & B, 15(1), January 1902, pp. 1-2.
- 23 Edmund Burke, "Improvement of the Grounds of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition", CA & B, 15(2), February 1902, p. 29.
- 24 "Competition for Exhibition Buildings", p. 227.
- 25 Albert E. Kelsey, "Modern City Making", CA & B, 14(4), April 1901, p. 80.
- 26 W.A. Langton, "City Planning", CA & B, 15(4), April 1902, p. 49.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 49-51.
- 28 "Municipal Improvements: Toronto Guild of Civic Art", CA & B, 14(5), May 1901, p. 100; "Toronto Guild of Civic Art", CA & B, 14(6), June 1901, pp. 113-114.
- 29 "Toronto Guild of Civic Art Incorporated", CA & B, 10(4), April 1897, p. 67.
- 30 "A Work for the Guild of Civic Art", CA & B, 13(4), April 1900, p. 70.
- 31 "O.A.A. Annual Convention", CA & B, 19(1), January 1906, pp. 5-10.
- 32 The plan was prepared by the P.Q.A.A.'s Committee of Civic Improvement. Its chairman was Percy E. Nobbs, a professor of architecture at McGill University.
- 33 "Montreal Notes", CA & B, 19(6), June 1906, pp. 88-89.
- 34 "City Improvement Committee of P.Q.A.A.", CA & B, 19(12), December 1906, p. 179.
- 35 "Plan of Improvement of Montreal", CMJ, 3(4), April 1907, pp. 152-153.
- 36 Wilfred Eggleston, The Queen's Choice: A Story of Canada's Capital (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, 1961), pp. 154-155.
- 37 "Improvement of the Capital", CA & B, 12(8), August 1899, p. 159.
- 38 Frederick G. Todd, Preliminary Report to the Ottawa Improvement Commission, 1903.
- 39 Ibid., p. 14.
- 40 Ibid., p. 18.
- 41 Ibid., pp. 17-18.

- ⁴²Ibid., pp. 38-39.
- ⁴³W.A. Langton, "The Plan of Improvements to Toronto", Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects, 1906, pp. 90-99. (See also banquet discussion, pp. 49-76.)
- ⁴⁴Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Civic Improvement in Toronto, 1909
- ⁴⁵Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects, (Banquet discussion), 1906, pp. 66, 70.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 52-53.
- ⁴⁷Langton, "The Plan of Improvements to Toronto", p. 91.
- ⁴⁸Ibid.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 95.
- ⁵⁰Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Report on a Comprehensive Plan for... Toronto, pp. 13.
- ⁵¹Ibid., fold-out map.
- ⁵²In the years immediately prior to World War I, Thomas Mawson made several lecture tours in Canada and produced planning reports for Vancouver, Banff, Calgary and Regina. In addition to his English planning practice, he maintained a Canadian office in Vancouver, headed by his son.
- ⁵³Thomas H. Mawson, "The Main Principles of Street Planning", CR, 26(7), 1912, pp. 51-53.
- ⁵⁴Malcolm N. Ross, "Landscape Art and Civic Design", CE, 22(13), 1912, p. 457.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., p. 457.
- ⁵⁶Christopher J. Yorath, "Important Elements in Town Planning", CR, 27(31), 1913, p. 41.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., p. 43.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., p. 43.
- ⁵⁹C.H. Mitchell, "Town Planning and Civic Improvement", CE, 23(26), 1912, pp. 911-915.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., p. 911.

- 61 "The Practical Phases of City Planning", CR, 25(23), 1911, p. 44.
- 62 G. Wray Lemon, "Boston - an Example and a Warning", CMJ, 8(10), 1912, p. 471.
- 63 The Canadian Municipal Journal's regular feature entitled "Civic Notes" is the main source of these reports.
- 64 "Beautiful Toronto", CMJ, 5(6), 1909, p. 240.
- 65 "Civic Notes", CMJ, 6(9), 1910, p. 355.
- 66 "Civic Notes", CMJ, 6(12), 1910, p. 519.
- 67 "Civic Notes", CMJ, 8(5), 1912, p. 185.
- 68 "Town Planning", CMJ, 9(9), 1913, p. 350.
- 69 "The Plaza Laurier, Ottawa", CMJ, 7(5), 1911, pp. 187-188.
- 70 "Conditions for the Competitive Designs of Government Buildings, Ottawa", CE, 27(35), 1913, pp. 50-53.
- 71 "Prize-Winning Design for the New University of British Columbia", CR, 27(2), 1913, pp. 42-43.
- 72 See: E.L. Cousins, "A Comprehensive Report to the Toronto Harbor Commissioners", CR, 26(30), 1912, pp. 54-55; "Toronto Harbor Improvements", CE, 23(21), 1912, pp. 771-776; "Toronto's Comprehensive Harbor Scheme: Details of a Great Plan", CR, 26(47), 1912, pp. 53-56.
- 73 "Better Harbor Facilities for Vancouver", CE, 21(6), 1911, p. 471; "Harbor Development at Montreal, Quebec", CR, 25(47), 1911, pp. 42-45; F.W. Cowie, "The Great National Port of Canada: Features of the Important Extension Work in Progress in Montreal Harbor", CE, 22(3), 1912, pp. 178-183; "Development of Montreal's Port", CE, 1912, p. 390.
- 74 William Dendy, Lost Toronto (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- 75 Thomas H. Mawson, "Vancouver: A City of Optimists", Town Planning Review, Vol. 4, 1913, pp. 7-12.
- 76 Ibid., p. 10.
- 77 An Act Establishing the Commission of Conservation, Assented to 19th May, 1909, 8-9 Edward VII, Chapter 27, pp. vii-x.
- 78 Ibid., p. viii.

- 79 Alan H. Armstrong, "Thomas Adams and the Commission of Conservation" in Planning the Canadian Environment, ed. by L.O. Gertler (Montreal: Harvest House, 1968), p. 21.
- 80 For example: Charles A. Hodgetts, "Unsanitary Housing", ARCC, 1911, pp. 50-80.
- 81 Ibid.; Charles A. Hodgetts, "Housing and Town Planning", ARCC, 1912, pp. 130-148.
- 82 Hodgetts, "Housing and Town Planning", pp. 140.
- 83 "The Conservation Commission and Its Public Health Measures", CE, 26(8), 1914, p. 350.
- 84 "City Planning in Canada", CMJ, 10(4), 1914, p. 194.
- 85 ARCC, 1915, pp. 233-234.
- 86 ARCC, 1915, p. 243.
- 87 "Progress of the City Planning Movement", CE, Vol. 26, 1914, p. 829.
- 88 "International Town Planning Conference", CMJ, 10(6), 1914, p. 227.
- 89 Biographical material is based on: (1) Armstrong, "Thomas Adams and the Commission of Conservation"; (2) "Town Planning Adviser to the Commission of Conservation", TP & CL, 1(2), October 1914, pp. 27-28.
- 90 ARCC, 1913, pp. 9-10.
- 91 British Columbia and Quebec were the exceptions although Adams had prepared a draft Act for the latter. British Columbia would enact legislation in 1925 but Quebec was still without it in 1930.
- 92 Ian Cooper and J. David Hulchanski, Canadian Town Planning, 1900-1930: A Historical Bibliography, (Vol. 1: Planning), Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Bibliographic Series No. 7, University of Toronto, April 1978, p. 5.
- 93 Charles A. Hodgetts, "Town Planning in Canada", CMJ, 10(8), 1914, p. 321.
- 94 Thomas Adams, "The Meaning and Practical Application of Town Planning", TP & CL, 1(4), July 1915, p. 74.
- 95 Ibid., p. 74.
- 96 Thomas Adams, "Civic and Social Questions in Canada", TP & CL, 2(3), April-June 1916, p. 57.

- 97 Thomas Adams, "Planning the Greater Halifax", ARCC, 1917, p. 107.
- 98 Thomas Adams, "Civic Improvement Organization for Canada", TP & CL, 2(1), October 1915, p. 4.
- 99 W.H. Atherton, "City Improvement League, Montreal: 7th Annual Report", CMJ, 12(8), 1916, pp. 440-441.
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⁴²Metropolitan Planning Commission and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, Background for Planning Greater Winnipeg, 1946, p. 18.

⁴³The maps were not available.

⁴⁴Frederick G. Todd, Report to Edmonton City Council, April 5, 1907, pp. 1-3; Frederick G. Todd, Report to Strathcona City Council, May 6, 1907, pp. 1-2.

Both reports were actually untitled since they were written in the form of letters to City Council.

⁴⁵Todd, Edmonton Report, p. 3.

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⁴⁷A History of the Parks and Recreation Department, February 1969, p. 2.

⁴⁸Todd, Strathcona Report, pp. 6-7.

- ⁴⁹Todd, Edmonton Report, pp. 4-10; Todd, Strathcona Report, pp. 4-9.
- ⁵⁰City Council minutes, April 12, 1907.
- ⁵¹"Comprehensive Scheme for Beautifying City", Edmonton Bulletin, April 15, 1907.
- ⁵²City Council minutes, April 16, 1907.
- ⁵³Edmonton. Eighth Annual Financial and Departmental Report for Year Ending October 31, 1912.
This report contained a Parks Department map which showed parks in existence before April 1, 1912, parks acquired since that date, proposed parks, and connecting driveways. It can be seen that the parks system as of April 1, 1912 is almost identical to the one described by Todd.
- ⁵⁴City Council minutes, September 3, 1911.
- ⁵⁵By-law Establishing Parks Commission, 1911.
- ⁵⁶A History of the Parks and Recreation Department, p. 5.
- ⁵⁷Commissioners' Report No. 78, April 29, 1912; Adopted by City Council on April 30, 1912.
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- ⁵⁹City Council minutes, August 23, 1912. During the period under discussion, Edmonton operated by a system whereby money bylaws had to be submitted to the ratepayers for approval. Only property owners were permitted to vote, the number of votes allowed varying with the amount of property owned.
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- ⁶⁶Letter from Parks Commission to City Council, August 2, 1912; Adopted by City Council, August 6, 1912.
- ⁶⁷"Park Planner Completes Study Local Conditions", Edmonton Daily Capital, September 5, 1912.

- ⁶⁸City Council minutes, November 19, 1912.
- ⁶⁹City Council minutes, December 3, 1912.
- ⁷⁰Commissioners' Report No. 296, November 21, 1912. Adopted by City Council December 3, 1912.
- ⁷¹Letter from Morell and Nichols to P.A. von Aueberg, November 29, 1912.
- ⁷²"Beautification of City Shown on Broad Plan", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, November 20, 1912; "He Presents Plan for a Civic Centre", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, November 16, 1912.
- ⁷³Seven articles were located. Note that they do not cover all aspects of the plan.
- "City's Growth in Relation to Town Planning", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, November 25, 1912.
- "How Four Main Arteries of the City Should Be Improved", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, November 30, 1912.
- "How an Expert Proposes to Cut Diagonal Streets", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, December 13, 1912.
- "How Morell Would Solve Transportation Problem", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, December 23, 1912.
- "How Morell Would Deal with the Housing Problem", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, January 7, 1913.
- "Municipal Housing", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, January 11, 1913.
- "Industries and the Zone System in City Planning", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, January 27, 1913.
- ⁷⁴"City's Growth in Relation to Town Planning", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, November 25, 1912.
- ⁷⁵Four of these photographs are in the McDermid photographic collection at Calgary's Glenbow-Alberta Institute.
- ⁷⁶"City's Growth in Relation to Town Planning", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, November 25, 1912.
- ⁷⁷"Beautification of City Shown on Broad Plan"; "How Four Main Arteries of the City Should be Improved"; "How an Expert Proposes to Cut Diagonal Streets".
- ⁷⁸"He Presents Plans for a Civic Centre"; "Beautification of City Shown on Broad Plan".

Parks were supposed to be the central feature of Morell's plan. Unfortunately no individual article devoted to parks could be located so that it was necessary to depend on the above general summaries.

- 79 "Beautification of City Shown on Broad Plan"; "How Morell Would Deal With the Housing Problem"; "Municipal Housing".
- 80 "How Morell Would Deal With the Housing Problem"; "Industries and the Zone System in City Planning".
- 81 Letter from P.A. von Aueberg to the City Commissioners, January 3, 1913.
- 82 Letter from P.A. von Aueberg to the Parks Commission, January 8, 1913.
- 83 One can only speculate about the motives of aldermen in supporting the scheme. Several possibilities come to mind. Dreams of "great cities of the future" and "higher civic ideals" may have genuinely caught their collective imagination. They may have thought that such a civic centre would give Edmonton an edge over other cities in attracting industry and population. They may have owned land in the vicinity and expected to profit from increased property values.
- 84 "Civic Centre Shelved for Two Weeks", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, February 27, 1913.
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- 88 "Civic Centre Shelved for Two Weeks", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, February 27, 1913.
- 89 "Ratepayers Will Vote on Civic Centre", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, March 5, 1913.
- 90 "Edmonton Business Men Discuss \$2,500,000 Civic Centre Proposal", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, February 28, 1913.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 "Not Yet Say Citizens as to Civic Centre", Edmonton Daily Bulletin, March 29, 1913. 5715 votes were cast out of a possible total of 22,304 votes. 6235 ratepayers had one vote, 2631 had two votes, 925 had three votes, and 2008 had four votes.

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- 94 City Council minutes, May 8, 1913.
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- 98 Edmund H. Dale, "Edmonton's Civic Centre", Community Planning Review, Summer 1970, p. 2.
- 99 Edmund H. Dale, "Decision-Making at Edmonton, Alberta 1913-1945: Town Planning Without a Plan", Plan Canada, 11(2), 1971, pp. 135, 137.
- 100 Edmonton. Town Planning Commission. Interim Report on a Major Street Plan for the City of Edmonton, Alberta, 1930.
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- 102 Dale, "Edmonton's Civic Centre", pp. 2-9. By 1962 it was no longer necessary to submit money bylaws to the ratepayers.
- 103 Originally called the Town Planning Commission.
- 104 City Council minutes, November 13, 1911.
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- 128 "Traffic Congestion Problem in Calgary Declares T.H. Mawson", Calgary Herald, May 14, 1913.
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