

**Canadian Planning through a Transnational Lens: the Evolution of Urban Planning in
Canada, 1890-1930**

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Abstract

From the late nineteenth century onwards, a varied group of middle and upper class English-Canadians embraced urban planning, forming connections with the international planning cohort and circulating planning knowledge across Canada. Yet, despite their membership within the wider planning world, and the importance of such involvement to Canada's early planning movement, the current historical narrative does not fully account for the complex nature of Canadian interactions with this wider planning cohort. This dissertation points to the necessity of applying a transnational perspective to our understanding of Canada's modern planning history. It considers the importance of English-Canadian urban planning networking from 1910–1914, argues that these individuals were knowledgeable and selective borrowers of foreign planning information, and reassesses the role of Thomas Adams, the British expert who acted as a national planning advisor to Canada (1915–1922) and has been credited with founding Canada's planning movement. Reevaluating his position, I argue that Adams did not introduce Canadians to modern planning. Instead his central role came through his efforts to help professionalize planning through creating the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC) in 1919. As I assert, by restricting full membership to male professionals the TPIC relegated amateur planning advocates to a supporting role, devaluing the contributions of non-professionals, and, in particular, women. Through my dissertation, I demonstrate that neither Adams' arrival, nor his departure, stopped English-Canadians from interacting with the wider planning movement. Instead, such webs of transnational planning connections stood as the common threads linking all English-Canadian planning activities between 1890 and 1930.

Résumé

Depuis la fin du XIXe siècle, un groupe divers de Canadiens anglais provenant de la bourgeoisie et de la classe moyenne se sont initiés aux principes émergents de l'urbanisme. Dans cet élan, ils ont établi des liens avec une cohorte internationale de spécialistes d'urbanisme et ont diffusé les connaissances qu'ils ont acquises sur le sujet à travers le Canada. Malgré cette adhésion au monde d'urbanisme transnational et l'influence qu'elle a exercée sur l'urbanisme moderne du Canada, l'historiographie n'aborde pas la complexité des interactions canadiennes et des échanges idéologiques avec cette cohorte internationale. Cette thèse démontre que les balbutiements de l'urbanisme moderne au Canada méritent d'être examinés dans leur contexte transnational. Nous considérons en premier lieu les individus impliqués dans le réseau d'urbanisme canadien-anglais entre les années 1910 et 1914. Ceux-ci se sont informés au sujet de l'urbanisme et ont choisi d'emprunter les éléments qu'ils ont jugés pertinents à leur cause. En deuxième lieu, nous réévaluons la contribution de Thomas Adams, l'expert britannique qui a agi comme un conseiller national d'urbanisme au Canada entre les années 1915 et 1922. Ce dernier a été reconnu comme l'architecte du mouvement d'urbanisme moderne au Canada. Nous avançons plutôt que Adams n'est pas le point de départ de ce mouvement, mais qu'il a occupé un rôle primordial dans la professionnalisation de l'urbanisme dans le cadre de la création de l'Institut canadien d'urbanisme (ICU) en 1919. En limitant l'adhésion à l'ICU aux urbanistes professionnels et masculins, cette association a relégué les amateurs à un rôle de soutien, dévalorisant ainsi les contributions des contributeurs non professionnels, et surtout, des femmes. Cette thèse démontre que l'arrivée et le départ d'Adams n'ont pas empêché l'interaction des Canadiens anglais avec le mouvement d'urbanisme internationale. Au contraire, ces réseaux

transnationaux d'urbanisme persistent et demeurent pertinents pour toutes les activités de planification dans le Canada anglais entre 1890 et 1930.

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List of Abbreviations

AAPQ	l'Association des Architectes Payagistes du Québec
BANQ-M	Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec- Montreal
BNA	British North America Act
CCPC	Calgary City Planning Commission
CCCC	Canadian Conference on Charities and Correction
CMJ	Canadian Municipal Journal
CSLATP	Canadian Society of Landscape Architects and Town Planners
COSA	City of Saskatoon Archives
CVA	City of Vancouver Archives
CIC	Civic Improvement Committee (Montreal)
CILC	Civic Improvement League of Canada
CTPExh.	Cities and Town Planning Exhibition
COC	Commission on Conservation
DLSA	Dominion Land Surveyors' Association
ICW	International Congress of Women
ICU	l'Institut Canadien d'Urbanisme
JTPIC	Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
LGB	London Government Board
MCIL	Montreal City Improvement League
NACC	North American Conservation Commission
NCCP	National Conference on City Planning
NCC	National Conservation Commission
NCW	National Council of Women of Canada
NHA	National Housing Association
NLS	National Library of Scotland
OAA	Ontario Association of Architects
PQAA	Province of Quebec Association of Architects
RAIC	Royal Architectural Institute of Canada
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SAB	Saskatchewan Archives Board
SZEA	State Standard Zoning Enabling Act
THC	Toronto Housing Corporation
TPI	Town Planning Institute
TPIC	Town Planning Institute of Canada
UCM	Union of Canadian Municipalities
UMPQ	l'Union des Municipalités de la Province de Quebec
USM	Union of Saskatchewan Municipalities
UBC-	University of British Columbia: Rare Books and Special Collections
RBSC	
USA	University of Strathclyde Archives
VCPC	Vancouver City Planning Commission

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Introduction

From the outset of modern planning's development as an emerging international movement in the 1890s, a varied group of middle and upper class English-Canadians contributed to its growth and formalization. They attended international conferences, kept in contact with far-flung colleagues, imported foreign planning ideas, and disseminated this knowledge across Canada. Yet, despite English-Canadians' active membership within the wider planning cohort, and the importance of such involvement to Canada's early planning movement, the current historical narrative does not fully account for the complex nature of Canadian interactions with this transnational planning world. Few studies have thoroughly analyzed the external influences shaping Canada's early planning developments, or questioned the processes that brought foreign experts and innovations to the country throughout the early 1900s. Furthermore, though scholars of transnational planning history have examined the development of an international planning movement throughout the 1900s, English-Canadian participation has been only selectively documented.

To redress these historiographic absences, this dissertation applies a transnational perspective to our understanding of Canada's modern planning history, and claims space for English-Canadian actors within the study of Progressive-Era transnational planning. In doing so, I make several key interventions into the current narrative of early English-Canadian and transnational urban planning history. Firstly, this project reassesses the role of Thomas Adams, a British Garden City planning expert who acted as a national planning advisor to Canada between 1915 and 1922 and has been credited with near singlehandedly initiating Canada's planning movement. I decenter Adams from the narrative of early Canadian planning history through shifting my periodization,

beginning my study in 1890, twenty-four years before his arrival, and ending it in 1930, eight years after Adams departed Canada to work in the United States.¹

This periodization also brings to light the importance of transnational interactions to the evolution of Canada's domestic planning movement in the years prior to the First World War. Although scholars have examined Canadian planning activity in the years before 1914, and noted the importation of foreign ideas and experts, few have considered the means through which such innovations and individuals were transported to Canada. By exposing the intricate linkages local planning advocates employed to acquire, import, and circulate planning knowledge, my project interrogates the presence of foreign ideas and experts within Canada and challenges the notion that English-Canadians operated outside the wider international cohort, importing innovations and following foreign experts wholly and uncritically.²

English-Canadian actors were discerning, full members of the transnational planning movement whose participation was guided by their perceptions of local needs. Throughout the early 1900s, during which Canadian municipalities generally experienced economic and demographic growth, the American City Beautiful approach, which emphasized the creation of landscaped urban parks, grand roadways, impressive public building, found favour.³ By the 1910s, however, an

¹ Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1985), 75

² Stephen V. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (Chichester: Wiley, 2002), 403; Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement*, 117.

³ Some cities were excluded from this trend. For example, in their analysis of early urban planning activities in Nova Scotia, Jill Grant, Leifka Vissers, and James Haney note that, while Maritime municipalities industrialized and grew during the mid nineteenth century, and experienced the same urban issues as other Canadian cities, by the 1890s Canada's "economic

increasing shortage of working class housing, rising rents, and by 1913, national economic recession, caused English-Canadians to embrace the British Garden City approach, which focused on suburban development and the provision of housing.⁴ English-Canadians did not move to significantly change the American and British innovations and experts they adopted before 1914, but they selectively imported these ideas, rejecting old approaches and employing new ones based on their perceptions of changing local priorities. Furthermore, though English-Canadian planners offered no homegrown innovations to rival those of their European and American colleagues, English-Canadians engaged in a genuine exchange of information with their international colleagues. Foreign planners were interested to hear and read of, and even view, Canada's planning achievements, further enmeshing domestic actors within this transnational cohort.⁵

centre of gravity" moved as the national government, and investors, turned their attention to Western colonization and agricultural development, ending the protective tariffs and subsidies that had helped fuel earlier expansion. "Early Town Planning Legislation in Nova Scotia: The Roles of Local Reformers and International Experts," *Urban History Review* 40.2 (Spring 2012): 4.

⁴ In his study of Canadian housing policy history, John Bacher well documents housing issues leading up to the 1910s, illustrating that, despite the prosperity of the boom years before recession in 1913, issues such as overcrowding, deteriorating conditions, increased rents, and a general shortage of homes were adding to the "growing severity of Canada's housing problems" throughout the 1900s and early 1910s. John Bacher, *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 38. As Walter van Nus argues, the emergence of this housing crisis helped spur Canadian support for the Garden City approach. While City Beautiful plans generally paid little to no attention to housing, calling instead for the expensive remodeling of urban centres, and the creation of landscaped parks and grand civic buildings, Garden Cities and Suburbs were city extension plans, new builds on undeveloped land that provided the low-cost single-family homes for working class residents that planning advocates were, increasingly, calling for. Given Canada's mounting economic and social issues throughout the 1910s, the Garden City approach came to be framed as the rational, cost-efficient answer to the nation's urban ills. Walter van Nus, "The Plan Makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors, and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 47-48.

⁵ For a full examination of the British Garden City and American City Beautiful styles please see, for example: Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States* (Baltimore:

This dissertation will also reevaluate Adams' hiring and role within Canada's planning movement throughout his tenure. Although he certainly led Canadian planning efforts between 1915 and 1922, aiding several provinces to adopt British-based planning legislation, Adams did not singlehandedly introduce Canadians to modern planning, or initiate an "all conquering British influence" over domestic planning activities.⁶ Examining the 1912–1914 campaign leading to his arrival, I emphasize his hiring as the product of English-Canadian knowledge of the wider, international planning field. Studying Canadian planning activity between 1915–1922, I argue that while preexisting support for the Garden City approach, combined with Adams' direction, did lead to the popularity of British-based innovations, Adam's presence did not end domestic planning advocates' participation in the wider planning world. As I illustrate through a case study of planning in Saskatchewan from 1900 to 1928, even in provinces where British-based legislation had been adopted with Adams' aid, local planning actors felt free to continue searching for new planning innovations, and to abandon those that no longer fit provincial and municipal needs.

Instead of introducing Canadians to modern planning, then, I argue that Adams' central leadership role came through his efforts to prioritize the work of trained, male planning experts by professionalizing urban planning in Canada. As this dissertation's first two chapters emphasize, from the 1890s to mid 1910s, male and female Anglo-Canadian urban reformers,

Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Stephen V. Ward, *The Garden City: Past, Present, and Future* (London: E and FN Spon, 1992); William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Gordon Cherry, *Cities and Plans: The Shaping of Urban Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁶ Simpson, 75.

business interests, government officials, public health experts, and technical professionals alike comprised a loose coalition of amateur and professional “planning advocates” within English-Canada. While those within this group were overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Protestant, and middle and upper class actors who shared social, cultural, religious, and racial biases, different voices were privileged at different times. In the newer municipalities of Western Canada throughout the early 1900s, leading civic boosters, businessmen, and real estate interests carried disproportionate clout over planning activities.⁷ In more developed, populous, cities such as Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal, the voices of trained public health experts, and concerns of entrenched networks of elite philanthropists, often heavily influenced urban reform and planning efforts.⁸

Despite a rising interest in urban planning amongst architects, landscape architects, surveyors, and engineers, the most powerful actors of the pre-1914 period were generally such lay planning advocates. After his arrival, however, Adams’ helped effect a specifically gendered and technical shift in influence through leading efforts to inaugurate the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC) in 1919. Modeled after the British Town Planning Institute Adams established in 1914, the TPIC restricted full membership to male trained professionals from the fields of landscape

⁷ See, for example: John Bottomley, “Ideology, Planning and the Landscape: The Business Community, Urban Reform and the Establishment of Town Planning in Vancouver, British Columbia, 1900–1940” (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1977); William Brennan “Business-Government Cooperation on Townsite Promotion in Regina and Moose Jaw. 1882–1903,” in *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981), 95–120.

⁸ See, for example: Elizabeth Kirkland, “Mothering Citizens: Elite Women in Montreal 1890–1914” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2011); David L.A. Gordon, “Planning Ottawa: “From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism: Elite Involvement In Planning Canada’s Capital,” *Journal of Urban History* 28.1 (Nov. 2001): 3–34; Heather MacDougall, *Activists and Advocates: Toronto’s Health Department, 1883–1983* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990).

architecture, architecture, surveying, and engineering. By relegating amateur planning advocates to a supporting role, and positioning the TPIC members as the “official” voices of Canada’s urban planning movement, the TPIC’s membership devalued the contributions of non-professionals, and, in particular, women. Although some male amateur advocates were admitted as non-voting TPIC members, no women were likewise recognized.⁹

In highlighting Adams’ role in the formalization of planning in Canada, and the gendered nature of the transition from planning advocate to planning profession, this dissertation contributes a new perspective to the broader study of both planning and professionalization within the Progressive-Era. While historians have analyzed the shift between amateur and professional planners in the United States throughout the 1910s, no Canadian works have done so.¹⁰ Furthermore, planning historiography in general has failed to fully consider the gendered nature of this change. Building on the work of American scholars such as Linda Gordon and Regina Kunzel, whose studies of Progressive-Era social workers question the superiority of impartial experts over charitable volunteers, and a Canadian literature which argues that the transition from volunteer to trained expert throughout the early 1900s was “neither smooth nor uncontroversial,” I deconstruct planning’s professionalization, privileging the role of female

⁹ For a full consideration of the ways in which professionalization affected English-Canada’s planning movement, please see Chapters 4 and 5. For a study of women’s experiences in the planning profession between the mid 1940s to the 1970s, please see: Sue Hendler with Julia Markovich, *I Was the Only Woman: Women and Planning in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017).

¹⁰ See, for example: Stuart Meck and Rebecca Retzlaff. “A Familiar Ring: A Retrospective on the First National Conference on City Planning.” *Planning and Environmental Law* 61.4 (April 2009): 3–10; Jon A. Peterson, “The Birth of Organized City Planning in the United States, 1909–1910,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75.2 (Spring 2009): 123–133.

planning advocates and illustrating that, despite the TPIC members' hopes, ultimately, the path to professionalization did not run smoothly.¹¹

This study ends in 1930, just as a rising global economic depression quelled an interest in large-scale planning activities. Increasingly cash-strapped businessmen and city councils were no longer in a position to invest in planning efforts and, without this support, job opportunities decreased. The Depression served to dismantle the TPIC, which did not emerge again until the 1950s. Here once more, my dissertation's periodization, and inclusion of the years between 1920 and 1930, serves to explore new aspects of Canadian and transnational planning history. Through my consideration of these years, I demonstrate that neither Adams' arrival, nor his departure, stopped a varied cohort of English-Canadians from interacting with the wider planning movement. Instead, such webs of transnational planning exchanges, circulations, and linkages stood as the common threads linking all English-Canadian planning activities between 1890 and 1930.

Structure

Though my chapters are loosely chronological, it is not my intention to write a biography of early planners and organizations, or present a comprehensive, strictly linear narrative of planning's evolution in Canada. My chapters instead illustrate the impossibility of viewing English-Canadian planning history as an uninterrupted story of progress and the triumph of professional planners. Throughout the period under study, no single vision of a "perfect" city plan emerged and no single voice spoke for all of Canada's urban residents and planning

¹¹ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885–1925*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 181.

advocates. This was partly a function of Canada's unique constitutional division of power.

Unlike in Great Britain, where the national government enacted planning legislation that affected all municipalities, Canada's Dominion government lacked such powers. Under, the British North America Act (BNA) of 1867, Canada's provincial government's were granted control over property rights and the sale of land within their boundaries. Municipalities were given no constitutional status under the BNA and were instead regulated by their respective provincial governments: any powers exercised by civic councils were granted to them by the province.

As we shall see, Canadian planning advocates did petition and organize at the national level. Provinces, however, remained the "fulcrum" of Canadian planning policy and practice.¹² While common concerns such as overcrowding, poor public health, and civic management, served to unite Canadian planning advocates across municipal and provincial boundaries, local conditions and concerns specifically influenced planning needs. Even within cities, a multitude of actors including public health experts, reformers, business interests, and civic officials, jockeyed to assert control over the urban language. And, despite the TPIC members' hopes to assert control of planning after 1919, these new professionals still depended on public interest in their craft and the support of local businessmen and civic officials who hired them.

My chapters function as individual studies that collectively build an understanding of how English-Canadian interactions with the broader, transnational planning world influenced their approach to the urban environment and shaped planning developments at the national, provincial, and municipal levels. The impact of the transnational and cross-Canadian circulation of foreign

¹² Gerald Hodge, "The Roots of Canadian Planning," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51.1 (Winter 1985), 21.

planning expertise and innovations is a central theme unifying these chapters. My first chapter takes transnational exchanges as its focus, studying the four main channels through which English-Canadian actors acquired and circulated foreign planning information between the 1890s and 1914, and illustrating the breadth of such transfers and the variety of local actors and agendas involved. The ensuing chapter follows such early planning networking to its high point, Thomas Adams' arrival in Canada, deconstructing the campaign to hire Adams and focusing on the local and international linkages used to secure his aid. Through a case study of urban planning in Saskatchewan, Chapter 4 examines how the processes of acquiring and circulating foreign planning expertise persisted throughout Adams' tenure. While his presence helped lead English-Canadian actors to favour British innovations, they continued to connect to foreign colleagues after 1914, and showed a willingness to adopt and reject new innovations according to local needs.

Chapter Five analyzes the formalization of the loose coalitions of English-Canadian planning advocates whose local and international networking led to Adams' hiring. Adams' built on such connections, forming first the Civic Improvement League of Canada in 1915 and, with support from Canadian landscape architects, architects, surveyors, and engineers, the TPIC in 1919. He, along with the TPIC's professional membership, hoped to position Canadian planners as equal to their American and European colleagues. When, in 1926, Vancouver's Town Planning Commission held an international contest to select a town planning advisor, Adams and TPIC membership called for a Canadian planner to win the contract. However, as Chapter Six argues, thanks in large part to Vancouver's planning advocates' continued exchanges with foreign

colleagues, an American, rather than Canadian, professional was selected, frustrating the TPIC's membership.

Scope

My dissertation focuses chiefly on planners and planning advocates within English Canada.

Though my preliminary research, as well as literature on *urbanisme* (urban planning) in Quebec, suggests that French Canadian planning advocates likewise connected to the transnational planning world, a detailed study of Francophone planning advocates was outside the scope of this dissertation.¹³ However, my dissertation does include a consideration of Montreal and Anglo-Canadian planning experts. In her study of the activism of elite women in Montreal between 1890 and 1914, Elizabeth Kirkland reflects on the complexity of studying Montreal's history, noting that many Canadian Anglophone historians "neglect" the city, "neither willing to make the effort to untangle Francophone...experiences nor to untangle Anglophone[s]...from the general population."¹⁴ As a Canadian Anglophone historian who previously concentrated on Western Canadian history, I was originally unsure of how to approach Montreal's urban history.

¹³ For example, my survey of *La Revue municipale du Canada*, journal of l'Union des Municipalités de la Province de Quebec (UMPQ), revealed UMPQ members' interest in foreign developments in civic improvements. In the summer of 1925, the UMPQ welcomed Emile Vinck, a Belgian senator, urban reform expert, and leading force behind l'Union Internationale des Villes (UIV) to Montreal and discussed civic issues with him. "La Congrès International des Municipalités," *La Revue municipale du Canada* 3.7 (July 1925): 155. Months later, the UMPQ sent a delegation to Paris to attend le Congrès Internationale des Villes, "le Congrès International des Villes," *La Revue municipale du Canada* 3.7 (July 1925): 203. I discuss both the UIV and le Congrès International des Villes in Chapter 1. For consideration of *urbanisme* in Quebec, including discussions of foreign planning influences, please see, for example: Gabriel Roux, "Le milieu de l'urbanisme à Montréal (1897-1941), histoire d'une "refondation"" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2013); Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montréal en évolution: quatre siècles d'architecture et d'aménagement* (Laval, Québec : Méridien architecture, 1994).

¹⁴ Kirkland, "Mothering Citizens," 15–16.

However, I soon discovered the impossibility of discussing Canada's Progressive-era civic improvement and planning without considering Montreal.

In the early 1900s, Montreal was Canada's most populous, economically important, and cosmopolitan city and, thanks to support from an influential cohort of urban reform advocates, a Canadian leader in planning activity from the 1870s onwards.¹⁵ For example, in 1874, the city became one of the first in Canada to embrace the American park-based approach to planning, hiring famed American landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted to design Mount Royal, the city's first large park.¹⁶ In 1900, Frederick Todd, Olmsted's protégé, opened his own firm in Montreal, becoming the nation's first resident landscape architect.¹⁷ In 1905, Montreal-born Rickson Outhet, who had also trained and worked with Olmsted, likewise opened a Montreal office, becoming Canada's first native-born landscape architect. Throughout the early 1900s, members of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects called for the adoption of planning measures, and, beginning in 1907, drew up their own city plans for Montreal.¹⁸ In 1910, Montreal's City Improvement League hired Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., then the leader of America's planning movement, to advise on planning matters and, in 1911, Todd was hired to

¹⁵ For a consideration of Montreal's industrialization, urbanization, and growing economic and demographic dominance from the 1830s to the First World War, please see: Paul Andre Linteau, *The History of Montreal: The Story of a Great North American City*, trans. Peter McCambridge (Montreal: Baraka Books, 2013), 69–128.

¹⁶ Linteau, *The History of Montreal*, 91.

¹⁷ For an examination of Todd's work, please see: "Frederick G. Todd and the Origins of the Park System in Canada's Capital." *Journal of Planning History* 1.1 (February 2002): 29–57; Vincent Asselin, "Frederick G. Todd, architecte payagiste: une pratique de l'aménagement ancrée dans son époque 1900-1948," (masters thesis, Université de Montréal, 1995); Peter Jacobs, "Frederick G. Todd and the Creation of Canada's Urban Landscape," *Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin* 15.4 (1983): 27–34.

¹⁸ "City Improvements," in Province of Quebec Association of Architects [hereafter PQAA], *Yearbook, 1907*, 16.

design the suburb of Mount Royal, conceived by its proprietors within the Canadian Northern Railway as a “Model City” for Canada’s future urban development.¹⁹

As this brief summary illustrates, Anglo-Montrealers, like their colleagues across Canada, were deeply enmeshed in the domestic, and international, planning world. However, though English-Canadians dominate this work, I do not mean to give the illusion that there were no exchanges or points of contact between English and French urban reformers and planning advocates. My first chapter, for example, contains a brief study of the Montreal City Improvement League, a bilingual and cross-denominational group of civic reform advocates, and my fourth chapter presents a study of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects/ l’Association des Architectes Payagistes du Québec (PQAA/AAPQ), an operationally bilingual organization of Francophone and Anglophone architectural professionals.

Methodology

This dissertation applies a transnational lens to its analysis of English-Canadian planning history and, in doing so, contributes to a wider “transnational turn” in Canadian history. As Adele Perry, Karen Dubinsky, and Henry Yu argue, the application of a transnational lens to our analysis of Canadian history enriches current perspectives of past events. “Mov[ing] between, across, and beyond national boundaries,” these authors note, transnational analyses of Canadian history “situate Canada in the wider world” of the Americas, British Empire, and Commonwealth,

¹⁹ Larry McCann, “Planning and Building the Corporate Suburb of Mount Royal, 1910–1915,” *Planning Perspectives* 11.3 (July 1996): 267,

illustrating the “thick connections and continuities” between Canadian and other histories, and emphasizing the “global networks...that Canadians drew on and participated in.”²⁰

I also draw from the rich, preexisting literature exposing and analyzing the transnational nature of urban reform at the turn of the twentieth century, and the creation of what Pierre Yves Saunier defines as an *urban internationale*: “the international milieu...dedicated to the study of issues relating to cities” and were busily interacting across it: exchanging letters with far-flung colleagues, reading foreign journals, travelling to view new innovations firsthand, and interacting at international exhibitions and conferences.²¹ Scholars such as Daniel Rodgers and Thomas Adam have well demonstrated that the “cultural and social infrastructure of nineteenth-century cities...did not emerge in isolation but was a result of intensive contacts and transfers across geographic, linguistic, and later “imagined” national borders.”²² Adam, in particular, has established English-Canada’s place within these wider transnational urban reform and philanthropic networks, analyzing how elite Canadian philanthropists acted as “agent[s] of intercultural transfer” alongside their American, British, and German counterparts, circulating

²⁰ Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu, “Introduction: Canadian History, Transnational History,” in *Within and Without the Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History*, ed. Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 10–11.

²¹ Pierre Yves Saunier, “Sketches from the Urban Internationale, 1910–50: Voluntary Associations, International Institutions and US philanthropic foundations,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25.2 (June 2001): 380.

²² Thomas Adam, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 3. Please see also: Daniel Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1998).

and exchanging innovations in the building of public libraries, museums, and social housing developments.²³

In recent years, scholars of urban and planning history have increasingly turned to theoretical approaches established in the social sciences to help frame their analysis of urban development. Andre Sorensen, for example, has demonstrated the possibilities historical institutionalism holds for future research in planning history, while Bert de Munck argues that urban historians should embrace Actor Network Theory (ANT) as a means through which to interrogate themes such as urban agency and reconceptualize our understanding of urbanization.²⁴ Though ANT, as de Munck argues, may indeed help historians recognize cities as “complex assemblages of material and human components in dynamic...relations with one another,” my project does not directly engage with such theory.²⁵ This is because my study is chiefly concerned with social networks and relationships between human, individual actors whereas ANT, as defined by Bruno Latour, one of its leading theorists, “has very little to do with the study of social networks...[and] does not limit itself to human individual actors but extend[s] the word actor...to non-human, non-individual entities.”²⁶

In its analysis of English-Canadian planning network building, and the circulation of foreign planning knowledge and experts, my study instead takes inspiration from the framework

²³ Adam, *Buying Respectability*, 5.

²⁴ Andre Sorensen, “Taking Path Dependence Seriously: An Historical Institutional Research Agenda in Planning History,” *Planning Perspectives* 30.1 (January 2015): 17–38; Bert de Munck, “Re-assembling Actor Network Theory and Urban History,” *Urban History* 44.1 (February 2017): 111–122.

²⁵ de Munck, “Re-assembling Actor Network Theory,” 119.

²⁶ Bruno Latour, “On Actor Network Theory: A Few Clarifications,” *Soziale Welt* 46.4 (1996): 369.

introduced by planning historian Stephen V. Ward. Ward's "typology of diffusional episodes" establishes two central means of diffusion of planning innovations: imposition (either authoritarian, contested, or negotiated), and borrowing (either undiluted, selective, or synthetic).²⁷ In his analysis of Canada's early twentieth century planning movement, Ward has generally classified Canada as an "undiluted" borrower of foreign innovations, noting that Canada's planners displayed little "conscious selectivity" and had only "a limited grasp of the underlying theory and concepts" of the planning ideas it imported until after the Second World War.²⁸

Ward does argue that this analysis has its limits, for example, in a review of Canada's pre-1914 planning history, he notes, "Canadians...actively decided what [planning innovations] they wanted to emulate."²⁹ However, he generally emphasizes Canada's "uncritical reliance" on foreign traditions, and does not fully interrogate its planning advocates' connection to the wider, transnational planning world.³⁰ Through my analysis, I demonstrate that English-Canada's early modern planning movement fits somewhere in between Ward's categories of "undiluted" and "selective" borrowing. Although English-Canadians did not radically change the innovations they adopted, in line with Ward's definition of selective borrowing, "the priorities of the

²⁷ Ward sets out this typology in several works. Please see, for example: "The International Diffusion of Planning: A Review and a Canadian Case Study," *International Planning Studies* 4.1 (1999): 53-77; "British and American Influences on Canadian Planning" *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 13.1 (1998): 125-139.

²⁸ Stephen V. Ward, "Re-Examining the International Diffusion of Planning," in *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, ed. Robert Freestone (New York: Routledge, 2000), 49.

²⁹ Ward, "The International Diffusion of Planning," 71.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

importing country (at least as understood by...the local planning movement)...[took] precedence.”³¹

³¹ Ibid., 56.

<i>Type of Borrowing or Imposition</i>	<i>Role played by Local Actors</i>	<i>Role played by Foreign Actors</i>	<i>Instruments of Importation or Diffusion</i>	<i>What Was Borrowed?</i>	<i>Central Actors (either local or external)</i>	<i>Potential for Local Innovation</i>
Synthetic Borrowing	Very high	Very low	Local planning movements alongside their wide networks of external contacts	Planning theory and practice	Local	Great potential
Selective Borrowing	High	Low	A high level local contact with foreign planning experts and traditions	Planning practice and some theory	Local	High potential
Undiluted Borrowing	Medium	Medium	Local deference to foreign planning innovations and experts	Planning practice but little to no planning theory	Foreign actors with some local input	Some potential
Negotiated Imposition	Low	High	Some dependence on foreign planning innovations and experts	Planning practice only	Foreign actors with some local input	Low potential
Contested Imposition	Very Low	Very high	High dependence on a single foreign planning innovation or actor	Planning practice only	Foreign actors	Low potential
Authoritarian Imposition	None	Total	Complete dependence on a single foreign planning innovation or actor	Planning practice only	Foreign actors	No potential

Table 1. Typology of Diffusion as defined by Stephen V. Ward. This table is adapted from the model established by Ward in “Re-examining the International Diffusion of Planning,” in *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, ed. Robert Freestone (New York: Routledge, 2000), 44.

Sources

Unearthing and reassembling a cross-Canadian and transnational world of borrowings and exchanges required the consultation of a diverse array of sources across Canada and Great Britain. Some of the significant Canadian collections consulted include, those of the TPIC, PQAA, Commission on Conservation (COC), National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), the Vancouver City Planning Commission (VCPC), and Saskatchewan's Department of Municipal Affairs. I also surveyed the personal records of planners and planning advocates including Noulan Cauchon, C.P. Meredith, Arthur G. Dalzell, Percy Nobbs, Frank E. Buck, and William F. Burditt.³² Key international resources surveyed include the records of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the proceedings of the American National Conference on City Planning, and the personal archives of planners Raymond Unwin, Thomas Adams, and Patrick Geddes.

The different types of material I considered include correspondence, organizational minutes and papers, reports, newspaper articles, speeches, city plans and planning legislation, conference proceedings, and journals. Each served my work in important ways. Reconnecting the letters exchanged between English-Canadian planning advocates and foreign experts, for example, not only illustrated the existence of transnational and domestic connections, but also provided the most personal and immediate glimpses into these relationships, revealing their authors' hopes, ambitions, and frustrations. Following these trails of correspondence often tested both my detective skills and my passport. In the most extreme case, my efforts to piece together a set of

³² Other personal papers consulted at Library and Archives Canada include those of Canadian planning pioneer Horace Llewellyn Seymour, Conservative Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, and Albert Henry George Grey, fourth Earl Grey and ninth Governor General of Canada.

letters sent between Scottish planning expert Patrick Geddes, leading English planner Raymond Unwin, and Colborne Powell (C.P.) Meredith, a Canadian architect, from February to July 1911 took me from Meredith's fonds at the Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, to Unwin's papers at the University of Manchester, and to the Geddes' collection at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh and the University of Strathclyde Archives in Glasgow.

While less overtly personal in nature, the records of organizations such as the COC, TPIC, NCWC, VCPC, or PQAA proved equally integral to my work. For example, the COC's detailed annual *Reports*, containing meeting minutes alongside papers submitted or presented to the COC, were central to piecing together the campaign to bring Thomas Adams to Canada, and understanding the role he played throughout his tenure. Such records frequently helped direct my research questions. The papers of the PQAA, including a host of letters from members outraged by architects practicing without accreditation, inspired me to explore how the push to create professional licensing bodies protected some groups while excluding others. The VTPC records hold letters documenting a heated exchange between Thomas Adams, Noulon Cauchon, and VTPC member J. Alexander Walker after an American candidate won the contract to plan Vancouver. Their correspondence illustrated Canadian planners' wider struggles to gain credibility. Additionally, discussions recorded in the TPIC's executive council's minute book shed light on the Institute's rejection of female membership, directing me to question women's role in the wider movement and consult the records of the NCWC, whose annual *Yearbook* provided insight into women's planning advocacy.

Newspaper and journal articles, conference proceedings, and speeches were crucial published primary sources. My first chapter, in particular, studies newspapers and journals as tools central to the circulation and exchange of foreign planning innovations throughout the early 1900s and uses published international conference proceedings to help reconstruct a picture of the types of ideas, and foreign planning experts, English-Canadian planning advocates were exposed to at these events. Finally, a consultation of British, American, and Canadian planning legislation enacted between 1909 and 1928, and a consideration of proposed Canadian city plans, firmly demonstrated the extent to which foreign innovations and experts influenced the types of plans and policies undertaken throughout Canada during the period I study.

Though I consulted a wide selection of sources, my dissertation testifies to the existence and importance of transnational exchanges rather than accounting for every encounter between Canadian planners and the wider planning cohort. The expense of national and international travel, the limits of time, and the sheer quantity of material available imposed constraints on my study and research. For one, I was unable to conduct a detailed, primary-source based, analysis of planning in each province. Instead, Chapters 3 and 5 present case studies of key planning developments in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. For another, though I personally visited several archives outside Canada, there are collections I yet hope to consult such as the Olmsted Papers at the American Library of Congress and the Harland Bartholomew and Associates collection at the University of Washington St. Louis. Finally, since English-Canadians largely interacted with ideas and experts from Britain and the United States, countries with whom they shared preexisting cultural, social, and economic ties, I focused my research on Canadian experiences with those in these two nations. I do note points of contact with other planning

traditions wherever I encounter them, and emphasize English-Canadian knowledge of a wide range of foreign achievements, but there remain moments of transnational exchanges yet to be interrogated by future projects.

Historiography

The division of my dissertation into separate case studies enables me to embed specific historiographies directly into the chapters they relate to, rather than presenting them here, dissociated from their context. Therefore, while the following section introduces the general scholastic placement of this study, the historiographies of transnational urban planning networking, Canadian Progressive-era professionalization, and perceptions of Thomas Adams' influence on Canada's planning movement will be examined separately within their respective chapters.

Despite the growth of urban planning historiography since its emergence as a distinct field of study in the 1960s and 70s, and, more recently, a proliferation of scholarship on the rise and workings of the international planning cohort that formed from the 1890s onwards, the historical narrative of English-Canadian participation in this wider movement has yet to fully interrogate the importance of English-Canadian participation within this global cohort. As previously noted, the English-Canadian historiography has insufficiently explored the external influences shaping Canada's early planning developments throughout the early 1900s. Furthermore, scholars of transnational planning history have only selectively documented English-Canadian participation in the wider movement.

Part of the reason for this lack of English-Canadian representation within transnational planning literature lies in the fluid and diverse nature of the English-Canadian historiography. Though the historical study of modern urban planning has grown as a distinct subfield of urban and social history from the 1960s and 70s onwards, the field's "indeterminate boundaries," frustrate efforts to define and chart it.³³ The history of English-Canada's early planning movement is, variously, to be found in studies of urban history, architectural history, historical analyses of human and urban geography, as well as in texts specifically devoted to planning history. Yet, despite such scholastic and professional fragmentation, a distinct English-Canadian modern planning historiography has developed. Its foundation was laid in the 1970s and 80s when an emerging interest in the social aspects of Canadian Progressive-era urban reform placed new emphasis on planning. Scholars across the disciplines of architecture, geography, urban planning, and history contributed to this nascent field, charting modern planning's development from the 1890s onwards and analyzing it as the product of intensified urbanization throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, unlike in the United States, where J.W. Reps' *The Making of Urban America* (1954) and Mel Scott's *American City Planning Since 1860* (1969) anchored a growing planning historiography, or in Great Britain, where William Ashworth's *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning* (1968) Gordon Cherry's *The Evolution of British Town Planning* (1974) and Anthony Sutcliffe's *British Town Planning* (1981) cemented planning history as a

³³ Gordon Cherry, "Planning History: Recent Developments in Britain," *Planning Perspectives* 6.1 (January 1991), 40; Stephen V. Ward, Robert Freestone, and Christopher Silver, "The 'New' Planning History: Reflections, Issues, and Directions," *Town Planning Review* 82.3 (July 2011): 231.

unique field of study, much of the earliest English-Canadian studies in planning history came in the form of dissertations, chapters in edited works, and articles rather than monographs.³⁴

For example, historian Walter van Nus' unpublished doctoral thesis, "The Plan Makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors, and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939," provides one of the earliest, and broadest, examinations of modern urban planning in Canada. Written in 1975, van Nus' work studies the evolution of both Canada's modern planning movement and its first professional planning organization, the TPIC, through exploring the three fields which shaped planning's development: architecture, engineering, and surveying.³⁵ Following van Nus, Thomas Gunton's dissertation, "The Evolution of Urban and Regional Planning in Canada: 1900-1960" (1981), likewise assesses the evolution of urban planning across Canada, but concentrates more on the heterogeneous cohort of actors who came to support planning efforts, identifying three broad groups of early advocates: agrarian radicals, urban liberals, and urban radicals. In addition to these cross-Canadian works, J.D. Hulchanski and Thomas Bottomley both offer focused studies of planning efforts. Hulchanski's dissertation examines the creation and

³⁴ William Ashworth, *The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning: A Study in Economic and Social History of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1954); John William Reys, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965); Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890: A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Gordon Cherry, *The Evolution of British Town Planning: A History of Town Planning in the United Kingdom during the 20th century and of the Royal Town Planning Institute, 1914-74* (New York: Wiley, 1974); Anthony Sutcliffe, *British Town Planning: The Formative Years* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981).

³⁵ As van Nus argues in "The Plan Makers and the City," recognizing that problems of rapid urban-industrial development, chiefly "ugliness, unhealthiness, and inefficiency," were common to many Canadian municipalities, architects, engineers, and surveyors sought to "develop and popularize" planning within Canada (327). Motivated by a wish to use their technical expertise to better the urban environment, but also by a hope that planning would provide new job opportunities, such men eventually organized to form the Town Planning Institute of Canada in 1919.

implementation of urban land use regulations in Ontario between 1900 and 1920 whereas Bottomley's thesis analyses the influence Vancouver's business community wielded over planning efforts from 1900 to 1940.³⁶

Between 1977 and 1986, urban historians Gilbert Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise co-edited four collections that directed attention to the historical development of Canada's urban landscape and the connections between Progressive-era urban reformers and town planning efforts.³⁷ As they note in their introduction to *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City* (1979), these books were part of an effort to redress the dearth of research on Canada's urban past and bring together an "explosion" of scholarship in the field. Contributors to these works did much to further an understanding of Canada's early planning movement, firmly establishing the urban reform context from which interest in planning arose,³⁸ tracing the shifting

³⁶ J. David Hulchanski, "The Origins of Urban Land Use Planning in Ontario, 1900-1946" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1981).

³⁷ Gilbert Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise's edited collections include: *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History* (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1977); *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979); *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process* (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1982); *Power and Place: Canadian Urban Development in the North American Context* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

³⁸ Both Paul Rutherford and John C. Weaver trace the early origins of planning within their examinations of Canada's Progressive-era urban reform movement, emphasizing the importance of public health, sanitation, housing, parks and playgrounds, and civic governance reform to the development of a dedicated urban planning movement. Please see: Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 368-92; John C. Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 393-418.

public and professional interest in a series of planning and urban reform initiatives,³⁹ charting the professionalization of the field,⁴⁰ and providing case studies of planning efforts in towns and cities across Canada.⁴¹

Following on Artibise's and Sutcliffe's collections, urban planner Gerald Hodge's *Planning Canadian Communities: An Introduction to Principles, Practice, and Participants* (1986), a survey of the modern planning field from its inception in the late 1800s to its current practice, marked one of the first book-length studies of the Canadian field.⁴² In it, Hodge provides an historical analysis of the roots of modern urban planning in Canada, asserting that, while the movement's late nineteenth and early twentieth century beginnings were shaped by a blending of

³⁹ Please see, Walter Van Nus, "The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1893-1930," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 162-185; Walter Van Nus, "Towards the City Efficient: The Theory and Practice of Zoning, 1919-1939," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979), 226-246.

⁴⁰ For example, please see: Thomas I. Gunton, "The Ideas and Policies of the Canadian Planning Profession, 909-1931," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979), 177-195.

⁴¹ See, for example: Olivia Saarinen, "The Influence of Thomas Adams and the British New Towns Movement in the Planning of Canadian Resource Communities," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979), 268-292; Max Foran, "Land Development Patterns in Calgary, 1884-1945," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979), 293-315; Peter W. Moore, "Zoning and Planning: The Toronto Experience, 1904-1970," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979), 316-342; Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Reshaping the Urban Landscape? Town Planning Efforts in the Kitchener-Waterloo, 1912-1925," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1982), 256-299.

⁴² Gerald Hodge, *Planning Canadian Communities: An Introduction to Principles, Practice, and Participants* (Toronto: Metheun, 1986).

American and British influences, the outcome was distinctive thanks to Canada's unique federal structure and constitutional division of powers.⁴³

Hodges' work marked one of the first scholastic interrogations of British and American influences, and consideration of Canadian distinctiveness. Similar to Hodge, historian Peter J. Smith also argues for the distinctiveness of Canadian planning. In his article "American Influences and Local Needs," Smith studies the development of Alberta's second provincial town planning act from 1928-1929. The assertion that British and American planning ideas strongly influenced the formative years of Canada's modern planning movement is, Smith concedes, a "realistic admission" and a "useful generalization," however he, much like Freestone in his study of Australia, insists that a 'finer-grained' analysis reveals the distinct nature of Canadian planning.⁴⁴ While Smith observes that given provincial distinctiveness it may not be possible to define a single, "Canadian" planning style in the early 1900s, at the provincial and national levels "the very act of blending [outside] ideas and adapting them to local circumstances must produce something unique."⁴⁵ As both Smith and Hodge highlight, Canadian planners did not just blindly accept ideas from America and Great Britain but instead deliberately blended, and adapted measures from both traditions. In his work, Smith calls on scholars to consider the particular nature of Canada's planning movement, finding that the subject had not received "sufficient attention."⁴⁶

⁴³ This is also the central argument of Hodge's article, "The Roots of Canadian Planning."

⁴⁴ Peter J. Smith, "American Influences and Local Needs: Adaptations to the Alberta Planning System in 1928-1929," in *Power and Place: Canadian Urban Development in the North American Context*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 109.

⁴⁵ Peter J. Smith, "American Influences and Local Needs," 109.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Recent English-Canadian scholarship has risen to Smith's challenge, questioning the influence of outside innovations and experts through examining the circulation of foreign planning ideas across Canada and reevaluating the roles played by local actors. For example, in his study of elite involvement in the planning of Ottawa between 1890–1950, David L.A. Gordon highlights the key roles played by Earl Grey, Canada's ninth Governor General, and William Lyon Mackenzie King. Both men used their social and political influence to promote the application of British and American planning techniques in Ottawa.⁴⁷ In her examinations of the American-based Olmsted landscape-architecture firm in Canada, Nancy Pollock-Ellwand identifies the channels through which American innovations in landscape architecture travelled to Canada, underscoring the importance of individual experts like Rickson Outhet and Frederick G. Todd, Olmsted employees who, through their work within Canada, helped disseminate Frederick Law Olmsted's innovations in park and city planning across the nation in the early 1900s.⁴⁸ Furthermore, in their analysis of the development of planning in Nova Scotia, Leifka Vissers, Jill Grant, and James Heaney deconstruct the province's importation of a British planning innovation, the 1909 Town Planning Act, analyzing the role of local actors and foreign experts and arguing that Nova

⁴⁷ David L.A. Gordon, "From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism," 3–34. See also: David L.A. Gordon, "William Lyon Mackenzie King, planning advocate," *Planning Perspectives* 17.2 (April 2002): 97–122.

⁴⁸ Nancy Pollock-Ellwand, "The Olmsted Firm in Canada: A Correction of the Record," *Planning Perspectives: And International Journal of History, Planning and the Environment* 21.3 (July 2006): 277–310; Nancy Pollock-Ellwand, "Rickson Outhet: Bringing the Olmsted Legacy to Canada: A Romantic View of Nature in the Metropolis and the Hinterland," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 44.1 (Winter 2010): 137–183.

Scotia's ensuing planning act of 1912 was the product of local priorities rather than an example of uninformed borrowing.⁴⁹

While such scholarship has contributed to a growing understanding of the interplay between English-Canadian and foreign actors and planning innovations, our knowledge is yet incomplete. For one, aside from Hodge's *Planning Canadian Communities*, most of these works provide discrete case studies of given provinces, cities, individuals, organizations, and initiatives rather than offering critical cross-national analyses.⁵⁰ It has been some time since any author has

⁴⁹ Grant, Vissers, and Haney, "Early Town Planning Legislation in Nova Scotia," 3–14. While this historiography has focused chiefly on recent studies analyzing Canadian interactions with international experts and the wider planning movement, it is important to note that, alongside the works surveyed here, there exists a rich historiography of Canada's urban planning and development exploring subjects such as early zoning and land use control, housing, and suburbanization. See, for example: Sarah Bassnett, "Visuality and the Emergence of City Planning in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto and Montreal," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 32.1 (February 2007): 21–38; Raphaël Fischler, "Development Controls in Toronto in the Nineteenth Century," *Urban History Review* 36.1 (Fall 2007): 16–31; Robert Lewis ed., *Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 2004); Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Richard Dennis, "Zoning Before Zoning: The Regulation of Apartment Housing in Early Twentieth Century Winnipeg and Toronto," *Planning Perspectives* 15.3 (July 2000): 267–299; Sean Purdy, Building Homes, Building Citizens: Housing Reform and Nation Formation in Canada, 1900–20," *Canadian Historical Review* 79.3 (September 1998): 493–523; John Bacher, *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Michael Doucet and John C. Weaver, *Housing the North American City*, (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

⁵⁰ As Sarah Bassnett, "[s]cholarship on the planning profession in Canada has tended to provide a broad historical overview, or to focus on the history of planning in particular cities, the history of particular associations, and the planning initiatives of particular architects and planners." "Picturing the Professionalization of Planning, 1901–1927," *Journal of the Society for Architecture in Canada* 33.2 (2008): 22. For a concise overview of Canadian planning history please see: Jeanne Wolfe, "Our Common Past: An Interpretation of Canadian Planning History," *Plan Canada*, 75th Anniversary Special edition (July 1994): 12–34. For case studies of planning, and specific planning initiatives, in cities and provinces, please see: Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974); Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Economy, Necessity, Political Reality: Town Planning

reconsidered English-Canada's early planning movement. Furthermore, though scholarship examining the transnational development of modern urban planning in the early twentieth century has grown since the late 1980s, English-Canadian works have largely failed to engage directly with this broader, internationalized field. As a result, an incomplete picture of Canadian engagement with foreign innovations, and the wider modern planning movement, has emerged within transnational planning literature.

In their review of planning historiography, "The New Planning History," Robert Freestone, Chris Silver, and Stephen V. Ward state, "planning historians have shown a remarkable interest in how planning activity in one country has been connected with its equivalents in other countries."⁵¹

Since the 1980s, which saw the publication of Anthony Sutcliffe's *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, and France* (1981), the transnational study of modern urban planning has formed a distinct subfield within the wider field of planning history.⁵² What Freestone, Silver, and Ward define as a "fascination with international diffusion," connects with

Efforts in Kitchener-Waterloo, 1912–1925," *Urban History Review* 9.2 (June 1980): 3–48; Richard Dennis, "Zoning Before Zoning: The Regulation of Apartment Housing in Early Twentieth Century Winnipeg and Toronto," *Planning Perspectives* 15.3 (July 2000): 267–299; Raphaël Fischler, "Early Development Controls in Toronto in the Nineteenth Century," *Urban History Review* 36.1 (Fall 2006): 16–31. For studies of pioneering Canadian planners, see, for example: Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Ubiquitous Town Planning Missionary": The Careers of Horace Seymour 1882–1940," *Environments* 17.2 (1985): 29–42; David L.A. Gordon, "'Agitating people's brains': Noulon Cauchon and the City Scientific in Canada's Capital," *Planning Perspectives* 23.3 (July 2008): 349–379.

⁵¹ Ward, Freestone, and Silver, "The 'New' Planning History," 237.

⁵² Anthony Sutcliffe's *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, and France* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), charted the development of planning in these countries while also helping to introduce the concept of urban planning as an international movement based on cross-border exchanges.

a similar transnational turn in urban history, and has led to a flourishing of literature.⁵³ Recent scholarship has introduced new frameworks for the analysis of international planning exchanges, studied the transnational planning movement's urban reform roots, traced the movement of planning innovations and actors across the modern world, turned a transnational lens on national planning histories, and examined the creation of international planning organizations.⁵⁴

Furthermore, authors such as Mercedes Volait, Joe Nasr, and Robert Freestone have called attention to gaps within this historiography, with Volait and Nasr underscoring the agency of planning actors within seemingly less economically and politically powerful countries, and

⁵³ Ward, Freestone, and Silver, 237. Urban historians have likewise increasingly applied a transnational perspective to studies of interconnections between cities and disparate urban actors. See, for example: Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin ed., *Cities Beyond Borders: Comparative and Transnational Approaches to Urban History* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Pierre Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen ed., *Another Global City: Historical Explorations Into the Transnational Municipal Moment* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁵⁴ Please see Chapter 1 of this dissertation for a detailed discussion of such frameworks. Helen Meller has documented the philanthropic and urban reform roots of the wider transnational planning movement in "Philanthropy and Public Enterprise: International Exhibits and the Modern Town Planning Movement, 1889–1913," *Planning Perspectives* 10.3 (July 1995): 295–310. Several authors have studied the global reach, and translation, of the British Garden City approach to planning, see, for example: Renato Leão Rego, "Brazilian Garden Cities and Suburbs Accommodating Urban Modernity and Foreign Ideals," *Journal of Planning History* 13.4 (November 2014): 276–295; Liora Bigon, "Garden Cities in Colonial Africa: A Note on Historiography," *Planning Perspectives* 28.3 (July 2013): 477–485; Mervyn Miller, "Garden Cities at Home and Abroad," *Journal of Planning History* 1.1 (February 2002): 6–21; Robert Freestone, *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1989). Robert Freestone has applied a transnational lens to his analysis of Australia's planning history, please see, for example: "The Americanization of Australian Planning," *Journal of Planning History* 3.3 (July 2004): 187–214. Additionally, Michael Geertse has examined the emergence of transnational planning associations through his study of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, the successor to the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in his dissertation, "Defining the Universal City: The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning and Transnational Planning Dialogue 1913–1945" (PhD diss., VU University of Amsterdam, 2012).

Freestone questioning the relative absence of women from narratives of planning's development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁵⁵

However, while scholarship examining the transnational development of modern urban planning throughout the early twentieth century has grown since the late 1890s, few authors within this field have considered Canada's place within the wider movement. When they have, a focus on the contributions of outside influence and experts tends to overshadow any consideration of local agency. Canadians have been viewed more as passive receivers and followers of foreign planning trends and experts than equal participants and purposeful borrowers. In his assessment of Thomas Adams work in Canada, for example, Michael Simpson names the British expert the figure who "convert[ed]" the "relatively primitive" Canadian society to modern planning.⁵⁶ Additionally, as previously stated, in his analysis of English-Canada's early planning movement, work, Stephen V. Ward suggests that early Canadian planning advocates were "undiluted borrowers" of foreign planning ideas who generally established fewer international contacts than those within more advanced planning milieus and displayed "a limited grasp of underlying theory and concepts."⁵⁷

Though scholars within both the Canadian and transnational planning history field have expanded current knowledge of early planning history, accounting for the local and global nature of early Canadian planning efforts, neither offers an interpretation that at once interrogates the

⁵⁵ Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, "Introduction: Transporting Planning," *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?*, ed. Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (Chichester, England: Wiley-Academy, 2003), xx-xxxviii; Robert Freestone, "Women in the Australian Town Planning Movement, 1900–1950," *Planning Perspectives* 10.3 (July 1995): 259–277.

⁵⁶ Simpson, 78, 117.

⁵⁷ Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century*, 403.

transnational dimension of Canada's early planning movement while also highlighting its complexity and framing the transfer of foreign solutions and expertise to Canada as part of a conscious, informed process. My dissertation provides such a study. It bridges the spheres of transnational and Canadian Progressive-era planning history, reassessing current conceptions of English-Canada's place within the former, and introducing a transnational perspective to the latter.

Setting the Scene

The years between 1880 and the 1920s witnessed the transformation of Canada from a largely rural, to predominantly urban, nation. While only eight percent of the population lived in urban communities in 1821, by 1871 this figure leapt to 18.3 percent.⁵⁸ Furthermore, between 1881 and 1921, the urban population rose from roughly twenty five percent to almost fifty or, from 1.1 million to 4.3 million urban residents.⁵⁹ Such growth went hand in hand with rising industrialization. By the 1870s, Canada was moving away from its traditional agricultural and rural focus and towards an urban-industrial one and, while Montreal and Toronto stood as the nation's largest centres of production and manufacturing, few municipalities escaped the affects of modernization and economic and technological change.

Such rapid transformation profoundly affected the lives of those within these expanding, modernizing, urban centres. In the newer Western municipalities, local authorities and city boosters rushed to develop their towns and cities, replacing dirt roadways and walkways with

⁵⁸ Gilbert A. Stelter, "The City Building Process in Canada," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 13.

⁵⁹ Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis," 368.

pavement, and providing modern civic services. Particularly in developed cities such as Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, the urban landscape changed as industrial-expansion created a “new urban geography” which saw industry move to the fringes, businesses build in and develop the civic core, and the ballooning of city limits to keep pace with rampant land speculation.⁶⁰ Furthermore, as affluent residents increasingly abandoned homes in the civic core in order to physically distance themselves from business and working class habitation, new residential suburbs emerged. Lacking both the financial power to move, and the political power to demand improved conditions, working class residents, largely, had little choice but to crowd into increasingly dilapidated, congested residences, or construct their own, un-serviced, suburbs on the urban fringes.⁶¹

While issues of overcrowding, insufficient civic services, and public health were not novel, the extent of these concerns, coupled with the pace of their development, was unique. New as well was the lens through which such issues were perceived by the middle and upper class Anglo-Canadians who became interested in the problems of the city throughout the 1890s and early 1900s. Viewing themselves as the custodians and arbitrators of the public good, such individuals embraced first specific urban reform causes and, eventually, urban planning.

Their interest in civic ills was intricately connected to changing conceptions of social citizenship and government responsibility emerging from the rejection of classic liberalism, as well as to the

⁶⁰ Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 62.

⁶¹ Alan F.J. Artibise, “Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921,” in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979), 324.

Protestant church's implementation of social evangelism, and to efforts to affirm the predominance of Anglo-Protestantism in a nation undergoing rapid change.⁶² Furthermore, their responses to issues like public health, working-class housing, civic governance, and the urban environment increasingly moved away from the realm of voluntarism, charity and benevolence, drawing instead on new technological innovations and developments in the social sciences that prioritized the dispassionate, scientific study of civic issues by trained, specifically-educated experts.⁶³

Calls for urban and social reform and town planning were also often underscored by, and intertwined with, discussions of nationalism. The process of community planning, building, and improving was intricately connected to worries over gatekeeping and Canada's future as a predominantly white, Anglo-Protestant nation.⁶⁴ And, as we shall see, once Canadian professionals within the fields of architecture, engineering, and surveying moved to assert technical dominance over the built environment, they too developed their own brand of protective nationalist rhetoric, denouncing the awarding of Canadian contracts to foreign (largely American) professionals and firms.⁶⁵ Throughout the period under study, therefore, nationalism, and self-interest, as shared themes amongst urban planning advocates were so intertwined with discussions of social reform and planning that it is difficult to determine where the boundaries between these motivations can be found. While many expressed a genuine concern for urban

⁶² Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900–1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 77.

⁶³ Please see Chapter 4 of this dissertation for a greater discussion of this shift.

⁶⁴ I study this particularly in Chapter 5 which explores how planning in Vancouver was intricately tied to the racial and cultural assumptions of its Anglo-Canadian middle and upper class planning advocates.

⁶⁵ I explore this extensively in Chapter 4.

conditions, a growing recognition of the interconnected nature of society, and a fear of the repercussions of unchecked urbanization on the lives—and property values—of upper class urban residents, was a constant undercurrent to their discussions.

In towns and cities across Canada throughout the 1890s and early 1900s, several distinct groups of individuals interested themselves in the project of shaping the urban environment to serve their wider aims.⁶⁶ Thanks to their interest in the social, moral, and physical health of urban residents, philanthropists, a host of urban reformers, and public health experts championed civic art and beautification projects, the creation of urban parks and playgrounds, the building of working-class family dwellings, and the provision of water and sewerage services. Additionally, municipal reformers endorsed public ownership of municipal utilities and sought the separation of civic administration from politics, calling for nonpartisan experts to oversee issues of transportation, water and sewerage, electricity, building, and, eventually, planning. Aside from these reformers, businessmen, real estate interests, and other city boosters likewise came to support civic improvement efforts, hoping that modernized, beautiful, healthy, and efficient urban spaces would attract investors, protect land values, and increase business productivity. Finally, motivated by a combination of professional knowledge and professional self-interest,

⁶⁶ While distinct, these categories of urban actors were never completely discrete: Canadian Progressive-era urban reform was “less a single creed and more a common response” to an array of urban ills. Rutherford, 370. Concerns often overlapped, promoting cooperation and the exchange of knowledge across organizational lines, and individuals did not limit themselves to a single reform cause, or motivation. As historian Lorna Hurl argues, “to ascribe...fear, religion, patriotism, economic gain, or self importance” as the sole motivating factor pushing an individual to support civic improvement, is an “over simplif[ication]” of the complexity of a reformers’ interests. Lorna Hurl, “The Toronto Housing Company, 1912–1923: The Pitfalls of Painless Philanthropy,” *Canadian Historical Review* 65.1 (Mar. 1984): 36.

many within the fields of landscape architecture and architecture, surveying, and engineering also worked to assert their right to devise and direct civic improvement projects.

As we have seen, by the 1890s, urban planning had emerged as a distinct approach to the shaping of the physical urban environment, combining previously discrete civic improvement projects and insisting that the city be considered as an interconnected whole. Like urban actors across North America and Europe, English-Canadian planning advocates quickly came to embrace planning through their support for earlier urban improvements, learning of it through a transnational dialogue with foreign planners and planning advocates. Technological advances in travel and communication intensified Canadian access to foreign colleagues and innovations. Montreal, for example, was a day's train journey from New York, a centre of urban reform and planning innovation, and a seven to nine day transatlantic steamship crossing from Europe.⁶⁷ From the late nineteenth century onwards, English-Canadians seized on the new ease of travel, accessing and participating in first the wider *urban internationale* and, increasingly, the international planning cohort, which is where my first chapter begins. As I argue, although the push to separate technically-trained planning professionals from lay planning advocates in the later 1910s attempted to establish architects, engineers, and surveyors as the nation's official planning actors, throughout the years between 1890 and 1914, such professionals were one group amongst many advocating for civic improvements and connecting to the wider urban planning cohort. Urban reformers, business and real estate interests, elite philanthropists, government officials, and public health experts claimed an equal interest in shaping the urban environment and, in this earlier period, it was their voices that often spoke loudest.

⁶⁷ Kirkland, "Mothering Citizens," 235, 251.

Chapter One: Transnational Travellers: English-Canadians with the Global Urban Planning World 1890-1914.

Introduction

Speaking about the nascent planning profession in late 1913, James Patrick Hynes, the Toronto architect and planning advocate, observed, “no Canadians...have really made it their business to do this character of work [town planning].”¹ Hynes was, strictly speaking, correct in his assessment: few Canadians viewed or advertised themselves as town planners prior to the First World War. However, though Canada lacked dedicated planning professionals in the years before 1914, in response to the new civic issues that arose in the wake of rapid industrialization and urbanization within the late nineteenth century, many individuals had “made it their business” to learn of developments made in planning far beyond their borders.

These urban reformers, business and real estate interests, and professionals from the fields of architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, and surveying, linked themselves to the international urban planning movement that emerged in the early 1900s. They built networks to allow the importation and circulation of foreign knowledge and expertise, and pushed for the adoption of foreign advances in Canada.

Consequently, by 1914, several Canadian municipalities had “borrowed” foreign innovations and employed foreign professionals. Between 1912 and 1914, Edmonton, Prince Rupert, and Kitchener engaged American City Beautiful planners, while Vancouver, Regina, and Calgary all

¹ Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC], C.P. Meredith Fonds (CPM), MG29 E62 (vol. 4), f.31, J.P. Hynes to C.P. Meredith, 6 December 1913.

hired City Beautiful expert Thomas Mawson to create plans.² Between 1905 and 1911, members of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, a group of elite businessmen philanthropists, and the Ontario Association of Architects, presented three City Beautiful inspired plans to the city.³

² Edmonton hired landscape architects Anthony Morrell and Anthony Nichols (1912), Prince Rupert contracted landscape architects Franklin Brett and George D. Hall (1908), and Kitchener engaged landscape architect Charles Leavitt (1914). Many of these plans were published in manuscript form. For example, please see: Thomas Mawson, *Regina: A Preliminary Report on the Development of a City* (London: T.H. Mawson and Sons, 1912); Thomas Mawson, "Vancouver: A City of Optimists," *Town Planning Review* 4 (1913): 7–12; Thomas Mawson, *Calgary: A Preliminary Scheme for Controlling the Economic Growth of the City* (London: T.H. Mawson City Planning Experts, 1914); Anthony Morell and Anthony Nichols, *A Report on City Planning for the City of Edmonton*, Commissioners Rep. No. 296 (Edmonton: Commissioners, 1912). For more discussion of Charles Leavitt's work in Canada, please see: Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Economy, Necessity, Political Reality: Two Planning Efforts in Kitchener-Waterloo, 1912-1925," *Urban History Review* 9.1 (June 1980): 3–48. For a consideration of Brett's and Hall's work in British Columbia, please see: Frank Leonard, "Grand Trunk Pacific and the Establishment of the city of Prince George, 1911–1915," *BC Studies* 63 (Autumn 1984): 29–54.

³ The plans were submitted in 1905, 1909, and 1911. For a greater discussion of these designs, please see: James Lemon, "Plans for Early 20th-Century Toronto: Lost in Management," *Urban History Review* 18.1 (June 1989): 11–31.

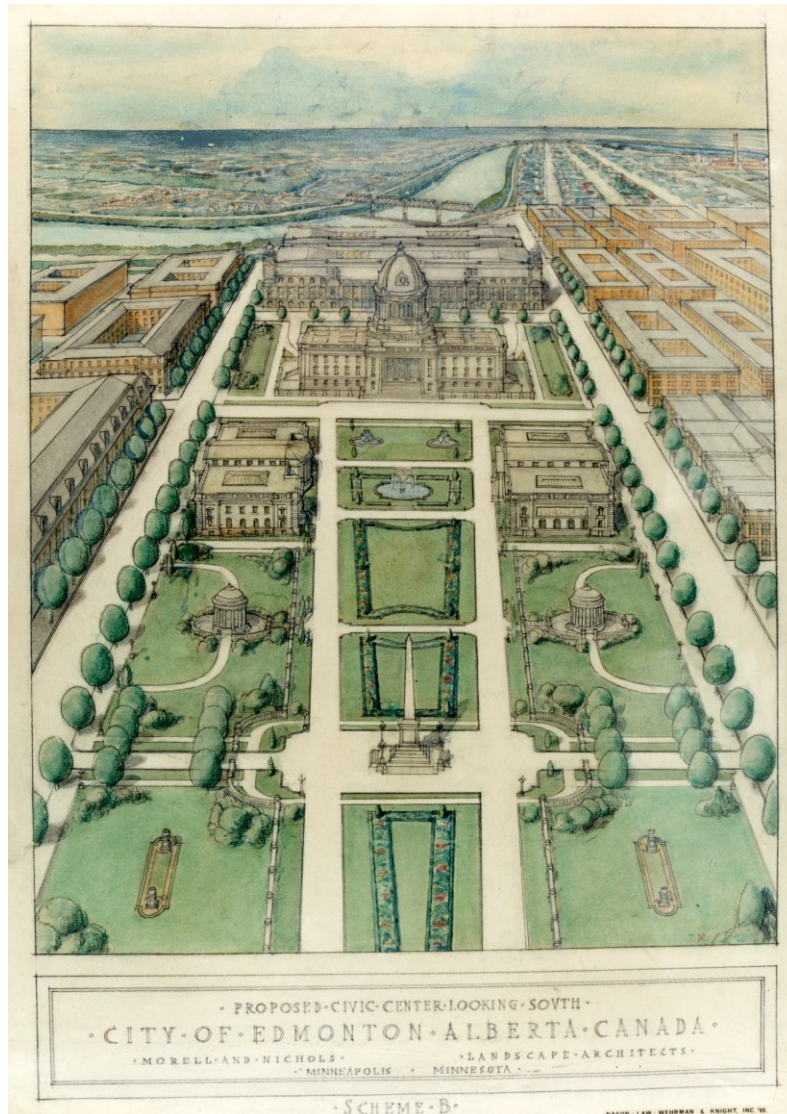


Figure 1. Morell and Nichols, Proposed Civic Centre Looking South, City of Edmonton, Alberta, Canada (1912). Courtesy of the City of Edmonton Archives, EAA-29-2.

In Ottawa, planning and beautification efforts were first spurred by Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's decision to create the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC) in 1899. In 1903, the OIC got off to a promising start by retaining American City Beautiful planner and landscape architect Frederick Todd as a consultant.⁴ However, his ensuing parks plan was only selectively

⁴ For more on Todd's Canadian work, please see: Peter Jacobs, "Frederick G. Todd and the Creation of Canada's Urban Landscape," *Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin*, 15.4 (1983): 27-34; David L.A. Gordon, "Frederick G. Todd and the Origins of the Park System in

implemented and, in 1913, the newly created Federal Plan Commission controversially hired American City Beautiful expert Edward Bennett to create a plan for Ottawa and Hull.⁵ Additionally, in the pre-war years, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Alberta, and Ontario all adopted British-influenced provincial planning legislation.⁶

Although borrowed ideas and legislation did differ from their parent innovations, they were highly derivative.⁷ Canadians, eager to replicate the successes of foreign municipalities, did little to fundamentally change what they imported. Such borrowing has led to a suggestion that Canadians possessed little knowledge of outside planning theory. Imitation, however, did not necessarily equate to “blind mimicry.”⁸ Canadians may not have extensively changed the ideas they adopted, but local actors were far from passive receptors of outside planning expertise.⁹

Canada’s Capital,” *Journal of Planning History* 1.1 (February 2002): 29–57; Nancy Pollock-Ellwand, “The Olmsted Firm in Canada: A Correction of the Record,” *Planning Perspectives* 21.3 (July 2006): 277–310.

⁵ Edward Bennett’s plan for Ottawa has been printed, please see: Canada. Federal Plan Commission, Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull (Ottawa: Federal Plan Commission, 1915). Additionally, planning historian David L.A. Gordon has extensively studied the planning of Ottawa. Please see, for example: *Town and Crown: An Illustrated History of Canada’s Capital* (Ottawa, ON: Invenire Press, 2015); “Planning Ottawa: “From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism: Elite Involvement In Planning Canada’s Capital.” *Journal of Urban History* 28.1 (Nov. 2001): 3–34. “A City Beautiful Plan for Canada’s Capital: Edward Bennett and the 1915 Plan for Ottawa and Hull,” *Planning Perspectives* 13.3 (July 1998): 275–300.

⁶ New Brunswick and Nova Scotia both passed planning legislation in 1912 and Alberta and Ontario followed in 1913.

⁷ P.J. Smith, “The Principle of Utility and the Origins of Planning Legislation in Alberta, 1912–1975,” in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), 210.

⁸ Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, “Introduction: Transporting Planning,” in *Urbanism: Imported or Exported?*, ed. Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (Chichester, England: Wiley-Academy, 2003), xii.

⁹ For example, planning historians Jill L. Grant, Leifka Vissers, and James Haney use a case study of Nova Scotia’s early town planning legislation to call attention to the role of local concerns and actors in the adoption of outside planning knowledge. In doing so, they refute

Their decisions rested on an extensive knowledge of the international planning movement gained from their active participation within it.

This chapter reveals the complex nature of Canada's planning movement through the framework of cross-national borrowing and networking. I explore English- Canadians as participants within the international urban planning cohort and highlight their broad knowledge of outside developments by identifying the four key channels through which knowledge of foreign innovations was acquired and circulated from the 1900s to 1914. I then use case studies to illustrate these categories, demonstrating that English-Canadian planning advocates were dynamic and informed transnational actors who purposefully enmeshed themselves in the wider planning world and critically circulated, imported, and rejected outside expertise based on local needs and concerns.

Urban-Planning Network: A Historiographical Perspective

A growing literature within the historiography of urban planning and civic reform has introduced new frameworks through which to study the nature of the transnational circulation and exchange of innovations and expertise between planning actors. As previously discussed, Stephen V. Ward has examined the invention, diffusion, and adaptation of foreign planning ideas through considering varying degrees of a foreign planning idea's imposition on a given space, and also to

assertions that the province's first town planning act was simply a copy of British legislation and instead reframe it as an adaptation of the British act. Jill L. Grant, Leifka Vissers, and James Haney, "Early Town Planning Legislation in Nova Scotia: The Roles of Local Reformers and International Experts," *Urban History Review* 40.2 (Spring 2012): 3–14.

what extent that idea has been “borrowed” by the receiving actors.¹⁰ In *Another Global City*, a collection of essays examining the linkages and circulations between municipalities and civic actors from 1850 to 2000, historian Pierre-Yves Saunier introduces a framework for charting the evolution of transnational municipal exchanges over time by identifying three specific periods of communications and circulations. The first, that of informal international transfers, stretched from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. Such exchanges grew from peer to peer contact between “municipal technicians and elected officials” and involved “the traveling of technologies, relations, and designs” across political and geographic boundaries. The second regime, that of “structured transnational organization” that stretched roughly from the First World War until the late 1970s, saw the emergence of “dedicated long-lasting institutions” which formalized and, in some cases, limited, the field by acting as official “stages and stagers” of municipal exchanges. Saunier labels the third regime, beginning in the 1980s, the “global and regional competition maze.” This period saw the creation of thematic networks dedicated to the transnational, or regional, study of specific urban issues. Such networks, Saunier notes, “thriv[e] on a market-oriented discourse of competition”: their members are as concerned with lobbying for their specific interests as they are with research and collaboration.¹¹

While Ward’s and Saunier’s frameworks chart the emergence and evolution of transnational municipal interchanges over time, other scholars have isolated specific types of channels for

¹⁰ Ward has discussed this framework in several works. Please see, for example: “Re-Examining in the International Diffusion of Planning,” in *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, ed. Robert Freestone (New York: Routledge, 2000), 40–60; “The International Diffusion of Planning: A Review and a Canadian Case Study,” *International Planning Studies* 4.1 (1999): 53–77.

¹¹ Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Global City, Take 2,” in *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment*, ed. Pierre-Yves Saunier and Shane Ewen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 16–17.

examination. In the recent work, *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, editors Robert Freestone and Marco Amati highlight international planning exhibitions as agents of enlightenment that aimed to “transform urban society’s understanding of the possibilities of planning”.¹² As they argue, such a focus emphasizes the central actors involved in the creation of such events while revealing exhibitions as central “portals” for the production and acquisition of planning knowledge.¹³ In his article “Civic Communication in Britain,” historian John Griffiths builds on Finnish urban historian Marjatta Hietala’s identification of the four central pathways through which civic administrators exchanged and circulated news of innovations: through hiring foreign experts, studying and travelling abroad and personal connections, writing and reading research papers and print media, and through international exhibitions and conferences. Using Hietala’s categories to question the presence of urban networks in the British world between 1890 and 1939, Griffiths emphasizes the importance of journals as vehicles for the circulation, and discussion, of new innovations. Through a case study of Britain’s *Municipal Journal* from 1893-1910, Griffiths illustrates how, through their national and international circulation and readership, such journals could provide a disparate audience of planning enthusiasts with a continuous link to the urban planning world. Aside from exhibitions and journals, other studies have taken individual actors, organizations, or means of exchanging information as their focus, emphasizing the importance of international travel, training, class, and social connections to the circulation and dissemination of foreign planning expertise.

¹² Robert Freestone and Marco Amati, “Town Planning Exhibitions,” in *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, ed. Robert Freestone and Marco Amati (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 10.

¹³ Freestone and Amati, “Town Planning Exhibitions,” 10.

As these works demonstrate, there is much to be gained by exploring the channels through which urban planning advocates connected and communicated. This process of tracing and studying the types of arrangements employed to circulate information exposes the rich aggregation of linkages connecting urban planners, even in a purportedly pre-global era. Furthermore, historians Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait contend, by taking the transnational exchanges themselves as a focus, scholars can disrupt the “unidirectional” perception that actors in smaller, less economically or politically developed cities and regions were “passive and guileless recipients” of foreign planning expertise.¹⁴ Such a viewpoint instead privileges the role of local actors, underscoring the extent to which even agents in seemingly less powerful municipalities were knowledgeable participants as well as critical consumers. As Robert Freestone notes in his examination of Australian agency in transnational urban planning exchanges, “there is a...finer and subtler relationship at work undercutting any “unidirectional causal models.”¹⁵

A focus on the complexity of transnational urban planning interchanges, therefore, offers much to existing conceptions of English-Canadian participation within the broader urban planning movement. This chapter will use such an approach to reassess depictions of English-Canada’s planning advocates as uncritical borrowers of foreign planning information, revealing the agency of local actors and the breadth of their involvement with the transnational urban planning cohort in the years before the First World War. Though this structure is not strictly chronological, an analysis of these channels also underscores the shifting priorities and agendas dictating which foreign planning innovations found favour: by the 1910s, rising concern over housing conditions

¹⁴ Nasr and Volait, “Introduction: Transporting Planning,” xii.

¹⁵ Robert Freestone, “The Americanization of Australian Planning,” *Journal of Planning History* 3.3 (2004): 209.

and shortages nationally, combined with widespread economic depression, led to the favouring of the British, housing-focused, Garden City style over the American City Beautiful approach. Correspondingly, circulations and exchanges within the early 1900s often dealt with civic beautification and landscape architecture whereas, by 1910, co-partnership housing and Garden City innovations rose in popularity amongst Canadian planning advocates.

Drawing on urban historian Hietala's identification of the four key channels through which the diffusion of urban innovations between municipalities took place between 1870 and 1920, this chapter applies a similar framework to Canadian planning developments from 1900 to 1914.¹⁶ Though diverse, these connections can likewise be grouped into four types of channels of importation and knowledge circulation: those established by the personal connections of elite individuals; those built by individuals who sought out foreign ideas through travel and study; those created through the attendance of Canadian planners at national and international conferences and exhibitions; and those formed domestically through the circulation of ideas in associational journals. The following sections will expand on these key categories, illustrating them through the use of representative case studies.

Early Elite Planning Brokers

On 16 January 1912, during the annual meeting of Canada's Commission of Conservation (COC), its members took up the subject of urban conditions in Canada and, in particular, the merits of importing outside planning experts to aid the nascent planning movement.¹⁷ Entering

¹⁶ Marjatta Hietala, *Services and Urbanization at the Turn of the Century: The Diffusion of Innovations* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1987).

¹⁷ The COC was an advisory body comprised of academics, federal government representatives, and business and public health experts struck by the federal government of Robert Borden in 1910.

the debate, the Chairman, Clifford Sifton, noted that in 1910, Henry Vivian, a British Member of Parliament and planning expert, had visited Canada for several months. Vivian undertook a cross-country tour, surveying Canadian cities and speaking on the merits of Garden City planning. Sifton particularly reminded the Commission of the role played by Canada's Governor General, Earl Grey, in bringing Vivian to Canada, recalling that the planner had visited "at [the Earl Grey's] insistence," and "did valuable educational work."¹⁸

Although Sifton meant his comments to remind his colleagues that Canada had a history of importing foreign planning experts, his description of Earl Grey's "insistence" that Vivian visit Canada also underscores the Governor General's role in introducing Canadians to external planning thought and provides a clear illustration of the role played by Grey and other elite planning brokers in Canada throughout the pre-1914 period. Such individuals drew on their social, political, and business ties to promote, and expedite, the circulation and adoption of foreign planning expertise across Canada. They stood apart from other early planning advocates thanks to their ability to make use of their connections to stand as patrons of planning events, rather than planning advocates. Utilizing their rich networks of associations, they facilitated the circulation of planning ideas and eased the way for less connected colleagues. The most prominent member of this group, and indeed one of Canada's earliest planning supporters, was Grey. Throughout his seven-year tenure from 1904 to 1911, he acted as a steady bridge between

¹⁸ Clifford Sifton, Discussion: Town Planning and Housing Expert," in *Report of the First Annual Meeting*, COC (1910), 11.

Canada's and Great Britain's planning movements and continuously promoted the importation of British innovations.¹⁹

Grey, Canada's ninth Governor General, cultivated his interest in town planning in Great Britain in the years before his tenure. He presided over the opening ceremonies at Letchworth, the first British Garden City and also served on the board of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust.²⁰

When he took up his Canadian post in 1904, his social reform concerns travelled with him.

According to a contemporary, Grey expressed "a personal interest in...[the] social and national welfare" of his new country of residence and this extended to issues of town planning.²¹ He first acted to bring British planning ideas to Canada through sponsoring British housing and planning expert Henry Vivian's national tour in 1910. Between March and October, Vivian travelled from Saint John to Victoria and back again, touring municipalities, meeting with local officials, and delivering addresses.

Vivian so impressed Canada's planning advocates that he was credited, alongside Grey, with bringing housing and town planning to "the attention of Canadians."²² While such sentiments were overblown—as Vivian generally addressed English-speaking upper-middle class audiences at invite or members-only events, his message only reached a small portion of

¹⁹ Although this study focuses on those elites who worked to circulate planning ideas across Canada, David L.A. Gordon has well-documented the extent of elite involvement in planning Ottawa: "From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism: Elite Involvement In Planning Canada's Capital," *Journal of Urban History* 28.1 (Nov. 2001): 3–34; "William Lyon Mackenzie King, Planning Advocate," *Planning Perspectives* 17 (2002): 97–122.

²⁰ Gordon, "From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism," 11.

²¹ Dr. Charles Hodgetts, "Unsanitary Housing," in *Report of the Second Annual Meeting, COC* (1911), 50.

²² Dr. Charles Hodgetts, "Unsanitary Housing," 50.

Canadians— his visit marked a key moment in the evolution of Canada’s early planning movement.²³ Indeed, Vivian’s visit became a sort of touchstone for Canadian planners wishing to trace the origins of their crusade. Vivian was not the first expert to visit Canada, but his time in the country stood out due to Grey’s patronage and the breadth of his tour. Although it was not unusual for foreign experts and dignitaries to visit Canada’s larger cities, few travelled beyond the easier-to-reach centres in Eastern Canada. Vivian’s arrival in Canada’s smaller, and newer, urban municipalities, therefore, had an impressive, even immediate, effect: G.Wray Lemon, Secretary-Treasurer of Calgary’s City Planning Commission, (CCPC) credited Vivian’s speeches to Calgary’s Canadian Club and Horticultural Society with planting “a seed...in good ground” that led to the development of the CCPC a few months later.²⁴

Grey’s patronage of planning did not end with Vivian’s tour. He also arranged for the British-born American City Beautiful expert Thomas Mawson to tour Canada in 1912 and helped British Garden City expert Raymond Unwin visit Toronto in 1911.²⁵ Furthermore, through sponsoring

²³ Please see Chapter 2 for a greater examination of Vivian’s Canadian tour and influence on the early urban planning advocates he spoke to.

²⁴ G. Wray Lemon, “A Few of the Things the Bustling Prairie City of the Middle Canadian West is Trying To Do,” *American City* 7.2 (August 1912): 108.

²⁵ Unwin visited Canada in May 1911, shortly after a visit to Philadelphia to present at the 1911 National Conference on City Planning. Once in Canada, he delivered addresses in Ottawa and also visited Toronto. For accounts of his time in Canada, please see: “Ottawa has opportunities, for obtaining ideal city,” *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 22 May 1911, 1; “Movement for Garden City,” *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 23 May 1911, 2. See also: “Canada and Town Planning: Interview with Mr. Raymond Unwin,” *The Record, Hampstead Garden Suburb* 2, no. 2 (1914): 87-9. Thomas Mawson toured across Canada throughout 1912, sometimes alongside Henry Vivian who had returned to Canada to “see what progress [had] been made” since 1910. Henry Vivian, “How to apply town planning to Calgary,” in *Two Notable Addresses on Housing and Town Planning* (Calgary: City Planning Commission, 1912), 12–20. Grey followed Mawson’s tour in part through the correspondence of his friend, prominent Ottawa architect Colborne Powell Meredith, who dutifully sent Grey updates and newspaper clippings describing Mawson’s addresses. For a record of this correspondence, please see: LAC, Colborne Powell Meredith

these visits and promoting urban planning, Grey established a web of new connections between advocates in Canada and Great Britain. He helped awaken British experts to the enthusiasm for planning in Canada and gained a reputation in Britain as an ally to planners wishing to bring their expertise to Canada. Grey's importance to British planners seeking to extend their work into Canada was particularly on display throughout his involvement with Raymond Unwin's and Scottish planner Patrick Geddes' attempt to bring their Cities and Town Planning Exhibit (CTPEXh.) on a Canadian tour in 1911.

The CTPEXh. was a travelling exhibition on modern town planning, conceived of by Unwin and Geddes, that was sent around British cities beginning in the winter of 1911.²⁶ As it was well received in Great Britain, the CTPEXh. organizers' goals soon became more ambitious and, by April, Geddes was writing of his wish to bring the CTPEXh. "upon a tour of American cities."²⁷ Yet, despite some interest from New York and Philadelphia, it became clear that no American city was willing to sponsor the exhibit. In May, however, Unwin received a letter from W.T.B. Arthur of Toronto's Guild of Civic Art reminding him of an earlier conversation between the two men in which they "spoke of the possibility of securing the Travelling City Planning Exhibit for the Canadian National Exhibition, held annually in Toronto."²⁸ Intrigued, Unwin wrote to Geddes asking whether or not the plan was feasible.²⁹

Fonds, MG29 E62, vol. 4, file 29, 33; vol.5, file 39. David A.L. Gordon has also summarized Grey's connection to Unwin and Mawson. Gordon, "From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism," 12.

²⁶ For an extended discussion of the CTPEXh. please see: Pierre Chabard, "Competing Scales in Transnational Networks: The Impossible Travel of Patrick Geddes' Cities Exhibition to America, 1911-1913," *Urban History* 36.2 (August 2009): 202-222.

²⁷ Letter from Patrick Geddes to Arthur E. Buchholz, 14 February 1911, National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10513, fol. 3.

²⁸ Letter from W.T.B. Arthur to Raymond Unwin, 29 May 1911, NLS, Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10571, fol. 65. The Guild of Civic Art, or Civic Guild, was a non-professional community

Although Geddes' response to Unwin has been lost, a letter from Geddes to William Lever in early April 1911 reveals Geddes was well aware of Canadian interest in planning.³⁰ As Geddes wrote to Lever, Thomas Adams had already advised him that the CTPExh. might find a friendly audience in Canadians "whom I understand Mr. Vivian's visit last year stirred up considerably."³¹ When he replied to Unwin, therefore, Geddes instructed him to contact Vivian and Grey to see what might be done in Canada.³²

Although both Unwin and Geddes did reach out to other prominent Canadians with an interest in planning, Earl Grey was the first individual they identified in the search to find support for their

organization of civic-minded Toronto citizens established in May 1897 to promote and encourage civic art. By the early 1900s, the Civic Guild had embraced landscape architecture and the City Beautiful, sponsoring a city plan for Toronto in 1911 and advocating for planning and civic improvement measures. For more on the Guild's activities, please see: John C. Weaver, *Shaping the Canadian City: Essays on Urban Politics and Policy, 1890–1920* (Toronto: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1977), 34–37; Margaret Anne Meek, "History of the City Beautiful Movement in Canada, 1890–1930," (masters thesis, University of British Columbia, 1979), 63–81.

²⁹ Letter from Raymond Unwin to Patrick Geddes, 7 June 1911, NLS, Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10571, fol. 74.

³⁰ William Hesketh Lever, first Viscount Leverhulme, was a multimillionaire soap manufacturer and philanthropist. He had a keen interest in town planning having built one of England's first and most recognized model towns, Port Sunlight, in Cheshire between 1899 and 1914 to house the workers at his nearby soap factory. For a brief biography of Lever, please see: Richard Davenport-Hines, "Lever, William Hesketh, first Viscount Leverhulme (1851–1925)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, January 2011, accessed 4 October 2016. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/article/34506>.

³¹ Letter from Patrick Geddes to William Hasketh Lever, 5 April 1911, NLS, Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10513, fol.17

³² Unwin's letter of 14 June 1911 reveals Geddes' enthusiasm and instructions. As Unwin noted, "I am sure Lord Grey would do what he could...[I] will write to Vivian as you suggest." Letter Raymond Unwin to Patrick Geddes, 14 June 1911, NLS, Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10571, fol. 70.

effort.³³ In July, Grey telegraphed Unwin asking for specifics on the CTPEXh. and told him he “fe[lt] sure Canadian cities [would] gladly welcome [the CTPEXh].”³⁴ Grey passed on Unwin’s correspondence to Colborne Powell (C.P.) Meredith, a prominent architect in Ottawa, requesting he “endeavor to arrange to have this town planning exhibition carried out at least in [Toronto], Montreal, and Ottawa.”³⁵ Meredith, in turn, spent a large part of July working to bring the CTPEXh. to Canada in time for the National Exhibition in late August.

While the attempt to import the CTPEXh. illustrates Earl Grey’s central role as a bridge between Canadian and British experts, it also highlights the existence and work of other elite brokers in Canada such as C.P. Meredith, William Douw Lighthall, and Sir Hugh Graham. As son of Edmund Allen Meredith, former Canadian secretary of State, and Fanny Jarvis, daughter of a founding Toronto family, C.P. Meredith’s Canadian social connections were unmatched. And, as an executive member of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, his professional associations were likewise impressive. While much of Meredith’s interest in foreign innovations sprang from a professional and personal wish to see Ottawa properly planned, he also helped

³³ For example, Geddes also contacted William Lyon Mackenzie King. However, although King wrote to Geddes that “[t]he question of town planning is to my mind one of the most important which any country has to consider...[p]ersonally, I shall be only too glad of helping to further any movement which will bring this truth home to the people at large” he proved unable to help Unwin and Geddes with their quest to bring the CTPEXh. over. Letter from W.L. Mackenzie King to Patrick Geddes, 30 May 1911, University of Strathclyde Archives [hereafter USA], Patrick Geddes Papers, GB 249 T-GED 9/1007). As King explained to Geddes, “I think you would have great difficulty in arranging an exhibition tour such as you suggest... [t]he proposed reciprocal agreement with the United States is the one question absorbing the interest of the public... [and] I doubt very much whether a project such as yours would receive, to any degree, the attention or consideration which its importance merits.” Letter from W.L. Mackenzie King to Patrick Geddes, 24 June 1911, USA, Patrick Geddes Papers, GB 249 T-GED 9/1017.

³⁴ Letter from Earl Grey to Patrick Geddes, 3 July 1911, NLS, Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10571, fol. 81.

³⁵ Letter from C.P. Meredith to Raymond Unwin, 4 July 1911, NLS, Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10571, fol. 82.

spread outside planning knowledge across Canada. He was a champion of British City Beautiful expert Thomas Mawson and helped organize Mawson's Canadian speaking tours and put him forward as a candidate to design a plan for Ottawa throughout 1911.³⁶ Though American Edward Bennett was ultimately chosen over Mawson, the latter's approach proved so popular that three Canadian cities, Vancouver, Regina, and Calgary, all hired him to produce City Beautiful style plans between 1912 and 1913.³⁷ Meredith also corresponded with Unwin and Geddes, and kept in constant contact with Grey.³⁸

It was also thanks to Meredith's networks that William Douw Lighthall, an influential Anglo-Montrealer, entered into the project of bringing the CTPEXh. to Canada. A prominent lawyer who practiced in Montreal from 1881–1944, in the early 1900s, Lighthall also became a central figure in civic politics, municipal organization, and urban reform both within Montreal and nationally. In a 1912 biography of Lighthall, William Atherton deemed him “a living example of good citizenship” in recognition of his civic service.³⁹ As Mayor of Westmount from 1900–1903, Lighthall co-founded the Union of Canadian Municipalities (in 1901), one of the first national organizations to call for the implementation of foreign planning measures in Canada. He was further active in local civic reform and planning efforts through sitting on the executive of the Montreal City Improvement League and the Metropolitan Parks Board, which advocated the

³⁶ For correspondence regarding Meredith's support of Mawson, please see: LAC, C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG29 E62, vol. 4, file 29, 33; vol.5, file 39.

³⁷ For an examination of the competition to design a plan for Ottawa please see: Gordon, “From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism,” 3–34 and “A City Beautiful Plan for Canada's Capital: Edward Bennett and the 1915 Plan for Ottawa and Hull,” *Planning Perspectives* 13.3 (July 1998): 275–300. I also discuss the hiring of Bennett over Mawson in greater detail in Chapter 4.

³⁸ See: LAC, C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG29 E62, vol.4, file 33; vol.5, file 34, 36, 39.

³⁹ William Henry Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914, Biographical*, vol. 3 (Montreal: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), 542.

adoption of a city and parks plan for Montreal. Although neither Lighthall nor Unwin mentioned a previous acquaintance, the two men may have met in May 1911 when, as part of a wider trip around North America, Unwin stopped briefly in Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa, delivering addresses and touring the cities.⁴⁰ Lighthall was one of the first men Meredith turned to for advice when Grey entrusted him with the project of importing the CTPEXh.⁴¹ However, while Lighthall quickly wrote back in support of the project, he noted that since most of Montreal's civically-minded elite had long since escaped the heat and humidity of the city for their summer homes—Lighthall himself owned a summer chateau, “Camp Beartracks” on Lac Tremblant in addition to his “winter home” in Westmount—he could offer little actual aid until the fall.⁴²

In addition to appealing to Lighthall, Unwin also hoped to gain support in Montreal from a second source, Sir Hugh Graham. Graham, who was elevated to the title of Baron Atholstan in 1917, was a prominent businessman and philanthropist. As publisher of the *Montreal Star*, one of Canada's most popular and influential newspapers of that time, Graham rose to prominence amongst Montreal's Anglophone business elite.⁴³ He also had a record of using his position to support civic reform, supporting, amongst other efforts, the Iverley Settlement House on

⁴⁰ Unwin recollected his tour of Montreal in a letter to Earl Grey a month later, noting “[t]he housing conditions in Montreal are really very bad and the way in which the Suburbs on the North side are developing is shocking. The death rate of the St. Denis Ward which is quite a new suburb speaks for itself.” Letter Raymond Unwin to Earl Gray, 21 June 1911, NLS, Geddes Papers, MS 10571, fol. 78.

⁴¹ Meredith wrote to Lighthall on 3 July 1911, canvassing his thoughts on importing the CTPEXh. to Ottawa and also asking him whether or not the city of Montreal could offer any financial aid to the endeavor. Letter C.P. Meredith to W.D. Lighthall, 3 July 1911, LAC, C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG 29 E62, vol. 5, file 34.

⁴² Letter Lighthall to C.P. Meredith, 5 July 1911, LAC, C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG 29 E62, vol. 5, file 34; William Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914, Biography*, 544.

⁴³ Enn Raudsepp, “Graham, Hugh, 1st Baron Atholstan,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 16 (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–), accessed 2016 May 15, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/graham_hugh_1848_1938_16E.html.

Montreal's Richmond Square.⁴⁴ As Raymond Unwin explained to Patrick Geddes in mid-June, the "newspaper man" had a preexisting interest in Garden City planning, and was already known to Unwin having previously "promised to come to the [Hampstead Garden] Suburb". Given this, Unwin hoped Graham might agree to use his influence to help them with the CTPEXh.⁴⁵

Despite this flurry of transatlantic, intercity, and cross-provincial correspondence, Geddes' and Unwin's CTPEXh. failed to find a home in Canada.⁴⁶ In his examination of Geddes' and Unwin's fruitless attempts to arrange a North American tour for the CTPEXh., Pierre Chabard attributes their disappointment to the instability of urban planning networks, noting that, particularly in the United States, rapidly shifting priorities meant that support for the CTPEXh. ebbed and flowed uncertainly.⁴⁷ In Canada, however, perhaps owing to the rapid, two-month timeline set for the CTPEXh.'s importation, Geddes' and Unwin's failure to find their exhibition a home was a product of a lack of time combined with a scarcity of funds.

Far from demonstrating the instability of these early urban planning networks, the effort to import the CTPEXh. illuminates their dynamism and reliability, as well as the crucial role of elite planning brokers. It was early July when Grey reached out to Meredith, asking him to take on the CTPEXh. Meredith immediately turned to associates on the Commission of Conservation, Toronto Civic Guild, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, and the Union of Canadian

⁴⁴ Suzanne Morton, *Wisdom, Justice, and Charity: Canadian Social Welfare Through the Life of Jane Wisdom, 1884–1975* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 55.

⁴⁵ Letter from Raymond Unwin to Patrick Geddes, 19 June 1911, NLS, Patrick Geddes, MS 10571, fol. 77.

⁴⁶ The CTPEXh. eventually met a tragic end when, travelling across the Indian Ocean en route to a tour of Indian cities in 1914, the ship carrying the exhibition was sunk by a German cruiser.

⁴⁷ Chabard, "Competing Scales in Transnational Networks," 221.

Municipalities, asking for financial and practical support. These individuals then canvassed their own local networks. Throughout, Meredith stayed in contact with Grey, Unwin, and Geddes while Unwin likewise reached out to elite Canadian planning advocates such as William Lyon Mackenzie King and Sir Hugh Graham. Though, ultimately, none of these men were able to help Unwin and Geddes, their willingness to do so, and their ability to quickly mobilize their social, political, and economic connections to advance the importation of foreign planning expertise like the CTPEXh., demonstrates such elites' interest in planning, and their importance to the early English-Canadian movement.

Professional and Individual Interest, Scholarship, Correspondence, and Travel

Elite planning patrons may have been unique in their wealth and influence, however, they were not alone in their interest in shaping the urban environment. For one, professionals, particularly from the field of architecture, but also surveyors and engineers likewise supported the introduction of foreign planning developments throughout the early 1900s. As illustrated by C.P. Meredith, such individuals could themselves be elites. For example, Noulan Cauchon, a railway surveyor and engineer and, by the 1910s, vocal planning advocate from Ottawa, likewise boasted impressive social connections. Cauchon's ancestors had arrived from France as settlers to the area around Quebec City in the 1630s and thereafter established themselves. At the time of Noulan's birth his father, Joseph-Édouard, former Mayor of Quebec, was Speaker of the Canadian Senate. Furthermore, soon after Noulan's birth in Quebec City, the family moved to Manitoba where Joseph-Edouard presided as Lieutenant Governor from 1877–1882. Educated both in Manitoba and Quebec, Cauchon spent the first twenty years of his engineering career working in various capacities for the Canadian Pacific Railway before moving to Ottawa in 1908

to work as an engineer for the Board of Railway Commissioners. By 1910, however, Cauchon had opened his own practice and developed a passion for town planning, particularly the British, Garden City approach.⁴⁸

Such interest amongst these technical experts arose partly in response to concerns over urbanization and civic design, but also thanks to their interactions with foreign colleagues practicing in the field of planning, and, as I explore further in Chapter 4, professional concerns over foreign experts gaining a monopoly over Canadian planning contracts. While such professional anxieties helped lead to the Town Planning Institute of Canada's establishment in 1919, in the early 1900s and 1910s, architects, engineers, and surveyors were joined in their support for planning by a diverse host of actors including urban reformers and public health experts, civic officials, and local businessmen, real estate agents, and ratepayers. These professionals and citizen advocates comprised a second distinct channel through which outside planning information was acquired and circulated across Canada: that created by personal and professional interest, scholarship, correspondence, and travel. In lieu of putting their connections at the disposal of other urban actors, these individuals more often personally campaigned for the importation of foreign innovations, travelling outside and around Canada, attending international conferences, delivering speeches, writing articles for domestic journals, and working together within local organizations to advance planning.

⁴⁸ For a wider consideration of his life and career please see: David L.A. Gordon, "'Agitating Peoples' Brains': Noulan Cauchon and the City Scientific in Canada's Capital," *Planning Perspectives* 23 (July 2008): 349-379; Andr  e D  silets, "Cauchon, Joseph-  douard," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Universit   Laval, 2003–, accessed April 26, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cauchon_joseph_edouard_11E.html; Sara Elizabeth Coutts, "Science and Sentiment: The Planning Career of Noulan Cauchon," (masters thesis, Carleton University, 1982).

In the years before the First World War and even the later 1910s, the majority of the professional support for planning stemmed from the fields of landscape architecture and architecture.⁴⁹ The membership of both Ontario Association of Architects (OAA) and the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (PQAA) articulated an interest in urban planning and foreign developments from the late nineteenth century onwards, and worked to foster wider support for planning efforts within Canada.”⁵⁰ Unsurprisingly, given their professional interest in the built urban environment, civic art, and landscape design, architects were amongst the most vocal early advocates for the City Beautiful approach to planning. In 1893, for example, Montreal-based PQAA members Andrew Taylor, Edward Maxwell, and Alexander Hutchison travelled to Chicago to attend the World’s Columbian Exposition and view American City Beautiful architect Daniel Burnham’s famed “White City” firsthand. Upon their return, Hutchison recounted Burnham’s achievement in an article for the national *Canadian Architect and Builder*, noting that what struck him most was the comprehensive nature of Burnham’s plan for the White

⁴⁹ As Walter van Nus asserts, though some engineers and surveyors did contribute to the early planning movement before the later 1910s, their activities differed from architects’ “in their exclusively singular nature.” While architectural associations like the PQAA, OAA, and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada collectively promoted planning in the years before 1920, surveying and engineering associations were largely “too preoccupied with other concerns to serve as effective vehicles for the cause” until after 1917 when a scarcity of job opportunities led surveyors and engineers to seek new opportunities as town planners. Walter Van Nus, “The Plan Makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors, and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 81.

⁵⁰ Walter Van Nus, “The Plan Makers and the City,” 36. Although I touch only briefly on the PQAA within this chapter, Chapter Four contains a detailed study of this association’s struggles with professionalization, and its members’ contributions to the creation of the Town Planning Institute of Canada in 1919. As I underscore within that chapter, a shared fear of encroaching competition from American architects, and a wish to professionalize, bridged the often firm divides between Montreal’s English and French communities. From the outset, the PQAA was a bilingual association. Its executive was more or less evenly split between Francophone and Anglophone members, its meetings were conducted in both languages, and its qualifying exams and publications were offered in French or English.

City. “Neither the idea of abandoning the old form of Exhibition building...nor the material used in making other forms was new. But the completeness with which the scheme has been carried out makes this...a new departure.”⁵¹

While such travel certainly familiarized these PQAA members with foreign achievements and experts, in 1906, this professional interest in planning advances combined with a growing concern for perceived urban issues in Montreal such as overcrowding, inadequate housing, a lack of green space, and the subsequently endangered moral and physical health of urban dwellers. In that year, the PQAA’s membership elected to establish a dedicated Civic Improvement Committee (CIC) tasked with creating a plan that combined civic beauty with practicality by laying out a “general scheme of improvements for the [Montreal’s] main thoroughfares and also for a park system.”⁵² In an effort to gain support for their agenda, the members of the CIC connected to the city’s broad, preexisting, network of urban reform associations. In 1907 alone the CIC held eleven meetings with representatives of local reform groups.

By 1908, the CIC had drafted a proposed plan and hired Rickson Outhet, Canada’s first native-born landscape architect, to help finalize its efforts. The Committee’s choice of Outhet was a considered one, illustrating the architects’ knowledge of the wider planning field. Though born in Montreal, Outhet trained as an architect in the United States with Frederick Law Olmsted, the famed designer of Central Park whose work helped define the practice of landscape architecture

⁵¹ Alexander Hutchison, “Notes From the World’s Fair”, *Canadian Architect and Builder* 6. 10 (October 1893), 102.

⁵² “City Improvements,” in Province of Quebec Association of Architects [hereafter PQAA], *Yearbook, 1907*, 16.

and laid the groundwork for the ensuing town planning movement.⁵³ Montrealers were also personally familiar with Olmsted through his work in the city as, between 1873 to 1881, Olmsted had been contracted to design a park plan for Mount Royal.⁵⁴

While Outhet's training and association with Olmsted lent him, and by extension, the CIC's plan, prestige, by 1909, the CIC's members still lacked the broad, local support necessary to press civic authorities to consider their recommendations.⁵⁵ When the Montreal City Improvement League (MCIL), a cross-confessional and linguistic organization that included female and male representatives from the Anglo-Protestant, English and French Catholic, and Jewish communities, emerged in 1909, the CIC's members saw a chance to gain the widespread support they sought for their plan.⁵⁶ The PQAA immediately joined the MCIL and pressed its member

⁵³ For a consideration of Outhet's career, please see: Nancy Pollock Ellwand, "'Rickson Outhet: Bringing the Olmsted Legacy to Canada: A Romantic View of Nature in the Metropolis and the Hinterland,'" *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 44.1 (Winter 2010): 137–183.

⁵⁴ For an examination of Frederick Law Olmstead's work in Montreal, and his firm's work in Canada, please see: Pollock Ellwand, "The Olmsted Firm in Canada," 277–310.

⁵⁵ As the Civic Improvement Committee members noted in their annual report, "It may be some time before this Committee carries enough weight in the public estimation for support in its larger schemes but a satisfactory beginning has been made and it is hoped that the incoming Council will see to it that this important standing Committee be maintained." "City Improvements," in *Yearbook*, PQAA, 1907, 16–18.

⁵⁶ Suzanne Morton, *Wisdom, Justice, and Charity: Canadian Social Welfare Through the Life of Jane Wisdom, 1884–1975* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 64. As historian, and MCIL member, William H. Atherton recounts, the League "grew out of the success" of a citywide anti-tuberculosis crusade. Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914*, 506. Its organizers were inspired by the triumph of the Montreal Tuberculosis Exhibition, an educational exhibit primarily organized by the Montreal League for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in November 1908. Over the event's twelve-day duration, 55,000 people viewed the exhibits, and attended lectures by health experts and philanthropists. Valerie Minett, "Disease and Domesticity on Display: the Montreal Tuberculosis Exhibition, 1908," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 23.2 (Fall 2006): 384, 387. Emerging a year after the tuberculosis exhibition, the MCIL's goal was "to unite the efforts of all who are trying to improve and to cultivate the spirit of right citizenship in order to make Montreal clean, healthful, and beautiful." Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914*, 506.

organizations to support urban planning as a broad solution to a host of civic ills.⁵⁷ Although the MCIL was initially conceived as a clearinghouse and “bureau of intercommunication,” William Atherton, its executive secretary, recounted in 1914, that MCIL’s members soon “led...city planning and better housing movements.”⁵⁸ In 1910, the League created a Metropolitan Parks Board whose members considered the PQAA’s suggestions for a city and park plan, before, much to the PQAA’s dissatisfaction, deciding to seek expert advice from a proven entity: Frederick Law Olmsted.⁵⁹

As the PQAA’s members’ efforts to support and implement urban planning within Montreal demonstrate, professionals played key roles in the acquisition, circulation, and promotion of foreign planning innovations throughout the early 1900s and 1910s. However, they also recognized the value of cooperation with non-professional urban reform advocates. While such individuals lacked technical training, in the years before the establishment of the TPIC and creation of specialized post-secondary instruction in planning, the definition and education of a “planning expert” remained fluid, and was often as likely to be claimed by an architect, surveyor, or engineer as it was by a citizen-planning supporter.

William Fotherby Burditt, a planning advocate from Saint John, New Brunswick, was characteristic of municipal level planning advocates and “experts” whose interest in urban reform and shaping the urban landscape led them to learn of, and promote, foreign planning innovations. He was a prominent citizen within Saint John, a leading local businessman who co-owned Tippet, Burditt and Co. Ltd., a firm that imported and manufactured agricultural

⁵⁷ Edward Maxwell, “First Annual Report of the City Improvement League,” in *Yearbook, 1906*, PQAA, 48.

⁵⁸ Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914*, vol. 3, 507.

⁵⁹ “Report of the Civic Improvement Commission,” in *Yearbook, 1911*, PQAA, 20.

machinery. Burditt also had a self-proclaimed “natural bent” for planning derived from his support for housing reform.⁶⁰ This interest led him to educate himself on foreign housing and planning developments throughout the early 1900s, to travel outside Canada, and also to call for the implementation of these ideas in his home city and province.

Burditt’s interest, and self-styled education, in urban planning provides a window into the development of planning as a profession in the early 1900s. Before planning was defined as an explicitly technical profession, citizen advocates like Burditt could and did claim expertise in the subject through extensive study, travel, and interaction with the international planning field. In a letter to Thomas Adams in 1919, Burditt confidently stated, “perhaps no one in Canada... has given more study and attention to [housing and town planning].”⁶¹ He both studied foreign movements and personally travelled to learn more of them: he was a member of several American planning organizations and journeyed to the U.S. to attend, and present at, the National Conference on City Planning. Furthermore, he undertook extensive study of the works of town planning’s “leading authors” including Henry Vivian, Patrick Geddes, Raymond Unwin, Charles Mulford Robinson, John Nolen, and Lawrence Veiller.⁶²

⁶⁰ “Editor’s Talk,” *The Canadian Courier* 12.24 (9 November 1910): 3. Although Burditt was born in England in 1849, he moved to New Brunswick at the age of nineteen in 1868, before Ebenezer Howard unveiled his ideas for Garden Cities in the 1880s. While Burditt’s ties to Great Britain may have influenced his support for British-style town planning legislation and other innovations, his membership in American planning organizations and interest in American developments shows that he was open to innovations from other nations.

⁶¹ Letter from W.F. Burditt to Thomas Adams, 3 January 1919, LAC, W.F. Burditt Papers, MG28-I275, vol. 16, file 7.

⁶² Ibid.

In the early 1910s, Burditt used his knowledge of British town planning, combined with his local influence as Vice President of the Saint John Board of Trade, to lobby his city, and the province, to adopt town-planning legislation. In 1912, New Brunswick became the first province in Canada to introduce a Town Planning Act. This legislation relied heavily on the framework set out in Great Britain's 1909 Act and set the stage for Nova Scotia's, Alberta's, and Ontario's ensuing planning acts which all emerged between 1912 and 1913.⁶³ However, despite this victory at the provincial level, the path towards developing Burditt's longed for city plan for Saint John was long. By 1919, Burditt, by then Chair of St John's City Planning Commission, wrote to Adams noting the plan was yet delayed. The need to adapt New Brunswick's British-based town planning legislation to Canadian soil had stalled efforts to push forward the city plan, Burditt confessed, stating, "it seems to me that the development of a scheme...must necessarily be a gradual project extending over many years."⁶⁴

While individuals like Burditt used knowledge of foreign innovations to influence the introduction of planning measures in their home cities and provinces, actors within this second group also provided a channel through which foreign planning innovations could be championed and made known at a national level. A central example of this lies in the work of Dr. Charles Hodgetts, an urban reformer and public health expert. Thanks to his position on the executive of the COC, Hodgetts translated his personal interest in foreign planning developments into that organization's agenda, lending planning a national platform.

⁶³ As Larry McCann emphasizes, these four acts each "us[ed] Britain's Town Planning Act of 1909 as a point of departure." Larry McCann, "Suburbs of Desire: The Suburban Landscape of Canadian Cities, 1900–1950," in *Changing Suburbs: Foundation, Form, and Function*, ed. Richard Harris and Peter Larkham (New York: Routledge, 1999), 124.

⁶⁴ Letter from W.F. Burditt to Thomas Adams, 14 April 1919, LAC, W.F. Burditt Papers, I275, vol. 16, file 7.

Hodgetts was an internationalist progressive reformer and one of Canada's most strident planning supporters. A Torontonian from birth, save for post-graduate medical training in Great Britain, he became one of Canada's foremost public health experts by the 1900s. As a provincial Medical Inspector and later Chief Health Officer of Ontario in the early 1900s, Hodgetts witnessed the conditions within the province's poorest neighbourhoods, and consequently became a fervent critic of "the army of land speculators and jerry builders" whose work aggravated poor housing conditions.⁶⁵ His efforts in public health and reform captured the interest of the COC who, just four months after its inauguration, appointed him Medical Advisor.⁶⁶

From this position, Hodgetts set in motion a transnational planning agenda for the COC that grew to dominate its work.⁶⁷ In 1911, he undertook a three-month trip to Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany specifically to study outside housing and planning innovations first-hand.⁶⁸ Upon

⁶⁵ Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1985), 75.

⁶⁶ Hodgetts was made the COC's Medical Advisor in May 1910.

⁶⁷ The most obvious example of the growing importance of Hodgetts' interests to the agenda of the COC can be seen in its journal. When, in 1914, the COC began issuing its journal, they named it *The Conservation of Life: Public Health, Housing, and Town Planning*. However, by 1920, they had renamed it *Town Planning and the Conservation of Life* to reflect the COC's new focus.

⁶⁸ Although Hodgetts' report is only briefly summarized in the COC's 1912 *Report*, planning tours of Europe were popular with North American urban reformers and from these records it is possible to surmise where he might have travelled. For example, in 1913, a year after Hodgetts' trip, the American Civic Association organized a tour that seems similar to the one Hodgetts might have taken. Lasting two months, the ACA's tour boasted visits to Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, Nuremberg, Munich, Frankfort, The Rhine, Dusseldorf, Brussels, Paris, and London. It promised its members a glimpse of the "notable efficiency" that "characteri[zed] so many of the European cities" (American Civic Association, "Civic Tour of Europe", NLS, Patrick Geddes Papers, MS 10594, fol.188).

his return, Hodgetts stated that, more than ever, “the importance of the town-planning and housing question [should command] a foremost place” on the COC’s agenda.⁶⁹ Although he attended planning conferences in Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, Hodgetts remained largely unimpressed with American planning efforts.⁷⁰ He railed against the Americans’ introduction of skyscrapers, accusing them of further increasing insanitation and calling them “modern towers of Babel.”⁷¹ Instead, he promoted the British Garden City, naming Letchworth “the most interesting and illuminative model for our new Canadian towns.”⁷²

Although Hodgetts became a great advocate of urban planning, he personified the profile of most early planning supporters in that his advocacy sprang from his interest in wider urban reform issues. Planning appealed to Hodgetts as a vehicle through which to achieve his central reform goals: improved housing, sanitation, and public health. Although planning did dominate his agenda after 1911, he continued to mix his support for planning with his other interests. In 1913, for example, he again travelled to London, attending both the Congress on Infant Mortality and the International Congress of Medicine.⁷³

Hodgetts continued his work up until the onset of the First World War, travelling within and outside of Canada and delivering “a considerable number of addresses” to clubs, trade boards,

⁶⁹ Dr. Charles Hodgetts, “Report of the Medical Advisor”, *Report of the Third Annual Meeting*, COC (1911), 5.

⁷⁰ Hodgetts, “Report of the Medical Advisor”, 9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁷² Hodgetts, “Housing and town planning”, 132.

⁷³ Societies Hodgetts addressed included the Women’s Canadian Club (Ottawa branch), and the College of Physicians and Surgeons (Dr. Charles Hodgetts, “Work of Medical Advisor,” *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting*, COC (1914), 9.

and school teachers, ‘stimulating and informing the public opinion.’⁷⁴ Through his work, he promoted planning and personally conveyed news of American and European developments to his varied audiences, stressing that Canada would do well to learn from the examples set by outside nations. When, in 1914, he left the COC to serve as the Canadian Red Cross’ Chief Commissioner in Great Britain, Canada’s planning movement lost one of its greatest early champions.

Conferences and Exhibitions

For Canadian planning advocates of the early twentieth century, few opportunities offered more scope for learning of new innovations than international planning conferences and exhibitions.⁷⁵ These events provided the context for discussions to take place in an environment largely “unfettered ... by the constraints of practical politics.”⁷⁶ By centralizing international planning knowledge, participants could learn at once of developments far outside their national borders. Inundated with the latest advances in planning practice, they were in essence presented with an international toolkit of solutions to modern urban and civic issues from which they could select ideas that best fit their home conditions.

⁷⁴ Hodgetts, “Report of the Medical Advisor”, 9.

⁷⁵ In addition to the international planning conferences studied here, it should be noted that, in July 1912, Winnipeg, Manitoba’s City Council and its Town Planning Commission sponsored the “First Canadian Housing and Town Planning Congress.” Though the Congress did attract attendees from across Canada, and boasted accompanying exhibits from Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Denmark, and Canada, it was a one-time event and did not, as its attendees had hoped, spur the creation of a national planning and housing organization. For more on the Congress, please see: Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, *First Canadian Housing and Town Planning Congress* (Winnipeg: Canadian Printing and Bookbinding Company Ltd., 1912).

⁷⁶ Helen Meller, “Philanthropy and Public Enterprise: International Exhibitions and the Modern Town Planning Movement, 1889–1913,” *Planning Perspectives* 10.3 (1995): 307.

In the early 1900s, international conferences offered Canada's dispersed planning enthusiasts unique entrance into the international planning scene. Though, in the years prior, attending events such as the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago (1893) offered Canadian participants the chance to view innovations in building, architecture, transport, and civic infrastructure, by the early 1900s, conferences and exhibitions centering on planning developments emerged. Central amongst these was the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) First International Town Planning Conference and Exhibition held in London in October 1910. Several Canadians attended this event, travelling from Fernie, an isolated mining town in British Columbia, Winnipeg, Manitoba, and also the large metropolitan centres of Montreal, and Toronto.⁷⁷

RIBA's conference was born of, and contributed to an "age of constant communication."⁷⁸ It has been deemed "a site ... in which a genuinely cosmopolitan community of experts shared ideas and created new international networks."⁷⁹ The Canadians present joined an international cohort of town planning advocates eager to learn from one another. While Canadians did not contribute as presenters or exhibitors, by attending the event they gained an opportunity to learn and network. A few even took the chance to enter the conference debates.⁸⁰ Although Canada's progress was less developed than most countries on display at RIBA's conference, news of the

⁷⁷ Royal Institute of British Architects [hereafter RIBA], *Town Planning Conference, London 10th to 15th October 1910: Transactions* (1910), 30–57.

⁷⁸ S.D. Adshead, "City improvement", in *Town Planning Conference, London 10th to 15th October 1910: Transactions*, RIBA (1910), 499.

⁷⁹ William Whyte, "The 1910 Royal Institute of British Architects' conference: a focus for international town planning?", *Urban History* 39.1 (2012):153.

⁸⁰ See Professor David Reid Keys, "Discussion from the overflow meeting," in *Town Planning Conference, London 10th to 15th October 1910: Transactions*, RIBA (1910) 181; Francis Spence Baker, "Cities of the Present— Discussion," *Town Planning Conference, London 10th to 15th October 1910: Transactions*, RIBA (1910), 242.

conference reaching Canada, and then attracting a cross-country audience, speaks to the steady emergence of the nation's urban planning movement.

Canadian participation in outside planning conferences and exhibitions was not limited to RIBA's 1910 event. For example, the National Conference on City Planning (NCCP), held annually in the United States, consistently attracted a Canadian audience from 1910 onwards. Dr. Charles Hodgetts and Edmond Boyd Osler both attended the 1911 NCCP in Philadelphia while G. Wray Lemon, Treasurer-Secretary of Calgary's City Planning Commission, and Burditt presented at the 1912 conference in Boston.⁸¹ At this latter conference, Canadian ties to the NCCP were cemented when James Patrick (J.P.) Hynes, a Torontonian architect, and George Allen Ross, an architect from Montreal, were named to the conference's executive and General Committee.⁸²

English-Canadians were also present at the Exhibition Universelle et Internationale, a world's fair held in Ghent, Belgium, in July 1913. Deemed "one of the features of the summer holiday in Europe for 1913" in an article by the *Toronto Star* remarking on those Torontonians travelling to Ghent, the Exhibition marked a "festival of optimism" in the face of growing political unrest within Europe, and was one of the last of such grand fairs held before the outbreak of the First World War.⁸³ Open from 26 April to 3 November 1913, covering a surface area of 1,250,000

⁸¹ The 1911 conference, held in Philadelphia, marked the first time Thomas Adams and Raymond Unwin attended the NCCP.

⁸² At the May 1912 NCCP in Rochester, New York, it was announced that Canadians J.P. Hynes of Toronto, Ontario, and George Ross, of Montreal, Quebec, had been appointed to both to the NCCP's Executive and its General Committee. J.H. Davidson of Calgary, Alberta, also joined the men as the third Canadian member of the General Committee. For more information, please see: *Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference*, NCCP (1912).

⁸³ As an Torontonian agent of Cook's travel agency boasted "from Canada the travel is especially noteworthy, being heavier in proportion than that from the United States,"

square metres, and bringing together contributions from over twenty countries, the Exhibition attracted 9.5 million visitors.⁸⁴ As was common, several international conferences were held throughout the fair within the Exhibition grounds, including the Premier Congrès International et Exposition Comparée des Villes. Though held three years after RIBA's "First" International Town Planning Conference and Exhibition, as historian William Whyte argues, Ghent's organizer had fair claim to the title "Premier." Although RIBA's 1910 event articulated a specific brand of town planning that, unsurprisingly, prioritized the architectural aspects of the new profession, the Premier Congrès was "the first genuinely international conference [and Exhibition]" to explore the full spectrum of modern urban life and civic issues.⁸⁵ It was also the first international planning conference to introduce a permanent international planning organization: l'Union Internationale des Villes (UIV).⁸⁶

Frustratingly, it is unclear which Canadians attended the Congrès. While the Union of Canadian Municipalities as a group is listed as a member of both the Congrès and the UIV, the Congrès transactions do not name the UCM's delegate(s) and no Canadian is listed as a speaker.

Furthermore, though the UCM's journal contains a generally reliable chronicle of its members'

"Torontonians Go to the Ghent Exhibition: A Record Season for Foreign Travel from Toronto is Reported," *Toronto Daily Star*, 26 June 1913, 2; Davy Depelchin, "The Ghent Universal and International Exhibition of 1913: Reconciling Historicism, Modernity, and Exoticism," in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed. Marta Filipova (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2015), 187.

⁸⁴ Depelchin, "The Ghent Universal and International Exhibit," 185–186.

⁸⁵ William Whyte, "Introduction," *Ghent Planning Congress: Transactions*, Union Internationale des Villes (1913) 2013. Reprint, New York: Routledge, vi, vii.

⁸⁶ The Premier Congrès was the work of three Belgians: Emile Vinck, a politician and lawyer who founded Belgium's national union of municipalities; Paul Saintenoy, an architect and organizer of Belgium's 1903 Exposition Universelle; and Paul Otlet, a lawyer who took charge of the Congress' planning exhibition. For a brief history of the Congrès, please see: Whyte, "Introduction," i–ixx.

travels, its records for 1913 and 1914 contain no mention of the event of planning conference. Therefore, we can only speculate that Canadians were in the audience to hear experts from such nations as the United States, France, Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom, Tunisia, and Chile, and were amongst those Exhibition goers to take in the Congrès' own planning exhibition.

Aside from its international character, the 1913 Congrès was also remarkable for its inclusion of a woman amongst its list of presenters: Margaret McMillan, an education and children's health reformer who came to embrace social reform after moving to London, England in the late 1880s. Though women attended these planning conferences, contributed to general discussions, sat as members of the executive or general committees, and, through their work in special "women's" or "ladies'" committees, were key organizers, it was rare to see them stand as presenters. This was even true of the first National Conference on City Planning held in Washington, D.C. in May 1909, which emerged out of the work New York City's Committee on Congestion of Population (CCP). The CCP was formed in 1907 by a group of social reformers including Mary K. Simkhovitch (the CCP's first Chair), Lillian Wald, Carola Woerishoffer, and Florence Kelly, leader of the National Consumer's League. Through the popularity of its "Congestion Exhibit" held at New York's Museum of Natural History in March 1908, the CCP became interested in promoting the study and practice of city planning on a wider scale and, to that end, in 1909, it helped craft the first NCCP (then titled the National Conference on City Planning and Congestion). Despite the reputation, and experience, of the female CCP members, only one, Mary K. Simkhovitch, formally presented at the conference, addressing the audience at the Saturday evening banquet.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ *Proceedings of the First National Conference*, NCCP, in U.S. Senate Committee on the

While there are no obvious justifications for the lack of female presenters at planning conferences, the larger explanation lies in the work of would be planners to develop the field of urban planning as a masculine, technical profession, disassociating it from its early connections with the often volunteer-led, more “feminine” world of benevolence and philanthropy. Though, in Canada, efforts to effect this shift would intensify after the First World War, the advent of specific urban planning conferences and exhibitions, in part, effected a first separation of planning from its roots in the wider urban reform movement, establishing it as a field of its own with uniquely trained male experts.

As I explore in Chapter 4, in Canada and elsewhere, the introduction of planning institutes, which near uniformly restricted their membership to technically-trained men, split the planning field and created two fields of discourse: that of the trained planning expert and the “citizen” planning advocate. Female urban reformers, partly by choice and partly by circumscription, often drew on their traditional roles as maternal figures to claim legitimacy within this voluntary realm of urban reform. Through the separation of the “technical” and “professional” from the “charitable” and “voluntary”, female, alongside male, citizen planning advocates, were purposefully excluded from full participation in this new planning field. Though women continued to call for urban planning, they often did so largely through the auspices of their own organizations, such as the National Council of Women, or through groups that included both men and women and embraced planning within their broader agendas, like the Social Service Council of Canada. While the male members of professional planning organizations still relied on

District of Columbia City Planning at 59, 61 Cong. 2nd Session Doc. 422 (1910), 101.

women for their support, networks, and organizational abilities, they rarely offered female planning advocates the chance to take on official roles.⁸⁸

While women found their participation at these planning-specific events limited, they did have the chance to hear of and discuss foreign planning innovations at broader international events such as the International Congress of Women (ICW), held in Toronto, 24–30 June 1909. Though planning issues were not the sole focus of the ICW, the Congress attracted its own share of international experts in the field. The second day of the Congress, for example saw an address by Sybella Gurney, a leading British co-partnership housing and Garden City advocate. Gurney first became aware of the co-partnership movement while at Oxford in her twenties studying under renowned British social and political theorist Leonard Hobhouse.⁸⁹ After leaving Oxford, she developed an “all-consuming” interest in co-partnership housing, leading her to establish the Co-Partnership Tenant’s Housing Association in 1905. Such work, alongside an interest in the promises of rural co-partnership housing, led to her involvement with Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City movement.⁹⁰ In her address to the ICW, Gurney firmly connected town planning and housing, noting that town planning, as practiced at Letchworth Garden City, put limits on the

⁸⁸ Although the history of female planning advocates and planners from the late nineteenth century to the mid 1900s is as of yet under-surveyed some historians have attempted to investigate the role of women in the early urban planning movement. For Canadian studies, please see, for example: Sue Hendler with Helen Harrison, “Theorizing Canadian Planning History: Women, Gender, and Feminist Perspectives,” in *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, ed. Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young (New York: Roman and Littlefields Publishers, Inc., 2000), 139–156. For international surveys, please see, for example: Robert Freestone, “Women in the Australian Town Planning Movement, 1900–1950,” *Planning Perspectives* 10.3 (May 1995): 259–277; Eugenie Birch, “From Civic Worker to City Planner: Women and Planning, 1890–1980,” in *The American Planner: Biographies and Reflections*, ed. D.A. Krueckeberg (New York: Methuen, 1983), 396–427.

⁸⁹ Sybella Gurney was Hobhouse's first female student.

⁹⁰ John Scott and Ray Bromley, *Envisioning Sociology: Victor Branford, Patrick Geddes and the Quest for Social Reconstruction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013), 38.

growth on the physical and population growth of cities, solving issues of congestion and slum housing, and improving the physical and moral wellbeing of urban residents.⁹¹

Women at the ICW were also addressed by Elizabeth Mary Cadbury (née Taylor), a leading social welfare worker and philanthropist as well as the wife of George Cadbury, the British, Quaker chocolate manufacturer. Elizabeth and George Cadbury's creation of Bournville, a model village of homes for Cadbury's employees, was recognized as a key example of the benefits of socialized housing, and was a frequent stop on civic tours of England.⁹² In her address on "Housing", Elizabeth Cadbury called on governments to implement planning legislation. Drawing on her own experience with Bournville, she noted that while "private individuals" could do much to support efforts such as garden cities and suburbs, women needed to call on their governments to craft planning legislation.⁹³

At events like the ICW, women carved their own space for discussing developments in the field.

At a time when women were largely silent within the chronicles of planning specific events, the

⁹¹ Sybella Gurney, "Co-Partnership Housing as a Method of Physical and Social Reconstruction, in *Report of the International Congress of Women Held in Toronto, Canada, June 24–30, 1909*, National Council of Women of Canada (1910), 22.

⁹² As Sara Delamont notes in her biography of Elizabeth Cadbury, while George Cadbury established his factory at Bournville before the couple's 1888 nuptials, "the task of establishing the village was carried through by the couple together." The couple's shared Quaker faith, as well as Elizabeth's prior experience as a welfare worker running a boys school in the London docks, living in Paris and providing relief to victims of the Franco-Prussian War, and working with women living in London's slum neighbourhoods, heavily influenced the creation of the model village at Bournville. "Cadbury [née Taylor], Elizabeth Mary," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. David Cannadine, January 2011, accessed 23 April 2017. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/article/45784>.

⁹³ Elizabeth Mary Cadbury, "Housing," in *Report of the International Congress of Women Held in Toronto, Canada, June 24–30, 1909*, National Council of Women of Canada (1910), 132.

ICW's records shed unique light on the work of female housing and planning experts like Gurney and Cadbury and underscore female reformers' interest in learning of new planning developments. Though the general exclusion of women from the official records of conferences and exhibitions like the 1910 RIBA or the pre-war NCCPs makes it difficult to quantify the extent to which women might have participated in these events, female attendees, like their male counterparts, undoubtedly discussed what they heard and viewed, and related news of international innovations to their home organizations.

For those English-Canadians present at such conferences and exhibits, these occasions provided unique entry into the transnational planning world. Showcasing entries from municipalities around the world, such exhibitions provided a snapshot of the planning field at a given moment in time, allowing both planning advocates and interested citizens the chance to visually canvass a broad range of global developments at once. Through centralizing planning experts and knowledge, conferences like the RIBA event, the NCCP, Ghent's Premier Congrès International et Exposition des Villes, and the ICW were forums designed for the exchange and circulation of ideas. They gave their English-Canadian attendees a unique chance to learn of a variety of new developments at once, promote efforts in Canada, and speak with foreign colleagues, forging new links between Canada and outside movements.

Yet, while personal involvement in transnational planning networks might have delivered the most immediate links between Canadian, European, and American planning movements, this type of participation was out of reach for many. Particularly for those who lived in Western Canada, factors of time, cost, and distance often limited their ability to undertake extensive

travel. Furthermore, though Canadians travelled to attend conferences, visited key examples of planning innovations at work, and welcomed foreign experts to speak to local audiences, these were all one-time, or, at best, annual, events. Journal circulation, therefore, became one of the most reliable methods of information dissemination, playing a key role in linking English-Canadians who could not travel to the wider planning cohort while also keeping those who could travel up-to-date with new developments in-between their trips.

Planning in Print

While the TPIC's *Town Planning Journal*, was the first Canadian periodical devoted to urban planning, it was hardly the first to report on planning developments. In the years before the *Journal*'s appearance in 1920, several other circulars embraced planning as part of a wider support for urban reform and civic improvement. Central amongst these was the *Canadian Municipal Journal (CMJ)*, the official journal of the Union of Canadian Municipalities (UCM), an organization founded in 1900.

The subject of urban planning fit within the UCM's agenda as one of the 'general subjects common to all municipalities' it sought to study and discuss.⁹⁴ Information about advances in civic design outside of Canada appeared within the first year of its publication, in 1905, with articles more specifically focused on housing and planning growing in number through the early 1900s.⁹⁵ These latter articles can generally be grouped into two categories. The first type was

⁹⁴ Emerson Coatsworth, "President's Address," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 3.10 (Oct. 1907): 419.

⁹⁵ See, for example: "The American Society of Municipal Improvements," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 1.5 (May 1905): 130; P. Burne-Jones, "The City Beautiful," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 1.7 (July 1905): 205–207; H. Craske, "The Garden City Movement," *Canadian*

formulated in a question-and-answer style, presenting a problem in Canadian civic development and suggesting a solution through the use of foreign planning measures. For example, an article published in 1911 entitled ‘Town Planning Suggestions for Canadian Municipalities’, critiqued municipal governments for focusing on ‘extravagant bragging’ and growth at the cost of investing in permanent solutions to civic ills. Providing the example of Great Britain’s Local Government Board, the article called on municipalities to take responsibility for their development by establishing Town Planning Commissions to facilitate ‘the diffusion of tried and proven ideas in civic improvement’ within their municipalities.⁹⁶

The second type of article was descriptive rather than prescriptive, providing explanations of innovations in planning outside Canada. The most vibrant articles in this category invited *CMJ* readers to become armchair tourists through recounting the author’s own travels. Dr. James John Ed Guerin, then Mayor of Montreal, vividly recounted all he saw during a 1911 tour of Hampstead Garden Suburb arranged for him by Earl Grey. Through his eyes, Hampstead became a sunshine-filled utopia. Its homes were “bright, white, [and] clean ... [with] every kind of modern commodities.” The gardens had “flowers such as someone might dream of finding somewhere in a luxuriant Southern clime.” He recollected that a feeling of “good fellowship ... prevail[ed] everywhere”, and noted that all Hampstead citizens were “thoroughly alive” to their responsibilities of home maintenance.⁹⁷ While Guerin was perhaps overly effusive in his praise

Municipal Journal 3.5 (May 1907): 184–185; Professor Gide, “The Towns of the Future,” *Canadian Municipal Journal* 3.10 (Oct. 1907): 480–81; H.L. Hutt, “The Civic Improvement Movement in Ontario,” *Canadian Municipal Journal* 5.2 (Feb. 1909): 65–66.

⁹⁶ J.P. Hynes, “Town planning suggestions for Canadian municipalities,” *Canadian Municipal Journal* 7.12 (Dec. 1911): 480.

⁹⁷ Joseph J. Guerin, “Garden Cities in England,” *Canadian Municipal Journal* 8.1 (Jan. 1912): 12–13.

of Hampstead, his inviting and descriptive writing style transported his readers to the suburb, allowing them to, essentially, “see” a Garden City.

The *CMJ* was not the only Canadian journal to publish on planning. Just as planning fit neatly within the agenda of the UCM, it too reflected the interests of architects, surveyors, builders, and health professionals. In 1905 the *Canadian Architect and Builder* wrote of Britain’s Garden City movement.⁹⁸ It was joined by nationally circulating periodicals like *Construction*, an architectural, engineering, and contracting journal, and the *Canadian Engineer* that likewise reported on international planning developments, calling for the development of town planning at home.⁹⁹ Local and regional, rather than national journals, also provided forums for the reporting and discussion of planning and newspapers too began reporting on planning innovations.¹⁰⁰

In May 1914, for example, the Toronto *Globe* published a two-part article by G. Wray Lemon entitled “A Canadian Town Planner in Germany” recounting Lemon’s recent tour of German cities. Much like William Burditt, Lemon was seemingly a self-styled citizen town planner rather than a trained architectural, engineering, or surveying professional. Although his article names him as a “Canadian town planner,” and he sat on the executive of the Calgary City Planning Commission (CCPC) as it’s Treasurer-Secretary, Lemon likely worked in Calgary’s retail

⁹⁸ “Garden Cities and Suburbs,” *Canadian Architect and Builder* 18.8 (1905): 115–16.

⁹⁹ See, for example, Clifford Sifton, “The Work of Canada’s Conservation Commission,” *The Canadian Engineer* vol. 22 (1911): 137–8; C.H. Mitchell, “Town Planning and Civic Improvement,” *The Canadian Engineer* vol. 23 (1912): 911–13.

¹⁰⁰ In Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Manitoba, for example, those interested could find articles on planning within the pages of *The Western Municipal News* or the progressive *Grain Growers’ Guide*. In Saskatchewan, journals like *The Public Service Monthly* reported on planning developments at the provincial level.

industry and came to embrace planning through a personal interest in the subject, travelling internationally to learn of foreign advances and promote the work of the CCPC.¹⁰¹ In 1911, for example, Lemon journeyed to Boston to attend the fourth National Conference on City Planning. Aside from presenting on Calgary's planning achievements at the NCCP, Burditt also agreed to summarize these remarks in an ensuing article in *The American City*, entitled "A Few of the Things the Bustling Prairie City of the Middle Canadian West is Trying To Do."¹⁰²

While Lemon's article for the *American City* was written to introduce a foreign audience on Calgary's developing, his two articles for the *Globe* aimed to transport his readership to Germany alongside him. Composed almost in the style of a diary entry, Lemon took great effort

¹⁰¹ I have not been able to identify, with certainty, G. Wray Lemon's primary profession while in Calgary. The records I have encountered list him only as Secretary-Treasurer of the Calgary City Planning Commission until 1914. In 1917 he moved with his family from Canada to the United States. United States Census, 1930, Troy, Rensselaer, New York, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) 110, sheet 13B, line 74, family 364, Ray G Lemon; digital images, *FamilySearch*, accessed 28 April 2017, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X4TF-VMD>. From 1921 onwards, however, a "G. Wray Lemon" again appears working as Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Oil City, Pennsylvania, Franklin, Pennsylvania and then Troy, New York. When Lemon left his position in Troy to become Secretary of the Hagerstown, Maryland, Chamber of Commerce in 1936, the Hagerstown *Morning Herald* boasted that Lemon was known throughout the United States and Canada and noted he had entered the secretarial profession after having worked in the newspaper world and as a "commercial traveler and department store executive." "G. Wray Lemon is Appointed Secretary of Local Chamber," *The Morning Herald*, 3 April 1936, 7. A year later, the Hagerstown *Daily Mail* reported that Lemon had authored a pamphlet for the Hagerstown Chamber of Commerce detailing a new, expanded agenda which included "city planning and zoning, better housing, public health, and public education" as the Chamber's long range objectives. "Varied Activities of Local Board Listed in Pamphlet," *The Daily Mail*, 23 April 1937, 14. While no evidence explicitly links G. Wray Lemon, Secretary-Treasurer of the CPCC to G. Wray Lemon, Secretary of numerous Chambers of Commerce across the United States, the consistent, unique, spelling of his name as "G. Wray Lemon," the timeline, similar profession, the *Morning Herald's* statement of Lemon's reputation within Canada, and the *Daily Mail's* reporting of his interest in city planning and zoning, lead me to surmise that the men were one and the same.

¹⁰² Lemon, "A Few of the Things the Bustling Prairie City of the Middle Canadian West is Trying To Do," 108.

to write descriptively. For example, he opened his article by describing a “stormy day in March” that found him on a train from Zurich to Munich, observing the countryside through the window of his carriage, contemplating Germany’s approach to ordering and conserving the physical landscape.¹⁰³ “Our train was rushing through southern Bavaria,” Lemon noted, “[f]or miles we ran along beside tracts of wooded country. Here was a piece planted with young saplings...there, yonder...fine trees ready to be turned into lumber. Germany, I thought, is looking toward the future. In this land...the forest wealth is not wantonly destroyed.”¹⁰⁴ Upon arriving in Munich, Lemon stepped off the train and began walking about. He noted that, while the city was famed for “a certain beverage which is brown in colour,” it stood out to him for its advances in planning such as its introduction of street railways and “superb grouping of its civic buildings” (which he described in great detail).¹⁰⁵ Lemon continued in the same manner throughout his articles, with his ensuing piece describing his journeys through Frankfurt, Cologne, and Berlin.¹⁰⁶ His tour of German planning innovations, and perhaps also his inviting writing style, proved so captivating that it was also partly reproduced by Wellington, New Zealand’s *Evening Post* in early July.¹⁰⁷

These periodicals functioned as an informal network for the exchange of planning ideas during the early years of planning development in Canada prior to the inaugural issue of the nation’s official planning journal, the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, in 1921. While the TPIC purpose-built its journal to circulate information solely on planning, earlier journals

¹⁰³ Lemon, “A Canadian Town Planner in Germany,” the *Globe*, 9 May 1914, A2.

¹⁰⁴ Lemon, “A Canadian Town Planner in Germany.”

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ For the second of Lemon’s articles, please see: G. Wray Lemon, “A Canadian Town Planner in Germany,” *Globe*, 16 May 1914, 30.

¹⁰⁷ “Town Planning: Lessons from Germany, a Canadian’s Pilgrimage,” the Wellington, New Zealand *Evening Post*, 4 July 1914, 10.

included planning within their contents because it fit within their larger agendas.¹⁰⁸ While planning was not yet any one journal's singular focus, these periodicals' ability to reach a cross-national audience frequently made them effective conduits for the spread of international and national planning developments in the years up to 1914. The information contained within them illustrates that these journals' English- Canadian authors, and readers, were well-versed in the advances made beyond national borders, and were eager to bring these practices to their home country.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

From the early 1900s to 1914, an informal but dedicated group of local actors took up the cause of urban planning. Facing the challenges posed by industrial-era urbanization, they familiarized themselves with foreign planning innovations, looking beyond their municipal, provincial, and national borders for solutions and new expertise. Elite planning brokers and individual planning advocates worked to exploit and form channels to foreign movements and experts. International exhibitions and conferences were used as key forums for education and network building. Throughout, domestic journals linked this dispersed early cohort of national planning advocates, providing space for their thoughts and debates, and circulating knowledge of outside planning developments from province to province.

¹⁰⁸ "Notes from the Executive Council Meeting," 21 May 1920, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada (early series), MG28 I275, vol. 1.

¹⁰⁹ This survey only scratches the surface of the role print played in the dissemination of planning ideas in Canada. Local and national newspapers too proved important vehicles for the spread of planning knowledge in Canada. Furthermore, while this discussion has focused on the importance of domestic journals, English-Canadian planners also subscribed to outside journals such as the American *City* and the British *Town Planning Review*.

Given the extent to which English-Canadians participated within the transnational planning cohort, learning of a broad range of foreign developments, classifying Canada as strictly an “undiluted borrower” of outside planning innovations during the early twentieth century is too broad a generalization. Instead, Canada’s planning movement between 1900–1914 fits somewhere in between Stephen V. Ward’s categories of “undiluted” and “selective” borrowing. Canadians did not put forward any grand planning innovations during this time, nor did they move to significantly tweak or adapt those foreign ideas they did borrow, such as the City Beautiful style or British-based town planning legislation.¹¹⁰ However, they were far from just passive receptors of planning ideology with little advanced knowledge of outside theories, practice, and innovations. These early actors, guided by their conceptions of national, provincial, and municipal urban needs, connected to movements outside Canada in order to learn of innovations they felt might improve conditions at home. As the concurrent support for both City Beautiful and Garden City style planning within Canada throughout the early 1900s shows, the movement was never solely under the sway of any one outside innovation or ideology. However,

¹¹⁰ Furthermore, although providing an in-depth consideration of every plan created for a Canadian city by a foreign planning expert between 1900–1914 was outside the scope of this dissertation, if each of these early plans were thoroughly analyzed and compared to foreign plans and innovations (as well as to other plans drawn by their respective foreign authors), more instances of undiluted borrowing would come to light. Such an approach might also illustrate the exact level of selective, versus undiluted, borrowing taking place. A similar method of analysis might also be applied to the examination of Canadian provincial planning acts that were implemented in the early 1900s, and Britain’s 1909 Town Planning Act. Leifka Vissers, Jill Grant, and James Haney illustrate the possibilities of such an analysis in their comparison of Nova Scotia’s 1912 Planning Act and Britain’s 1909 legislation. As they argue, such detailed analyses accentuate textual difference between the acts and highlight moments where local actors used planning legislation as a tool through which to respond to specific civic issues. As Visser’s, Grant’s, and Haney’s detailed consideration reveals, Nova Scotia’s act was not a direct copy of Britain’s legislation. Instead, it was a “stripped down and inverted version of its British counterpart” which “pioneered new approaches for the fledgling discipline [of town planning].” Leifka Vissers, Jill L. Grant, James Haney, “Early Town Planning Legislation in Nova Scotia,” 15, 19.

as Chapter 2 explores, when the popularity of the City Beautiful style waned during the 1910s, planning advocates displayed sensitivity towards Canadian needs by turning towards British planning and hiring Thomas Adams. Canadians did not sit outside the international planning cohort and wait for ideas to come to them. Instead, they worked to move within and learn from it. In the process, they created channels through which experts in America and Great Britain learned of, and took interest in, the evolution of planning in Canada. What grew from this was a movement of advocates more discerning, complex, and knowledgeable than has previously been recognized.

Chapter Two: Bringing Thomas Adams to Canada

Introduction

By the mid-1910s, English-Canada's urban reformers had succeeded in establishing a broad expanse of transnational channels to facilitate the acquisition and importation of outside planning knowledge. Furthermore, through the recognition of common cause amongst urban reformers, professionals, and civic officials, individuals and associations linked to each other both within their municipalities and across provincial borders. They formed local organizations that supported planning efforts, and advocated planning measures through the auspices of national professional and charitable organizations like the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC) or the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC). These early actors also came together at annual, pan-Canadian reform events like the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections (CCCC).

Although Canada's pre-1914 planning movement was very much a multi-vocal one, the voices were not equal, nor were they singing the same song. Despite growing interest in planning amongst architects, engineers, and surveyors, public health experts spoke the loudest and the concerns of elite reformers carried disproportionate influence.¹ Such actors claimed a legitimate interest in shaping the physical urban space, travelling across and within local and national boundaries to learn of new innovations.²

¹ Letter J.P. Hynes to C.P. Meredith, 6 December 1913, Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC], C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG 29 E62 vol.4, file 31.

² Ibid.

The planning movement's heterogeneity changed in the years after Canada imported the British town planning expert Thomas Adams as an advisor to the Commission on Conservation (COC). From 1915 onwards Adams' presence, combined with the growing frustration amongst technical professionals who wanted an organization through which to claim jurisdiction over domestic planning work, led to the establishment of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (TPIC). With Adams as its first president, the TPIC followed in the footsteps of its model, Adams' British Town Planning Institute. It began by restricting full membership to qualified members of the architecture, surveying, and engineering fields, while fashioning itself as the official authority on planning in English-Canada. In doing so, the TPIC erected specific educational and gendered barriers to membership, ending the more fluid and multi-vocal pre-professional era of planning activity that preceded its inauguration.

The campaign to bring Adams to Canada as a planning advisor grew from within the more fluid period of transnational exchanges and cooperation predating his 1914 arrival in Canada. While the years between 1900 and 1912 had seen several Canadian municipalities hire foreign experts to advise them and design urban plans, public health reformers, in particular, felt that issues of housing, sanitation, and congestion merited a national, alongside local and provincial, response. The idea to hire Adams sprang from a local urban reform group, the Toronto Housing Company (THC), rather than a professional association of architects, engineers, or surveyors. The THC emerged in 1912 in response to concerns surrounding the state and shortage of working class housing in Toronto. It brought together representatives of Toronto's Civic Guild, the Toronto branch

of the Canadian Manufacturer's Association, the local Board of Trade, the University Settlement, the National Council of Women, and Toronto's City Council. Once the group settled on the idea of importing Adams to Canada, its members used their impressive network of pre-existing ties to bring planning advocates across local and provincial borders to support the effort. Through the cross-organizational work of Sir Edmond Boyd Osler, a THC and COC member, a petition signed by the THC, eleven other local and national groups, and "a very large number of the most prominent citizens in Canada" was put before the COC in early 1913.³ Thanks to Dr. Charles Hodgett's work within the group, the COC membership was familiar with planning and quickly agreed to move forward with the scheme.⁴

Over the next two years, COC members Hodgetts, Osler, and Jeffrey Hale Burland, a prominent businessman and philanthropist from Montreal, led efforts to secure Adams, drawing on their connections within the transnational planning cohort to support this work. When Adams officially arrived in late 1914 to take up his post as the COC's Planning Advisor, it marked a triumph for the inter-organizational cooperation and urban planning networking of, chiefly, charitable, philanthropic, and public health planning advocates. However, thanks to the efforts of Adams and eager would-be planning professionals, these reformers soon found themselves restricted from full participation within the movement.

³ Sir Edmund Osler, "Report of the Committee on Public Health," in *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting*, COC (1913), 9.

⁴ COC, *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting* (1913), 176.

The campaign to bring Adams to Canada, therefore, offers a window into a unique moment in Canada's early twentieth century planning history, illustrating the influence of Canada's lay planning advocates, their knowledge of foreign planning experts and developments, and their ability to operate within, and across, local, provincial, and national boundaries to support their planning efforts. Indeed, in the matter of importing Adams, technical professionals were latecomers: the RAIC, via C.P. Meredith, only came to support the scheme after the COC agreed to it.⁵ This chapter will examine the campaign to import Adams through the work of the THC and COC, paying particular attention to why Adams became their chosen candidate, and studying the importance of local, national, and transnational ties to the effort's success.

Through this examination, I will also contextualize current understandings of Adams' arrival in Canada. Adams' biographer, Michael Simpson, has described Adams' invitation to work in Canada as more of a philanthropic undertaking than an employment opportunity. In Simpson's telling, Dr. Charles Hodgetts takes centre stage as the key figure shaping Canadian planning in the years before 1914.⁶ Simpson writes that Hodgetts became tired of the "noon-day effulgence" of the City Beautiful approach and began looking towards the British planning example. Impressed after hearing Adams speak at the 1911 meeting of the National Conference on City Planning, Hodgetts used his influence with the COC to convince it of the benefits of inviting Adams to Canada.⁷

⁵ Letter from C.P. Meredith to J.P. Hynes, 25 January 1913, LAC, C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG 29 E62 vol.4, file 31.

⁶ Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940* (Oxford: Alexandria Press, 1985), 75.

⁷ Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement*, 76.

Its members agreed, and Adams accepted the COC's offer, becoming "the imperial umbilical cord that truly brought Canadian planning to birth."⁸

In contrast to Simpson, other historians have taken a more nuanced approach when considering how Adams came to Canada. Though still including Hodgetts and the COC, some have added that Prime Minister Robert Borden was involved in the effort and thrice approached the British government requesting that it allow Adams to travel to Canada.⁹ Others have stated that a "lobby" including Hodgetts and various charitable institutions together pushed the COC to court Adams.¹⁰ Few historians have disrupted the COC-dominated narrative, however, both Walter van Nuus and John Bacher have bypassed Hodgetts' role altogether. Walter van Nus writes instead that "a large number of business and reform organizations" requested that the COC hire Adams while Bacher more specifically states that Adams was "sought out and brought" after the Canadian Manufacturer's Association, National Council of Women, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, Hamilton Board of Trade, and Canadian Public Health Association petitioned the COC requesting it hire Adams.¹¹

⁸ Ibid., 75.

⁹ Wayne Caldwell and Thomas Adams, *Rediscovering Thomas Adams: Rural Planning and Development in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), xiv; Stephen V. Ward, "British and American Influences on Canadian planning," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 13.1 (1998): 126.

¹⁰ Caldwell and Adams, *Rediscovering Thomas Adams*, xiii.

¹¹ Walter van Nus, "The Fate of City Beautiful thought in Canada. 1893-1930," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Alan F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984), 175; John Bacher, *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 52.

In emphasizing the importance of both the THC and COC, and their informed choice of Adams as their candidate, this chapter further dispels the notion that Adams came to Canada as an act of benevolence. Furthermore, by focusing on both these organizations, and the associations they drew on to support the effort, the diversity and influence of those within the pre-professional planning movement in the pre-1914 is underscored.

A State of Transition: From the City Beautiful to the Garden City

The 1910s ushered in a state of transition for English-Canada's early planning movement from the American City Beautiful style towards the British Garden City approach.

Thanks to their involvement in the transnational planning world, English-Canadians were aware of a broad range of foreign planning developments. However, from the early 1900s until mid-1913, the majority of urban planning contracts offered by Canadian municipalities were awarded to foreign City Beautiful experts.

Such plans were, in general, notable for their focus on beauty, grandeur, and ornamentation—and their sizable price tags. For example, Thomas Mawson's 1914 plan for Calgary included the introduction of a radial street design that would cut through, and soften, the preexisting gridiron design. It proposed the building of diagonal roads flowing out of the city centre to direct traffic away from the core and to the city's outliers and also called for the creation of a set of public parks and leisure spaces along the Bow River, connected by new bridges. Additionally, it envisioned the creation of new civic and public buildings such as a university in the city's Spruce Cliff neighbourhood and a glass-

roofed open-air market in the city's core.¹² The total cost for the Mawson plan was estimated at \$10 million.¹³

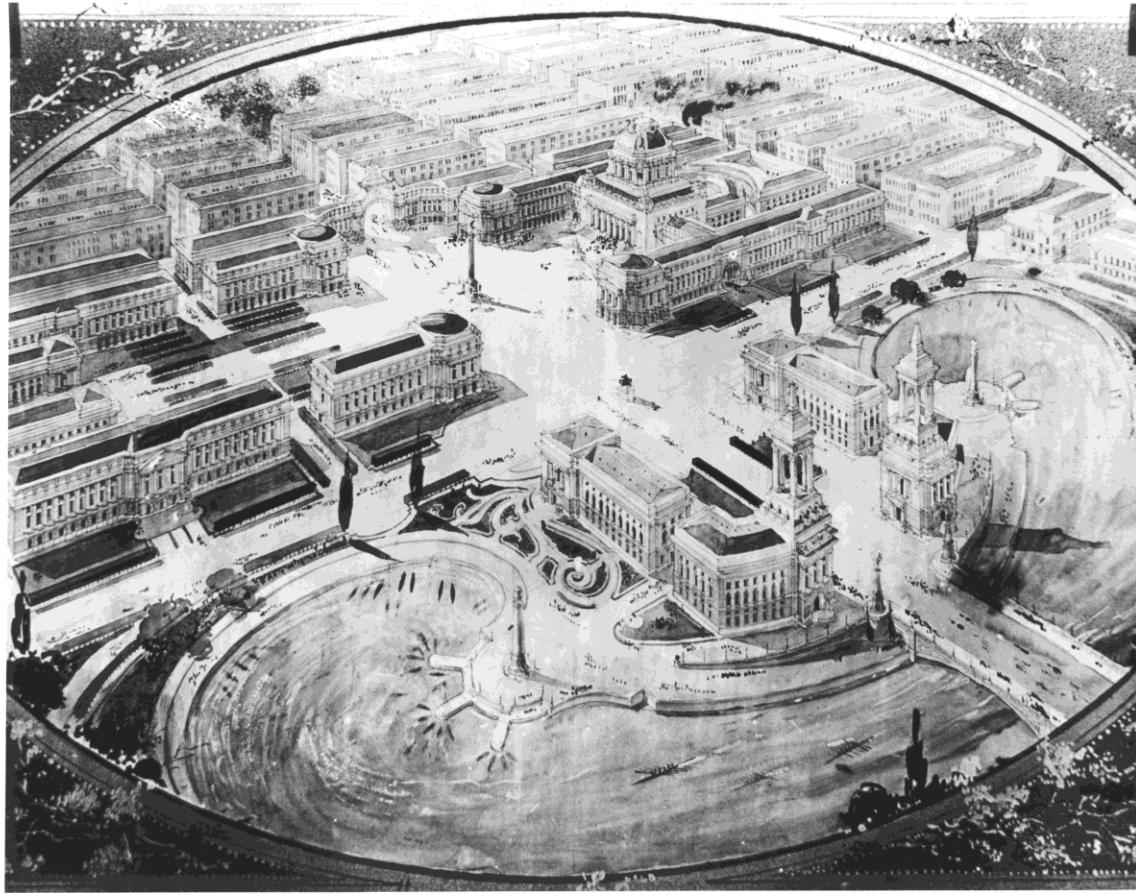


Figure 2. Thomas Mawson, Plan for Civic Centre (1914). Courtesy of the Mawson Digital Collection, Canadian Architectural Archives, University of Calgary.

Yet, despite the proliferation of both City Beautiful style plans and planning experts within Canada between 1906 and 1914, by the early 1910s, interest in the style was waning. At this time the nation-wide scarcity of decent homes, particularly for working-

¹² For an examination of Mawson's work in Western Canada, please see, Anthony W. Rasporich, "The City Yes, the City No: Perfection by Design in the Western City," in *The Prairie West as Promised Land*, ed. R.D. Francis (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2007), 181–85; "Vienna on the Bow: Thomas Mawson's City of Calgary Plan," Canadian Architectural Archives [hereafter CAA], accessed 3 June 2016, <https://asc.ucalgary.ca/collections/archival/architectural/mawson>.

¹³ "Vienna on the Bow: Thomas Mawson's City of Calgary Plan."

class families, combined with rising rents and overcrowding, turned housing into one of Canada's most urgent social issues.¹⁴ Throughout the 1900s, Canada's urban population, especially the urban working class, expanded at a rate greater than private enterprise could house. Nation-wide, the price of rents rose 35.9 percent between 1910 and 1914.¹⁵ The lack of working class housing caused severe overcrowding with thousands of working class families inhabiting homes of only one to two rooms.¹⁶ While Canada's larger cities like Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal certainly experienced some of the severest cases of overcrowding due to their population size, the nation's smaller cities likewise experienced the housing crisis. For example, in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan it was noted that the early 1910s saw the erection of "poorly built houses" alongside "crowding and improper conversion."¹⁷ In both Ontario and Quebec, particular attention was drawn to the housing crisis through social investigations. In Montreal, businessman philanthropist Sir Herbert Brown Ames' sociological study of working-class life in Montreal, *the City Beyond the Hill*, published in 1897, pre-dated the new interest of the 1910s and served to draw new attention to the housing conditions of Montreal's poorest

¹⁴ van Nus, "The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada. 1893–1930," 172. For an examination of housing issues, and housing reform thought, within Canadian cities during this time please see: Sean Purdy, "Industrial Efficiency, Social Order and Moral Purity: Housing Reform Thought in English Canada, 1900–1950," *Urban History Review* 25.2 (March 1997): 30–40; Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); John C. Bacher, *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Michel Doucet and John Weaver, *Housing the North American City* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

¹⁵ "Vienna on the Bow: Thomas Mawson's City of Calgary Plan."

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ W.E. Graham, City of Saskatoon Planning and Building Department, *Housing Report 1961: A Phase of the Community Planning Scheme*, (1961), 3, in City of Saskatoon Archives, City Engineer's Department Publications and Reports, Box 3, File 1055-64.

residents.¹⁸ In Toronto, working-class housing issues were brought to public notice through the work of Toronto's Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Charles Hastings, who, in 1911, published a report on housing in Toronto, highlighting the growing "slum" conditions of the city's poorest neighbourhoods.¹⁹

Furthermore, while, particularly in Western Canada, the years between 1869 and 1913 had been ones of general prosperity and population growth, 1913 saw a nation-wide economic depression. A combination of escalating foreign conflicts and a growing skepticism in the ability of Canada's economic infrastructure to sustain the rapid growth of the decade before led to the end of mass foreign investment. Cities and towns that had relied on credit found themselves bankrupt, unable to administer to the basic needs of their citizens.

In the midst of mounting housing issues, and then economic depression, it grew increasingly difficult for City Beautiful advocates to justify expensive, grandiose plans that often called for the redesign of the existing city core. While civic improvement groups and urban reformers had lauded the ability of beautiful civic art, architecture, and leisure spaces to combat vice and delinquency through morally uplifting the urban working class, the cost of the plans tended to outweigh their benefits.²⁰ The lobby for

¹⁸ Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada* (Montreal: Bishop Engraving and Printing, 1897).

¹⁹ Charles J. Hastings, *Report of the Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto, Embodying Recommendations for the Amelioration of the Same* (Toronto, ON: Department of Public Health, 1911).

²⁰ In her thesis, Julie Nash defines the City Beautiful movement in Canada as "an environmentalist urban planning phenomenon emphasizing...civic grandeur and aesthetic

housing and planning gained new impetus from the economic downturn and escalating public notice of housing conditions, but also from British Garden City expert Henry Vivian's 1910 tour of Canada.

Henry Vivian, Housing Reform, and the Garden City

Given the pre-existing housing reform lobby, the growing housing shortage in Canada throughout the 1900s, and the sudden economic downturn in 1913, it is a step too far to credit Henry Vivian with "arous[ing]" Canadians "of the need of organized effort for the improvement of housing conditions."²¹ It is notable, however, that key leaders within Canada's housing and planning movement did assign him this role. For example, in an 1914 article written for the *British Garden Cities and Town Planning Journal*, Frank Beer, Torontonians businessman and philanthropist and President of the THC, credited Vivian with awakening Canadians to the need for improved housing. Beer wrote that Vivian shocked Canadians out of their "complacency and self-satisfaction" by illustrating that "not only were slums being formed right in the hearts of our prosperous cities, but that some of these slums had a proud pre-eminence in comparison with all that he had known elsewhere."²²

coherence. Its goal was to improve the morale and quality of life of jaded urban dwellers." Julie Nash, "Modern Civic Art; or, the City Made Beautiful: Aesthetic Progressivism and the Allied Arts in Canada, 1889-1939" (masters thesis, Carleton University, 2011), 25.

²¹ G. Frank Beer, "The Housing Propaganda," in *Better Housing in Canada, the "Ontario Plan": First Annual Report of the Toronto Housing Company, Limited* (1913), 18.

²² G. Frank Beer, "Working Men's Houses and Model Dwellings in Canada," *Garden Cities and Town Planning*, 4 (May 1914): 105.

Vivian's observations of Canada's housing scene may have also seemed revelatory to the mostly middle and upper-class audiences he addressed. Whereas actual residents of working-class neighbourhoods could not escape the effects of congestion and inadequate and dangerous housing conditions, as Vivian himself noted to a reporter while in Canada, he most often met with "the clubs, which are a fixture in all Canadian towns," which, in large part, meant he exclusively addressed privileged groups of English-Canadians.²³ In Toronto, he spoke to the Canadian Club, the City Council Civic Improvement Committee, and the University of Toronto. At the University of Toronto, Vivian was introduced by Sir Byron Edmund Walker, president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and one of Toronto's preeminent businessmen philanthropists.²⁴ Vivian also gave a private address in the library of Sir Joseph Flavelle's Queen's Park mansion, Holwood. The scene painted by the reporter who attended the event is one of intimacy and exclusivity. "A small number of people, keenly interested in the subject [of co-partnership housing] were asked to meet [Vivian]," she noted, and they "sat and chatted" with him throughout the evening.²⁵

While Vivian did not "discover" Canada's housing problems, he did, throughout his tour, illustrate the potential of co-partnership (or limited-dividend) housing and its connection to the British Garden City and Suburb approach to planning. At the time of his Canadian tour, Vivian was, foremost, known as one of the leading figures of Britain's early

²³ "Correct Canadian Diems", *The Grain Growers' Guide* (7 December 1910): 39.

²⁴ Thomas Adam, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 83.

²⁵ "The Housing Problem," in "Women at Work and Play," *Globe*, 12 October 1910, 5.

twentieth century co-partnership housing movement. Though the idea of co-partnership housing had existed since the early nineteenth century, Vivian became involved with the movement in the late 1800s, establishing the labour co-partnership venture, General Builders Ltd., in London in 1890.²⁶ By 1905, General Builders Ltd. had achieved moderate success by building fifty homes in London and establishing a planned suburb in Ealing, however, as historian Johnston Birchall notes in his exploration of the two movements, “on its own it is doubtful if [the co-partnership movement] would have succeeded” beyond these gains.²⁷

What pushed co-partnership efforts into the urban reform spotlight in Great Britain was their association with Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City. Howard, originally a court stenographer, published the foundational text of the Garden City approach, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, in 1898. This text was subsequently revised and reprinted as *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* in 1902. In *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, he advocated an end to overcrowded, unhealthy, capitalistic urban life through the creation of a series of satellite, limited-size, Garden Cities. The cities would be self-sufficient and self-contained with boundaries of each defined by the presence of an encircling agricultural greenbelt. Within the community, laid out in a concentric style, would be spaces for business, leisure, and residency. Howard’s vision of the Garden City was compatible with the aims of co-partnership: in his book he focused on the importance of housing and land tenure reform, noting that the working class should “invest their own

²⁶ Johnston Birchall, “Co- partnership Housing and the Garden City Movement,” *Planning Perspectives* 10.4 (1995): 331, 333.

²⁷ Birchall, “Co-partnership Housing,” 333.

money in co-operative enterprise” rather than relying on private builders to construct homes.²⁸ In 1901, this connection between the two movements was solidified when Ralph Neville, a London barrister and co-partnership advocate, became president of the Garden City Association, thus establishing a firm bridge between the two movements.²⁹ Vivian likewise supported the connection between co-partnership and the Garden City to the extent that he sought to turn Ealing into the “pioneer society” of the garden suburb movement.³⁰ In 1904, the GCA’s Raymond Unwin was appointed as Ealing’s architect, tasked with turning the venture into a garden suburb and, in 1911, Ealing Garden Suburb was formally opened.³¹

Crossing Canada, Vivian highlighted poor housing conditions and a need for Garden Cities and co-partnership housing. He noted in his address to the Toronto branch of the Canadian Club that “[b]ig mistakes have already been made in Canada. I have in my mind a city of 26,000 which will surely have a hundred thousand within twenty years...the town is so poorly planned that it will become a death trap...automobiles are coming on to the streets...travelling at twenty miles an hour. What does that mean to the pedestrian? If there is not provision made...in twenty years the modern city will be intolerable.”³² Continuing, he outlined the benefits of Garden City planning and stated “the introduction of the co-partnership principle marks a new era in housing...giv[ing] us

²⁸ Ibid., 334.

²⁹ Ibid., 335.

³⁰ Ibid., 333.

³¹ Ibid., 336.

³² Henry Vivian, “Garden Suburbs and Town Planning,” Address to the Canadian Club of Toronto, 13 October 1910, in “Events,” *Canadian Club Toronto*, accessed 26 July 2016, https://www.canadianclub.org/docs/default-source/event-transcripts/232_pdf.pdf?sfvrsn=0

again, in a new form, a commercial civic life which will once more infuse harmony and beauty into the homes and into the suburbs and villages.”³³

The Toronto Housing Company

In her examination of the Toronto Housing Company, historian Shirley Campbell

Spragge names Henry Vivian “John-the-Baptist” for the THC, noting that his arrival in Toronto marked “the starting point for reform,” paving the way for the THC’s emergence as a limited-dividend company based on the British model.³⁴ As THC President Frank Beer acknowledged within the group’s first annual report, “consciousness of a need for an organized effort for the improvement of housing conditions was aroused in most Canadian cities by...Mr. Henry Vivian.”³⁵ While in Toronto as part of his cross-Canada tour in early October, Vivian delivered three speeches, one at the Canadian Club, one in front of the City Council’s Civic Improvement League, and one at the University of Toronto. Additionally, he delivered at least one private address— at Joseph Flavelle’s home on 12 October 1910— and may have also met with local architects and civic leaders. Through such work, despite his relatively short time in the city, Vivian was able to address a wide variety of Toronto’s leading urban reform advocates.

Just as in Montreal, the turn of the twentieth century onwards saw the development of a number of professional and charitable associations in Toronto that came to embrace urban planning. The THC itself grew out of a joint-committee struck in late 1911 by members of the Civic Guild of Art, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (Toronto

³³ Vivian, “Garden Cities and Town Planning.”

³⁴ Adam, *Buying Respectability*, 82–83

³⁵ Beer, “The Housing Propaganda,” 19.

branch), the local Board of Trade, the University Settlement, the National Council of Women, and the City Council to discuss solutions to the city's growing housing issues.³⁶ In early February, the joint-committee announced its decision to create a co-partnership housing company in an attempt to deal with the city's mounting housing issues.

Although the THC was created to facilitate the building of working class homes in Toronto, from the beginning, its directors embraced a broader, more national and international mandate. As its first annual report explained, "[the THC] is not a company; it is a Cause."³⁷ Its members viewed housing the working class as "a problem that vitally concerns both the community and the nation", and, to that extent, positioned the THC as an expert advisory body and clearinghouse for information on housing. The THC's originators hoped to inspire reformers in cities across Canada to follow their model and, with that goal in mind, its secretary, W.S.B. Armstrong, immediately began travelling within and outside Ontario. In the THC's first year, Armstrong informed audiences of the THC's work in Kitchener, Galt, Quebec City, and Winnipeg. In Winnipeg, Armstrong spoke at the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections and afterwards met with "several of [Winnipeg's] leading financial and business men" who assured him that efforts to emulate the THC's model would soon be underway in Manitoba.³⁸ The THC's President, Frank Beer, also worked to publicize the THC: in early 1913 he travelled to Ottawa to summarize company's work for the COC at its annual meeting. The THC also fielded written inquiries about its operations from cities in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba,

³⁶ Lorna F. Hurl, "The Toronto Housing Company, 1912–1924: The Pitfalls of Painless Philanthropy," *Canadian Historical Review* 65.1 (March 1984): 34.

³⁷ Beer, "The Housing Propaganda," 18.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

Alberta, British Columbia, and Nova Scotia and proudly concluded in 1913 that it was “known throughout the Dominion” and “constantly in receipt of inquiries with regard to [our] work.”³⁹

Alongside courting domestic recognition and support, the THC also sought to establish itself within the wider, international urban reform cohort.⁴⁰ Its president, Frank Beer, became an “internationally recognized authority” on housing and planning issues during this time through his participation in international conferences, correspondence with outside experts, and authorship of articles in foreign journals.⁴¹ As an organization, the THC was also connected with the American National Housing Association (NHA). The NHA was the creation of Lawrence Veiller, a renowned housing reformer from New York. Veiller established the NHA in 1910 as a vehicle through which that nation’s disparate housing associations could organize. It became a national clearinghouse for information about housing and a “vigorous instrument of reform.”⁴² It published pamphlets and reports on housing developments and also acted in an advisory capacity, aiding cities in the creation of housing legislation throughout the 1910s.

That the THC sought to associate itself with the NHA illustrates the executive’s broad vision for the THC. From its inception, the directors of the THC seemed to position their group as a Canadian answer to the NHA. Though, by name and membership, the THC

³⁹ Ibid., 20.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 21.

⁴¹ Hurl, “The Toronto Housing Company, 1912–1924,” 46.

⁴² Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement Housing Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962), 144.

was a local endeavor, its directors sought to carve out a provincial and national role for the new organization as an advocacy group and point of contact for the nation's urban planners. Although such aims seem lofty considering the THC had only just been established, while the THC was new in name, its members were, largely, experienced reformers who had already held positions on local groups with an interest in urban improvement. To them, the THC was an extension of reform activities that predated it.

The Toronto Housing Company and Thomas Adams

Within its first year of the THC's existence, its members did succeed in moving forward with their housing project, attracting 166 shareholders and purchasing five acres of land from the city council and a further 685 feet of land in the city's North West, leasing "a block of vacant land" from the Toronto General Hospital Trust, and securing an additional two hundred acres of land in the city's North East for the establishment of a Garden Suburb style district.⁴³ Despite this activity, the "broader purpose" of the THC, securing better housing nationally, likewise claimed the organization's attention.

The THC's campaign to attract Adams to Canada sprang from this emphasis on the THC's "broader purpose." Its first annual report emphasized that the THC, as "the only housing undertaking in operation in the Dominion", had taken the lead in establishing a national response to the issue of housing by suggesting that Thomas Adams undertake a cross-country tour of a similar nature to Vivian's 1910 journey.⁴⁴ The Commission

⁴³ G. Frank Beer, "Address of the President" in *Better Housing in Canada, the "Ontario Plan": First Annual Report of the Toronto Housing Company, Limited* (1913), 9–11.

⁴⁴ Beer, "The Housing Propaganda," 19.

expected Adams would stop in each province, advising provincial and local authorities on housing and planning matters and delivering lectures in urban centres. However, while the THC was eager to initiate the scheme to bring Adams to Canada, the annual report noted that the work of contacting Adams and inviting him to Canada “[comes] naturally within the province of the Health Section of the Commission of Conservation.”⁴⁵

Therefore, the THC used its domestic networks to circulate a petition “throughout the Dominion” calling on Sir Edmund Osler, a member of the THC’s Advisory Board and chair of the COC’s Health Section, to support the initiative to bring Adams to Canada. After collecting signatures from “influential people in practically all the cities” and receiving endorsement from “a number of the Provincial Governments”, the THC sent Osler its proposition.⁴⁶ Osler duly put it before the COC at its January 1913 annual meeting. The members agreed to support the scheme and, as the THC’s annual report concluded, “as far as we were concerned the matter was entirely successful.”⁴⁷

The summary of the THC’s campaign to bring Adams to Canada contained in its 1913 annual report is confident and assured in tone belying no hint of debate or deliberation. Adams is presented as the only, and obvious, candidate. Neither in the THC’s summary, nor in the petition, is any resume of Adams’ work or qualifications mentioned beyond stating his advice would be “of inestimable value” due to “his ability and great practical experience”.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ “Petition to Sir Edmund Osler re: Thomas Adams,” 1912, LAC, C.P. Meredith Papers, MG 29 E62, vol. 4, file 29.

The THC did not fail to include this biographic information, rather its members likely felt that they did not have to justify their choice. This confidence rested on two assumptions: firstly, that Adams' reputation, skills, and suitability were so well known that it was unnecessary to state them and, relatedly, that no other candidate would do. While the THC may not have questioned its confidence, that Adams was both so famous and so obvious a choice to the THC at this moment was contingent on developments leading up to 1912. By the 1910s, Adams stood as one of town planning's foremost experts. He was not alone in this group, yet, what ultimately set Adams apart to Canadians was the Garden City style he represented, his organizational work in Great Britain, and his knowledge of that country's landmark *Housing and Town Planning Act* of 1909.⁴⁹

Thomas Adams did not set out to become a town planning professional. Born near Edinburgh in 1871 on his family's farm, he first began farming before moving to London in the late nineteenth century to pursue journalism. While in London, he became interested in the Garden City movement gathering popularity at that time and befriended both Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin, respectively the Garden City's inventor and chief architect. In 1901 Adams became Honourary Secretary of the Garden City Association (GCA) in London and was therefore closely involved with the planning and establishment of Letchworth, the movement's first realized Garden City. He directed Letchworth's construction and acted as "recruiter-in-chief of population and industry".⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Individuals such as fellow British planners Ramond Unwin and Patrick Geddes, French Eugène Hénard, Germans A.E. Brinkmann and H.J. Stübgen, and Americans Daniel Burnham, John Nolen, and Frederick Law Olmsted (both Jr. and Sr.) were also recognized internationally for their work during this time.

⁵⁰ Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement*, 28.

Although Letchworth was not officially completed until 1909, Adams left the project in 1905 to become Secretary of the GCA.

Adams quit the GCA in 1906 to initiate his own professional career.⁵¹ After qualifying as a certified surveyor, he became a land agent and consulting surveyor, largely focusing on designing garden suburbs.⁵² Adams' departure from the GCA did not mark the end of his work as an organizer and planning advocate. In 1909, the British government passed the *Town and Country Planning Act* and named Adams as Town Planning Assistant to the Local Government Board, in charge of implementing the 1909 legislation.⁵³

While employed with the Local Government Board, Adams also turned his attention to the state of the planning profession in Great Britain. He grew concerned over the lack of a professional qualifying body for planners and, to that end, helped initiate the Town Planning Institute (TPI) in 1913. By limiting the title of "town planner" to qualified surveyors, architects, and engineers, coordinating planning activities, and constructing itself as the official advocate for planners and planning issues in Great Britain, the TPI, much like the TPIC, formalized and structured the profession. Even Adams had to exert

⁵¹ While Adams' biographer, Michael Simpson, views his departure from the GCA as connected to his desire to formally educate himself in a planning field and pursue his own career, historian Stanley Buder hints that Adams' leaving the GCA was more a financial, than personal move. As Buder alleges, Adams used the connections he made from his time with the GCA to gain "lucrative outside employment" and, based on this experience, position himself as "Britain's first planning consultant." Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 102.

⁵² Buder, *Visionaries and Planners*, 102.

⁵³ Dennis Hardy, *From New Towns to Green Politics: Campaigning For Town and Country Planning, 1946-1990* (London: E and FN Spon, 1991), 12.

himself to obtain membership— as only recognized members of constituent professional associations could apply to join the TPI, Adams first had to become a fellow of the Surveyor's Institution before he could take up his role as the TPI's first president.⁵⁴

Though Adams' work gained him national recognition, his central role within the Garden City movement, combined with his willingness to travel and represent the movement at conferences in Great Britain and abroad, lent him international recognition by 1910. He was present at many of the major international planning conferences held between 1910 and the First World War including the 1911 National Conference on City Planning in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The 1911 NCCP proved integral to the future of Canada's planning movement. COC member, Dr. Charles Hodgetts, and THC member, Sir Edmund Boyd Osler, both attended the NCCP that year and were impressed by what they saw of Adams there.

While not a featured presenter, Adams twice commented on papers given by American planners, clearly setting out his philosophy of town planning and drawing particular attention to a key difference between the American and British approach to planning. While, by the 1911 conference, American city planning had effectively separated itself from an earlier connection with housing and congestion, British town planning still placed great emphasis on housing. Adams reminded American planners of the need to both plan the city and provide adequate housing for all its residents. "Plan the town if you like," Adams quoted, "but in doing it do not forget that you have got to spread the

⁵⁴ Michael Simpson, "Thomas Adams in Canada, 1914–1930," *Urban History Review* 11.2 (October 1982): 2.

people...[m]ake wider roads, but do not narrow the tenements behind. Dignify the city by all means, but not at the expense of the health of the home[.]”⁵⁵

Adams’ emphasis on planning and housing resonated with both Osler and Hodgetts.

Osler would later comment that Adams was “the one man in England who...had very sound...ideas on the subject of housing and town planning.”⁵⁶ Although it is unclear whether or not other members of the THC were present at the 1911 conference, Adams’ connection to Vivian and the Garden City movement, his organizational work, and his planning philosophy, as laid out at before the NCCP in 1911, made him the only candidate the THC put forward for the role of town planning advisor.

The Toronto Housing Company Hands Control to the Commission of Conservation

In the THC’s 1913 annual report, the decision to hand matters over to the COC was framed as a logical next step and necessary matter of protocol. At the time, Thomas Adams was employed by Britain’s Local Government Board (LGB) as its Town Planning Advisor, a role he had held since 1909. Due to the official nature, and importance, of Adams’ work, it was explained, any requests to contract his services would need approval by the British Government. The THC, as a local, non-governmental organization, was not in a position to make such advances— especially as its members envisioned Adams as a national, rather than local, level advisor. If he was to come to Canada to counsel national, provincial, and local authorities on planning issues, such an invitation could only be

⁵⁵ John Burns qtd. by Thomas Adams, “The British Point of View,” in *Proceedings of the Third National Council on City Planning* (1911), 28

⁵⁶ Commission of Conservation of Canada, *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting* (1913), 9–10.

extended by the Dominion government. Therefore, the THC explained, petitioning the COC, a federal-government advisory board, to take charge of the matter and initiate negotiations with the British Government for Adams' services, was necessary.

That the THC's members felt the federal government should, as its annual report indicated, "naturally" be called on to assume a central role in the organizing of a national-level housing and town planning effort, however, was not as simple a step as the report inferred.⁵⁷ For one, the THC members' insistence that they were unable to initiate discussions with Adams directly is puzzling. Although Adams was, indeed, employed by the British Government at the time, his duties had not prevented him from undertaking outside projects and travelling internationally. Given this, it seems improbable that the THC's members would have felt unable to contact him directly.

While the THC's membership could not be called socialists, the businessmen philanthropists that dominated its board likely shared views common to middle and upper class urban reformers of the era who increasingly believed that state intervention had a place within the capitalist system.⁵⁸ Measured government intervention, in the form of legislation that could institute building codes and public health measures, was seen as

⁵⁷ Beer, "The Housing Propaganda," 19.

⁵⁸ As author Bruce H. Ziff states in his analysis of elite Canadian philanthropy during the early 1900s, the philanthropic outlook of businessmen like Joseph Flavelle and Edmund Boyd Osler "rest[ed] on a set of assumptions about where state obligations should end and private ones should take over." Ziff argues that although these elites maintained a conservative viewpoint towards the state-assisted welfare measures they felt would destroy self-sufficiency, they also felt the state should use its regulatory powers to ensure the smooth and efficient operation of its cities, citizens, and economy. Bruce H. Ziff, *Unforeseen Legacies: Reuben Wells Leonard and the Leonard Foundation Trust* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 92.

enabling an efficient and rational civic and economic order. These reformers also generally viewed such regulation as a partnership between the government and themselves. While the government had the power to legislate, they felt that the work of overseeing and managing the application of such laws should be placed in the hands of expert managers, such as Thomas Adams.

The THC members were likely aware that the COC was particularly receptive to this new vision of government responsibility. Like the THC, the COC membership boasted business leaders, many with backgrounds in philanthropy and public service. For example, William Bunting Snowball, of Chatham, New Brunswick, was a civic politician and the son of Jabez Bunting Snowball, owner of the province's largest sawmill.⁵⁹ Frank Davison, of Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, was likewise a local politician and lumber tradesman. His father, Edward Doran Davison, established Nova Scotia's largest lumber business.⁶⁰ Joining Davison and Snowball in representing the lumber trade was Liberal Senator William Cameron Edwards, a sawmill owner, Charles A. McCool, a lumber merchant and Liberal Member of Parliament, both from Ottawa, Ontario, and John Hendry, a lumber manufacturer from Vancouver, British Columbia. Representing Quebec was real estate speculator and noted philanthropist Eduard Gohier and, from Prince Edward Island, Aubin-Edmond Arsenault, lawyer and Conservative Member of Parliament. Alongside these men sat Sir Edmund Boyd Osler and Sir Sanford Fleming.

⁵⁹ W. A. Spray, "Snowball, Jabez Bunting," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 13 (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–), accessed 30 November 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/snowball_jabez_bunting_13E.html.

⁶⁰ Catherine Pross, "Davison, Edward Doran," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. 12 (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–), accessed 30 November 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/davison_edward_doran_12E.html.

Fleming was an engineer and previously Canadian director of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

As is evident from the early records of the COC, its members shared the THC members' views towards government responsibility. Critiques of *laissez-faire* and calls for greater government regulation at all levels frequently came from within the COC in the years before 1912. In particular, its members did not shy away from recommending an expansion of government involvement in the wellbeing of Canadian citizens. At the COC's first annual meeting in 1910, Dr. Peter Bryce, speaking to the members on national public health matters, openly critiqued a hands-off approach to municipal issues. He called for the "scientific supervision" of trained experts as opposed to "municipal *laissez-faire* and ineffectiveness" and, in his conclusion, spoke directly to "the value of municipal, provincial, or State interference in matters affecting the public health."⁶¹ In 1913, Hodgetts bemoaned the lack of federal-level involvement in housing, asking "what is being done by the state to assist [the current situation]?" before asserting "legislation which would...improve the existing insanitary conditions is imperative."⁶² Hodgetts' calls for new, regulatory and preventative government legislation were echoed by nearly all COC committees, illustrating that it was, as two presenters to the COC stated in 1913, "characteristic of the age to count on preventative legislation...for telling achievement."⁶³

⁶¹ Dr. Peter Bryce, "Measures for the Improvement and Maintenance of the Public Health," in *Report of the First Annual Meeting*, COC (1910), 126, 134.

⁶² Dr. Charles Hodgetts, "Report of the Committee on Public Health," *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting*, COC (1913), 7.

⁶³ Raymond C. Benner and J.J. O'Connor, Jr., "The Smoke Nuisance," in *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting*, COC (1913), 204.

While matters of protocol certainly played a part in the THC members' decision to petition the COC to take charge of the scheme to attract Adams to Canada, the THC would not have turned to a federal agency to carry out the project if its members had not believed that the federal government had a responsibility to promote, and intervene to assist, municipal improvement. Furthermore, the THC would have refrained from contacting the COC if it had felt the COC members would be unreceptive. The COC, however, was comfortable taking on the scheme, and asking Borden to contact the British government, because its members likewise believed such a move fell within the government's responsibilities to its citizens.

As well, the THC members might have been more reticent to hand over their project if they felt that, in doing so, they were losing all control over it. In the THC's 1913 annual report, it seems as if the COC's acceptance of the THC's petition marked the end of the latter's involvement. However, while transferring responsibility may have shifted official control over the scheme away from the THC's members, the move far from ended their association. Likely also crucial to the decision to seek the COC's aid was the cross-organizational role played by Sir Edmund Boyd Osler who was a member of both the COC and THC. Osler provided a crucial bridge between the groups and was central to the effort to gain the COC's aid: the petition the THC members drew up was addressed to Osler, asking him to present the THC's case to the COC.

As a cross-organizational actor, Osler was central to the THC members' efforts to gain the COC membership's support. It was hardly a coincidence, for example, that the THC's

petition was addressed to Osler, nor that Osler was the first member of the COC to speak at length in support of the petition, emphasizing Adams' potential as an advisor.⁶⁴ He may also have been behind Frank Beer's appearance at the meeting. Beer was on hand to underscore the petition's import and, speaking directly after Osler, he likewise emphasized the potential consequences of Adams' visit.⁶⁵ Although Beer was not a member of the COC, with his presence that day, he provided an unofficial link between the two organizations which was soon formalized by the COC voting to include Beer and fellow THC member Edward Kylie, an associate professor of history at the University of Toronto, to a committee struck to help oversee Adams' work in Canada.⁶⁶ Through Osler's connection to both organizations, therefore, Beer and Kylie became central to the COC's campaign to woo Adams. While neither of the two men were present at Adams' first COC meeting in 1916, Adams himself hinted at the debt the COC owed to these earlier campaigners by noting that Beer had been pressing for action on town planning for several years and that he had been "impressed by the wisdom" of Beer's proposals.⁶⁷ Therefore, while the THC may have passed titular control to the COC in 1913, its influence continued.

Urban Planning and the Commission of Conservation

While the THC partly chose to involve the COC in its scheme to hire Adams thanks to its status as a federal-advisory body, it also helped that its members shared the THC's

⁶⁴ COC, *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting* (1913), 8.

⁶⁵ COC, *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting* (1913), 11.

⁶⁶ Dr. Charles Hodgetts, "Report of the Committee on Public Health," in *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting*, COC (1913), 176.

⁶⁷ Thomas Adams, "Town Planning, Housing, and Public Health," in *Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting*, COC (1916), 117.

interest in housing and planning matters. The COC, in part, owed its existence to concerns arising from urbanization and its affects on human and natural development. Its members had been considering issues of urban reform since the Commission's earliest days. As previously discussed, the arrival of Dr. Charles Hodgetts as Medical Advisor to the COC's Public Health Committee in 1910 cemented this focus, leading the COC to prioritize housing and town planning efforts. As Osler himself indicated when speaking of the THC's petition in 1913, its signatories had "probably taken a little more trouble than they need to have had": the COC members needed little inducement to accept the scheme.⁶⁸

When Canada's Commission of Conservation was established in 1909, it emerged from a connection to the wider conservation movement that had grown in Europe and across North America throughout the 1880s and 1890s.⁶⁹ The turn of the century conservation movement was influenced by the same themes that underpinned many of the reform efforts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: efficiency, expertise, science, technology, and rational management. It was predicated on the worry that mass industrialization and urbanization threatened natural resources and, that, through expert

⁶⁸ Sir Edmund Boyd Osler, "Town Planning and Housing Expert," in *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting*, COC (1913), 8.

⁶⁹ Michel F. Girard underscores that the Conservation movement "gained momentum" throughout the 1880s and 1890s throughout the Western World but had its true beginnings in Europe where, after the Enlightenment period, new government departments, alongside non-governmental organizations and committees, dedicated to environmental conservation emerged. Michel F. Girard, "The Commission of Conservation as a Forerunner to the National Research Council: 1909-1921," *Scientia Canadensis: Canadian Journal of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine* 15.2 (1991), 20.

study and management, of such national assets as water, forests, wildlife, and even humans, these resources could be ‘conserved’.

In both the United States and Canada, official coordination under the National Conservation Commission (NCC) and the COC, respectively, was predated by the emergence of organizations and interest groups devoted to the control and preservation of individual natural resources. Although the term “conservation” originally referred to issues surrounding the management of floodwater and animal husbandry, by the early 1900s, its definition had become increasingly fluid: it was reimagined and held up as a banner under which groups and advocates for resource management could unite to express “a single, coherent approach” through the auspices of conservation commissions.⁷⁰

Conservation, as defined by Progressive-era reformers, differed notably from modern day environmental efforts. For one, while conservationists embraced preservation, few stood against exploitation. In Canada many of the movement’s members were drawn from the logging, agricultural, and fishing fields. They advocated conservation out of a recognition that managed exploitation would benefit the continued prosperity of their businesses. For another, conservationists did not embrace a strict definition of “natural resources” and

⁷⁰ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), 123. As Hays notes, prior to 1908, the term “conservation” referred mainly to “the reservoir storage of flood waters and controlled grazing on the Western range” but, by 1908, the term had been coopted by what Hays describes as “the Roosevelt resource movement” to promote the management and control of “[all] the resources of the Earth” (123-124).

instead developed a broad mandate that enveloped more “traditional” issues such as deforestation, water pollution, and mineral exploitation alongside those falling under the umbrella of public health: air quality, housing, and urban planning.

In embracing this broader base, conservation attracted new supporters: in an age of increased worries surrounding moral and physical decay in urbanized civic centres, the preservation of nature became both actually and rhetorically crucial to the urban reform agenda. For one, the preservation of natural spaces ensured that such land could continue to provide a physical bulwark to protect middle and upper class residents from working class residents and neighbourhoods. For instance, the British Garden City idea developing alongside the conservation movement envisioned cities bordered by a generous green belt that would enrich the lives of the inhabitants while acting as a sort of moat, physically guarding and protecting the new city’s inhabitants from the crowded, urban centre they had abandoned. Alongside viewing nature as protective, reformers also viewed it as restorative. The Parks and Playgrounds movement, and the development of urban landscape architecture, both embraced the creation of natural spaces within the city, providing residents with areas that were “pure” in a dual sense, set apart from the both the physical and moral ills of industrial city life.

Finally, aside from the physical importance of natural space to the urban reform agenda, the invocation of “nature” also played a key role within the narrative of progressive-era speeches and literature. Here again the supposed physical and moral purity of natural

space became a key rhetorical counterpart to the dark, filth, and decay of the city.⁷¹ For example, in a 1913 report at the Canadian Conference on Charities and Corrections (CCCC), Dr. J.E. Lebarge insisted that reformers must “furnish” residents of crowded, working class neighbourhoods with “sunshine and pure air” to “render the ward wholesome...[and] destroy centres of unhealthy houses...[and] all the evils gathered within their walls.”⁷² At the same conference, Elizabeth Helm of the University Settlement house in Montreal used the “simile of a stream” to illustrate the growth of the Settlement movement in Canada, noting it “[took] its source from a spring, clear and pure, far up in the mountains; among the green hills” before growing into a river, gathering strength as it flowed towards, and eventually into, the inner city “gaining depth and strength, giving refreshment and good cheer to all whom it passes”.⁷³ Given the importance of nature to urban reformers throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, conservation’s emphasis on the importance of nature, and its embrace of public health as a natural resource, allowed it to draw new support. It became a site at which public health reformers could join with others to call for government legislation to institute improved health measures.

Alongside its embrace of scientific management, efficiency, and rationality, the Conservation movement also embraced attacks on *laissez-faire*. It emphasized that

⁷¹ Please see: Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1185-1925*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

⁷² Dr. J.E. Laberge, “Health and Lodgings,” in *Thirteenth Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction: Report of Proceedings*, CCCC (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1913), 60.

⁷³ Elizabeth Helm, “Social Settlements,” *Thirteenth Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction: Report of Proceedings*, CCCC (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1913), 28–29.

unregulated capitalism and industrialization had led to the near over-exploitation of resources, and shed light on the environmental consequences stemming from these efforts. Conservationists called for an organized response and for government intervention through regulatory legislation.

In North America, such governmental regulation came under President Theodore Roosevelt, conservation's most significant supporter in the early 1900s. Throughout his years in office, from 1901-1909, Roosevelt undertook an agenda of conservation: introducing the Newlands Act in 1902, which provided for the irrigation of arid land in twenty western American states, instituting the United States Forest Service under the Transfer Act of 1905 to manage national forest reserves, and creating several national parks, forests, and animal reserves. Roosevelt also helped introduce public health under the umbrella of conservation and called for the creation of a national department of public health.⁷⁴

That Roosevelt embraced the broadening definition of conservation, and the spirit of collective action, was evident throughout his campaign to initiate not just a local, but global, movement anchored by conservation commissions.⁷⁵ Although, when the National Conservation Commission (NCC) was established in 1908 it did not include a separate committee for public health, during the 1909 North American Conservation Commission

⁷⁴ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), 176.

⁷⁵ For a summary of the proceedings, please see: Cleveland Treadwell Jr., "The North American Conservation Congress," *Conservation* 15 (March 1909): 159–168.

(NACC), public health was deemed a “first essential” of the movement.⁷⁶ At the conference, it was revealed that Roosevelt envisioned the conservation of natural resources, including human life, as an international movement. He saw the NACC as a “precursor of a world congress” that would inaugurate a study of “the world’s supply of material elements...and the welfare of the people of the earth.”⁷⁷ At the end of the NACC, the Canadian and Mexican delegates were urged to return to their governments and help establish commissions of their own that prioritized the six issues set out during the conference’s “Declaration of Principles”: public health, forests, waters, lands, minerals, and protection of game.⁷⁸

Although Roosevelt’s dreams of a united, global conservation movement did not come to pass, the NACC succeeded in partly realizing his vision.⁷⁹ Once back home, the Canadian delegates, federal Minister of Agriculture Sydney Fisher, Clifford Sifton, and Liberal Member of Parliament Henri Severin Beland, quickly acted upon Roosevelt’s urgings: Fisher introduced Bill 158 to establish the COC within the House of Commons on the 27 April 1909, and, after some debate, the *Act to Establish a Commission for the Conservation of Natural Resources* was passed on 13th May.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Ibid. 165.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 164.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 165–168.

⁷⁹ While an international conference to be held in the Netherlands in September 1909 was proposed at the NACC, when William Howard Taft took office, he cancelled the event.

⁸⁰ Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 27 April 1909, 1st sess., 11th Parliament, 1909, 4988-4989; Canada, *Senate Journals*, 1st sess., 11th Parliament, vol. 44, 15 May 1909, 348.

The COC emerged closely following the model set out by its American counterpart. It was comprised of seven committees: public health, water and hydro-electric power, forests, lands, minerals, fisheries, game, and fur-bearing animals, and also a committee on press and cooperating organizations. Although Charles Hodgetts joined the group at some point during its second year, the conservation of public health emerged as a key issue before his appointment. At the COC's inaugural 1910 conference, COC Chair Clifford Sifton addressed public health in his opening remarks, stating: "[t]he physical strength of the people is the resource from which all others draw value."⁸¹ In an ensuing address, Dr. Peter Bryce, then Chief Medical Officer for the Immigration Branch of the Department of the Interior, spoke on the state of public health in Canada, focusing on the ill effects of overcrowding and poor housing. He called for the government to take "preventative measures" to regulate urbanization and underscored that advances in German town extension planning and British housing developments could act as positive models for Canada.⁸²

Once Hodgetts became Medical Advisor, the COC members supported his focus on poor urban environments as loci for physical, moral, social, and, by extension, national, decay, and his internationalist approach to searching for solutions. Public health grew to become one of the COC's foremost concerns. The members named their periodical, first published in 1914, the *Conservation of Life: Public Health, Housing, and Town Planning* in recognition of this agenda. From his first address to the COC in 1911 to his last meeting in 1914, Hodgetts connected housing and planning issues in Canada to those

⁸¹ COC, *Report of the Second Annual Meeting* (1910), 12

⁸² COC, *Report of the Second Annual Meeting* (1910), 114–134.

elsewhere, particularly focusing on efforts in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. In his first address of 1911, for example, Hodgetts surveyed housing, planning, and public health issues in each province before offering a description of similar efforts in Germany, Austria, Belgium, the United States, and Great Britain. It was also during this first address that Hodgetts debuted his preference for British planning and housing efforts. He noted that while German town extension planning had succeeded in improving quality of life for urban inhabitants through zoning and the provision of playgrounds and green spaces, he preferred the British Garden City method and its focus on decentralization.⁸³ He also favoured the British approach to planning over American efforts and particularly scorned attempts to separate town planning from housing in the latter country, stating to the COC that any suggestion that town planning would *not* help solve “the housing problem” was “freakish”.⁸⁴

Thanks to Hodgetts’ work, by the time the COC members entertained the THC’s petition at their annual meeting in 1913, they were well versed in Canada’s housing and planning issues, as well as conversant in international developments. They were also, through Hodgetts’ overt admiration of the British approach, perhaps even pre-conditioned to

⁸³ Dr. Charles Hodgetts, “Unsanitary Housing,” in *Report of the Second Annual Meeting* (1911), 76, 79–80.

⁸⁴ Dr. Charles Hodgetts, “Housing and Town Planning,” in *Report of the Third Annual Meeting, 1912* COC (1912), 133. Here Hodgetts was speaking specifically of comments delivered at the 1911 meeting of the National Conference on City Planning in Philadelphia. At that event, Lawrence Veiller, an American housing reformer, stated that he felt city planning and housing were separate issues. Housing, he stated, was generally a problem necessitating “good municipal housekeeping” rather than city planning (133–34).

favour the THC's request that a British expert be brought to Canada.⁸⁵ Furthermore, while Hodgetts had not mentioned Thomas Adams by name in his addresses, he had offered marked praise of the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act that Adams had overseen since 1909. In his 1911 address to the COC, Hodgetts even took time to explain the legislation in detail, calling it "in advance of any previous enactment of a similar character".⁸⁶

A Second Candidate

The COC's wholehearted support of the scheme, and Adams in particular, was further displayed by its members' refusal to abandon or diverge from it. When Adams proved difficult to secure, the COC members chose to wait for him to become available rather than accept a different expert. For instance, upon rejecting the COC's initial request that Adams be allowed to travel to Canada, the London Government Board (LGB) suggested that the COC contact Patrick Geddes. Given his experience with the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, and position within Britain's planning movement, the LGB recommended him as a candidate equal to Adams.

Although it does not appear that anyone from either Great Britain or Canada contacted Geddes in relation to the LGB's suggestion that he also be considered by the COC,

⁸⁵ In his examination of Canadian urban and regional planning history, John Gunton notes that while one might expect that the COC, an American-inspired organization, might support American planning efforts, thanks to Hodgetts, it became "instrumental in supporting the British approach to planning with its emphasis on concerns of health and housing." John Gunton, "The Evolution of Urban and Regional Planning in Canada: 1900-1960" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, May 1981), 100.

⁸⁶ Dr. Charles Hodgetts, "Unsanitary Housing," in *Report of the Second Annual Meeting COC* (1911), 80.

Geddes himself had previously expressed an interest in working in Canada. In 1909 he even went so far as to hire a Canadian agent, J.V. Nimmo, to represent him in Canada and search for employment opportunities. In a letter to Nimmo in 1913, Geddes wrote frankly of his wish to assist the Canadian town planning movement, stating, “I want to come over some time, not simply to preach and lecture on City Development, but to initiate it...I’d like to advise as to laying out of new towns springing up...and develop future health and culture with the pressing needs of industrial and railway development.”⁸⁷ Despite Geddes’ enthusiasm, and presumably Nimmo’s best efforts, the Scotsman failed to find a Canadian position.

Had the COC membership been less aware of international planning developments, and less certain in their own agenda, there would have been little reason to reject the LGB’s suggestion. At a cursory level, the men seemed equal in talent. Geddes was, like Adams, a British planning expert of international renown. However, there was a crucial difference between the two: Geddes lacked Adams’ close connections to the Garden City movement and the 1909 Town Planning Act, the factors that seemingly most recommended him to the THC and COC. Furthermore, had the COC been less committed to the THC’s scheme, its members may well have abandoned it after the LGB’s first rejection of their request. Instead, the COC members made full use of the arsenal of national, and international, networks they had developed in order to convince Adams to move to Canada.

⁸⁷ Letter from Patrick Geddes to J.V. Nimmo, 24 March 1913, University of Strathclyde Archives, Patrick Geddes Papers, GB 249 T-GED 7/10/76.

The Commission of Conservation and its Planning Networks

When the THC members first envisioned how the COC would go about obtaining Adams' services, they likely thought it would take relatively little fuss. Osler himself may have indicated this. As a COC member, and also sitting Conservative Member of Parliament, he would have known that, upon the COC's acceptance of the petition, it would move immediately to recommend that Prime Minister Robert Borden write to the LGB, requesting it spare Adams' services. If all went well, Borden would write the letter, the LGB would allow Adams to travel to Canada, and he would thereafter spend a few months touring civic centres, advising on matters of housing and planning. The whole matter, ideally, would take under a year. In fact, the COC's members hoped Adams would arrive before the summer months.⁸⁸ Yet, instead of a relatively tidy affair, by accepting the THC's petition, the COC entangled itself in what would become a nearly two year process, encompassing three separate attempts to bring Adams to Canada.

At first there was little indication that bringing Adams to Canada would pose a problem. The COC moved quickly to recommend that Borden write to the LGB on its behalf; he sent the letter in early February 1913. Yet, the LGB threw up the first roadblock when it responded in March, stating Adams' services "could not be dispensed with."⁸⁹ While the Commission's January 1914 meeting minutes noted "no further action was taken" the official record here seems incorrect.⁹⁰ Instead, archival records show that Commission

⁸⁸ COC, *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting* (1913), 178.

⁸⁹ Letter from Thomas Pitts to Robert Borden, 14 March 1913, LAC, Sir Robert Borden Fonds, MG26-H, vol.175, C-4578, 95203.

⁹⁰ Dr. Charles Hodgetts, "Report of the Committee on Public Health," in *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting*, COC (1914), 21.

members certainly did continue to work to bring Adams to Canada after March 1913, mounting a new effort soon after this initial rejection.

This second attempt originated in May 1913. It was first mentioned within a letter from Hodgetts to Osler, recounting a conversation between him and Thomas Mawson, the Lancastrian landscape architect and planner, about the failed first bid to bring Adams to Canada. Mawson had been working in Canada since the early 1900s and by 1913 had established planning offices in both Vancouver and Great Britain.⁹¹ Through his friendships with planners and urban advocates on both sides of the Atlantic, Mawson kept abreast of developments in each country. In this case, Mawson put his knowledge of the British planning scene at Hodgetts' disposal, urging Hodgetts to press the Commission to try again, stating that, "if a strong representation [was] made by the government, Mr. Adams' services could be secured in the fall."⁹² Hodgetts further stated that the two men had discussed that "if a Canadian Town Planning and Housing Conference could be held in Ottawa at a time most suitable to [the LGB]" Adams would likely attend.⁹³ In light of Mawson's encouragement, Hodgetts offered to speak with Adams himself in August as he was travelling to London for the International Conference on Infant Mortality.⁹⁴

⁹¹ For a full consideration of Thomas Mawson's life and work please see: Janet Waymark, *Thomas Mawson: Life, Gardens, and Landscapes* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2009).

⁹² Letter from Dr. Charles Hodgetts to Sir Edmund Osler, 2 May 1913, LAC, Sir Robert Borden Fonds, MG26-H, vol. 175, C-4578, 95214.

⁹³ Letter from Hodgetts to Osler, 2 May 1913.

⁹⁴ Hodgetts was in London during this time attending the International Conference on Infant Mortality.

Presumably buoyed by this news, the Commission's members immediately mounted a second effort. Osler forwarded Hodgetts' letter to Prime Minister Borden, who quickly replied: "[t]his seems a very happy idea and if I can assist in any way I shall be glad to do so."⁹⁵ Although Borden wrote that he felt Hodgetts should make the first overture to Adams in August, evidently the parties decided they could not wait that long. Instead, Borden contacted the LGB in June and then sent a telegraph on 1st July "conveying the request of [his] Government that Mr. Thomas Adams...should be permitted to visit Canada."⁹⁶ Again the LGB wrote back to apologetically decline the Canadians' request, stating that "the work on which Adams is employed is very heavy" and he could not be spared.⁹⁷

Even after these two failed attempts, the Commission continued to believe that Adams was best suited to organize town planning in Canada. Its members launched a third attempt to get Adams to Canada in early 1914, focusing on Hodgetts' and Mawson's suggestion that the COC host a national town planning conference for Adams to attend. Instead of holding a national conference, the Commission decided to use its connections to stage an international one: the sixth National Conference on City Planning (NCCP).⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Letter from Robert Borden to Sir Edmund Osler, 10 May 1913, LAC, Sir Robert Borden Fonds, MG26-H, vol. 175, C-4578, 95219.

⁹⁶ Letter from L. Harcourt to Robert Borden, 1 August 1913, LAC, Sir Robert Borden Fonds, MG26-H, vol. 175, C-4578, 95235.

⁹⁷ Letter from Harcourt to Borden, 1 August 1913.

⁹⁸ Charles Hodgetts, "The Problems of Public Health," in *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting*, COC (1914), 10.

The COC and the National Conference on City Planning, Toronto, 1914

The decision to put on the NCCP, a known-entity, instead of creating and administering a new national conference, was a pragmatic one. By 1914, the NCCP was in its sixth year, which, given the youth of the planning profession at that time, made it one of the most longstanding organizations in the field. Established in 1909, on the dawn of its sixth annual conference, the NCCP was a well-established, and respected, annual gathering point for the growing international planning cohort. It had a wide membership, dedicated executive, and employed a full-time secretary, Flavell Shurtleff, to oversee its affairs in between conference dates.⁹⁹

While the NCCP began as an American-focused event, particularly by its 1911 conference in Philadelphia its reputation had grown and it had become far more international in attendance.¹⁰⁰ Canadians had been participating in the NCCP since 1910 and, by 1912, were even sitting on its executive.¹⁰¹ During its 1913 meeting in Chicago, Illinois from 5–7 May, its membership chose to recognize the NCCP's broad reach by entertaining an invitation from the city of Toronto, asking the NCCP to consider holding

⁹⁹ For a wider consideration of the National Conference on City Planning and its history, please see: John A. Peterson, "The Birth of Organized City Planning in the United States, 1909–1910," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75.2 (Spring 2009): 123–133; Stuart Meck and Rebecca Retzlaff, "A Familiar Ring: A Retrospective on the First National Conference on City Planning," *Planning and Environmental Law* 61.4 (April 2009): 3–10.

¹⁰⁰ The 1911 conference, held in Philadelphia, marked Thomas Adams' and Raymond Unwin's first attendance of the NCCP.

¹⁰¹ At the May 1912 NCCP in Rochester, New York, it was announced that Canadians J.P. Hynes of Toronto, Ontario, and George Ross, of Montreal, Quebec, had been appointed to both to the NCCP's Executive and its General Committee. J.H. Davidson of Calgary, Alberta, also joined the men as the third Canadian member of the General Committee. For more information, please see: NCCP, *Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference* (1912).

its next annual meeting there.¹⁰² With J.P. Hynes remaining on the NCCP executive, and with a record eight further Canadians sitting on its general committee, Toronto's bid seemed likely to win the day.¹⁰³

In addition, 1913 marked the first year that Charles Hodgetts gained a place on the general committee.¹⁰⁴ Thanks to this new position, and his presence at the 1913 conference, he would have been aware of the NCCP's plans to head to Canada since at least May 1913. Furthermore, by the time Hodgetts announced the COC would host the NCCP, in early January 1914, preparations for the conference were already underway meaning the COC could benefit from the work that had already taken place.¹⁰⁵ Given this, the COC's voting to host the NCCP, rather than creating and administering a new Canadian planning congress, is understandable. By staging the NCCP, the COC could immediately plug Canadians into a proven site for the interchange of planning knowledge. It could make use of the knowledge of the NCCP's organizing committee and take advantage of the conference's proven framework. Furthermore, by sponsoring such a prestigious event, Canada could announce its place amongst the international

¹⁰² "Resolutions Adopted by the Conference," in *Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference*, NCCP (1913) 264.

¹⁰³ "Executive Committee," in *Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference*, NCCP (1913), 265.

¹⁰⁴ "General Committee," *Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference*, NCCP (1913) 266.

¹⁰⁵ In an article describing the conference for the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the author noted that although planning for the conference had been going on for some time, "financial difficulties" had stymied NCCP organizers in Toronto. However, after the City of Toronto, Province of Ontario, and, finally, the COC stepped in to help fund the event, all obstacles were overcome. The author notes that the COC, in particular, gave the most "generous" and "substantial" assistance and, in recognition, was allowed to officially host the event. "International Conference on City Planning," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 21 April 1914, 1.

planning cohort, highlight Canadian issues and talent as equal amongst the NCCP's participants, and, through these efforts, thoroughly impress Thomas Adams.

Hodgetts announced the COC's intention to hold the NCCP in Toronto in the May during the COC's January 1914 meeting.¹⁰⁶ The COC swiftly struck a special organizing committee to oversee the event and, with that, plans for the conference were truly underway. For those urban advocates yet unaware of the upcoming conference, domestic journals and newspapers carried the news around the country. By 30 January, the *Toronto Globe* was already reporting on the "big convention" on town planning to be held in Toronto that year.¹⁰⁷ In April, the *Winnipeg Free Press* likewise reported on the event, congratulating Toronto for being "the first place on this side of the international boundary to host the [NCCP]" adding that it hoped Winnipeg's delegates would not hesitate to "carry home ideas" from the array of addresses and exhibits on offer.¹⁰⁸ By May, the month of the conference, the *Globe* intensified its coverage of both preparations for the conference and international town planning developments, including offering Calgarian planner Wray Lemon's two-part piece on planning in Germany, and providing a detailed overview of the conference proceedings and exhibits.¹⁰⁹

The NCCP marked a key moment in both the quest to secure Adams' service, and in the progression of town planning in Canada. Through hosting the established, international

¹⁰⁶ Hodgetts, "The Problems of Public Health," 10.

¹⁰⁷ "Town Planning Bill for All Provinces," 30 January 1914, *Globe*, 7.

¹⁰⁸ "International Conference on City Planning," 1.

¹⁰⁹ G. Wray Lemon, "A Canadian Town Planner in Germany," 9 May 1914, *Globe*, A2; G. Wray Lemon, "A Canadian Town Planner in Germany," 16 May 1914, *Globe*, 30; "Governor Will Open Town Planning Conference," 9 May 1914, *Globe*, 9.

conference— one of the last of such to take place before the onset of the First World War— Canada announced itself as a member of the wider planning community. The NCCP provided an organized forum for the presentation and exchange of international planning information, principally within Canada. Its central location made it more accessible to Canadian planners than any other international conference. Planning advocates from across the country made the trek to Toronto for the NCCP, travelling from nearby Ontario centres like Ottawa, and Guelph but also Winnipeg, Manitoba, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Calgary, Alberta, Vancouver, British Columbia, and Saint John, New Brunswick.¹¹⁰

The NCCP also provided an opportunity for Canadian planning advocates to take further steps towards national organization. Brought together in one location under the auspices of the conference, many of the usually disparate Canadian delegates took the opportunity to gather separately on the 27 May. At this meeting, they resolved to use the momentum garnered by the NCCP to help form a National Municipal Association at some point in the future. Those present resolved to leave the organization and promotion of such an organization to a special committee, chaired by J.P. Hynes and representatives from Eastern and Western Canada. They also resolved to push the COC to continue its sponsorship of housing and planning issues and concluded by thanking the COC for

¹¹⁰ Representatives from these cities were also present at a separate meeting for Canadian delegates at the NCCP on 27 May 1914. For more information, please see: W.F. Burditt, manuscript of an address, “To the Canadian Delegates at the International City Planning Conference Held in Toronto at Convocation Hall, May 25-27,” LAC, W.F. Burditt Papers, I275, vol. 16.

“inviting the most helpful presence here of Mr. Thomas Adams” whose addresses they had found “inspiring and advantageous to our deliberations”.¹¹¹

In addition to advancing the reputation, and progress, of Canada’s urban planning movement, the NCCP also gave local delegates the chance to interact and learn from a veritable who’s who of notable foreign planners such as Adams, fellow British planner William Robert Davidge, American Frederick Law Olmstead Jr., and John Nolen, a pioneering American city planner. Domestic and international delegates alike were treated to three days of addresses and discussions on Canadian, and foreign, planning issues and solutions as well as an accompanying planning exhibit with examples from over two hundred contributing cities.¹¹²

They were also thoroughly wined and dined. At the noon break during proceedings on the 26 May, for example, the delegates were chauffeured to the waterfront where waiting boats ferried them to Centre Island for a lunch at the Royal Canadian Yacht Club’s grand house, sponsored by the local Harbour Commission. Afterwards, the two hundred and fifty delegates, along with their hosts, sailed around the harbour before returning to shore for a motor tour of the city followed by drinks at the exclusive Lambton Golf Clubhouse. Surprisingly, the delegates then returned to Convocation Hall to continue the conference, with Charles Hodgetts taking to the podium to address them on a draft Canadian town planning act.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Burditt, “To the Canadian Delegates at the International City Planning Conference.”

¹¹² “Governor Will Open Town Planning Conference,” 9.

¹¹³ “New York City Planner Sings Canada’s Praises,” *Globe*, 27 May 1914, 9.

While the NCCP certainly impressed the proud congregation of Canadian delegates, the central question, as far as the COC was concerned, was whether or not it had gone far enough to catch Adams' eye. In this matter, however, it seems the COC had little to worry about. Reflecting on the conference a little under a year later, Adams stated that the sheer size of the audience in attendance, combined with the breadth of material covered during the presentations and accompanying exhibit made the event, "one of the most successful so far held on this continent."¹¹⁴ During his visit, members of the COC finally met personally with Adams. Although no official record of a meeting between the COC members and Adams exists, Adams' biographer indicates that it was at the conference that he agreed to accept the position of Town Planning Advisor.¹¹⁵ Yet, while talks may have begun in May 1914, Adams was not officially installed until closer to the date of the Commission's next annual meeting on 19 January 1915. At that meeting, Chairman Clifford Sifton finally confirmed the appointment, announcing: "[i]n view of...the general status of [town planning] in Canada, the time had come to take a step which might be expected to produce something in the nature of definite results. We have taken this step by securing the services of Mr. Thomas Adams, who is rightly regarded as one of the foremost and ablest authorities upon the subject."¹¹⁶

With Adams' official appointment in late 1914 or early 1915, the COC successfully ended a nearly two year long, frankly epic, journey to secure his services. Its members'

¹¹⁴ Thomas Adams, "Housing and Town Planning in Canada," in *Report of the Sixth Annual Meeting*, COC (1915), 161.

¹¹⁵ Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement*, 76–77.

¹¹⁶ Clifford Sifton, "Annual Address," *Report of the Sixth Annual Meeting*, COC (1915), 3.

tenacity in the matter of Adams seems unbelievable. Even though the resounding message from England was that Adams would not be able to assist Canada, the COC continued to try. Its success depended on its ability to draw on ad-hoc networks and channels for the exchange and acquisition of planning information that had been in place since the turn of the century. Charles Hodgetts' ties to Thomas Mawson, and Mawson's knowledge of developments in the British planning field, gave the COC the information it needed to launch both its second and third attempts to attract Adams. Then, through its members' established ties to the NCCP, the COC learned of the effort to bring the 1914 conference to Toronto and sponsored the event. From there, domestic journals and newspapers took on the task of broadcasting the COC effort's to a cross-national readership, helping develop general awareness as well as increased attendance. Finally, the conference itself allowed a venue for COC members to personally meet with Adams while also providing a chance for far-flung Canadian planning advocates to mingle with and learn from international experts. There, they grabbed the opportunity to further their own efforts and took tentative steps towards an official organization, sowing the seeds for the national civic improvement league Thomas Adams would help launch in 1917 and the Town Planning Institute of Canada, established in 1919.

The Advance of Conflict: English Canada, Planning, and the First World War

Though Adams' position with the COC was made official by Sifton's announcement in early 1915, it is unclear if he had remained in Canada after the 1914 NCCP or journeyed home to England before returning to assume his new role sometime later in the year. Regardless of his official date of arrival, Adams moved to Ottawa just as escalating

political turmoil in Europe resulted in the outbreak of war, a development that that changed both the easy travel and relations that existed between urban reformers and planning advocates across Europe and North America. In Canada, even more so than in the years prior, the First World War shifted public support away from the City Beautiful and towards the provision of housing within planned suburbs— Adams’ area of expertise.¹¹⁷

In his exploration of planning between 1914 and 1919, Stephen V. Ward notes that while international travel, in particular, was largely “paused” in the face of the conflict the exchange of planning information across borders did not cease completely.¹¹⁸ For example, while Toronto’s NCCP marked the last to attract a broad, international audience before the war years, Canadian travel to the United States was not hindered after 1914. Instead, led by Adams, an English-Canadian contingent continued to participate in ensuing wartime NCCP meetings.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, Ward underscores, planners did not cease to undertake new projects and innovate within their home nations throughout the war. Rather, the years marked the emergence of “new visions for the city,” particularly in the United States where freedom from wartime military destruction on the home front allowed its planners to innovate

¹¹⁷ Walter van Nus, “The Plan Makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors, and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890–1939” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 55.

¹¹⁸ Stephen V. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (Chichester: Wiley, 2002), 81.

¹¹⁹ See, for example: NCCP, *Proceedings of the Seventh National Conference* (1915), *Proceedings of the Eight National Conference* (1916), *Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference* (1917).

rather than tackle reconstruction.¹²⁰ As John Nolen stated during the ninth NCCP, held in Kansas City, the war gave American planners new impetus: “[i]n some respects it is very difficult at this time to hold our attention to town and city planning problems. The shadow of the great war overhangs everything. At one moment it seems as if no problems [are] worthy of attention except those connected with the war, but on reflection, we realize that the successful prosecution of the war rests directly upon...just such work as that of town and city planning.”¹²¹ In the United States, the First World War saw the increasing refinement and sophistication of zoning measures. In 1916, the New York Zoning Ordinance, that country’s first comprehensive zoning ordinance, was introduced, heralding the practice’s increasing importance to the American movement.¹²²

In Canada, Walter van Nus underscores, wartime idealism, coupled with new expectations of government responsibility, bolstered public support for planning efforts, and the hopes of would-be planning professionals, throughout the years of conflict.¹²³ The period between 1914 and 1919 brought unprecedented levels of state intervention into the lives of Canadian citizens. As Ramsay Cook and Robert Craig Brown argue, the First World War saw “the free-wheeling economic activity and business practices of pre war years...replaced by government control.”¹²⁴ In 1916, the federal government introduced Canada’s first corporate income tax and followed by creating the nation’s first

¹²⁰ Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City*, 81, 82–122.

¹²¹ John Nolen, “Examples of City Planning in Small Places,” in *Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference*, NCCP (1917), 117.

¹²² Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City*, 112. For a greater consideration of zoning, please see Chapters 3 and 5.

¹²³ van Nus, “The Plan Makers and the City,” 53–55.

¹²⁴ Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896–1921: A Nation Transformed*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2016), Kobo reader e-book, chap. 12.

personal income tax in 1917. In the same year, the government assumed control over the sale, marketing, and distribution of wheat by creating the Board of Grain Supervisors (succeeded by the Canadian Wheat Board in 1919), and established a national Fuel Controller to regulate the price, sale, distribution, and consumption of fuel. The introduction of the Canada Food Board in 1918 saw further government intervention into the lives of its citizens. The Board supervised food sales, urged Canadians to conserve food, and hired 8,000 employees to carry out its activities across Canada. Furthermore, in 1919, the government nationalized the railway system, merging the Intercolonial, Canadian Northern, National Transcontinental and Grand Trunk Pacific railway companies into the Canadian National Railways.¹²⁵

Within this context of government expansion and intervention, the arrival of a renowned expert to act as a national urban planning advisor at this moment was fortuitous. More so than ever, Canadian citizens were being urged, and increasingly expected, to heed the advice and direction of trained, specialized advisors. Thomas Adams undertook a cross-Canadian tour throughout 1915, extolling the benefits of provincial planning legislation, controlled, efficient suburban planning, and the provision of housing. He reached an audience worried over current conditions, and hopeful for the future of urban development in the post-war future. As I explore in the following chapters, several provincial governments passed planning legislation during these years, buoyed by what, in the post-war period, proved to be “exaggerated expectation[s]” of how much actual

¹²⁵ For a discussion of Canadian federal government expansion and intervention throughout the First World War, please see: Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896–1921*, chap. 12.

planning could be financially and politically supported by municipal governments and taxpayers throughout the years of reconstruction.¹²⁶

Conclusion

When Clifford Sifton officially announced Adams' appointment as Town Planning Advisor to the COC on 19 January 1915, it signaled both the culmination of the THC and COC's campaign to bring him to Canada and the beginning of a shift in the nature of Canada's planning movement. While the businessmen, philanthropists, public health experts, and other urban reform advocates that comprised the THC and COC had exercised near full control over Adams' hiring, as explored in Chapter 4, his organizational work within Canada would lead to their displacement from "official" planning discourse by 1919. The THC's and COC's effort to contract Adams, therefore, offers rich insight into the more fluid and multi-vocal nature of the Canadian planning movement in the pre-1914 period. It also highlights the importance of links between urban planning advocates locally, provincially, nationally, and internationally. Both the THC and COC made use of such ties to circulate and import planning information, to connect to one another, and, finally, to draw Adams to Canada.

Studying Adams' hiring through the lens of the THC and COC, also reveals their choice of Adams as one based on their membership's perception of national needs combined with their broad knowledge of foreign planning developments. Adams was most definitely sought out and brought to Canada. Furthermore, though Adams' residency

¹²⁶ van Nus, "The Plan Makers and the City," 55.

helped cement the popularity of the British Garden City approach in the 1910s, as discussed in Chapter 3, his work neither marked an end to English-Canadian participation in the international planning cohort, nor stopped these planning advocates from looking beyond Great Britain for planning ideas. Instead, English-Canadian planning advocates continued to be guided by local agendas combined with an interest, in particular, in the rising popularity of American innovations in land-use control. Drawing on the channels developed during the early 1900s, English-Canadians sustained correspondence with colleagues and experts, read of and discussed foreign advances in the field in the pages of local, national, and international journals, and travelled to gain firsthand knowledge of new developments.

Chapter Three: Saskatchewan Goes Its Own Way: Planning on the Prairies, 1900–1930

Introduction

In the months directly following his 1915 appointment with the Commission of Conservation (COC), Thomas Adams made his way across the country, visiting the provinces and galvanizing municipal planning advocates but also working to persuade civic and provincial authorities to support and adopt British-based planning legislation. From his arrival, Adams made it known that he hoped to see planning acts in place in all provinces by January 1916, writing that he expected to “make history in Canada with the regard to housing and planning legislation.”¹ He had good reason to hope for success as, in the years preceding his arrival, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Alberta had instituted permissive planning acts modeled on Britain’s legislation of 1909.

He also enjoyed the full support of the COC, whose members had likewise previously supported efforts to introduce provincial planning acts through its Committee on Town Planning Legislation. Created at Clifford Sifton’s request in 1913 and chaired by Jeffrey Hale Burland, the Committee was asked to prepare draft provincial planning legislation in advance of the 1914 National Conference on City Planning in Toronto, where Sifton hoped the draft act would be introduced.² Rising to the challenge, the committee

¹ Michael Simpson, “Thomas Adams in Canada,” *Urban History Review* 11.2 (October 1982): 4; Thomas Adams, “Housing and Town Planning in Canada: Canadian Letter,” *Town Planning Review* 6.1 (July 1915): 20.

² Clifford Sifton, “Town Planning Legislation,” *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting, Commission on Conservation* [hereafter COC] (1914), 120. At the COC’s fifth annual

completed the task and Burland presented the draft act at the NCCP, and likely met with Adams to discuss it.³ While the COC's draft act followed in the model of the provincial legislation preceding it, using Britain's 1909 planning act as its model, it crucially diverged from earlier Canadian examples by compelling municipalities to create plans, rather than permitting them to. Though Adams was accustomed to the permissive nature of Britain's planning act, he came to support compulsory legislation for Canada's provinces, and, as we shall see, convinced Saskatchewan to introduce compulsory provincial planning legislation in 1917.⁴

Such immediate focus on provincial level planning activities illustrates Adams' awareness of Canada's particular legislative framework. Since the British North America Act invested control over property rights and the management and sale of provincial land in the hands of provincial governments, provinces became the foci of his early planning activity and advocacy. Adams spent 1915 revising the COC's draft legislation and, with

meeting in early 1914, Burland reported that, while his committee had held preliminary meetings in Ottawa throughout 1913, it had not yet drafted the act. Burland noted that the members expected to spend the following months working on the act and consulting with representatives from Toronto, Montreal, and Western Canada to better understand provincial and municipal conditions. He assured Sifton and the COC that the act would be ready by the May National Conference on City Planning. Jeffrey Hale Burland, "Preliminary Report of the Committee on Town Planning Legislation," *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting*, COC (1914), 124.

³ After hearing Burland's presentation on the COC's draft act, Thomas Adams deemed the legislation "a good attempt to adapt...the British act to the...Dominion," and added, "I should like to confer with Colonel Burland and his colleagues in regard to the act and give any service I can in discussing it with them." Thomas Adams, "A Town Planning Act for Canada: Discussion," in *Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference*, National Conference on City Planning (1914), 159–160.

⁴ Walter van Nus, "The Plan Makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors, and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 58.

his assistance and influence, by 1917, Manitoba, Ontario, and Saskatchewan had likewise passed provincial planning legislation.⁵

Adams' achievement in either directly helping, or inspiring, these provinces to adopt British-based legislation led his biographer, Michael Simpson, to argue that Adams' years in Canada ushered in a reign of "all conquering British influence," a time when Canadians "endowed [Adams] with a divine authority in planning matters" and eagerly, perhaps even blindly, sought to follow his lead.⁶ However, as a critical analysis of planning at the provincial, and municipal, level reveals, the British influence was never as total, nor were Canadians as indiscriminating, as Simpson suggests. Interest in a multitude of foreign planning developments, the practice of adopting and rejecting innovations based on local needs, and the use of transnational planning networks, did not cease with Adams' arrival. With Adams' aid, actors may have pushed for their provinces to adopt planning legislation, but when such acts later proved inimical to local interests, provincial advocates were unafraid to critique them, and draw on their knowledge of foreign planning developments to suggest new approaches.

This chapter presents such an analysis of planning at the provincial level during Adams' tenure through a case study of Saskatchewan where, in the years preceding 1914, Saskatchewan's urban reformers joined like-minded colleagues across Canada in advocating for comprehensive planning foreign innovations and looking outwards for

⁵ van Nus, "The Plan Makers and the City," 59.

⁶ Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1985), 75, 77.

new ideas. Though, as in other provinces, reformers supported planning as a means through which to improve public health, housing, and sanitation, Saskatchewan's comparatively recent history of colonization and urbanization also lent planning a particular appeal amongst early civic boosters. Comprised of, generally, local businessmen, real estate agents, landowners and city officials, these civic advocates inherited the project of moving the province's burgeoning municipalities beyond their colonial beginnings. Eager to distance themselves from their region's history and fashion their cities as centres of industry, commerce, and culture, such actors took to civic improvement as a tool through which to enact this change.

By the early 1910s, the city councils of Saskatoon and Regina, as well as the provincial government, had all imported foreign experts to create expansive civic plans. The onset of crippling financial recession in 1913, however, halted funding for these projects and shifted the direction of planning support away from grand designs and urban beautification and towards the types of rational, comprehensive plans espoused by Adams. A Saskatchewan attendee at the 1914 National Conference on City Planning in Toronto was amongst those who agreed to support the campaign to bring Adams to Canada and, upon his arrival, municipal and provincial officials alike embraced his call for planning legislation, engaging him to help construct Saskatchewan's 1917 Town Planning Act.

Heavily inspired by Britain's 1909 Town Planning Act, Saskatchewan's 1917 legislation gained local, national, and international recognition for its comprehensive and

compulsory nature. Yet, when “one of the best Acts in the world” proved ineffective near immediately after its adoption, provincial agents demonstrated little loyalty to it. Turning to their cross and transnational networks, a succession of provincial planning directors reached out to experts within and outside Canada, working to find a more effective solution to their planning issues and, in the process, demonstrating that no one school of thought “conquered” over planning activity during this time period.

“You feel the spirit of the place long before you reach here”: Urbanization and planning in Saskatchewan before 1913⁷

Although the 1917 Town Planning Act marked the province’s first foray into planning legislation, support for modern civic improvement efforts and foreign planning innovations predated Adams’ arrival in 1914, and his first visit to the province in 1915. Saskatchewan’s early planning history was shaped by the distinct, rapid nature of urban development in Western Canada.⁸ In the years before the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1882, few European settlers, and even fewer large permanent urban settlements, developed within the province.⁹ From the advent of the railroad onwards, however, the CPR, private land companies, and the federal government alike worked strenuously to woo new residents to Western Canada, advertising the land as an empty,

⁷ Saskatoon Board of Trade, *Saskatoon: Nature’s Choice for the Hub of Saskatchewan*, (Saskatoon: Board of Trade, 1906), 1.

⁸ A note on terminology: from 1670 to 1905, Saskatchewan was part of a larger region administrated by the Hudson’s Bay Company known as Rupert’s Land which also included Alberta, all of present-day Manitoba, and parts of Nunuvut, Ontario, and Quebec. In 1905, Alberta and Saskatchewan were named as independent provinces. Where I discuss events prior to 1905, I continue to use the term “Saskatchewan” or “present-day Saskatchewan” to denote developments specifically relating to this area.

⁹ Although Aboriginal and Metis communities developed around RCMP and trading posts such as Portage La Loche, Bolsover House (Meadow Lake), and Fort Carlton from the late eighteenth century onwards.

“clean slate” for European development. The ensuing influx of settlers, sudden appearance of urban centres, and rapid push for urbanization marked “one of the most spectacular developments” on the Canadian West in the years prior to the First World War.¹⁰ Between 1900 and 1910, the province saw ten towns incorporated and four cities.¹¹ These centres quickly expanded as real estate agents pushed local councils to stretch town and city limits to include growing amounts of sub-divided agricultural land outside their borders. Regina, for example, had an area of 1,942 acres in 1883 yet had expanded to 6,458 acres by 1911. By late 1912, 100 square kilometres of undeveloped prairie land in Saskatoon had been included within the city’s boundaries, subdivided, and surveyed into lots ready development.¹² Saskatchewan’s municipalities experienced an intense period of demographic growth, between 1901 and 1916, the population of Saskatoon (est. 1883) rose from 113 to over 21,000 while Regina’s (est. 1882) went from 2,249 to over 26,000.¹³

The comparatively late creation of Saskatchewan’s urban centres, and their rapid development thereafter, meant that whereas planning advocates in established cities like Toronto, Montreal, or Ottawa dealt with issues of civic reorganization and improvement, those in Saskatchewan focused more on civic construction. In the early 1900s, most of

¹⁰ Alan F.J. Artibise, “The Emergence and Growth of Cities: Introduction,” in *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981), 205.

¹¹ Estevan, Humboldt, Lloydminster, Melfort, Melville, North Battleford, Swift Current, Warman, Weyburn, and Yorkton were all incorporated as towns during these years while, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, Regina, and Saskatoon all became cities.

¹² Alan Artibise, “Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913”, in *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, ed. Alan Artibise (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981), 218.

¹³ Artibise, “Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities,” 210.

the province's municipalities were comprised of little more than "a few rude shacks on [the] raw prairie."¹⁴ The most vocal supporters of early civic improvements and planning were city boosters, eager to see the tents, shacks and dirt roads replaced by fine homes, public buildings, and modern civic infrastructure. As Western-Canadian urban historian Alan Artibise states, "the growth, shape, and character" of the region's urban centres in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was in large part determined by such individuals who supported planning measures, integrating them into wider promotional campaigns.¹⁵

In Saskatchewan, the most organized of these promoters worked from within local boards of trade, whose membership consisted of largely prominent businessmen, professionals, and real estate agents. For example, throughout the early 1900s and 1910s Saskatoon's Board of Trade comprised of individuals like James Frederick Cairns, the Board's first secretary, a prosperous merchant, and a "prime mover" in efforts to modernize and improve the city.¹⁶ Malcolm Scarth Isbister, president of the Board after 1907, was the city's postmaster and coroner as well as owner of a large hardware firm, who, in the words of a contemporary, "did so much" to "bring about [Saskatoon's] very rapid

¹⁴ F. Maclure Sclanders, "The City of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan," *The Canadian Municipal Journal* 9.7 (July 1913), 250.

¹⁵ Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," 211.

¹⁶ Aside from his position as the Board of Trade's first Secretary, Cairns worked to attract new railway development within Saskatoon, helped create the city's school board, and sat as President of the city's Parks Commission after its inauguration in 1910. Donald Cameron Kerr, "Cairns, James Frederick," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed December 18, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cairns_james_frederick_15E.html

development.”¹⁷ Other early members included Herbert Acheson, a local lawyer, and leading real estate agents William Albert Coulthard, A.H. Hanson, Alfred James Edmond Sumner, and William Harvey Clare.¹⁸

For boosters, paved roads and sidewalks, electricity, water and sewage systems, public buildings and, by the 1910s, comprehensive urban plans, were key to efforts to craft the kinds of safe, modern, and demonstrably European municipalities that would attract new residents and business. Despite promises that Western Canada was a “New Eldorado,” a land of prosperity and possibility, many potential investors and settlers yet viewed Saskatchewan as a foreign and lawless space with largely tentative, rudimentary settlements.¹⁹ Furthermore, while destructive federal policies of displacement from 1871 onwards dispossessed Western Aboriginal peoples of land earmarked for European habitation, fear of the region’s Indigenous inhabitants continued despite assurances from municipal marketing campaigns that the “white man” had long “retired” Aboriginal

¹⁷ “The Board of Trade, Saskatoon,” *Canadian Municipal Journal* 9.7 (July 1913): 255

¹⁸ Coulthard was an insurance broker and co-partner in the Coulthard-Harrison real estate company, Hanson was co-partner in the Willoughby-Sumner real estate company, Sumner was City Assessor and co-partner in the Willoughby-Sumner real estate company, and Clare managed his own real estate and insurance business, W. Harvey Clare - Real Estate, Farm Lands, Insurance, Rentals and Loans. In 1911, Coulthard and Hanson were amongst the inaugural members of Saskatoon’s Real Estate Board, with Hanson serving as its first president and Coulthard sitting on its executive committee.

¹⁹ “Western Canada: The New Eldorado” was a slogan used by the federal Department of Immigration in its bid to attract European settlers West. Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC], Department of Immigration and Employment Fonds, RG118, Immigration Records Branch, volume 1622, file 161973, C-085854.

peoples to reserves, and that municipalities had “NO OLD INHABITANTS to hinder progress.”²⁰

Groups like local boards of trade lobbied for, and thereafter advertised, civic improvements as a means through which to market Saskatchewan as an urban province and physically cement the “advanced,” permanent state of European settlement. As a 1907 booklet promoting Saskatoon noted, thanks to the preponderance of American and British immigrants and the building of civic infrastructure and permanent residences, “Saskatoon is essentially an Anglo-Saxon centre.”²¹ A 1910 pamphlet published by the Regina Board of Trade extolled the “abnormal strides” made in “modern conveniences...in buildings, and in improvements generally,” noting that what had been an “Indian...camping ground” was now a city of 18,000 residents, with street railways, paved roads and sidewalks, sewer and water systems, and “picturesque [landscaped] beauty spots.”²² The Saskatoon Board of Trade similarly promoted the amount of brick buildings under construction, the upcoming waterworks and sewerage system, and the “systematic construction of sidewalks and road[s]” in 1907. Outside of the province’s two leading cities, boards of trade in smaller municipalities like Estevan, Humboldt,

²⁰ Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture, *Saskatchewan, Canada* (Regina: Department of Agriculture, 1909), 2; Saskatoon Board of Trade, *Saskatoonlets, September 1910* (Saskatoon: Board of Trade, 1910), 4.

²¹ Saskatoon Board of Trade, *Saskatoon: The Hub of the Hard Wheat Belt— Western Canada* (Saskatoon: Board of Trade, 1907), 8.

²² Regina Board of Trade, *Regina: The Capital of Saskatchewan* (Regina: Board of Trade, 1910), 5, 7–8.

Moose Jaw, and Indian Head produced similar material, with the latter proudly naming its town “up to date in every respect.”²³

Though interest in shaping the urban landscape grew throughout the early 1900s, it was not until the 1910s that Saskatchewan’s cities moved beyond investing in discrete civic improvement projects to consider comprehensive planning. Visits by foreign experts like Henry Vivian, in 1910, and Thomas Mawson, in 1912, helped generate and bolster interest in Garden City and City Beautiful type plans. In early 1913, the provincial government and City of Regina both hired Mawson to devise plans for the organization and beautification of the legislative grounds and “whole of the city.”²⁴ Working quickly, Mawson completed both plans by the end of 1913.

In the same year, Saskatoon’s City Council members demonstrated their own interest in planning, and knowledge of foreign developments, by contracting Christopher James Yorath, a Welsh-born engineer and Garden City advocate, as City Commissioner.

Though Yorath lacked Mawson’s grand resume and reputation, he was solidly trained, having previously spent ten years working on housing and town planning initiatives in London’s Acton borough.²⁵ While in London, Yorath became exposed to the Garden City movement and welcomed the passage of Britain’s 1909 Town Planning Act. He

²³ Indian Head Board of Trade, *The A-B-C of Indian Head, Saskatchewan* (Indian Head: Board of Trade, 1911), 1. See also, Estevan Board of Trade, *Estevan* (Estevan: Board of Trade, 1908); Humboldt Board of Trade, *Humboldt* (Humboldt: Board of Trade, 1912); Moose Jaw Board of Trade, *Moose Jaw* (Moose Jaw: Board of Trade, 1912).

²⁴ William Brennan, “Visions of a City Beautiful: The Origin and Impact of the Mawson Plans for Regina”, *Saskatchewan History* 46 (Fall 1994): 26–27.

²⁵ “The Commissioners at Saskatoon, Sk.,” *The Canadian Municipal Journal* 9.7 (July 1913): 254.

published several pamphlets on the subjects in the early 1910s and also began submitting his own plans to local and international competitions. In 1912, for example, his plan for Canberra, the Australian Federal Capital, was shortlisted by Australian officials.²⁶ Upon his arrival in Saskatoon, Yorath made city planning his first priority, stating, “[Saskatoon] should be beautiful and well planned ... If we allow [it] to grow on the check-board system, we will come in for the contempt of the future generation.”²⁷ Working quickly, Yorath designed a comprehensive city plan for Saskatoon by the end of 1913.

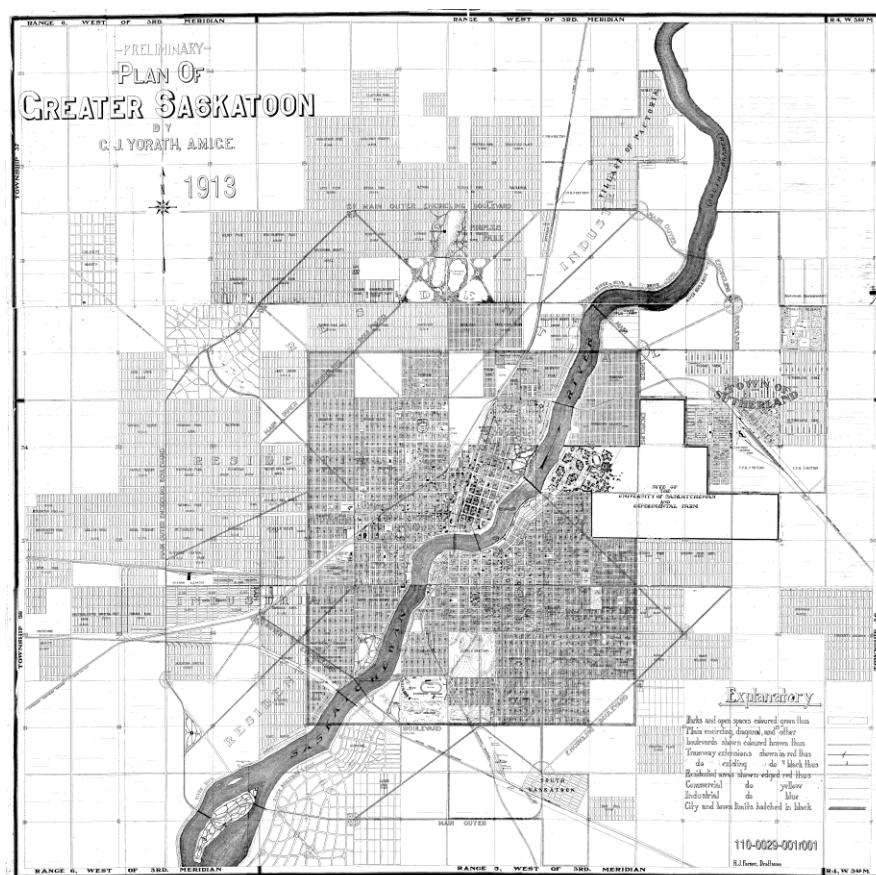


Figure 3. C.J. Yorath, *Preliminary Plan of Greater Saskatoon, 1913*.
City of Saskatoon Archives— 1047-053.

²⁶ “The Commissioners at Saskatoon, Sk.,” 254.

²⁷ Christopher Yorath to the Real Estate Board of Saskatoon, June 1913, qtd. by John W. Reps in “Introduction to ‘Town Planning’” online via *Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports*, accessed 15 September 2014, <http://urbanplanning.library.cornell.edu/DOCS/yorath.htm>

Planning Amidst Recession and War, 1913–1917

Though both Yorath and Mawson submitted their work before the end of the year in which they were hired, both plans were ultimately shelved thanks to sudden changes in the province's economic fortunes and, thereafter, a shift in the direction of local planning support. 1913 marked a turbulent year for Western Canadian municipalities. Though demographic and geographic expansion continued throughout 1912 and into 1913, by the end of the year economic recession, and the ensuing collapse of the real estate bubble, led to civic crisis. From the late 1800s to the early 1910s Canada's prairie municipalities grew largely on foreign speculation and credit. One of the principal sources of finance came from British investors who, by the early 1900s, were directing 75% of all their North American investments into Canada thanks, in large part, to expectations of the "new" region's potential economic output.²⁸ This dependency on foreign investment, while advantageous during times of prosperity, left Western Canadians particularly susceptible to swings in the international market and, in 1913, escalating fear of conflict in Europe sparked such a widespread downturn, dramatically eroding British investment in Canada.²⁹ As the 1913 *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* noted, though the recession effect's reverberated across the country, the West "felt the situation most keenly...[there,] everybody had been speculating...every village and town had been

²⁸ Warren M. Elofson and John Feldberg, "Financing the Palliser Triangle," *Great Plains Quarterly* 18. 3 (Summer 1998): 259.

²⁹ Historian Richard Roberts states that the ensuing financial crisis initiated a "comprehensive breakdown" of London's stock markets and stands to this day as "the most severe systematic crisis London has ever experienced." Richard Roberts, *Saving the City: the Great Financial Crisis of 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.

anticipating the days when it would be an city or important centre...The whole thing was ephemeral, a natural product of exotic progress, an outgrowth of Western enthusiasm.”³⁰

The recession, followed quickly by the onset of the First World War, changed the priorities of Saskatchewan’s planning advocates. The need for immediate retrenchment halted enthusiasm for expansive, expensive city plans as, across the province, municipalities struggled to mitigate the repercussions of almost a decade of unchecked real estate speculation. In 1912, 614 plans of subdivision were recorded provincially. By 1915, however, only thirty two plans were submitted.³¹ As values plummeted and opportunities for loans ran dry, many land speculators found themselves unable to meet the high taxes imposed by municipal governments in exchange for stretching civic services out to far-flung developments. The land would then revert back to the municipality, but it was often of little use.³² The lots were generally undeveloped and cities lacked the funds to see to them. By 1917, for example, Saskatoon’s gross debt stood at \$9,880,818.42.³³

³⁰ J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1913* (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company, 1914), 29.

³¹ Stewart Young, *A Resume of Town Planning Thought within the Province of Saskatchewan, More Especially as it has been Reflected in Government Activities* (1 May 1930), Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Department of Municipal Affairs (DMA) Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, f.8.

³² As historian Walter van Nus states, in the aftermath of the recession, the City of Calgary acquired over 73,000 lots from speculators unable to afford to pay taxes. Walter van Nus, “The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Western Canada, 1893-1930,” in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, 2nd ed., ed. Gilbert Stelter and Alan Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 180.

³³ C.J. Yorath, *City Commissioner’s Annual Report*, COS (1917), 9.

While Thomas Mawson's and Christopher Yorath's hiring took place at the peak of the province's cycle of prosperity in early 1913, the men crafted their plans during this time of rapid economic and, increasingly, political, change. Neither the appetite nor the finances for grand civic plans existed after 1913. Instead, recession and war influenced civic and provincial authorities to reevaluate their planning priorities. As Yorath attested in 1916, "[thanks to the recession] the citizens of Saskatoon...became as zealously in favour of efficient civic...development as they had previously been careless of indiscriminate and wasteful expenditure."³⁴

Just as planning advocates within Eastern Canada began turning away from grand City Beautiful initiatives and towards Thomas Adams and the British innovations espoused by the mid-1910s, so too did actors within Saskatchewan come to support Adams' message of more socially-minded, efficient planning. Even before the 1913 recession, members of the Union of Saskatchewan Municipalities (USM) had expressed an interest in prioritizing economic efficiency and public health over civic beautification. Henry Vivian's discussions of the Garden City during his 1910 stop in the province greatly impressed USM members, and, in 1912, the group formally defined its interpretation of the planning's three aims: to ensure the health of residents by delivering uniform civic services; to provide outdoor leisure and recreational spaces; and to aid business and

³⁴ Christopher Yorath, *City Commissioner's Annual Report*, COS (1916), 7.

production through organizing transport through the city and regulating building and land use.³⁵

Though it is unclear if any of Saskatchewan's provincial government representatives or municipal planning advocates were amongst the signatories of the Toronto Housing Company's 1912 petition to the Commission of Conservation (COC) calling for Thomas Adams' hiring, the initiative certainly found support within the province. For one, the British Christopher Yorath was a fervent advocate of British planning methods. Despite the shelving of his plan for Saskatoon, Yorath remained as City Commissioner until 1921. In the years following the recession, he continued calling for urban planning, delivering addresses on the subject and writing articles for the *Western Municipal News* and the *Canadian Municipal Journal*.³⁶ He travelled to Toronto for the 1914 National Conference on City Planning (NCCP) and, while there, was amongst the select group of Canadian representatives at the NCCP who resolved to push the Commission of Conservation to contract Adams' services.

When Adams arrived in Saskatchewan on his cross-country tour in support of provincial planning legislation in 1915, he found a receptive audience. He met personally with "local authorities and boards of trade" in Regina, Swift Current, and Saskatoon, asking them to call on the provincial government to adopt planning legislation, and noted that

³⁵ Qtd. in Fiona Colligan-Yano and Mervyn Norton, *The Urban Age: Building a Place for Urban Government in Saskatchewan* (Regina, SK: Century Archive Publishing, 1996), 13.

³⁶ Please see: "Town Planning," *The Western Municipal News* 8 (Sept. 1913): 298–300; "Town Planning," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 9.10 (October 1913): 438; "Housing and Town Planning," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 10.9 (September 1914): 354.

their members responded positively to his calls for provincial legislation, agreeing to lobby for its implementation. He also sent every Member of Saskatchewan's Legislative Assembly a copy of the COC's draft planning legislation, asking them to provide what support they could.³⁷ He found his greatest provincial-level ally in the Honourable George Langley, the Minister of Municipal Affairs. As Department of Municipal Affairs representatives would help craft and administer any planning legislation, Langley's patronage was crucial. Fortuitously, however, Langley had an interest in British planning that predated his arrival in Canada, born of his past as a "political radical" in London where he had met Ebenezer Howard, the inventor of the Garden City style of planning.³⁸

As Langley related in 1917:

Some thirty-five years ago when I was living at my home in London I was a member of one of the debating societies that abounded at that time...we used to meet together...and a member would introduce and the society would debate some particular subject...I remember on one occasion a man named Ebenezer How[ard] took for his subject 'The Model City' and on the wall he displayed a plan showing how a city should be laid out. After I had been in Canada for some years I had a letter from him in which he told me he had elaborated his scheme and had prepared it in volume form, a copy of which he sent me.³⁹

³⁷ Thomas Adams, "Town Planning, Housing, and Public Health," in *Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting*, COC, (1916), 123.

³⁸ Born in rural Saffron Walden, Essex, England in 1852, Langley moved to London in his early twenties to undertake work first on the London docks and later in business. It was these early years in London that introduced the young man to socialism. Langley became "a political radical, labourite, and soapbox speaker", and was amongst the first members of the Fabian society before his departure for Canada in 1893. Gordon Barnhart, "Langley, George," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 16, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed February 15, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/langley_george_16E.html

³⁹ "Town Planning Bill Submitted to Legislature," *The Regina Post*, 23 November 1917 in, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly, Hansard Records: Newspapers and Newspaper Clippings, file 11/2.

As Thomas Adams recounted in his reports to the COC at its annual meetings from 1916–1919, the positive reception he received from local and provincial representatives led to his commencing work on planning legislation for the province. The process began in 1915 when the provincial government received the COC’s draft act and agreed to submit it to its legal advisors for revision.⁴⁰ In January 1916, Adams informed the COC that he would soon be travelling to Regina to “assist in the committee stages of the proposed act.”⁴¹ A year later, he noted that, “as a result of conferences with Ministers, and after some negotiations, a Town Planning Bill was introduced last session and passed its first reading.”⁴² Langley’s support proved critical. He both introduced the legislation and pushed the government to accept it, stating to the Legislative Assembly that the Act would “place Saskatchewan in line with a movement which had gained prominence in England and in the United States” as well as the rest of Canada.⁴³ Thanks in part to Langley’s advocacy, Saskatchewan’s Legislative Assembly passed the Town Planning Act in late 1917 with the Act coming into force the following summer.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Thomas Adams, “Progress in Town Planning During 1915,” *Conservation of Life: Public Health, Housing, and Town Planning* 2.2 (January–March 1916): 47.

⁴¹ Commission on Conservation [hereafter COC], *Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting*, (1916), 125.

⁴² COC, *Report of the Eight Annual Meeting*, (1917), 98.

⁴³ “Town Plans Act Introduced By Hon. G. Langley,” *The Regina Post*, 23 November 1917, in Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly, Hansard Records: Newspapers and Newspaper Clippings, f. 11/2.

⁴⁴ The COC records for 1919 note that Adams continued to be in contact with Ministers and other officials within the province, helping them oversee the application of the new legislation. COC, *Report of the Tenth Annual Meeting*, (1919), 101.

“Probably the most advanced planning legislation in any country”: Saskatchewan’s Town and Rural Planning Act, 1917⁴⁵

In his assessment of the provincial planning legislation Adams oversaw during his years in Canada, Michael Simpson argued that they were generally little more than “slavish copies” of their parent legislation: Britain’s first planning act, the Housing, Town Planning, Etc. Act of 1909 (Town Planning Act) and examples of Canadian planning advocates’ uncritical reliance on Adams’ designs. Indeed, under Adams’ direction, Saskatchewan’s legislation borrowed heavily from the earlier 1909 Act, however, neither Adams nor Saskatchewan’s planning supporters set out to construct an ineffective piece of legislation.⁴⁶ Saskatchewan’s acceptance of British Act as a model was a pragmatic decision based on knowledge of local needs and available planning models. In the absence of an abundance of working examples of similar legislation within Canada or even internationally, Britain’s 1909 Act provided one of the few templates then available to follow. Furthermore, though the British Act had its detractors, it was nationally and internationally lauded in the years following its passage.⁴⁷ Saskatchewan’s government and civic boosters were eager to align Saskatchewan with an internationally recognized symbol of urban progress.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Thomas Adams, “Town Planning in Canada,” in *Town Planning Institute: Proceedings of Conference and Record of Exhibition held at the British Empire exhibition* (Wembley, Great Britain: 1924), 4.

⁴⁶ Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900–1940*, (London: Mansell Press, 1985), 75.

⁴⁷ Anthony Sutcliffe notes that while the 1909 Act enjoyed “[an] elaborate wave of congratulation and self-congratulation” between 1909 and the start of the First World War, it was criticized by those who found it a “pusillanimous and ineffectual statute” and “virtually inoperative.” Anthony Sutcliffe, “Britain’s First Town Planning Act: A Review of the 1909 Achievement,” *The Town Planning Review* 59.3 (July 1998), 289.

⁴⁸ For a consideration of all early provincial town planning legislation please see: Gerald Hodge and David L.A. Gordon, *Planning Canadian Communities: An Introduction to the*

As the first piece of legislation to attempt to regulate and set out how planning should proceed across a nation, Britain's Town Planning Act of 1909 held pioneering status and was lauded by those within the transnational planning world. Although non-compulsory, the Act enabled local authorities to make plans for areas that were deemed "in course of development or...likely to be used for building purposes."⁴⁹ All aspects of the Act were administered by the Local Government Board (LGB), a national supervisory board that existed from 1871–1919 to oversee issues of public health, local government, and welfare. Under the Act, the LGB alone granted local authorities permission to plan and approved any planning schemes.

While the 1909 Town Planning Act served as the foundational document upon which Adams based his draft planning act for the COC in 1915, as well as previous acts in New Brunswick (1912), Nova Scotia (1912, 1915), and Alberta (1913), none of these were exact copies of the 1909 legislation.⁵⁰ Though Adams' acts borrowed the spirit, framework, and, in some sections, similar wording, to their British predecessor, they were less lengthy pieces of legislation. However, the fact that the Canadian acts were not

Principles, Practice, and Participants, 5th ed. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 2008), 94–102. For a specific comparison of how Canadian acts could differ from their British progenitor, please see: Jill L. Grant, Leifka Vissers, and James Haney, "Early Town Planning Legislation in Nova Scotia: The Roles of Local Reformers and International Experts." *Urban History Review* 40.2 (Spring 2012): 6–7.

⁴⁹ Great Britain, Housing, Town-Planning, Etc., Act, 1909, 9 Edw. VII Ch. 44, s. 54(1).

⁵⁰ For example, planning historians Jill L. Grant, Leifka Vissers, and James Haney have carried out a fine-grained comparison between the British 1909 planning legislation and Nova Scotia's 1912 planning act. They conclude that, instead of being a "slavish copy," Nova Scotia's act, "paid modest homage to earlier British legislation but set a new course for locally based town planning activities with limited requirements for bureaucratic oversight." Grant, Vissers, and Haney, "Early Town Planning Legislation in Nova Scotia," 19, 38.

exact copies of the British parent legislation does not mean they were sympathetically adapted for Canadian conditions or vastly different. The provincial acts were drafted more in the hope they would work on Canadian soil than out of any proof that they could. In a speech to the British Town Planning Institute in 1924, Adams praised Saskatchewan's planning prowess, noting that its 1917 Act was "probably the most advanced planning legislation in any country".⁵¹ The TPIC's *Journal* likewise lauded the Act, stating "the progressive province of Saskatchewan...[is] in possession of one of the best town planning acts in the world."⁵² Such praise was more self-congratulation than anything else, however, Saskatchewan's legislation was novel in three respects. Firstly, it became the second province to appoint a dedicated provincial town-planning director.⁵³ Though the Act placed titular responsibility for enabling and approving plans with the Minister of Municipal Affairs, in reality, the provincial planning director was in charge of administering the legislation and working with the municipalities. This job became essential given the second noteworthy aspect of Saskatchewan's legislation: its compulsory nature. As the legislation stated "each local authority shall within three years after the passing of this Act, prepare a set of development bylaws for adoption in its area[.]"⁵⁴ It was the task of the Municipal Director to enforce this provision and remind local authorities of the need to submit plans to the DMA before 1921. The legislation's third most important feature was its breadth, it required that all proposed streets and

⁵¹ Adams, "Town Planning in Canada," 4.

⁵² "Saskatchewan Leads in Town Planning," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 1.12 (December 1921), 21.

⁵³ In its 1915 Town Planning Act, Nova Scotia established a provincial town planning comptroller to oversee the act, enable schemes and bylaws, and inspect planning progress.

⁵⁴ Saskatchewan Statutes, 1917, *Town Planning and Rural Development Act, 1917*, George V. Ch. 70, Part III: Development Bylaws and Scheme, s 9(1).

subdivisions in rural, urban, and unorganized areas come under the DMA's supervision. Furthermore, it aimed to standardize all planning-related regulations and bylaws by instructing the town-planning director to craft model legislation for use by local authorities.

Saskatchewan's Act was not the first in Canada to introduce a compulsory element, that honour fell to New Brunswick's 1915 legislation. Nor was it the first to create a dedicated office to oversee planning within the province as both Manitoba's 1916 and New Brunswick's 1915 legislation established similar positions. Furthermore, Manitoba likewise brought subdivisions and rural plans under the jurisdiction of its Municipal Commissioner within its 1916 Act. What set Saskatchewan's legislation apart, and garnered it praise, was that it combined all three aspects. No other act matched compulsion with a dedicated administer charged with overseeing nearly all aspects of rural and urban development including the subdivision of existing, and new, land. However, as the province's second planning director, William Begg, pointed out at the TPIC's 1921 convention, praise alone would not guarantee the Act's success, "[even] the best of plans will fail unless there is [at the] back of them the understanding and support of the average citizen."⁵⁵

The Legislation in Action

As Begg recognized, without the backing of Saskatchewan's municipalities, the Act would have little chance of living up to expectations. In the early months after the Act's

⁵⁵ William Begg, "Saskatchewan Town Planning and Rural Development Act," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 1.4.5 (April–May 1921): 19.

passage, the Department of Municipal Affairs moved quickly to gain such support. Under the direction of Melville Bell Weekes, an engineer and surveyor previously employed by the Department of Highways, those within the town planning branch devoted much of their time to education and promotion, informing municipalities of their duty to submit town planning “schemes” and advising local authorities on how to go about it.⁵⁶ The Department’s report from 1918-1919 stated that, thanks to such work, “it is hoped the municipalities will take full advantage of the powers conferred upon them by this important legislation.”⁵⁷ As the 1917 legislation called for all the province’s municipalities to submit planning “schemes” before 1 January 1920, those within the town planning branch felt they had little time to waste.

The municipalities felt otherwise. In early 1921, the new town planning director, William Arthur Begg, wrote to Thomas Adams in part to express his frustration with the lack of planning in the province. In response to an earlier letter Begg had written, Adams had urged Begg to stand behind Saskatchewan’s legislation, stating “Saskatchewan is the most advanced in Legislation [of any province] and you have the opportunity of showing other places what can be done, rather than learning from them.”⁵⁸ Yet, as Begg stated, despite the “advanced” nature of Saskatchewan’s legislation, “[t]he cities are quite apathetic in regard to the adoption of a scheme or set of development bylaws.”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Melville Bell Weekes qtd. in Young, *A Resume of Town Planning Thought*, 8.

⁵⁷ Weekes qtd. in Young, *A Resume of Town Planning Thought*, 7.

⁵⁸ Letter from Thomas Adams to William Begg, 3 May 1921, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 2.

⁵⁹ Letter from William Begg to Thomas Adams, 9 May 1921, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 2.

So little action had been taken under the Act that, in 1919, it had been amended to give municipalities until 1921 to submit planning schemes.⁶⁰ Though this delay was attributed to the fact that Saskatchewan's urban centres were yet debt-ridden and recovering from the First World War, Begg also hinted at a growing municipal frustration with the 1917 planning legislation, particularly within the local business communities that previously backed it. As Begg confessed to Adams, "the limitations contained...in the Act...appear to the ordinary businessman as too drastic."⁶¹ Furthermore, Begg noted, Saskatchewan's Act failed to account for the differing needs of business, as opposed to residential, planning and building. For one, the Act required that twenty-foot lanes be constructed throughout business blocks, an amount of space Begg felt unnecessary for the needs of most operations.⁶² Despite Adams' entreaties, Begg wrote, he had begun turning his attention to a new, American planning innovation, zoning, connecting with colleagues in the United States to learn more.⁶³

A Turn to the South

By 1916, popular American planning practice had all but shed its association with the City Beautiful movement, and "refin[ed] its conceptual base" by introducing sophisticated practical techniques such as comprehensive zoning ordinances, themselves

⁶⁰ Memo from Melville Bell Weekes to Mr. Smith, "Re: Saskatchewan Town Planning and Rural Development Act", 13 December 1920, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 6.

⁶¹ Letter from William Begg to Thomas Adams, 9 May 1921, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 2.

⁶² Begg to Adams, 9 May 1921.

⁶³ Ibid.

a German import reconceptualized for American purposes.⁶⁴ New York City passed the first comprehensive zoning ordinance in the United States in 1916, and thereafter the concept caught national attention. In 1924, the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, established an advisory committee on zoning which produced a Standard State Zoning Enabling Act.⁶⁵ Thanks to such legislation, and an influx in zoning practitioners, by 1929, 750 communities had adopted comprehensive zoning ordinances.⁶⁶

As Begg noted to Adams in his 1921 letter, while interest in zoning was growing in Canada, no municipality had moved to pass an American-style zoning bylaw.⁶⁷ Therefore, though Begg stated he would “much prefer” to confer with his Canadian colleagues, he confessed that he had instead begun looking to America and had collected “a considerable amount of information” from his efforts.⁶⁸ Begg’s interest in zoning grew in parallel to local municipalities’ lack of interest in engaging with Saskatchewan’s

⁶⁴ Stephen V. Ward, *Planning the Twentieth Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (Chichester: Wiley, 2002), 112.

⁶⁵ For a detailed consideration of the Act please see: Ruth Knack, Stuart Meck, and Isreal Stollman, “The Real Story Behind the Standard Planning and Zoning Acts of the 1920s,” *Land Use Law & Zoning Digest* 48.2 (February 1996): 3-9.

⁶⁶ Marina Moscovitz, “Zoning the Industrial City: Planners, Commissioners, and Boosters in the 1920s,” *Business and Economic History* 27.2 (Winter 1998): 307.

⁶⁷ Although no Canadian city had passed a modern, American inspired zoning by-law by the late 1910s and early 1920s, Raphaël Fischler underscores that “public control over land development [in Canada] was not really new” to the 1920s. “Development Controls in Toronto in the Nineteenth Century,” *Urban History Review* 36.1 (Fall 2007): 27. Through a case study of Toronto, Fischler illustrates that Canadian municipalities had a long history of land-use regulation. As he shows, by the 1860s, there existed in Toronto “an assortment of bylaws ...that contained, albeit in very embryonic form, the main ingredients of modern zoning: the use of a permitting process and, more significantly, the classification of land uses and building types, and the enunciation of quantitative standards” (17). Such bylaws and ordinances, Fischler argues, “formed the legal and technical basis on which comprehensive zoning would be built over the next decades” (17).

⁶⁸ Begg to Adams, 9 May 1921.

planning Act. From 1922 to 1923, he communicated with American planning colleagues, asking for information on their zoning activities.⁶⁹ In 1922 he wrote to John Matthew Gries, Secretary of the United States Advisory Committee on Zoning in Washington, D.C., requesting a copy of its zoning primer.⁷⁰ In the same year, he contacted American zoning expert, Harland Bartholomew, asking for details on Bartholomew's work in St. Louis.⁷¹ Begg also did what he could to introduce zoning measures within Saskatchewan. On 13th May 1922, the city of Moose Jaw passed a zoning bylaw, followed quickly by the town of Wilkie.

Until 1924, Begg satisfied his interest in American zoning practices through this correspondence and information gathering. That spring, however, he decided to travel to St. Paul, Minnesota to view innovations in zoning firsthand. At only a day's drive away from Regina, St. Paul was close to Saskatchewan and located in a state with a similar pattern of settlement and a shared economic focus on the production of raw goods. Like cities and towns in Saskatchewan, St. Paul had developed around servicing the state's rural population, farmers and loggers. It acted as a crucial site of business, industry, production, and transportation and, most importantly to Begg, had a strong record of

⁶⁹ See, for example, such letters as: Begg to New York State Bureau of Municipal Information, 27 June 1923; Begg to E.L. Gaines, Executive Secretary of the City Zoning Commission, Seattle, Washington, 24 July 1923, SAB, DMA- Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 1.

⁷⁰ Letter from William Begg to Secretary, Advisory Committee on Zoning, 15 June 1922, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 1.

⁷¹ Letter from William Begg to Harland Bartholomew, 21 September 1922, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, folder 1.

undertaking planning and zoning efforts.⁷² In the early 1920s, St. Paul's City Council had hired Edward Bennett, an "early advocate" of zoning, to produce a city plan and zoning bylaw that was submitted in the summer of 1922.⁷³

While in St. Paul, Begg focused nearly exclusively on its zoning achievements, meeting with the City Plan Engineer to discuss all aspects of its ordinance. He toured residential, industrial, and business districts, noting the building density, layout, and provision of recreational spaces. He also briefly travelled to Minneapolis, meeting with its City Plan Engineer to discuss zoning.⁷⁴ Although Begg's report of the trip contained no hint of his personal impressions, given his interest in zoning, and the extent to which he summarized all he learned while in Minnesota, he clearly found value in his three-day tour. What Begg might have done with what he gleaned from his trip, and his previous correspondence with American colleagues, however, remains a matter of speculation. Begg passed away unexpectedly in August 1924, four months after his return from Minnesota, leaving the department to Stewart Young, previously a district engineer and land surveyor within the provincial Department of Highways.

Stewart Young entered a department in turmoil, still struggling to assert its power and prove its utility. Although a supporter of urban planning, he was dejected and frustrated

⁷² William E. Lass, *Minnesota: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998), 145.

⁷³ David L.A. Gordon, "'The *Other* Author of the 1908 *Plan of Chicago*': Edward H. Bennett – Urban Designer, Planner and Architect," *Planning Perspectives* 25.2 (April 2010): 234.

⁷⁴ William Begg, "Report: Visit to St. Paul and Minneapolis," 30 April 1924, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 8.

by Saskatchewan's experience and, between November 1925 and April 1926, Young unburdened himself to Alfred Buckley, then editor of the TPIC's *Journal*. In part a survey of the ground he inherited, and in part an expression of his disappointment and frustration, Young's letters to Buckley are uniquely revealing. Though the two men had never met, Young expressed himself to his colleague with an openness Buckley did not expect.⁷⁵ While Buckley noted, "I suppose you can hardly feel free as a Government Official, to state frankly the difficulties [you are encountering]," Young felt no such limitation, writing back to describe in detail the problems he faced: a lack of public interest in planning generally, a want of action on the part of local officials, and, finally, his own lack of support for the legislation he was charged with overseeing.⁷⁶ As he stated to Buckley, "I do not believe in compulsory town planning", and, "I am not alone in my attitude".⁷⁷

Buckley's responses to Young were equally insightful. Despite Young's descriptions of the problems his office faced, Buckley remained unwilling to abandon his belief in the superiority of Saskatchewan's legislation. Instead of considering Young's difficulties, Buckley mainly repeated his support for the Act, writing, "you have the best act in Canada. I should like to hear that you are making it work."⁷⁸ He also remonstrated Young for losing faith in compulsory planning and failing to use legal means to enforce

⁷⁵ Particularly as the exchange sprang from Buckley's simple request that Young write an update on Saskatchewan's planning progress for the December 1925 issue of the TPIC's *Journal*. Letter from Alfred Buckley to Stewart Young, 7 November 1925, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 10.

⁷⁶ Buckley to Young, 7 November 1925.

⁷⁷ Letter from Stewart Young to Alfred Buckley, 17 November 1925, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 10.

⁷⁸ Buckley to Young, 7 November 1925.

the Act's provisions. "Do some real planning under the legal powers you have," Buckley urged, "when law comes a few selfish and ignorant people kick, but they still get used to the compulsion of the law." He ended by again stating: "you have one of the best Acts in the world".⁷⁹

The moment illustrates both the dissonance that could exist between national, provincial, and local planning thought, but also the continued dynamism of planning practice in Canada. Buckley, a founding member of the TPIC and an assistant to Thomas Adams, espoused a preference for the British-based model of planning and therefore remained staunchly in favour of Saskatchewan's legislation. Young, however, felt no attachment to any one method. Seeing that the province's Act had floundered and lost local support, he refused to cling to the legislation, and instead sought a new solution by continuing to reach out locally, nationally, and internationally to learn of new strategies. Extending the process Begg had started in 1921, Young was ready for his province to embrace a new approach.

Following in Begg's footsteps, Young looked to American colleagues for information on zoning innovations. In particular, Young continued Begg's correspondence with John Matthew Gries.⁸⁰ Gries provided Young with a summary of his division's activities and

⁷⁹ Letter from Alfred Buckley to Stewart Young, 21 November 1925, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 10.

⁸⁰ The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act (SZEa), was created by a Zoning Advisory Committee appointed by Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of the Commerce, in 1921. Headed by John Gries, the advisory committee spent three years constructing the SZEa, publishing it in early 1924. Though, by 1924, numerous American cities had adopted zoning by-laws, and several states had introduced model zoning acts, Hoover called for

sent along copies of the SZEAs and related pamphlets.⁸¹ Young also asked if Gries could provide him with a list of smaller American cities similar in population to Saskatchewan's municipalities. After Gries furnished the list, Young contacted several municipalities to learn of "typical" zoning ordinances.⁸² This resulted in correspondence with city clerks from Wisconsin, Missouri, Connecticut, California, and New York.

Young also decided to survey zoning and planning developments within Canada, writing to provincial representatives in nearly all the provinces and contacting Horace Seymour, an engineer and urban planner from Toronto, for information on Seymour's zoning bylaw for Kitchener, Ontario.⁸³ Furthermore, he continued Begg's correspondence with the South Australian Department of Town Planning, exchanging copies of Saskatchewan's planning legislation for reproductions of the South Australian Town Planning and Development Act, 1920.⁸⁴ He also reached out to Thomas Adams, who, by 1926, had been working outside of Canada on the Regional Plan for New York since 1923.

the creation of the SZEAs to provide a standard, nationally-approved framework for zoning. It was popular, with 35 states enacting legislation based on the SZEAs by 1930. For an analysis of the SZEAs, and the work of Gries' committee, please see: Ruth Knack, Stuart Meck, and Israel Stollman, "The Real Story Behind the Standard Planning and Zoning Acts of the 1920s," *Land Use Law & Zoning Digest* (February 1996): 3–9.

⁸¹ Letter from John M. Gries to Stewart Young, 23 March 1925, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, f. 1.

⁸² Letter from Stewart Young to John M. Gries, 5 December 1925, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, f.1.

⁸³ Letter from Stewart Young to the Provincial Secretaries of Alberta, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Prince Edward Island, 2 July 1926, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file1; Letter from Stewart Young to Horace L. Seymour, 1 April 1925, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 1.

⁸⁴ Letter from H.G.C. Macklin, Clerk-in-Charge, Department of Town Planning and Housing, Adelaide to Stewart Young, 31 March 1926, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 10.

Although Adams wished Young well, he admitted that he could be of little aid as “I have become rather out of touch with conditions in Canada and have forgotten the terms of the Saskatchewan [A]ct.”⁸⁵

The Saskatchewan Town Planning Act, 1928

In 1927, Young instigated “an intensive study of Town Planning legislation” which brought together his and Begg’s extensive research on local, nation-wide, and foreign planning developments with the goal of replacing the ineffective 1917 legislation with a new version. Young’s department submitted the new legislation in late 1927 and, in early 1928, the provincial government assented to this version and, in doing so, Young wrote, placed “another mile post in the history of Town Planning in Saskatchewan.”⁸⁶

The 1928 Act relied on British and American planning innovations but also reflected the lessons learned from the municipalities’ refusal to embrace the 1917 Act. As Young explained, the 1928 Act was a streamlined, completely revised piece of legislation which “might be said to be a combination of English and United States [practice]” with “special provision introduced to render it applicable to present day conditions”. Young continued by observing that the 1917 legislation had been “insufficiently adapted to conditions existing in Saskatchewan” and completely “inelastic” and “cumbersome” and “out of conformity with municipal practice”. Although the 1928 Act “definitely specified” how municipalities should prepare planning schemes and zoning, noting “certain to be

⁸⁵ Letter from Thomas Adams to Stewart Young, 22 July 1926, SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 6.

⁸⁶ Young, *A Resume of Town Planning Thought*, 11.

complied with”, municipalities were mostly allowed to judge for themselves how to undertake and execute such plans and ordinances, and “any action by any municipality under the Act...[was] permissive.” To this end, Young underscored, “[a] municipal council may decide to take no action whatever under the Act.”⁸⁷

As Young noted, the 1928 Act was indeed a “combination” of both British and American planning thought.⁸⁸ Linguistically, it echoed its British heritage by continuing to refer to planning as “town planning” rather than adopting the more American term of “city planning.”⁸⁹ Furthermore, although doing away with the compulsory nature of planning and allowing local councils more control, it followed the British pattern of administration by continuing to grant the Minister of Municipal Affairs central authority over the legislation. Although local town planning boards and commissions could oversee “town planning schemes” for their municipalities, the minister had to first approve the board and also held final approval over its “scheme” or zoning bylaw. The American contribution to Saskatchewan’s 1928 Act came chiefly through its inclusion of a section granting

⁸⁷ Stewart Young, “Brief,” (1928), SAB, DMA Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 6.

⁸⁸ Stewart Young, “Brief.”

⁸⁹ The terms “town planning” (Great Britain) and “city planning” (America) both came into use within the early 1900s. While both names described the practice of designing the urban environment as a whole rather than focusing on discrete civic improvement projects, the terms reflected the differences in approach between the two nations’ planning philosophies. In Great Britain, “town planning” focused on the intervention of national and local authorities into private land ownership to facilitate the creation of new, low-density suburbs with provisions for working-class housing. In the United States “city planning,” as conceived in the early 1900 during the rise of the City Beautiful, denoted the re-planning of the existing built environment, in particular, the civic core, with particular attention to coordinating and improving traffic circulation. For a greater discussion of these terms, please see: Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840–1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 2–3, 199, 229, 239.

municipalities the right to pass zoning bylaws. Although British Columbia's first provincial planning legislation of 1925 originated the inclusion of provisions for zoning bylaws within a comprehensive planning act, as Saskatchewan's 1928 Act marked a thorough revision of earlier legislation, and reflected the lessons learned from the failure of the 1917 Act, it gained a reputation as an "essentially Canadian planning act".⁹⁰

Conclusion

Saskatchewan's 1917 Town Planning marked a clear articulation of English-Canadian interest in British planning innovations and stood as testament to Adams' success in convincing Canadian provinces to adopt British-based planning legislation. Yet, despite garnering praise from local and national planning advocates, in practice, the 1917 Act proved cumbersome and unsuited to local realities. Instead of cleaving to this unpopular legislation out of loyalty to Adams or the Act's grand reputation, planning actors within the province continued to look outside Saskatchewan's boundaries, acquiring and circulating knowledge of foreign planning developments through travel and corresponding with colleagues within, and outside Canada. In doing so, they demonstrated the continued dynamism of Canadian planning networking after Adams' arrival, illustrating that Adams' "all conquering British influence" was not as total as has been presumed.⁹¹

⁹⁰ A.G. Dalzell qtd. by Young, *A Resume of Town Planning Thought*, 12.

⁹¹ Michal Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement*, 75.

Chapter Four: Defining the Field, Regulating the Profession: The Creation of the Town Planning Institute of Canada

Introduction

Upon arriving in Canada in late 1914, Thomas Adams led efforts to publicize urban planning and organize the nation's cohort of planning supporters, creating the country's first national urban reform association, the Civic Improvement League of Canada (CILC), in 1915. Comprised of lay urban reform supporters, public health experts, and technical professionals, the CILC formally brought together the men, and women, who had previously advocated Adams' hiring, lending them a national platform from which to lobby for urban issues. Despite Adams' early interest in the CILC, however, by 1917, he begun moving away from the group as his professional interests seemingly took priority. With Adams acting as Chair, and his Commission on Conservation office as the meeting space, a Sub-Committee on Town Planning was struck on 20 December 1918.¹ By the third meeting, the men formally agreed to model the TPIC on the British Town Planning Institute (TPI) and placed Adams in charge of adapting the TPI's constitution for use by the TPIC.

The creation of the TPIC was an assertion of authority that generated new divisions and a new hierarchy within Canada's planning movement. It was formed to establish professional legitimacy and, thereafter, to exercise control over the field. To do so, the

¹ Alongside Adams, the group also comprised of F.D. Henderson, a land surveyor from Ottawa; W.D. Cromarty, an architect from Ottawa; J.B. Challies, and Noulon Cauchon, both engineers from Ottawa; and Horace Seymour, a land surveyor and assistant to Thomas Adams at the Commission on Conservation [hereafter COC].

TPIC's founding members sought to set themselves apart from the fluid, and heterogeneous group of lay planning advocates, clearly delineating between the contributions of professionals those of amateur planning-advocates. TPIC member Alfred Buckley articulated these divisions when, in 1926, he wrote in the Social Service Council of Canada's journal, *Social Welfare*, that "town planning is a technical science which can only be applied to the social organism by men trained as the biologist and chemist are trained in their special sciences...but there is no ground that needs so much preparation as the social ground before this science can begin to operate."²

The founding members of the TPIC were not alone in their bid to organize formally and, thereafter, act as the official spokespeople and gatekeepers of their profession. Nor were they unique in their wish to distance themselves from the world of charity and reform. As historian Burton J. Bledstein argues, in North America, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the elevation of specialized, post-secondary training and professionalization by the urban middle and upper class.³ Doug Owram, goes further in pointing out that, by the end of the nineteenth century, upon observing the extent of social changes taking place, many academics were looking to "repudiate the tradition of

² Alfred Buckley, "Women and Town Planning," *Social Welfare* 9.3 (December 1926): 320.

³ Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976), 34. As Bledstein notes, "[i]n a country where there is no titled class, no landed class, and no military class, the chief distinction which popular sentiment can lay hold of as raising one set of persons above another is the character of their occupation, the degree of culture it implies, [and] the extent to which it gives them an honourable prominence" (34).

the aloof academic” and take a more active role in the running of modern society.⁴ The willingness to take on new, public roles stemmed partly out of a belief that their specialized knowledge could help formulate new solutions to modern social issues. Yet this eagerness to assert themselves likewise sprang from a desire to demonstrate their authority while carving out new, professional opportunities.⁵

The push to professionalize also sprang from a wish to elevate specifically trained, “impartial” experts over volunteers. Several scholars have studied the emergence of social science professionals in North America, in particular, analyzing the claims of these new experts that their approach to ameliorating social ills was superior to the voluntary, philanthropic, maternal efforts that had previously dominated. As Mariana Valverde notes, in Canada and the United States, the transition between the two, beginning in the 1890s and progressing to the early twentieth century, “was neither smooth nor uncontroversial” and the two approaches to social issues coexisted, albeit uneasily.⁶ Much research on this transition has focused on the realm of social work, where the shift was particularly noticeable. For example, through her analysis of “child-saving” agencies in Boston from 1880–1960, Linda Gordon argues that, while professional social workers boasted of the superiority of their apolitical, scientific approach to welfare, their advance over sentimentally-motivated volunteers in the early twentieth-century may have marked a regression. Gordon posits that earlier nineteenth-century volunteers were, in some

⁴ Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 51.

⁵ Owram, *The Government Generation*, x, 51–52.

⁶ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885–1925*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 181.

ways, more reformist, more likely to challenge patriarchal systems of authority, and more interested in community organizing than professional social workers.⁷ Regina Kunzel likewise considers the shift from voluntary to professional social work through her study of American maternity homes from 1890–1945, showing how the presumed supremacy of professional social workers was contested by those who questioned the validity of dispassionately treating individuals as case studies rather than human beings.⁸

Furthermore, as Suzanne Morton illustrates through her study of Jane B. Wisdom, one of Canada’s first professional social workers, even within the field of professional social work in the early twentieth-century, there was an “unclear line” between “social work as an acquired set of skills and social work as a natural disposition or series of character traits.” Wisdom, Morton explains, “insisted on the unity of professional technical expertise and humanistic values.”⁹

While early urban planning professionals may have argued that their background as architects, surveyors, and engineers was strictly “technical”, as urban planning was intricately connected to urban reform efforts, the formalization of planning was at once a protective bid for professional legitimacy and a deliberate separation from the voluntary, “sentimental” world of urban reform. This duality has been emphasized in planning historiography. American scholars in particular have stressed the importance of the first

⁷ Please see: Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence: Boston, 1880-1960* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

⁸ Please See: Regina Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

⁹ Suzanne Morton, *Wisdom, Justice, and Charity: Canadian Social Welfare through the Life of Jane B. Wisdom, 1884-1975* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 161.

National Conference on City Planning (NCCP) in 1909 to the move towards planning professionalism and the ensuing division between the physical and social aspects of planning in the United States. At the 1909 National Conference on City Planning and Congestion, landscape architect and city planner Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. successfully wrested control of the new organization from the housing reformers who had instigated it. In doing so, Jon A. Peterson argues, Olmsted Jr.'s actions prompted "a momentous...struggle" between, primarily, himself and housing reformer Benjamin Marsh that ended with the NCCP emerging as a forum for the development of planning as a "field of knowledge" rather than "a national campaign for social reform".¹⁰ In their examination of the 1909 conference, Rebecca Retzlaff and Stuart Meck underscore Peterson's assessment, stating "the conference served to define and separate the emerging planning profession" from the housing and reform cohort.¹¹ Although housing reformers were present at ensuing conferences, by 1911, the word "congestion" had been stripped from the organization's title to reflect its interest in physical urban planning.

Furthermore, though the separation of technical urban planning from its reform roots was less dramatic in Canada than in the United States, the creation of the TPIC as a technical body served the same purpose as Olmsted Jr.'s redefinition of the NCCP. In her dissertation, "Visible Cities", an examination of town planning in early twentieth century Montreal and Toronto, Sarah Bassnett considers the professionalization of urban planning

¹⁰ Jon A. Peterson, "The Birth of Organized City Planning in the United States, 1909 – 1910," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75.2 (Spring 2009): 123, 129.

¹¹ Stuart Meck and Rebecca Retzlaff, "A Familiar Ring: A Retrospective on the First National Conference on City Planning," *Planning and Environmental Law* 61.4 (April 2009): 8.

in Canada as a gendered and exclusive process. Through an analysis of photographs and visual discourse, Bassnett argues that the TPIC created a “closed community”, separating itself from the broader urban reform cohort, and women’s groups in particular. As she states in her examination of group portraits of the TPIC membership throughout the 1920s, the preponderance of men within the portraits, their formal dress, and the existence of the photographs themselves, speaks of the TPIC membership’s efforts to establish a distinct community. Like Bassnett argues, “by putting a public face on the professional institute, members could see what they were a part of and with whom they could identify. Through the production and publication of the photograph, the town planners became at once the handlers and the subjects of visual discourse[.]”¹²

This chapter follows the transition from a heterogeneous, fluid cohort of planning advocates to the arrival of the TPIC and its emphasis on professional status. It first stresses Thomas Adams’ importance as an organizer and advocate for the planning in Canada before surveying a key antecedent to the TPIC: the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (PQAA) and its struggles to define and control the profession in Quebec (1890-1912). This case study provides a lens through which to understand how concerns over foreign and local competition shaped efforts to professionalize the architectural profession, and how these worries were carried over to the TPIC. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the TPIC’s founding and its definition of “planner”,

¹² Sarah Bassnett, “Visible Cities: Photography, Visual Discourse, and City Planning in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto and Montreal” (PhD. diss., SUNY Binghamton, 2004), 204.

emphasizing how this classification attempted to displace lay planning supporters, particularly female reformers, from participation within the “official” planning discourse.

Thomas Adams in Canada

Although this dissertation suggests a reinterpretation of Adams’ role in Canada’s planning history, it does not negate his place in the history of the nation’s planning movement. While Adams may not have introduced Canadians to planning, he was central to the growth and evolution of planning in Canada throughout his tenure. Reflecting on the gains made in planning throughout the First World War, Adams noted, “in no country was there more [town planning] activity than there was in Canada.”¹³ Although Adams held a position within a national organization, the Commission on Conservation (COC), he focused on planning at all levels of government. Upon his arrival, Adams immediately signaled his intent to learn of, and reach out to, planners across Canada by undertaking a cross-country tour. In his report to the COC for 1915, Adams described his trips to the central cities and larger municipalities of every province save for British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, and related his efforts to work with local actors and governments

¹³ Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940* (New York: Mansell, 1985), 102. Although Canada’s accomplishments during this period were important, Adams’ remarks should be qualified. Firstly, as Canada was behind other European and North American nations in its planning activities, its actions during this period, in part, more brought it up to speed with other nations rather than offered new innovations. Secondly, unlike European nations, Canada was, generally, not grappling with the environmental affects of fighting a war on home territory, easing its ability to plan. Finally, though, on paper, advances such as provincial planning legislation were important, their introduction during a time of conflict meant many of these laws went untested until the post-war years when municipalities again considered planning measures. It was at this time that these acts’ deficiencies could be exposed, as I examine in Chapter 3.

to either improve or install town planning legislation in the seven provinces he visited.¹⁴

He was also consistently in correspondence with planners across Canada. For them, Adams was an official, expert point of reference to organize around and query. The COC's annual reports bear witness to Adams' efforts to operate across Canada. Adams presented the Commission with an annual summary of planning advances in every province, most often noting his personal visits to or correspondence with local representatives.

Adams did not limit his cross-Canadian work to urban planning. He saw rural planning as essential and extensively researched the topic during his cross-country travels. In late August 1917, perhaps with an eye to postwar reconstruction, he published *Rural Planning and Development*, a nearly 300-page survey of rural conditions across Canada.¹⁵ In it, he called attention to issues such as land speculation, which kept fertile areas from production, poor living conditions in rural, resource-based communities, a need for farmers to receive specific training in agriculture, the improvement of educational opportunities for rural students in their home areas, and rural depopulation. He praised agricultural cooperatives in Saskatchewan and Quebec but did not restrict his study to farmers. He also studied conditions in mining, lumber, and fishing communities. Although the study displays the extent of his research in Canada, Adams' widespread

¹⁴ Thomas Adams, "Town Planning, Housing, and Public Health," in *Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting*, COC (1916), 125.

¹⁵ For an excellent critical analysis of *Rural Planning and Development*, please see: Wayne Caldwell and Thomas Adams, *Rediscovering Thomas Adams: Rural Planning and Development* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011). The book offers a re-printing of Adams' report alongside chapter-by-chapter commentaries considering the study and its past, as well as present-day, relevance.

knowledge of planning developments can be glimpsed through his inclusion of examples and statistics from France, Australia, Great Britain, and the United States.¹⁶

Despite Adams' recognition that differences in geography, degrees of urbanization, and governance at the municipal and provincial levels made the provinces more like "nine different countries" than a united whole, he felt that if enough effort was made in "educating public opinion" in each province national, uniform town planning legislation was achievable.¹⁷ To this end, he worked to produce a national planning act. In 1914, the Commission members prepared draft planning legislation for Canada which Adams then spent part of 1915 revising in light of his study of "Canadian conditions and town planning legislation in other countries" before introducing it to the Commission at its annual meeting in 1916.¹⁸ While he was ultimately unsuccessful in persuading the federal government to move forward with the legislation, it illustrates Adams' wish to introduce national, standardized planning legislation to Canada.

Adams had more luck when it came to his interest in improved housing and living conditions, which had attracted Canadian housing advocates to his work. Although alarmed at the outset at the shortage and quality of housing in Canada, from at least 1917

¹⁶ Although it is unclear whether or not Adams contacted experts from each of these countries to inform his report, his archives do contain correspondence between himself and the United States Department of Agriculture. For example, on 20 March 1917, Adams wrote to the department for information on rural home design and, on the 29th, he received a set of drawings of sample one and two-storey farm homes. Letter P. St.J. Milson to Thomas Adams, 29 March 1917, Liverpool University, Special Collections and Archives, Papers of and about Thomas Adams, GB 141 D653/1/2/1/11.

¹⁷ Thomas Adams, "Report of the Planning and Development Branch," in *Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting*, COC (1917), 96.

¹⁸ Adams, "Town Planning, Housing, and Public Health," 124.

onwards, Adams came to view soldier resettlement and housing as a key planning issue. He devoted a chapter of *Rural Planning and Development* to the topic, stating “[g]overnment aid to returned soldiers...will fail in its object unless there is more scientific organization and planning...new towns and suburbs combining opportunities for agricultural and industrial employments should be promoted by government aid.”¹⁹ In late 1918, he further cemented his interest through submitting his “Report on Housing” to the COC. In the report, he called on the federal government to take responsibility for housing, noting, “I am convinced that...it is unlikely that any satisfactory solution of the housing problem will be obtained, unless the Federal Government takes the initiative.”²⁰

Though the federal government proved unwilling to pass national planning legislation, it was interested in Adams’ views on housing. On 8 December 1918 Prime Minister Robert Borden’s wartime Unionist government passed an order in council providing \$25 million in loans to provinces under the War Measures Act to finance housing schemes.²¹ On the 12 December, a second order-in-council was passed, establishing a five-person cabinet committee to oversee the program. Headed by Newton Wesley Rowell, then President of the Privy Council of Canada, the committee appointed Adams as its secretary and advisor. By April, Adams had sent out a questionnaire on housing conditions to municipalities across Canada and, throughout 1919 and 1920, with the help of his

¹⁹ Thomas Adams, *Rural Planning and Development: A Study of Rural Problems and Conditions in Canada* (Ottawa: Commission of Conservation, 1917), 216.

²⁰ Thomas Adams, “Report on Housing,” (16 November 1918), 20, Liverpool University, Special Collections and Archives, Papers of and about Thomas Adams, GB 141 D653/3/2/80.

²¹ The money was given out proportionally based on population size and came in the form of a twenty-year loan.

assistant, Arthur Dalzell, and Secretary, Alfred Buckley, collected reports on housing conditions across Canada.²² The committee published its first report in March 1919 and continued to oversee the housing program until the federal government cut its funding in 1923.

Finally, aside from his work with the COC and federal government, Adams also worked Canada as a private planning consultant, designing the resource towns of Témiscaming, Quebec for the Riordan Pulp and Paper Company, and Ojibway, Ontario for the United States Steel Corporation. He also designed part of Corner Brook, Newfoundland, and planned the garden suburb of Lindenlea in Ottawa.²³ His most notable consulting project, however, was his replanning of Halifax's Hydrostone neighbourhood after it was destroyed in the Halifax Explosion in 1917. Although cognizant of the terrible circumstances that had created the necessity for replanning, Adams was excited for the chance to build a new community and "try to improve the housing conditions of the class of people who are chiefly affected by the explosion".²⁴

²² Aside from exchanges with local officials from 1918–1921, Adams' papers, held by the Liverpool University, contain full reports on housing conditions from: Edmonton; Winnipeg; Saint John; as well as a full report on housing conditions in Western Canada. Please see: Liverpool University, Special Collections and Archives, Papers of and about Thomas Adams, GB 141 D653.

²³ For a consideration of Lindenlea, please see: Jill Delaney, "The Garden Suburb of Lindenlea, Ottawa: A Model Project for the First Federal Housing Policy, 1918–1924," *Urban History Review* 19.3 (February 1991): 151–165.

²⁴ Letter from Thomas Adams to R.M. Hattie, 11 December 1917, Nova Scotia Archives, R.M. Hattie Papers, MG 1 vol. 2899, no. 29.

The Formalization of Planning in Canada, 1916–1918: The Civic Improvement League of Canada

In a December 1915 *Canadian Municipal Journal* article describing Thomas Adams' arrival in Canada, the author noted: "It is true that, like wise men, the Commissioners of Conservation allowed themselves to be made the fathers, and the principal civic men of Canada the leaders, of the [planning] movement...[but] Mr. Adams...[is] the pivot."²⁵ It was an apt description. Though Adams did not bring planning to Canada, throughout his tenure, he was at the centre of all efforts to organize and formalize urban planning in Canada. Although, as his experience with the British Town Planning Institute (TPI) demonstrated, the professionalization of planning was important to him, Adams did not immediately seek to establish a similar institute in Canada. Instead, he moved first to organize the heterogeneous, cross-national cohort of planning advocates who had supported his hiring by the COC.

Adams inaugurated the Civic Improvement League of Canada (CILC) in late 1915 by establishing a provisional committee of fifty-six members broadly representative of Canada's planning advocates at the time: businessmen, architects, surveyors, engineers, politicians and civic officials, academics, public health experts, and journalists. The committee, which first met at a conference in November 1915, was mostly comprised of members from Ontario and Quebec with one representative each from Calgary, Saint John, Halifax, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. The provisional committee contained three female members: Elizabeth Shortt (née Smith) of the Ottawa Chapter of the National

²⁵ "Some Big Municipal Men," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 11.12 (December 1915), 438.

Council of Women; Dr. Helen MacMurchy, then working for the government of Ontario as “Inspector of the Feeble Minded” in Toronto; and Dr. Jennie E. Smillie Robertson, also of the Ottawa chapter of the National Council of Women.²⁶ At the CILC’s inaugural meeting in early 1916, two further members, Rosaline Torrington of Toronto, President of the National Council of Women, and Edward H. Oliver, a Presbyterian minister, academic, and social gospel leader from Saskatoon, were added to the 56 original, to form the CILC’s “Dominion Council.”²⁷

²⁶ Elizabeth Smith Shortt, Helen MacMurchy, and Jennie Smillie Robertson were pioneering Canadian female medical practitioners and public health reformers. Smith attended Queen’s University and graduated from the Women’s Medical College in Kingston, Ontario in 1884, practicing medicine until her marriage to historian and economist Dr. Adam Shortt. Upon the Shortt’s move to Ottawa, Elizabeth became active in the local and National Council of Women, using her medical background to inform her championing of public health and maternal and child welfare. Helen MacMurchy received her degree in medicine from the University of Toronto in 1900. Though, following her graduation, she moved to the United States to undertake postgraduate study, she returned to Toronto by the 1910s, advocating for modernized maternal healthcare and publishing widely on the topic. Jennie Smillie Robertson, Canada’s first female surgeon, attended Kingston’s Women’s Medical College, graduating in 1906 and thereafter interning in Philadelphia before returning to Toronto and opening Canada’s first women’s hospital, the Women’s College Hospital, in 1911. For extended consideration of these women’s lives and work, please see: Debrah Wirtzfeld, “The History of Women in Surgery,” *Canadian Journal of Surgery* 52.4 (August 2009): 317–320; Gail Youngberg and Mona Holmlund, *Inspiring Women: A Celebration of Herstory* (Regina: Coteau Books, 2003); Sheryl Stotts McLaren, “Becoming Indispensable: A Biography of Elizabeth Smith Shortt,” (PhD diss., York University, 2001).

²⁷ Rosaline Torrington (née Kennedy) was born in Ireland but immigrated to Canada in 1869 shortly after her marriage to Frederick Herbert Torrington, an organist. The couple resided in Toronto where Rosaline became involved with groups such as the YWCA, the Toronto Parks and Playgrounds Association, and the Toronto branch of the National Council of Women. She became president of the National Council of Women in 1911. For a brief biography of Rosaline Torrington, please see: N.E.S. Griffiths, *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women, 1893–1993* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), 86.

Though the Toronto Housing Company had envisioned itself as a national leader and clearinghouse for housing and planning information, the CILC was the first national-level organization explicitly devoted to “civic improvement,” which, as the CILC understood it, encompassed issues of housing, town planning, public health, municipal governance, unemployment, immigration, post-war development, and citizenship.²⁸ As Joseph Guerin commented during the November conference, “[i]t is by improving the homes...and the municipalities, that we can make people happy. When a person is in a state of contentment, and his environment is agreeable, then he will be satisfied with his conditions, and that person will be a loyal citizen of Canada.”²⁹

Guerin’s comments laid bare the fear of working class, but more specifically immigrant working class, unrest that underpinned many of the CILC members’ concerns. During the First World War, an emphasis on Anglo-Protestant nationalism further heightened distrust towards German and other Eastern-European immigrants, while fears of a post-war onslaught of foreign immigrants likewise elevated concerns. The CILC’s 1916 meeting attested to its members anxieties over such issues. One member, J.C. Watters, directly criticized the national government’s prior policy of admitting “all kinds of people...irrespective of the use they are to themselves or the value they would be to the community.” He called on the CILC to request that the government restrict immigration from Europe and even Great Britain, noting that proper controls would induce only “the

²⁸ Thomas Adams, “Present Scope for Practical Work in Improving Civic Conditions,” in *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, Civic Improvement League of Canada [hereafter CILC] (1916), 12–19.

²⁹ Joseph Guerin, “Afternoon Session,” in *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915), 31.

right kind of people to come here.”³⁰ Echoing Watters’ less than favourable assessment of Canada’s pre-war immigration policies, Dr. Helen MacMurchy even went so far as to deem the First World War “a remarkable and unique” moment when “the great hand of destiny has stopped our immigration and given us one last opportunity to lay our plans about that important subject” before the expected “great” immigration following the War’s end.³¹

In contrast to the strict constitution that would govern the TPIC, the CILC members favored an “elastic” framework that would “grow with the league”.³² They hoped to establish provincial councils and local branches in every municipality. At the provisional conference in November, Adams noted he felt certain that, with help from existing organizations, the CILC would easily attract this cross-national membership, “we have received intimation from about 700 individuals in about 400 cities and municipalities in Canada that they will be glad to join and lend support to the [CILC]”, he stated.³³ As both Adams, and CILC chairman, Sir John Willison, stated, these members would comprise of both men and women. At the provisional conference, Willison spoke at length of his belief that “[w]e must have associated from us from the beginning the women as well as the men... the conditions under which we live...touch the women as deeply...and one of the faults of our civilization...has been that we have forgotten that the women are as

³⁰ J.C. Watters, “Remedying Past Mistakes in Immigration Policy,” in *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, CILC (1916), 60.

³¹ Dr. Helen MacMurchy, “Wider Scope for Civic Improvement,” *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, CILC (1916), 45.

³² Thomas Adams, “Report of Provisional Committee,” *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, CILC (1916), 9.

³³ Thomas Adams, “Existing Organizations Support the Movement,” in *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915), 14.

profoundly interested in these problems as we are, and as capable, and more capable, in many of these questions, on giving advice.”³⁴ Adams quickly seconded Willison’s sentiments, stating, “I agree with all that [Willison] has said...some of the best social movements in England would not have been successful had it not been for the ladies.”³⁵

While many of those at the November and January meetings were key members within Canadian political and urban reform spheres with a wealth of organizational experience, Thomas Adams was widely acknowledged as the impetus behind, and leader of, the CILC.³⁶ At the November 1915 conference, Clifford Sifton congratulated the COC for its wisdom in contracting Adams, stating, “the people of Canada will have cause to bless the fact that we did send for [him].”³⁷ In a December 1915 article written in anticipation of the January 1916 conference, the *CMJ* congratulated Adams as the “chief mover in the scheme” to create the CILC.³⁸ At the January 1916 conference, CILC Chairman John Willison went even further, introducing Adams by stating “[he will] tell us just exactly why we are here and what we have to do.”³⁹

³⁴ Sir John Willison, “Dominion-Wide Civic Improvement,” in *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915), 47.

³⁵ Thomas Adams, “Results Secured by Local Association,” in *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915), 48.

³⁶ Such as the Duke of Connaught, Canada’s tenth Governor General, William Douw Lighthall, founder and Honourary Secretary of the Union of Canadian Municipalities, Dr. Charles Hastings, Toronto’s Medical Officer of Health and president of the Canadian Public Health Association, as well as Elizabeth Shortt and Helen MacMurchy,

³⁷ Clifford Sifton, “Introductory Address,” in *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915), 5.

³⁸ “The New Civic Improvement League,” *Canadian Municipal Journal* 11.12 (December 1915): 427.

³⁹ Sir John Willison, “Present Scope for Practical Work in Improving Civic Conditions,” in *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, CILC (1916), 12.

Part of Adams' apparent genius may simply have been that he was in the right place at the right time. Canadian urban reformers had previously organized nationally. For example, in scope, membership, and agenda the CILC was similar to the older Canadian Conference on Charities and Corrections, which likewise brought together reformers from across the country annually to discuss urban reform issues. The THC had also used its networks to gain cross-national signatories for its petition to bring Adams over. Adams' status as a quasi-celebrity expert, coupled with the expectations placed upon his arrival, however, compelled Canadian urban reformers to put a high value on his advice. Furthermore, he was a prolific and persuasive speaker with significant organizational experience. Although he had a ready, willing, and practiced cohort of urban reform advocates awaiting him in Canada, the CILC's formation relied on his leadership. At both the November 1915 and January 1916 conferences, Adams took control, demonstrating his knowledge of national, and provincial-level, concerns while also setting out the CILC's agenda and structure.

Adams' influence was explicitly demonstrated through the CILC's heavy focus on urban planning. At the provisional conference in November 1915, seven of the eight proposed objects for the CILC's mandate either dealt directly with, or at least touched on, aspects of planning and included: "the preparation of town planning schemes", "the replanning of old districts, the removal of slums...and other reconstruction schemes", "special regard to housing conditions...and efficiency of [the city's] public services", "the laying out of parks and open spaces", "the preparation of civic surveys and maps", "the promotion of...college courses in civics and civic design", and "encouraging the cultivation of idle

suburban land”.⁴⁰ At both conferences, members urged one another to promote the adoption of town planning legislation in their home provinces, with Adams summarizing his draft planning act in detail at the January 1916 meeting.⁴¹ Yet, for the CILC members, “town planning” was almost more a catch-all phrase than a specific method. As W.J. Hanna stated in an address to the CILC at the January meeting, “town planning is the slogan and the slogan is a big thing because it carries so much else with it...it means anything or everything that has to do with the homes and the welfare of the people in them.”⁴²

Though the urban reformers of the CILC called for town-planning, and touted the benefits of the “science” and “efficiency” behind the craft, they supported planning because they saw it as intricately connected to their wider reform goals. As Adams himself stated at the November meeting, “to plan...is to apply foresight to the development of our social conditions”.⁴³ While they generally supported the right of “experts” to guide civic policy and municipal work, they were also unafraid to assert themselves as experts in their field of reform. For example, at the January 1916 meeting, Elizabeth Shortt stated that she felt Adams was “too optimistic about the physical wellbeing and conditions of our cities.” Drawing on her experience with working-class women and children through her position with the NCWC, Shortt illustrated her point,

⁴⁰ Dr. S. Morely Wickett, “Proposed Statement of Objects,” in *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915), 34–35.

⁴¹ Thomas Adams “Town Planning Act,” *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, CILC (1916), 15–17.

⁴² Hon. W.J. Hanna, “Civic Problems in Ontario,” in *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, CILC (1916), 35.

⁴³ Thomas Adams, “Statement of Objects,” in *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915), 12.

calling attention to dismal working and living conditions, ineffective building and nuisances by-laws, ill health, and unproductive civic management.⁴⁴ As Shortt's interjection displays, these reformers did not necessarily view themselves as lesser than trained experts. Though they respected the specific skills and knowledge that individuals like Adams possessed, they did not place barriers between themselves and such specialists. Instead, they felt the two groups complemented each other. As the discourse over the two early CILC conferences illustrated, at this moment, planning experts were one part of the interconnected urban reform whole.

Adams, however, may have felt differently. Despite his enthusiasm for the CILC, he clearly set limits on his participation. At the November 1915 meeting, he suggested that the bulk of CILC activities would be undertaken by its provincial and municipal member branches. While these groups would meet regularly, with annual provincial conferences, Adams stated that the national CILC should meet "occasionally, as may be justified, perhaps every two years."⁴⁵ At the same conference, he stated that he would "do his best" to aid the CILC, but hoped that "I may...look upon you each as willing to undertake some share of the responsibility."⁴⁶ Despite these comments, he presented at the 1917 national conference and the 1918 conference.⁴⁷ The 1918 conference, however, was

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Shortt, "Concrete Examples of Reforms Needed," in *Report of Conference of Civic Improvement League of Canada*, CILC, (1916), 28–30.

⁴⁵ Adams, "Statement of Objects," 10.

⁴⁶ Thomas Adams, "Results Secured By Local Association," *Civic Improvement League for Canada: Report of Preliminary Conference*, CILC (1915) 48.

⁴⁷ The 1917 conference was held in Winnipeg in conjunction with the National Council of Women's annual conference and the Commission of Conservation's conference on urban and rural development, which the CILC also sponsored. For the proceedings of that

seemingly the CILC's last, and its smallest in scope, held as one session amongst others during the Union of Canadian Municipalities' annual conference in Victoria, B.C., in early July.⁴⁸ Although there is no clear reason for its cessation, the end of the First World War in November, and Adams' subsequent involvement with the government's housing program, may well have lessened a want for national meetings. From the start, the CILC emphasized the importance of local level branches; the need to aid with the social challenges of post-war reconstruction within their own municipalities may have overtaken their broader reform goals.

Yet, although Adams was perhaps too busy to continue his work with the CILC, in late 1918, he did find the time to lead in the creation of a second national-level organization: the TPIC. The TPIC was far different in character to the CILC. Whereas the CILC members had preferred an "elastic", unwritten constitution, and set out no limits on membership, the TPIC's founding sub-committee spent nearly six months debating the qualifications for membership, the TPIC's prospectus, and the content of its constitution. Furthermore, whereas the CILC's provisional committee had spread a wide net in its search for members, contacting reformers, businessmen, civic leaders, and politicians, the TPIC's sub-committee specifically sought out only engineers, surveyors, and architects as full members. These variances largely sprang from the organizations' differing purposes: as the CILC was never intended as a professional association, its founders worried less about structure and qualifications. However, as the TPIC's creation was as much a

conference, please see: COC, *Urban and rural development in Canada: Report of a Conference Held At Winnipeg, May 28-30, 1917* (1917).

⁴⁸ For a brief summary, please see: "War Convention, 1918, Victoria, B.C.," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 14.7 (July 1918): 209.

purposeful act of separation as it was one of legitimization and protectionism, its differences from the CILC are important. The following sections, therefore, will consider both aspects of the TPIC's establishment, first putting the TPIC's founding in context by studying the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (PQAA) and its members' quest to gain, and maintain, professional legitimacy before considering the wider implications of the TPIC's departure from its urban reform roots.

The Province of Quebec Association of Architects

Though Thomas Adams was a central figure in efforts to formalize planning in Canada, he did not introduce the idea of professional association to would-be Canadian planners in the fields of architecture, engineering, and surveying. Provincial and national associations for these professions predated — and provided the context for — the TPIC's creation. The experience of the PQAA in the early twentieth century provides a vivid illustration of how such groups acted at once as tools to legitimize and police their given profession.⁴⁹

The PQAA was a largely Montreal-centered organization that, reflecting the city's French and English duality, was operationally bilingual, counting both French and English architects amongst its membership and executive. It was formally established in 1890 through the introduction of the Province of Quebec Architect's Act, following in the wake of the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA), which was likewise incorporated in 1890 with the passage of the Ontario Architect's Act. The two groups were closely

⁴⁹ From its beginnings, the PQAA was a bilingual organization also known by its French title, l'Association des Architectes Payagistes du Québec (AAPQ).

linked and, in 1907, formalized their ties by co-establishing the Architectural Institute of Canada. They were also connected in that both groups emerged, in large part, out of a shared wish to create a formal organization through which to regulate their field and assert their rights to contracts within their home provinces and nation.

Much as with urban planning, Canadian architecture was influenced by its practitioners' exposure to outside innovations and by the presence of foreign architects within Canada. However, in the 1880s, a growing preference for American architecture—in particular the distinctive skyscrapers of American centres such as New York or Chicago—within, Ontario and Quebec caused concern amongst practitioners.⁵⁰ The first American-style tall commercial building built in Canada was Montreal's eight-story New York Life Assurance office, constructed in 1888. The New York Life Assurance office opened up the Canadian market to such buildings, but also to American architects. As Canadian architectural historian Kelly Crossman argues, American-based companies like New York Life Assurance perhaps naturally employed American architects they were familiar with to build their Canadian branches. However, by the 1890s, Canadian businessmen, partly in an effort to physically demonstrate their status and ability to compete with foreign rivals, seemed to “go out of their way” to hire American architects.⁵¹ Although

⁵⁰ As Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem recount, though the architectural tastes of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant bourgeoisie “retained a distinctly British tenor” while the French-Canadian elite “looked to France” for inspiration, by the late 1800s, American architectural influence had grown commensurate with Montreal's own economic expansion, becoming a “key source” of architectural models. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem, “Introduction,” in *Montreal Metropolis: 1880–1930*, ed. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company, 1998), 10–11.

⁵¹ Kelly Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885–1906* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 10.

Canadian architects could enter open competitions for the right to design buildings, this was no guarantee of equal opportunity. Since the companies offering the contracts set the competitions' parameters, established the juries, and were under no obligation to make their deliberations public, competitions could become vehicles through which to favour American architects by bending the rules, offsetting operating costs, and simply choosing them over Canadian competitors.⁵²

By the late 1880s, such concerns came to a head after a "series of snubs" in Toronto and Montreal saw American practitioners win major Canadian contracts over local architects.⁵³ In 1886, the Ontario government chose Richard Waite, an American-based architect, to build the provincial legislative building after a protracted, six-year competition which originally seemed to favour two Canadian firms. The British-born Waite, who had not even applied to the competition but was instead one of its jurists, had previously worked for the Canada Life Company, building its Hamilton branch in 1882.⁵⁴ Reporting in 1888, the *Canadian Architect and Builder* noted that it could not dream of "a more unpatriotic act" than the Ontario government's choice of Waite.⁵⁵ However, the Toronto Board of Trade's choice to hire James and James, a firm based in Kansas City and New York, to build its new headquarters in 1888, and the Montreal YMCA's

⁵² Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 11.

⁵³ France Vanlaethem, "Montreal Architects and the Challenge of Commissions," in *Montreal Metropolis: 1889–1930*, ed. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company, 1998), 72.

⁵⁴ He would build further branches for the company in Toronto (1896) and Montreal (1895).

⁵⁵ "The Need for Organisation," *Canadian Architect and Builder* 1.6 (June 1888): 7.

decision to award a New York firm the contract for its Dominion Square offices in 1889, likewise angered Canadian practitioners.⁵⁶

Canadian architects did not confine their distress over the situation to the pages of domestic journals and newspapers. A Canadian correspondent to the *American Architect and Building News (AABN)* in June 1890 provided a detailed summary of the Ontario legislature “job” and the “painful matter” of the Toronto Board of Trade contract.⁵⁷ Although he confessed that American readers might question his impartiality towards the subject, he countered that “every one [sic] should be free to expose fraud and incapacity when it acts to the injury of the profession at large” and, continuing, stated “I am filled with a strong animosity towards those public boards and private individuals who deliberately pass over Canadian architects and pass on their best work to Americans.”⁵⁸ These mounting rejections, however, had succeeded in convincing Canadian architects to put aside past differences and organize to protect their right to local contracts and regulate their field. He commented that such organization was particularly uncharacteristic of Quebec: “[of] the half-dozen attempts that have been made to bring the members of the profession together in Montreal, all failed.”⁵⁹

Although the *AABN*’s Canadian correspondent did not elaborate on what prevented Quebec architects from organizing in the years before 1890, a combination of factors likely stood in the way of association. Firstly, there may simply have been a lack of

⁵⁶ Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 18–24.

⁵⁷ “Canada,” *American Architect and Building News* 28.756 (21 June 1890), 180, 181.

⁵⁸ “Canada,” 180.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

interest due to the relatively small number of practitioners. The late nineteenth century had witnessed “an unprecedented increase” in the number of architectural professionals in Canada, as sustained economic growth in cities and towns across the country provided a host of new opportunities for contracts. While previously, a few architects dominated over a modest number of contracts, the swift pace of expansion produced sudden need for new buildings and, in turn, an increased demand for architects. At a time when Canadian architects were rising in number, while also increasingly fending off competition from foreign architects, the PQAA likely seemed necessary in a way it was not before.

Secondly, as Paul-Andre Linteau asserts, “it is important to note...the relatively impervious compartmentalization...[of] ethnolinguistic and religious groups in Montreal.”⁶⁰ The two groups generally developed independent social, associational, cultural, and religious institutions. Montreal’s architects were not absolutely divided between linguistic and religious lines, for one, both groups enjoyed a “flourishing trade” designing residential buildings. French architects, however, were hired most often by the Catholic Church to design ecclesiastic and institutional spaces while English architects were employed by the Anglo-Protestant business elite to plan commercial and industrial buildings.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Paul-Andrea Linteau, “Factors in the Development of Montreal,” in *Montreal Metropolis: 1880–1930*, ed. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company, 1998), 30.

⁶¹ Walter van Nus, “A Community of Communities: Suburbs in the Development of Greater Montreal,” in *Montreal Metropolis: 1880–1930*, ed. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company, 1998), 87.

While these divisions may have prevented earlier attempts to bring architects together across ethnolinguistic and religious lines, a shared anger over the bypassing of Quebec practitioners in favour of foreign ones, served to unify the province's architects, chiefly those practicing within Montreal, then the nation's largest urban centre. The PQAA was formally established in October 1890.⁶² The resulting organization reflected an attempt to oversee both its French and English membership. From the start, the PQAA executive carried out their meetings in both languages, sent all official announcements and reports out in both French and English, and offered qualifying exams for membership in both languages. Furthermore, executive positions were shared amongst the two groups with the presidency, in particular, generally switching between French and English practitioners.

That the OAA and PQAA members conceived of these groups as protective, regulatory bodies was evident from the similar acts of incorporation they presented to their respective legislatures, with both groups submitting legislation requesting statutory registration of all provincial architects with their organizations.⁶³ At that time, no architectural organization in the English-speaking world held the right to control the registration of practitioners within their home state, province, or nation. If awarded the

⁶² Though the PQAA membership was, originally, overwhelming, comprised of Montrealers, some few architects from Quebec likewise joined the PQAA. This disparity in part reflected the superior number of job opportunities for architects in Montreal as opposed to other areas of Quebec, and the economic, and social, connections between architects in Montreal and Toronto, where the majority of the OAA's membership was concentrated.

⁶³ Although there were superficial differences between the two Acts, as historian Kelly Crossman notes in her summary of both Acts, they were "virtually identical." Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 43.

power of statutory registration, the practice of architecture in Ontario and Quebec would reflect the growing relationship between professional status, expertise, and specific (increasingly post-secondary) training by restricting the title to those who could meet set criteria and, in some cases, pass an examination. Furthermore, statutory registration would at once protect both the public, and “registered” architects from association with those who did not fit strict membership criteria. These organizations were legitimatizing bodies that set out to both assert, and maintain, the professional stature of their members and their equality with foreign competitors.

At first, both groups were stymied in their quest for statutory registration. Though the Ontario and Quebec legislatures passed these acts of incorporation in 1890, both modified the requests for control over registration by stipulating that, while practitioners recognized by the OAA and PQAA would bear the title of “registered architect”, unregistered practitioners could still advertise themselves simply as “architects”.⁶⁴ Though the groups won incorporation, they lost what the *AABN*’s Canadian correspondent deemed “the backbone” of the legislation through their respective legislatures’ refusal to award statutory registration.⁶⁵ However, while the OAA lost momentum after the failure in 1890 and did not achieve its goal of registration until 1931,

⁶⁴ As Kelly Crossman notes in her analysis of the Ontario legislation, the government’s unwillingness to grant statutory registration had little to do with the profession of architecture itself. Instead, its decision, alongside Quebec’s, reflected public distrust of commercial and industrial monopolies and combines. Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, 11.

⁶⁵ As the unnamed author noted, by failing to include the OAA’s request for statutory registration within the *Province of Ontario Architect’s Act*, the government “obliterate[d]” the “backbone of the Bill as prepared by the [OAA].” “Canada,” *American Architect and Building News* 28.752 (24 May 1890): 115.

the PQAA proved more effective at convincing its legislature to allow them the right to regulate the profession. On 15 January 1898, in the words of the *AAB*'s Canadian correspondent, the PQAA's "efforts [were] crowned in success."⁶⁶ On that day, Quebec's legislature assented to an amendment to the 1890 legislation, eradicating the difference between "registered architect" and "architect" and allowing the PQAA full control over registration.⁶⁷ The amendment also gave the PQAA the right to impose a twenty-five dollar fine on anyone found practicing without proper recognition.

Upon its enactment, the 1898 amendment transformed the members of the PQAA into the legally-empowered gatekeepers of the architectural profession in Quebec. Though securing the 1898 amendment was one amongst a series of achievements the PQAA attained in the 1890s, it was the most nationally and internationally noteworthy: no other architectural association had obtained statutory registration.⁶⁸ Concerns over registration, however, did not diminish with the amendment's passage: the existence of the legislation did not mark an end to unregistered individuals and firms advertising themselves as

⁶⁶ "Canada," *American Architect and Building News* 56.1119 (5 June 1897): 77.

⁶⁷ As the *AABN* reported, per the terms of the amendment, the PQAA began its guardianship over the profession six months after 15th January. At that point, the amendment read "no person can take or make use of the name of architect, either singly or in connection with any other word, name, title, or designation, giving it to be understood that he is an architect under this Act, unless he is registered under this act as a member of the said Association." "Canada," *Architect and Building News* 59.1159 (12 March 1898): 85.

⁶⁸ As explained by the *AABN*'s Canadian correspondent, the PQAA had maintained a loyal membership through hosting monthly and annual meetings as well as sponsoring addresses. The PQAA also asserted itself and publicized its membership through participating in art exhibitions. It gained the patronage of Lord Aberdeen, Canada's seventh governor general, and, in 1896, after several years of lobbying, persuaded McGill University's governors to create a chair in Architecture in the Faculty of Applied Science. "Canada," *American Architect and Building News* 56.1119 (5 June 1897): 77.

architects. Therefore, in the years following 1898, the PQAA took full advantage of its new rights, setting strict membership criteria for professionals, withholding admission to any student who failed its rigorous entrance exams, and even prosecuting those found practicing without a license.⁶⁹

1911, for example, saw PQAA's lawyers represent the Association in at least three cases against unregistered architects. And, although it lost its case against M. Beaugrand-Champagne on a technicality, L.A. Content was not so lucky.⁷⁰ As the PQAA's lawyer, B. Panet-Raymond, wrote, "[Content] n'avait pas été aussi prudent que M. BC, et avait signé tous ses plans en faisant suivre sa signature du titre d'architecte."⁷¹ He was ordered to pay the PQAA a \$25 fine.

A survey of the PQAA's records for 1911 also reveals that, in addition to administering their responsibilities under the 1898 amendment, the PQAA's members were obliged to fight to maintain them. In early March they discovered that l'École Polytechnique de Montréal had petitioned the provincial government for the right to award the title of architect to graduates of its architecture program. The move provoked a quick reaction from President J.R. Gardiner who, in a draft letter to Quebec's government, wrote that

⁶⁹ For example, when, in early February 1911, R.E. Bostrom, an architecture student, failed the sections for History of Architecture and Resistance of Materials, PQAA secretary J. Emile Vanier informed him membership would be withheld until Bostrom could pass these two units. Letter from J. Emile Vanier to R.E. Bostrom, 8 February 1911, Fonds de l'ordre des architectes du Québec, BANQ-M, P124.

⁷⁰ Beaugrand-Champagne had wisely never claimed the title of architect in writing. Letter from B. Panet Raymond to PQAA, 28 November 1911, Fonds de l'ordre des architectes du Québec, BANQ-M, P124.

⁷¹ Letter from B. Panet Raymond to PQAA, 28 November 1911.

public safety was at stake if the government granted l'École Polytechnique's request. As Gardiner argued, yes the PQAA had strict guidelines for membership, but, as per the terms of its charter, "[l]e Conseil devra admettre, après examen satisfaisant, tout gradué de tout collège ou école reconnue d'architecture ou des technologie après un an d'étude sous un patron accepté par le Conseil."⁷² Every student, therefore, had an equal chance at membership. Furthermore, Gardiner argued, the common exams and apprenticeship ensured a high level of expertise which safeguarded the public from the dangers of shoddy work. What Gardiner failed to mention was that the 1898 amendment likewise ensured that the reputation of "registered" PQAA architects would not be lessened through association with shoddy practitioners. Although the government agreed with the PQAA at this moment, perhaps startled by the challenge, the Association directed its lawyers to thoroughly examine the PQAA Council's right to convey the title of architect upon provincial practitioners.⁷³

As these worries over membership throughout 1911 demonstrate, though the 1898 amendment provided the PQAA with official powers and the right to legal recourse, it did not end the presence of unregistered architects, or erase worries that foreign architects were unfairly winning Canadian contracts. Throughout the spring of 1912, for instance, the PQAA alongside the Manitoba Association of Architects (MAA, est. 1906), supported the British Columbia Society of Architects (BCSA, est. 1912) by asking its members to refrain from entering the BC government's competition to design university

⁷² Letter from J.R. Gardiner to M. Gouin, 2 March 1911, Fonds de l'ordre des architectes du Québec, BANQ-M, P124.

⁷³ Letter from 2 September 1911, L. Guérin to J.S. Archibald, Fonds de l'ordre des architectes du Québec, BANQ-M, P124.

buildings in Port Grey “until the competition appoints an independent assessor, stops merging first prize into a commission, sets a time limit for professional residence and practice[,] and fully describes the buildings to be erected.”⁷⁴ As this 1912 example illustrates, concerns about the transparency of competition proceedings and rules, the impartiality of judges, and the ability of Canadian applicants to receive equal consideration to foreign competitors, continued.

The Emergence of the TPIC

Efforts to control membership and establish Canadian architects as equals amongst their foreign colleagues continued throughout the early twentieth century. Though such concerns were prominent within the PQAA, they were not unique to this group nor to the architectural profession. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the emergence of professional associations at the local, provincial, national and international level, encompassing professions from architecture, engineering, and social work, to barbers.⁷⁵ Nor was the PQAA the only association of technical professionals whose worries over protecting their monopoly over Canadian contracts influenced the founding of the TPIC. As historian Walter van Nus illustrates, while neither engineering nor surveying associations aided the planning movement collectively until after 1917, by this

⁷⁴ Although members of the PQAA and OAA established the Royal Institute of Canadian Architects in 1907, the BC affair marked only inter-provincial, rather than national, cooperation. Letter from Richard T. Perry to J. Emile Vanier, 16 March 1912, Fonds de l'ordre des architectes du Québec, BANQ-M, P124.

⁷⁵ On 18 December 1924, Victoria, BC's *Daily Times* newspaper reporter that the province's barbers had formed a professional organization and were seeking legal recognition of their professional status from the provincial government. British Columbia, Office of the Ombudsman, *British Columbia Legislative Assembly Sessional Clipping Books: Newspaper Accounts of the Debates 1890-1972* (Vancouver, B.C.: Precision Micrographic Services, 1973), microfilm role 9.

year, members of the two professions began taking serious interest in planning and in organizing an official association through which to promote employment and protect Canadian contracts.⁷⁶ In the wake of the 1913 economic recession and First World War, job opportunities for surveyors and engineers across Canada diminished. In this environment, the hiring of American engineers and surveyors to take on already scarce Canadian contracts particularly stung.

Van Nus notes that the “intrusion” of American practitioners, combined with worries of underemployment, pushed surveyors in particular to look to the field of town planning for new opportunities.⁷⁷ It was expected that the proliferation of provincial town planning legislation passed during the First World War would lead to an upswing in planning jobs in the years after the end of conflict. Surveyors, like engineers and architects, wanted to ensure their control over the field and, at the 1918 conference of the Dominion Land Surveyors’ Association (DLSA), a letter sent to the DLSA from Thomas Adams was read aloud, urging the association to take action on town planning. The letter helped spur the DLSA membership to assign a special committee with the task of considering how the organization might best act on the matter. In 1919, the committee voiced its support for a separate Canadian planning association that would embrace surveyors, engineers, and architects alike.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Walter van Nus, “The Plan Makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors, and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 81.

⁷⁷ van Nus, “The Plan Makers and the City,” 91.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 92–94.

By the late 1910s then, architects, surveyors, and engineers were joined in the goal of creating a protective monopoly over Canadian contracts both in their own fields and in the yet nascent field of Canadian urban planning. It was not difficult for the professionals to find common ground. For one, it was far from the first time they had shared in their disappointment over the awarding of local jobs to foreign professionals. For example, in late 1913, anger over the federal government's selection of American expert Edward Bennett as the chief planning consultant on a project to create an urban plan for Ottawa united architects, engineers, and surveyors alike.

Bennett's hiring marked the apex of a fourteen-year project to beautify and plan the national capital. In 1899, then Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier created the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC) to oversee the work and the OIC, in turn, contracted Montreal landscape architect Frederick Todd to create a park plan for the capital.⁷⁹ Todd presented the plan to the OIC in 1903 yet, although some of Todd's suggestions were acted on, the OIC did not hire him to oversee this work. The OIC made little more progress until the mid-1910 appointment of C.P. Meredith to the Commission. Meredith drew on his experience as an architect and planning advocate to question the OIC's work. He critiqued its members for failing to create a "broad and definite scheme for their

⁷⁹ Todd was an American-born landscape architect. As a student, he trained with Frederick Law Olmsted and was asked to transfer to Montreal to oversee the number of Canadian contracts that were coming to the Olmsted office. Todd agreed and began a prolific career in Montreal and across Canada as (perhaps) the nation's first professional landscape architect (Peter Jacobs, "Frederick Todd and the Creation of Canada's Urban Landscape," *Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin* 36.4 (1983): 27–34).

guidance” and immediately advocated that it hire an expert planner, “to prepare an elaborate plan.”⁸⁰

In October 1911, Laurier’s Liberals were defeated by Robert Borden and the Conservative party. And, while Borden supported the idea of a plan for Ottawa, he had different ideas to Laurier. Borden decided to widen the scope of planning to include Hull (now Gatineau). By mid-1913, he appointed a new organization to oversee this work, namely the Federal Plan Commission (FPC). The FPC’s first task was to secure a consultant to devise and oversee the plan. By December, its members successfully contracted Edward Bennett.

In many ways, Edward Bennett was an ideal candidate. Born in Bristol in 1874, Bennett pursued training at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. In 1903, he moved to Chicago with his family to work with the firm of Daniel Burnham, the famed City Beautiful planner responsible for designing the “White City” at Chicago’s World Columbian Exposition in 1893. From 1904 to 1905, Burnham put Bennett in charge of authoring a comprehensive plan for San Francisco and, from 1906 to 1910, Bennett devoted himself to the firm’s newest contract: devising a plan for Chicago. Burnham’s design for Chicago became one of his best known, nationally and internationally. Although Bennett has received less recognition for his work in Chicago than Burnham, the latter fully acknowledged his associate by naming him as co-author. In 1910, perhaps thanks to the renown of the

⁸⁰ Clipping from the *Ottawa Free Press* 4 October 1910, in Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC] C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG 29 E62, v.5, f.36.

Chicago plan, Bennett established his own firm, winning contracts in Brooklyn, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Portland, before agreeing to work with the FPC in 1913.⁸¹

Despite Bennett's firm credentials, his hiring frustrated Canadian technical professionals who believed a Canadian should have won the contract. Noulan Cauchon and C.P.

Meredith were united in their extreme disappointment. Meredith vociferously expressed his anger at Bennett's hiring, writing "[t]he appointment of a Yankee to...take entire charge of the work of replanning the capital of the Dominion...is a first class slap at the architects of this country."⁸² Concluding that he felt "rather disgusted," Meredith noted that he would be resigning from the OIC in protest, which he did in late December.⁸³

Cauchon, who had been contracted jointly by the federal and civic government of Ottawa to prepare the surveys and topographic maps necessary for the Ottawa plan, reacted to Bennett's hiring by pressing the *Ottawa Citizen* to publish an article opposing the FPC's decision.⁸⁴ Cauchon had firsthand knowledge of how it felt to see a Canadian job go to an outsider as, in the summer of 1912, he had lost out on the chance to act as Calgary's

⁸¹ For a consideration of Edward Bennett's career, please see: David L.A. Gordon, "The Other Author of the 1908 *Plan of Chicago*: Edward H. Bennett- Urban Designer, Planner and Architect," *Planning Perspectives* 25.2 (April 2010): 229–241.

⁸² So angry was Meredith with Darling that he considered introducing a motion at the next OAA meeting that both men quit the OIC and FPC, respectively, in protest, noting "[this] would put Mr. Darling in a rather unenviable position." Letter from C.P. Meredith to J.P. Hynes, 5 December 1913, LAC C.P. Meredith Fonds, MG 29 E62, v.4, f.29.

⁸³ Letter from C.P. Meredith to J.P. Hynes, 5 December 1913.

⁸⁴ David L.A. Gordon, "A City Beautiful Plan for Canada's Capital: Edward Bennett and the 1915 Plan for Ottawa and Hull," *Planning Perspectives* 13.3 (1998): 278.

planning consultant after the Calgary City Planning Commission selected Thomas Mawson instead.”⁸⁵

Bennett began work on his plan and, by 1915, submitted it to the FPC, which, in turn, tabled its final report by the end of the year.⁸⁶ Though the government ultimately failed to act on the FPC’s report, the effect Bennett’s hiring had on Canadian surveyors, architects, and engineers did not dissipate. The episode instead became yet another line on their growing list of grievances against foreign, largely American, professionals, and further pushed Canadian technical professionals to consider creating a separate, official planning organization.⁸⁷ At a meeting of the Dominion Land Surveyors in late 1918, Cauchon warned “sooner or later town planning in Canada would make a large demand upon professional town planners and unless some organization was founded to meet the need the result would be the calling in of men from the United States to do the work.”⁸⁸ On 20 December 1918, Cauchon was amongst the group of architects, engineers, and surveyors

⁸⁵ Letter from William Pearce to Noulan Cauchon, 15 June 1912, LAC, Noulan Cauchon Fonds, MG30 C105, vo,1, f.1.2.

⁸⁶ For a detailed analysis of Edward Bennett’s plan for Ottawa, and the controversy surrounding his hiring, please see: Gordon, “A City Beautiful Plan for Canada’s Capital,” 275–300.

⁸⁷ In his study of Bennett’s work in Ottawa, David Gordon suggests there were several reasons why the plan “sank from sight.” For one, the FPC failed to immediately make its report available in French and, furthermore, did not publish a “popular” version for public consumption, limiting its potential audience. Furthermore, its release coincided with escalated worries over the First World War and the burning of Parliament’s Centre Block, diverting national, and governmental, attention away from planning. Finally, Bennett’s plan for Ottawa and Hull reflected his City Beautiful style, yet came at a time when most Canadian cities had abandoned it for its expense and failure to address issues of social welfare and housing. As Gordon notes, by the time the FPC’s report was tabled, Thomas Adams was on the scene and unafraid to critique Bennett’s work. “A City Beautiful Plan for Canada’s Capital,” 290–292.

⁸⁸ J.P. Hynes, “Address By Retiring President”, *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 3.3 (June 1924): 9.

who met with Adams in his Ottawa office, forming the sub committee that, in May 1919, successfully oversaw the formation of the TPIC.

The Creation of the TPIC: A Dual Separation

In her assessment of the TPIC's creation, Sara Coutts argues that, although architectural, engineering, and surveying associations emerged out of a need to protect these professions by defining who could and could not practice, the TPIC was conceived more as a promotional organization than an exclusive one.⁸⁹ Although Coutts correctly points out that promotion and public education were amongst the TPIC's earliest goals, its first members were well-versed in fears over foreign competition and carried these concerns with them when forming the TPIC's constitution. In fact, the professionalization of planning in Canada brought a new dimension to such protectionism. The TPIC differed from previous technical professional organizations in that it was heavily connected to a wider social movement. Therefore, while would-be planning professionals saw the TPIC as a means through which to announce their presence and safeguard against outside competition for contracts, they also viewed professionalization as a means through which to separate and distance themselves from the wider urban reform cohort.

Furthermore, the division was more than just one between technical and lay planning supporters: it was explicitly gendered. While some citizen planning advocates were allowed a presence within the TPIC as non-voting honorary or associate members, none of these positions were offered to female reformers. Nor were qualified female

⁸⁹ Coutts, "Science and Sentiment."

professionals offered full membership. While Thomas Adams had advocated women's inclusion within the CILC, a reform organization, neither he, nor anyone else on the sub-commission that formed the TPIC, so much as mentioned the possibility of allowing women any official role within the TPIC. TPIC members viewed their organization as, chiefly, a vehicle through which to develop the town planning profession for its male practitioners.

At the Sub-Committee's first meeting on 20 December 1918, and ensuing ones on the 6 January and 18 March 1919, the three concerns that grew to shape most of the TPIC's work within its early years were set out: membership, dedicated post-secondary instruction, and public education. Debates over the qualifications for membership took up most of these early sessions. Within the first two meetings, it was decided that full membership would be awarded to interested architects, engineers and surveyors who preferably held previous membership in their own professional society such as the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, the Dominion Land Surveyors Association, or the Engineering Institute of Canada, all of which predated the TPIC. At the 6 January meeting, three secondary classes of membership were set out: legal, honorary, and associate. These categories allowed the TPIC to recognize barristers with legal knowledge of town planning, "prominent men" who had demonstrated awareness of the field, and "men" interested in planning who lacked professional qualifications.⁹⁰ None of these secondary members were entitled to work as planners and, though all were allowed

⁹⁰ LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada Fonds (early series), MG28 I275, v.1 f.1, Minutes of the Town Planning Committee, 6 January 1919.

to attend meetings and receive literature from the TPIC, only legal members were allowed the right to vote on resolutions put forward at the annual meetings.⁹¹

Therefore, while prominent male urban reform advocates such as Montreal's William H. Atherton and Lomer Gouin (then the Premier of Quebec), Saint John's William Burditt, and Toronto's Frank Beer were offered positions as non-voting honorary and associate members, no female reformers were similarly acknowledged.

As the TPIC's executive council would recognize in early 1927, their constitution technically did allow for the inclusion of women as full, honorary, or associate TPIC members. It was written in a gender-neutral tone and referred to "candidates" and "persons" rather than "men."⁹² The language of the early sub-committee gatherings, however, and the council meetings following the TPIC's official creation in early 1919, made it clear that the TPIC organizers conceived of membership as reserved for men. For example, upon agreeing on the provisional constitution on 18 March, the Sub-Committee resolved to send out a letter of notification to "eligible men throughout Canada".⁹³

⁹¹ *Town Planning Institute of Canada: Provisional Constitution and By-Laws* (March 1919), 3–5.

⁹² Canadian women were not legally considered to be "persons" under the provisions of the British North America Act (BNA) until 1929 when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England overturned the Supreme Court of Canada's earlier 1928 ruling in *Edwards v. A.G. of Canada* which had found that women were not "persons" under the BNA. Council Minutes: Town Planning Institute of Canada, 4 April 1927, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada Fonds (early series), MG28 I275, v.1 f.1. Although the TPIC's constitution was crafted before women were legally known as "persons," as a Spring 1927 study ordered by the TPIC executive concluded, both women and men were considered "persons" under the provisions of the TPIC's constitution. Executive Council Meeting Minutes, 4 April 1927, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada (early series), MG238 I275, v.1, f.1.

⁹³ Minutes of the Town Planning Committee, 18 March 1919, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada Fonds (early series), MG28 I275, v.1 f.1.

Although the TPIC's papers contain no record of women challenging their exclusion from the Institute, there was at least one woman who had serious right to question why she was not invited to seek full membership. By 1911, Lorrie Alfreda Dunington, England's first female landscape architect, had immigrated to Canada with her husband, fellow landscape architect Howard Grubb. At the time of their 1911 marriage, Lorrie had the more established career and the couple's choice to take the last name "Dunington-Grubb" was likely — at least in part — a business decision taken in light of Lorrie's strong reputation.⁹⁴

After embarking on a cross-Canada tour organized by Lorrie and sponsored by the Canadian Pacific Railway in early 1911, the Dunington-Grubbs chose to settle in Toronto. There they worked as garden and park designers as well as urban planning advisors chiefly within and around the city with some contracts in the United States.⁹⁵ Though, by the late 1910s, both were recognized as experts in the field, only Howard was invited to join the TPIC, and even sat on its first Council. This snub may well have frustrated her. Lorrie was equally versed in planning matters and had even won a design competition at Letchworth Garden City prior to her marriage.⁹⁶ While in Toronto, she delivered addresses on housing and civic improvement to the Women's University Club and the Toronto branch of the National Council of Women.⁹⁷ Although she may well have been amongst the unnamed "one or two women" TPIC member Alfred Buckley

⁹⁴ Edwards Butts and Karl Stensson, *Sheridan Nurseries: One Hundred Years of People, Plans, and Plants* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2012), 16.

⁹⁵ Butts and Stensson, *Sheridan Nurseries*, 18–24.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

suggested for honorary membership in 1922, she seemingly did not petition to join the TPIC, nor did Howard intercede on her behalf.⁹⁸ However, when she and Howard helped create the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects and Town Planners (CSLATP) in 1934, women were immediately included within its membership as, alongside Lorrie, female landscape architects Helen M. Kippax and Frances Steinhoff were amongst the CSLATP's founders.⁹⁹

Although Lorrie Dunington-Grubb was perhaps the only woman in Canada working in urban planning at this time, she was not the only woman technically qualified for membership within the TPIC. Relatively few Canadian women had obtained training in the technical fields that comprised the TPIC membership, however, by the 1910s women were gaining post-secondary education in these fields from Canadian institutions, particularly in architecture. Alice Charlotte Malhiot became the first Canadian woman to receive a degree in architecture after graduating from the Rhode Island School of Design in 1910. In 1914, she also obtained a degree from the University of Alberta's Department of Architecture and then worked as an architect in Calgary from 1910–1913. Although she failed to find work in her field during the First World War, following her marriage in 1917 she did, for a short time, work alongside her husband, providing housing designs for

⁹⁸ Council Minutes: Town Planning Institute of Canada, 18 August 1922, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada Fonds (early series), MG28 I275, vol.1 file 1.

⁹⁹ Frances Blue, "The Canadian Association of Landscape Architects" (unpublished manuscript, 1970) in *Celebration 50: CSLA Jubilee Congress* (unpublished conference program, July 1984), 1. As Frances Blue wrote in her unpublished "short account" of the group's history in 1970, aside from Howard Dunington-Grubb, the male founding members were landscape architects Humphrey Carver, Gordon Culham, Edwin Kay, and J. Vilhelm Strensson (1).

his lumber business. After his death in 1944, she returned to the profession.¹⁰⁰ In 1920, Esther Marjorie Hill became the second Canadian woman to receive a degree in architecture, also from the University of Toronto. Hill's efforts to gain accreditation from the Alberta Association of Architects (AAA), which she applied to in 1921, highlights the gendered nature of such societies and the barriers facing new female practitioners: Hill was admitted only after her father, Ethelbert Lincoln Hill, a public librarian, wrote to the AAA on her behalf.¹⁰¹

Although the TPIC's constitution did not explicitly bar women from participation, its exclusion of women was definite. Alfred Buckley, editor of the TPIC's *Journal*, clearly set out the Institute's position on female reformers' separate, sentimentally motivated, place within the planning movement in two articles written in 1925 and 1926. In a 1925 article in the TPIC's *Journal*, "Women's Part in Town Planning," Buckley wrote that although the technical side of planning "may still be for a time in the hands of men", the "philosophic basis of the movement is throbbing with that social passion which has built up the thousands of welfare societies that are the special creation of women...and it is here, in the education of public opinion to the need of better town building, that the influence and activity of women can operate to the best effect."¹⁰² In a similar 1926

¹⁰⁰ Robert G. Hill, "Malhiot, Alice Charlotte," *The Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800–1950*, ed. Robert G. Hill, last modified 2016, <http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/2364>.

¹⁰¹ Annemarie Adams, "Marjorie's Web": Canada's First Woman Architect and Her Clients," in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850–1970*, ed. Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 382.

¹⁰² Alfred Buckley, "Women's Part in Town Planning", *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, 4.5 (October 1925): 21.

article, this time in *Social Welfare*, the journal of the Social Service Council of Canada, Buckley again, even more definitively, set out the gendered division between the “social” and “technical” sides of urban planning. “This present writer would be the readiest to agree that town planning is a technical science which can only be applied...by men trained as the biologist and chemist are trained in their special sciences”, Buckley wrote, but “[a]t the very heart of the town planning philosophy is...love. It is the impulse to give to a larger number of men and women a chance to live...the life that is interesting and joyous. To this objective the mind of a good and intelligent woman shoots out with a spontaneity that is by no means so natural to the average masculine mind[.]”¹⁰³ As Buckley’s work specifically underscored, the TPIC had purposefully distanced itself from the “social”, female world of urban reform. While its members appreciated the utility of the vast networks that connected, particularly women, within reform groups, and sought to harness them for the advancement of their profession, they were not willing to allow male or female urban reformers as voting members.

Female urban reformers may well have agreed with Buckley’s assessment that they brought a different perspective to planning. However, in the years before the TPIC’s creation, they were more apt to argue that their particular knowledge of maternal and child welfare, housing issues, and public health, was necessary to the practice of planning, rather than separate from it. For example, at the International Congress of Women held in Toronto in 1909, Marion Brodie Blackie, Chairman of the Scottish Council for Women’s Trades, spoke on working-class housing, noting that many issues

¹⁰³ Alfred Buckley, “Women and Town Planning”, *Social Welfare* 9.3 (December 1926): 320.

of poor home and neighbourhood design in working-class neighbourhoods could be solved, in particular, by female architects, “[h]ow we long for the practical female architect to arise”, she stated.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, as previously explored, Elizabeth Shortt had also argued for women’s inclusion in planning activities at the CILC’s January 1916 conference, noting that “[i]nheritance has given women a peculiar leaning to housekeeping and time and industrialism have taken a great deal of our housekeeping into the cities. You cannot now divorce domestic and civic housekeeping. A woman’s interest...must follow out into the city [.]”¹⁰⁵

By creating the TPIC as a professional organization, and strictly limiting, and outright excluding, the participation of lay urban reformers, the TPIC members attempted to create two separate planning discourses: official and social. However, as urban reform organizations did not cease to interest themselves in civic improvement, housing, and planning after the TPIC’s arrival, this effort was not entirely successful: the sources for “unofficial” discussions of town planning outnumbered the sole voice of the TPIC, its *Journal*, first printed on 1 October 1920. *Social Welfare*, first published in 1918, regularly discussed issues of housing and planning. Local and national newspapers continued to discuss civic issues. Furthermore, dedicated committees on town planning remained within both the national, and some local, branches of the National Council of Women of Canada, monitoring developments in planning activities and legislation, and encouraging members at all levels to support planning efforts. Given that NCWC

¹⁰⁴ Miss Marion Brodie Blackie, “Management of Houses for Working People,” in *Report of the International Congress of Women held in Toronto, Canada June 24th-30th, 1909*, 127.

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth Shortt, “Concrete Examples of Reforms Needed,” 28.

membership exceeded that of the TPIC, stretching widely across Canada, the NCWC might arguably have been equally, if not better, informed than the TPIC when it came to cross-national developments. For example, when the NCWC reviewed the implementation of Saskatchewan's provincial *Town Planning Act* in 1924, it drew on reports from branches in Regina, Saskatoon, and Moose Jaw for information.¹⁰⁶ In comparison, when Buckley sought information on Saskatchewan's planning activities for the *Journal* in 1925, he noted that it had been a while since the TPIC had had any reliable news from the province.¹⁰⁷

As a survey of the NCWC's town planning committee's annual reports in the 1920s reveals, its membership did not feel unable to discuss both the social and technical aspects of planning, nor to participate in related conferences, organizations, and meetings. In 1929, for example, the NCWC praised the convener of the Vancouver branch's town planning committee, Alberta McGovern (née Fagan) for being the only female member of the city's Planning Commission.¹⁰⁸ In 1924, the committee reported that Ontario's provincial branch Vice President, along with a delegation of provincial members, had met with provincial government representatives to discuss the need for Ontario-wide planning legislation.¹⁰⁹ Though issues of housing and neighbourhood conditions retained a foremost position within the NCWC's committee's concerns (in

¹⁰⁶ Frances E. Cole, "Housing and Town Planning," in National Council of Women of Canada, *Yearbook* (1924), 55.

¹⁰⁷ Alfred Buckley to Stewart Young, 15 December 1925, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Department of Municipal Affairs, MA6.

¹⁰⁸ Ethel E. Ambrose, "Housing and Town Planning," in National Council of Women of Canada, *Yearbook* (1929), 80.

¹⁰⁹ Cole, "Housing and Town Planning," 56.

1924 the committee reaffirmed that “housing is the most important factor in the science of Town-planning”), this did not stop its members from reporting on other developments in the field.¹¹⁰ For example, in light of the rising popularity of zoning, the 1927 committee report contained an explanation of the practice.¹¹¹ So devoted was the NCWC membership to town planning that its dedicated committee far outlasted the TPIC. While the TPIC crumbled during the early years of the Great Depression, the NCWC continued to report on relevant planning developments within nearly every province throughout the 1930s and up until 1952.¹¹²

Yet, despite the NCWC’s devotion to urban planning, its members’ knowledge, and their advocacy on behalf of the profession, the TPIC still barred women entry from any level of affiliation. It first examined this position in 1922. During its executive council meeting in August, Buckley “suggested the desirability of admitting to the honorary membership one or two women who had rendered service in the domain of public health and welfare.” After holding a “general discussion on honorary membership,” the executive agreed that honorary membership should be offered only to “men and women” who had “really served the town planning cause.” Though this agreement seemed to indicate that women might be invited to join, the executive decided “that no further action should be taken at present,” and abandoned the topic.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 57.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 71.

¹¹² There was no report in 1953 and in 1954 the committee was named simply “Housing”, perhaps to reflect the passing of the 1954 National Housing Act on 22 March. Mrs. Rex Eaton, “Housing,” *Yearbook* (1954), 104.

¹¹³ Executive Council Meeting Minutes, 18 August 1922, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada (early series), MG238 I275, v.1, f.1.

The issue remained out of official discussion until 1927 when, in April, Noulon Cauchon presented a “Report on the Eligibility of Women and of Citizens of Countries Other than Canada for Membership in the Institute” to the TPIC executive. After thoroughly studying the TPIC’s constitution, Cauchon concluded that nothing in the document technically prohibited women or “aliens” from applying for any level of membership. Although Cauchon’s findings inspired debate, the executive again sidestepped officially clarifying the issue by voting simply to limit membership to Canadian residents.¹¹⁴ The discussion was reopened the following month when J. Alexander Walker, a civil engineer from Vancouver, moved that the TPIC allow “aliens” but formally prohibit women from seeking membership. Although, at this meeting, the “consensus of the opinion” was that women should be allowed entry, this further debate seemingly inspired more questions than answers and “did not lead to the formation of any decisive policy.”¹¹⁵ The May 1927 meeting marked the last time the subject garnered official consideration by the TPIC before its decline during the 1930s.

Conclusion

As the TPIC’s constitution, and its executive council’s ensuing decisions to refuse female and foreign applicants demonstrates, safeguarding membership was a central concern amongst those within the TPIC. It was at once a means through which to establish

¹¹⁴ Executive Council Meeting Minutes, 4 April 1927, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada (early series), MG238 I275, v.1, f.1.

¹¹⁵ Executive Council Meeting Minutes, 26 May 1927, LAC, Town Planning Institute of Canada (early series), MG238 I275, v.1, f.1.

planning as a legitimate professional field with specifically trained practitioners, and a device through which to distance the official, technical membership from lay urban reformers and the perceived “feminine” nature of this social approach to planning. Although prominent male urban reformers found positions as honourary and associate members, even they lacked a true voice within the TPIC as only full and legal members retained the right to vote on TPIC resolutions.

Despite the TPIC’s “success” in prohibiting women and limiting the participation of urban reformers, its existence did not stop such reformers from “unofficially” continuing to create their own planning discourse. However, the separation of professional planners from the wider urban reform cohort did alter the fluid, heterogeneous character of the pre-1919 planning movement. While Thomas Adams had formalized urban reform efforts in 1916 by creating the CILC, the Improvement League’s existence did not fundamentally change the character or membership of the movement. The Adams-led TPIC, however, as a masculine, technical, professional association, carved out a new, exclusive space for itself and, in so doing, changed relations between technical and social planning advocates. While cooperation took place between the TPIC and reform groups, as the recognized, professional association, the TPIC positioned itself above these volunteer organizations.

As has been shown, Thomas Adams was central to the further development of urban planning in Canada throughout the 1910s and 1920s, first through the formalization of planning advocates under the CILC, and the professionalization of would-be planners

under the TPIC. While he did not originate Canadian interest in urban planning, he certainly galvanized and harnessed it, and, throughout his tenure, did much to promote the field. He also brought with him his belief in planning as a separate profession. Following in the footsteps of his TPI, the TPIC likewise sought to limit full membership to technical professionals from the fields of architecture, surveying, and engineering. However, as an examination of precursors to the TPIC such as the PQAA reveals, the Canadian planners who first joined the TPIC were well-versed in the matter of professionalization.

Concerns over legitimacy and outside competition shaped the TPIC as much as they had earlier organizations, especially as it became apparent that the TPIC's existence alone would not ensure its members a monopoly over Canadian work. TPIC members needed to win, and successfully carry out, major domestic contracts in order to shed worries over their inexperience relative to practitioners from countries with well-established, innovative planning movements such as the United States and Great Britain. However, as the ensuing chapter examines, in the years following the First World War, few cities retained the financial means and political will to undertake sweeping comprehensive plans. When, therefore, the Vancouver Town Planning Commission (VTPC) announced its competition for an urban planning advisor in 1926, Canadian professionals saw the contract as their opportunity to definitively establish domination over domestic work while also showcasing, on a large scale, their expert capabilities. Such hopes intensified the VTPC's decision. The members of both the TPIC and VTPC understood that, in making its choice, the Commission was not simply choosing one individual or firm over

another, it was either allowing Canadian professionals a precious foothold, or denying their ability to undertake key contracts within their home nation.

Chapter Five: The Vancouver Town Planning Commission's Search for a City Planner, 1926.

Introduction

Following on the heels of the late-1925 enactment of B.C.'s planning legislation, the Vancouver Town Planning Commission (VTPC) emerged and launched a search for an expert consultant to design a comprehensive plan and zoning by-law for the city, marking the culmination of nearly two decades of planning advocacy within Vancouver. From the early 1900s onwards, efforts to distance Vancouver from its pre and early colonial beginnings and establish it as a progressive, modern, British-Canadian centre, were led by businessmen, professionals, and real estate agents within Vancouver's Board of Trade. Such individuals embraced planning's potential to rationalize civic efficiency and attract new residents and investors. They also connected planning to ongoing official and unofficial efforts to shape the urban landscape to reflect local social and racial hierarchies.

Vancouver's comparatively recent history of colonization, alongside growing fears over the spatial expansion of its Chinese residents, overtly influenced its planning decisions and made the city an early national leader in the use of racialized zoning practices. By the 1910s, for example, residences' associations, real estate agents, and land developers strove to segregate white, middle class neighbourhoods in the name of protecting "land values," refusing to sell property to non-European buyers, restricting homes to single-family units, and setting property values at prices far beyond the reach of working class families. In 1914, Shaughnessy Heights, an upper class residential enclave annexed from Vancouver in 1908, became the area's first district to enact a

legal zoning code after the provincial government passed the Shaughnessy Settlement Act, mandating that only single-family dwellings could be built in the neighbourhood.

Though Vancouver's planning advocates embraced both American and British planning innovations throughout the 1910s, with Thomas Mawson designing a City Beautiful style plan for parts of the city in 1913 and Thomas Adams collaborating with members of Vancouver's Board of Trade (VBT) and City Council to draft provincial planning legislation in 1915, neither approach specifically provided for the types of permanent land-use controls that areas like Shaughnessy Heights were employing. The city's failure to act on Mawson's grandiose designs, and the province's failure to implement Adams' planning act, however, meant that by the 1920s, Vancouver's overwhelmingly white, middle-class, male businessmen planning advocates were still searching for an official means of shaping the urban environment to reflect their economic, social, and racial priorities. Increasingly, such advocates turned their attention to American zoning bylaws, attracted to zoning's ability to "check...undesirable developments" by regulating land use and perhaps also worried over the alacrity with which Vancouver's American Pacific North West competitors such as Seattle, Los Angeles, and Portland, were adopting such bylaws.¹ In early 1926, after joining with the VTB to successfully convince B.C.'s provincial government to pass planning legislation that included provisions for American-style zoning bylaws, Vancouver's City Council created the VTPC, tasking it with selecting an expert planning advisor.

¹ Frank E. Buck, "Some Early Pioneers of the Town and City Planning Movement in Canada," unpublished article, undated, University of British Columbia: Rare Books and Special Collections [hereafter UBC-RBSC], Frank E. Buck Fonds, General Subject Files, box 13, file 16.

The moment marked the first time since the Town Planning Institute of Canada's (TPIC) 1919 inauguration that a major Canadian contract for a city plan was on offer and the VTTC duly invited Canadian candidates, alongside American and British professionals, to submit plans. The TPIC's members saw in the Vancouver contract an opportunity to showcase their skills as equal to those of foreign competitors and establish a monopoly over major Canadian appointments. The VTTC's members, however, were not interested in making their plan the first large-scale test of the skills of a Canadian planner. Reflecting a preference for American innovations, and highlighting the importance of zoning to their vision of Vancouver's plan, the VTTC instead awarded the contract to noted American zoning expert Harland Bartholomew, sparking outrage amongst Canadian planning professionals.

As I explore, in rejecting its Canadian applicants, the VTTC effectively refused TPIC members a chance to establish themselves. Furthermore, by considering chiefly American candidates and selecting Bartholomew, the VTTC firmly demonstrated that, despite the TPIC's work, its members were still popularly deemed too inexperienced to compete against their more established foreign colleagues. Though Bartholomew's resulting plan for Vancouver has been deemed, "the high point" of Canada's interwar planning activities, as this study illustrates, for those within Canada's nascent planning profession, the snub marked a heavy loss.²

² Stephen V. Ward, "The International Diffusion of Planning: A Review and a Canadian Case Study," *International Planning Studies* 4.1 (1999): 61.

Planning and Vancouver: The Urban Context, 1860–1901

In many ways, Vancouver's involvement with modern urban planning throughout the early 1900s echoed that of Eastern Canadian cities, with urban reform enthusiasts there first embracing American City Beautiful innovations before turning to consider the British approach advocated by Thomas Adams. However, though the course of planning in Vancouver was similar to those of other Canadian cities throughout the early 1900s, the urban context in which the city's planning developments unfolded differed. Vancouver's position as an economically powerful "instant city," still searching to secure a metropolitan identity, alongside the marked ethnocentrism of its demographically, socially, and economically dominant Anglo-Protestant population, combined to powerfully influence how urban planning unfolded.

Like many urban centres in Western Canada, Vancouver was a comparatively recent settler-colonial construct. Established on unceded Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations territory, the first permanent European settlements in the area appeared in the early 1860s, clustered around two sawmills built on the north and south sides of Burrard Inlet. By the 1880s, only a few hundred settlers had made their way to the site. This changed in 1885 after the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) chose the inlet for the terminus point of its cross-continental service. Officially incorporated as the City of Vancouver in early 1886, the city grew quickly in the wake of the CPR's decision. Between 1886 and 1892 the population rose from 1,000 to 15,000 residents.³ Despite an economic depression throughout the early to mid 1890s, by the turn

³ Norbert MacDonald, *Distant Neighbours: A Comparative History of Seattle and Vancouver* (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska University Press, 1987), 21.

of the 20th century, largely thanks to the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898, the economy recovered and the population rose again, reaching 100,401 by 1911.⁴

While other Western Canadian cities experienced cycles of expansion at this time, Vancouver's economic importance and demographic growth set it apart. By 1900, Vancouver was a metropolis. As a transcontinental railway terminus, and as a major port centre, Vancouver shipped goods for the province's export economy and serviced the logging and mining industries. It soon outgrew the older provincial capital, Victoria, in physical and demographic size and economic output. By 1900, much of the \$17 million worth of raw goods exported by the province annually was sent out of Vancouver.⁵

A boosteristic ethos of growth, and an intense intercity rivalry with Victoria and other Pacific North West centres such as Seattle, Portland, and Los Angeles, pushed civic leaders, largely leading white, middle class businessmen, to support the kind of rapid expansion and modernization they felt might elevate Vancouver over its competitors.⁶ Between 1900 and 1913

⁴ Ibid., 58.

⁵ Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 131.

⁶ In his study of urban planning within Pacific North West cities, Mansel G. Blackford argues white, middle class businessmen overwhelmingly led efforts to advocate planning measures in Pacific Coast cities during this time period. As Blackford notes, such men sought plans "to heighten the economic power of their cities, and thus their own individual economic positions" but also saw planning as "a potent means by which to buttress their social...power." Mansel G. Blackford, *The Lost Dream: Businessmen and City Planning on the Pacific Coast, 1880–1920* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993), 4–5. Though Blackford focuses chiefly on American Pacific Coast cities, historian John Bottomley's analysis of business influence on urban reform measures in Vancouver from 1900–1940, echoes Blackford's assessment. As Bottomley states, "the principle reform advocates in Vancouver were members of the city's business elite." John Bottomley, "Ideology, Planning and the Landscape, the Business

the city's street railway tracks expanded from thirteen to 106 miles while, by 1912, the end of a decade-long construction boom left Vancouver with 2, 224 houses, 218 apartments, 217 factories and warehouses, and 293 stores and offices.⁷ Such civic boosters, overwhelmingly economically and socially influential members of the city's Anglo-Protestant middle and upper class, also sought to distance the city from its frontier beginnings and cement it as a hub of high culture and society. By the early 1900s the city boasted theatres, opera houses, a lawn tennis club, a yacht club, and, as of 1888, Stanley Park, the "recreational jewel" of Vancouver.⁸

Vancouver's relative youth, significance, and rapid expansion, alongside, in particular, its upper-class residents' desire to "civilize" and modernize their new city to embody their cultural and economic needs, powerfully influenced the city's early planning advocates. Planning decisions in Vancouver, however, were also definitively shaped by attitudes of racial intolerance and Anglo-Protestant ownership that pervaded Vancouver's social and occupational relations, privileging the city's white majority. As historian Robert McDonald notes in his analysis of early Vancouver, while attitudes of racial and cultural superiority were common amongst western Europeans, as were attempts to "impose [western European] values and institutions on non-Europeans," the extent to which these attitudes emerged in Vancouver was "particular."⁹

Community, Urban Reform and the Establishment of Town Planning in Vancouver, British Columbia, 1900-1940" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1977), i.

⁷ MacDonald, *Distant Neighbours*, 61, 64.

⁸ Robert McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class, Status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996), 170. For a full study of early North American theatre, please see: Felicia Hardison Londré, and Daniel J. Watermeier, *History of the North American Theatre: The United States, Canada and Mexico, from pre-Columbian Times to the Present* (New York: Continuum, 2000); Chad Evans, *Frontier Theatre: A History of Nineteenth Century Theatrical Entertainment in the Canadian Far West and Alaska* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1983).

⁹ McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 59.

Vancouver, as a colonial city, was at once an instrument of dispossession and a physical expression of western European ownership. Vancouver's Anglo-Protestant residents' ability to shape the urban environment in their image rested on the erasure of Aboriginal presence. Musqueam and Squamish peoples were first removed from the settlement and displaced to the Kitsilano (or False Creek) and Musqueam reserves in 1860.¹⁰ In the early 1900s, however, when Vancouver's development brought the Kitsilano reserve into close "visual proximity" to the city's wealthy residential district, and the economic potential of the reserve land proved tempting to white business and real estate interests, lobbyists pushed for a second displacement of the area's Squamish inhabitants. Though the Squamish initially resisted resettlement offers, in the wake of their departure after a 1913 agreement to leave the space, local white residents set fire to many homes on the reserve, ensuring the Squamish could not return and erasing evidence of the site's Indigenous inhabitants to make way for settler ownership.

Spatial relations in Vancouver were further dictated by the aggressive anti-Chinese sentiment prevalent amongst city's white population. Though the first Chinese immigrants were lured to British Columbia by the gold rush in the late 1850s, a second wave of over 22,000 individuals arrived between 1881 and 1885, imported as labourers for the Canadian Pacific Railway.¹¹ While, provincially and nationally, opposition to Chinese immigrants rose throughout the late 1800s, anger towards these men intensified after the railroad's completion in late 1885. The emergence of a huge pool of unemployed Chinese workers upset white labourers who feared

¹⁰ Jordan Stanger-Ross, "Municipal Colonialism in Vancouver: City Planning and the Conflict Over Indian Reserves, 1928–1950s," *Canadian Historical Review* 89.4 (December 2008), 543.

¹¹ Jiwu Wang, *"His Dominion" and the "Yellow Peril": Protestant Missions to the Chinese Immigrants in Canada, 1859–1967* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 12.

their jobs and wages would be undercut. Furthermore, in Vancouver and other cities, fear, anger, and resentment intensified amongst white residents as new groups of unemployed, impoverished Chinese labourers moved into urban centres.¹²

By 1901, 14,885 of the nation's 17,312 Chinese inhabitants lived in B.C with 2,180, or 10.4 percent, of Vancouver's 27,000 residents declaring themselves as Chinese or Japanese.¹³ Though restrictive legislation, such as the Canadian government's 1886 imposition of a \$50 head tax on any Chinese individual wishing to enter the country, deterred immigration, it did little to counter mounting white aggression, suspicion, and ethnocentrism in Vancouver. These anxieties persisted despite the fact that, by 1901, 85 percent of the city's residents were British-born, or of British-ethnic heritage.¹⁴ From the city's incorporation in 1886 onwards, its white residents moved to prevent, obstruct, and direct Chinese settlement.

One of the earliest, and most violent, examples of attempts to manipulate the physical urban environment to erase a Chinese presence took place in the wake of the Great Vancouver Fire, which decimated the original settlement in June 1886. Seeing an opportunity to prevent local Chinese labourers and businesses from reestablishing their stores and residences, local civic leaders acted to intimidate these groups. Such efforts culminated in the Anti-Chinese Riots of February 1887 when a mob of over 300 white residents converged on a Chinese labour camp at Coal Harbour, demolishing property and ordering its residents to leave. Some of the instigators

¹² Wang, "His Dominion" and the "Yellow Peril," 11–12.

¹³ Ibid., 13; McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 58.

¹⁴ McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 58.

moved on to raid and set fire to parts of Chinatown, the growing Chinese settlement on Carrall and Dupont Street.¹⁵

Though Chinatown reestablished itself, even attracting new residents in the riot's aftermath, practices of racially-motivated spatial regulation still plagued its residents.¹⁶ Authorities castigated the area for its supposed moral depravity and insanitation, but also limited Chinese residents' and businesses' ability to operate beyond its limits, for example, by seeking legal means to limit Chinese washhouses to the Dupont Street settlement, and by using informal practices to prevent Chinese residents from renting and buying homes within white neighbourhoods.¹⁷ As the spatial experiences of Vancouver's Aboriginal and Chinese residents illustrate, from the city's inception, the urban environment had been shaped to reflect colonial aspirations and racial hierarchies that privileged the city's white residents. Once Vancouver's white middle class business leaders came to support urban planning measures, their attitudes about race, as well as class, dovetailed with their civic and economic aspirations. All these factors influenced their interactions with foreign planning developments, powerfully shaping local decisions surrounding the future of Vancouver's urban environment.

Planning and Vancouver: The rise of the City Beautiful, 1912–1914

Looking back on the development of Vancouver's planning movement in the 1910s, J.

Alexander Walker, one of its pioneers, recalled that, "[p]robably nowhere on the Continent [had]

¹⁵ For an analysis of the riots, please see: Patricia Roy, "The Preservation of Peace in Vancouver: The Aftermath of the Anti-Chinese Riot of 1887," *B.C. Studies* 31 (Autumn 1976): 44–59.

¹⁶ Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 68.

¹⁷ Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 83, 107–126.

the idea of Town Planning taken such a firm hold on the imagination of the citizens...as in Vancouver, British Columbia.”¹⁸ While Walker’s lofty declaration sprang mostly from pride, there was truth to his words as throughout the early 1900s town planning quickly gained popularity amongst Vancouver’s urban reform and business communities. The first innovation to find widespread favour was the American City Beautiful, an approach that attracted Vancouver’s planning advocates for much the same reason it did those in other Canadian cities. Drawn to the style’s promotion of grand neo-classical architecture and civic art, planners felt that improvements could be used to boost the city’s reputation while also helping to reform and civilize lower-class residents and immigrants.¹⁹ Although Vancouver’s planning advocates eventually supported citywide planning efforts, the city’s earliest interactions with the City Beautiful were fuelled by a desire to reserve such beauty for those who could afford it by creating beautiful, modernized, segregated residential districts for the city’s white upper class.

In 1910, the CPR hired Frederick Todd, the American-trained City Beautiful landscape architect from Montreal, alongside L.E. Davick, a Danish engineer, to develop part of its Vancouver-area landholdings into an exclusive residential subdivision, Shaughnessy Heights. The subdivision, crafted on CPR-owned land within the fashionable new municipality of Point Grey, was specifically designed as an upper-class enclave for the city’s social and business elite, a residential oasis set apart from the industry and commerce of the city beyond it.²⁰ The CPR

¹⁸ J. Alexander Walker, “A Plan for Vancouver, British Columbia,” unpublished article, 1926, City of Vancouver Archives [hereafter CVA], City of Vancouver [hereafter COV] Fonds, Vancouver (B.C.) Town Planning Commission Secretary’s Subject Files, Publicity, 61-E-1, file 9.

¹⁹ MacDonald, *Distant Neighbours*, 166, 169.

²⁰ Although originally part of Vancouver, the municipality of Point Grey legally separated from the city in 1908, largely in an effort to gain control of land-use within its residential areas. After

contracted Todd, then employed by the prestigious American firm of Frederick Law Olmsted, to plan a landscape embodying the best of the City Beautiful. Todd lived up to the brief, creating a suburb of gently winding curved streets, landscaped green boulevards, and parks.

With Todd's design in place, the CPR next set about safeguarding the neighbourhood's social and racial character through a series of restrictive covenants and regulations. The company stipulated the size of the potential housing lots (no smaller than one fifth of an acre), the type and minimum value of the neighbourhood's dwellings (only single-family homes each costing at least \$6,000 to build), released the lots a few at a time to prohibit speculation, and inspected each housing plan in advance of its building.²¹ In 1914, the CPR cemented the neighbourhood's exclusive status by successfully lobbying the provincial government to pass the "Shaughnessy Settlement Act" which, functioning as an early zoning code, mandated that only single-family dwellings could be built in the neighbourhood.²² Through such strict control of the sizing, pricing, selling, and development of lots, and the value and type of homes built upon them, the CPR ensured that only the wealthiest amongst Vancouver's upper class could enjoy the Shaughnessy's beauty— and seclusion.

its annexation, Point Grey's council serviced the municipality with the most modern civic amenities and, in 1910, likewise hired Frederick Todd as its planner. For a consideration of the early history of Point Grey, please see: Larry McCann, "Suburbs of Desire: The Suburban Landscape of Canadian Cities, c. 1900–1950," in *Changing Suburbs: Foundation, Form, and Function* ed. Richard Harris and Peter Larkham (London: E & FN Spon, 1999), 125–128.

²¹ McDonald, *Making Vancouver* 156.

²² Katharyne Mitchell, *Crossing the Neoliberal Line: Pacific Rim Migration and the Metropolis* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 144.

As Walker noted in his history of Vancouver's movement, Shaughnessy Heights "created the first town planning consciousness in [Vancouver's citizens]."²³ In the wake of Shaughnessy's founding, interest in larger, public planning initiatives emerged with 1912 marking an early highpoint, a time, as Walker recalled, punctuated by "outbursts of oratory" and increasing support.²⁴ In 1912, the Local Council of Women inaugurated the city's first official planning-related group, establishing the Vancouver City Beautiful Association. Furthermore, in March, Thomas Mawson visited the city at the invitation of civic officials, offering advice on future growth.²⁵ Addressing the local branch of the Canadian Club, Mawson presented "a vision of grandiose proportions" for Vancouver that included refashioning George Street into the city's own "Champs-Elysees" and transforming Coal Harbour into a "great social centre."²⁶

Impressed by his vision, the City Council invited Mawson back to create a plan for Coal Harbour and Stanley Park. In a 1913 article for the *Town Planning Review*, Mawson wrote excitedly of his plans for Vancouver, extolling the city's "unparalleled beauty" and the "unbounded enthusiasm" of its planning advocates.²⁷ Though he noted that Vancouver's central district, while relatively young, was already "too advanced in development to make drastic measures possible," he felt that the relatively untouched Coal Harbour and Stanley Park space offered "real

²³ J. Alexander Walker, "A Brief History of Canadian Town Planning," 1936, CAV, COV Fonds, Vancouver (B.C.) Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Pacific North West Association of Planning Commissions, 61-D-5, file 6.

²⁴ Walker, "A Plan for Vancouver, British Columbia."

²⁵ Graeme Wynn, forward to *Inventing Stanley Park: An Environmental History*, by Sean Kheraj (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), xi.

²⁶ Lance Berelowitz, *Dream City: Vancouver and the Global Imagination* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2005), 56; Graeme Wynn, forward to *Inventing Stanley Park: An Environmental History*, by Sean Kheraj (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), xiv.

²⁷ Thomas Mawson, "Vancouver: A City of Optimists," *Town Planning Review* 4.1 (April 1913): 11, 7.

opportunity for effective design.” Expanding on the ideas expressed in his 1912 speech, Mawson drafted four potential “schemes” for the area, each envisioning differing degrees of landscaping and a host of recreational facilities including an “arborical museum of the flora of British Columbia” and a “zoological garden after the style of that at Hamburg.”²⁸

Yet, while the city’s Park Board accepted Mawson’s plans, assuring him his work would provide “the basis of their future policy,” the scheme was never fully implemented.²⁹ Although largely due to the 1913 economic depression and the onset of war in 1914, the Park Board’s failure to act on Mawson’s grand ideas can also be linked to the general waning of the City Beautiful’s influence across Canada. The fullest articulations of the City Beautiful in Vancouver, therefore, remained all but private ones, such as the residential district of Shaughnessy Heights.

Interest in planning did not abate in the years following 1914. Instead, support shifted away from the grand designs of the City Beautiful towards a more rational, efficient, British-inspired approach. The arrival of Thomas Adams likewise influenced Vancouver’s planning supporters towards a new style. In late 1914, for example, the VCBA organized a competition to redesign the city’s downtown core. Taking advantage of fortuitous timing, the VCBA asked Adams, who was visiting the city at the time, to judge the entrants. While he agreed, Adams made it clear he could not endorse the types of plans entered, largely due to their grandiose suggestions and failure to plan for the entire city, rather than just the civic core. He argued instead for an efficient, rational plan that would include “the best lines for main arterial roads, desirable railway

²⁸ Mawson, “Vancouver: A City of Optimists,” 11–12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

and harbor improvements, suitable industrial areas and general provisions for convenience, amenity, and proper sanitation.”³⁰

Adams’ arrival, sound denigration of the City Beautiful style, and support for more “rational” planning measures helped turn Vancouver’s attention towards his approach to planning.³¹ He found his greatest supporters amongst the city’s leading businessmen, then Vancouver’s “principle reform advocates.”³² Throughout the 1910s, the Vancouver Board of Trade (VBT) became the city’s most vocal lobby group, creating a dedicated Civic Bureau and petitioning both the city and provincial government to support an urban planning act.³³ In 1918, the VBT secured Adams’ aid in drafting provincial planning legislation and supported his presentation of it at the Union of British Columbia Municipalities’ (UBCM) annual meeting. While the UBCM chose to support the proposed act and submitted it to the B.C. government, the legislation seems to have been lost in the upheaval surrounding the sudden death of Premier Harlan Carey Brewster, the end of the First World War, and the ensuing legislative reorganization. The act ultimately failed to come before the Legislative Assembly.³⁴

³⁰ Thomas Adams qtd. in *Vancouver and its Region*, ed. Graeme Wynn and Timothy Oak, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 122.

³¹ Adams’ arrival, and promotion of British-style, provincial town planning legislation, also struck a chord at the provincial level. 1914 marked the first of five successive years in which the Union of British Columbia Municipalities would vote in support of a Town Planning Act for B.C. Bottomley, “Ideology, Planning and the Landscape, 161.

³² *Ibid.*, i.

³³ *Ibid.*, i.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 165–167.

A Turn to the South: The Quest for Provincial Planning Legislation

Although support for planning suffered a setback in the wake of B.C. government's failure to consider the 1918 legislation, as J. Alexander Walker stated, after the end of the First World War "the challenge for the betterment of conditions was again taken up," and renewed interest in provincial planning legislation developed throughout the early 1920s.³⁵ By this time, however, the British-based approach so favoured in 1918 had lost some of its allure. Instead, local advocates were attracted by the promise of zoning bylaws as applied in American cities, and, furthermore, were perhaps also worried about the rapidity with which Vancouver's American Pacific North West competitors had adopted comprehensive zoning codes. Los Angeles, for example, had been regulating land-use planning since 1909, and in 1921 created a citywide code, dividing the landscape into five separate zones according to land use.³⁶ San Francisco then passed its first zoning ordinance in 1921, followed by Seattle in 1923, and Portland in 1924.³⁷

Although zoning advocates oft praised its ability to rationalize civic operations, increasing the efficiency with which business, commerce, and industry operated alongside the city's residential districts, from the practice's beginnings, zoning was used as a new means enacting segregation

³⁵ J. Alexander Walker, "Town Planning in Vancouver, British Columbia." 1927, CAV, COV Fonds, Vancouver (B.C.) Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Publicity, 61-E-1, file 9.

³⁶ For a greater analysis of Los Angeles' zoning history, please see: Andrew H. Whittemore, "Zoning Los Angeles: A History of Four Regimes," *Planning Perspectives* 27.3 (July 2012): 393–415.

³⁷ For a wider discussion of zoning in these cities, please see: Lloyd T. Keefe, *History of Zoning in Portland, 1918–1959* (Portland: City of Portland, Bureau of Planning, 1975); Marc A. Weiss, "The Real Estate Industry and the Politics of Zoning in San Francisco," *Planning Perspectives* 3 (1988): 311–324.

and exclusion along race and class lines within the physical urban environment.³⁸ In Vancouver, the chief attraction remained zoning's promised ability to, as a member of the Vancouver Town Planning Council stated, "check several types of undesirable developments which had already blighted several parts of Vancouver."³⁹ As the CPR's management of Shaughnessy Heights displayed, in the years preceding the arrival of the formal zoning bylaw, Vancouver's middle and upper class white residents had developed various methods of preserving land and property values and securing racial and social homogeneity, a process anthropologist Kay Anderson deems, "the geographical articulation of racial ideology."⁴⁰

In Vancouver, the city's white upper class' calls for zoning bylaws were fuelled by preexisting attitudes towards the city's Chinese residents and lower class citizens, and also new worries arising after the First World War as the Chinese population began to move beyond the boundaries of their ethnic enclaves. The VBT became a vocal opponent of such mobility,

³⁸ As planning historian Raphaël Fischler states, "class-and-race-based exclusion was a conscious rationale of building and land-use regulation from its very first days." "Health, Safety and the General Welfare: Markets, Politics, and Social Science in Early Land-Use Regulation and Community Design," *Journal of Urban History* 24.6 (September 1998): 676. Several historians have explored the racialized aspects of zoning and land-use regulation in the United States, for example: Sonia Hirt, *Zoned in the USA: The Origins and Implications of American Land-Use Regulation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); Kevin Fox Gotham, "Urban Space, Restrictive Covenants and the Origins of Racial Residential Segregation in a US City, 1900–50," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24.3 (September 2000): 616–633; Christopher Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning: Southern Cities from 1910 to 1914," *Planning Perspectives* 6.2 (April 1991): 189–205. For a greater exploration of race, segregation, and zoning in Canada please see, for example: Richard Harris, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Larry McCann, "Suburbs of Desire: The Suburban Landscape of Canadian Cities, 1900–1950," in *Changing Suburbs: Foundation, Form, and Function*, ed. Richard Harris and Peter Larkham (New York: Routledge, 1999), 111–137.

³⁹ Buck, "Some Early Pioneers of the Town and City Planning Movement in Canada."

⁴⁰ Kay Anderson, "Cultural Hegemony and the Race Definition Process in Chinatown, Vancouver: 1880–1980," *Environment and Planning* 6 (1998): 131.

complaining that the “Oriental” was “occupying land in advantageous locations,” and instigating contact between Vancouver’s Anglo and Asian residents that it deemed “naturally repugn[ant].”⁴¹ Alongside advocating for planning measures, the VTB pushed the city council to investigate means of segregating the city’s Chinese population. However, after an official study in 1923, the City Solicitor, J.B. Williams informed the council that it lacked official powers of segregation.”⁴²

While the council could not specifically order the segregation of Chinese residents, or prevent working-class neighbourhoods from encroaching onto wealthier areas, as VBT members recognized, zoning bylaws could accomplish similar outcomes by less overt means. Several members of the VBT were residents of Point Grey, the exclusive, fashionable municipality that included Shaughnessy Heights. Point Grey was annexed from Vancouver 1908, partly in an effort to stop local working-class immigrants from moving near its wealthy, white neighbourhoods.⁴³ Thereafter, its residents continued to search for ways to protect the area’s exclusive character. In 1922, three years in advance of Vancouver’s planning act, Point Grey authorities successfully lobbied the B.C. government to pass the somewhat less-than inspirationally titled Town Planning By-Law No. 44, which essentially prohibited the subdivision of large residential lots, and the building of multi-family dwellings, by ordering that

⁴¹ Anderson, “Cultural Hegemony,” 112.

⁴² Ibid., 127.

⁴³ As Frank Buck, a Point Grey resident and chairman of its planning commission, wrote in 1929, the municipality was created to cement its future as a “one of the most outstanding and desirable residential districts in Canada.” Frank E. Buck, “Planning the Municipality of Point Grey,” in *A Plan for the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, including a General Plan of the Region* (Vancouver: Vancouver Town Planning Commission, 1929), 300.

a portion of all residential lots be left undeveloped.⁴⁴ Alongside this new bylaw, Shaughnessy Heights residents secured a similar “victory” when, also in 1922, the provincial government approved the Shaughnessy Heights Building Restriction Act, prohibiting the subdivision of lots and restricting building to single-family homes.⁴⁵

By the early 1920s, then, Vancouver’s planning advocates had gained familiarity with the potential, and workings, of zoning ordinances and were united in their call for a provincial planning act that would grant all municipalities the right to construct citywide zoning bylaws. Yet, while the VBT remained steadfast in its support for the act, after 1921, its lobbying gained new impetus as the newly formed Vancouver branch of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (VTPIC) joined the VBT’s campaign.⁴⁶

Originally organized by J. Alexander Walker, the VTPIC was led by Vancouver architect George Lister Thornton Sharp, and was comprised of a small group of a dozen local TPIC members. As Frank E. Buck, a horticulturalist, planning advocate, and founding VTPIC member, later recalled, the “very successful campaign” to promote provincial planning legislation for B.C. became the new organization’s first and central project.⁴⁷ The VTPIC’s members had few

⁴⁴ Buck, “Planning the Municipality of Point Grey,” 300.

⁴⁵ Mitchell, *Crossing the Neoliberal Line*, 144.

⁴⁶ In 1921 the VBT, the Vancouver City Council, the Associated Boards of Trade of British Columbia, and the British Columbia Technical Association all called on the government to implement a planning act. Bottomley, “Ideology, Planning, and the Landscape,” 170.

⁴⁷ Frank E. Buck was a horticulturalist, landscape architect, town planner, and Assistant Professor in the University of British Columbia’s Department of Horticulture. Born in Colchester, United Kingdom, Buck moved to North America in the early 1900s, undertaking post-secondary training at McGill University and Cornell before moving to Ottawa where, while working at the city’s Experimental Farm and writing for the *Ottawa Citizen*, he became, in his words, “a disciple of the town planning movement,” meeting with Clifford Sifton, Thomas

qualms in supporting the VBT's advocacy of zoning. For one, many of its members, including G.L. Thornton Sharp and Frank Buck, were likewise Point Grey residents. Furthermore, although the national TPIC still, to some extent, advocated British-based planning legislation, its members largely supported zoning bylaws, with Thomas Adams noting that, "the main consideration...in planning a city is the regulation of land use."⁴⁸ The TPIC's *Journal* had been reporting favourably on zoning since its earliest issues, lauding the practice's financial, public health, and organizational benefits. In 1923, Noulán Cauchon, then the TPIC's Vice President, stated firmly, "[z]oning secures a healthy relation between living conditions in the home and at work. Zoning is an elemental factor in obviating the congestion of buildings...population, and traffic...[and z]oning stabilizes efficiency and [land] values as due in economic equity."⁴⁹ The TPIC also took great pains to ensure that zoning not overtake planning, reminding its readers of the practices' indivisibility. In early 1921, for example, the *Journal* warned zoning advocates that "[a] proper zoning plan cannot be prepared without regard to the comprehensive plan...of the city."⁵⁰

As practicing planning professionals, and as members of the TPIC, then, those within the Vancouver branch could not have escaped a knowledge of zoning, and would have recognized it

Adams, and Noulán Cauchon, attending the 1914 National Conference on City Planning in Toronto, and joining the TPIC. When Buck moved to Vancouver in 1920 he promised Alfred Buckley, the editor of the TPIC *Journal* and a former Vancouver resident, that he would "do what [he] could" to promote planning in Vancouver. He therefore supported the VTPIC's organization, becoming a founding member and, later, its president. As he noted, the VTPIC moved to promote provincial planning legislation quickly after its inception, mounting a "very successful campaign." Buck, "Some Early Pioneers of the Town and City Planning Movement in Canada."

⁴⁸ Thomas Adams, qtd. in, "Modern City Planning," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 1.11 (August 1922): 11.

⁴⁹ Noulán Cauchon, "A Memorandum on Zoning," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 2.5 (September 1923): 3.

⁵⁰ "Piece-meal Zoning," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 1.3 (January 1921): 10.

as an essential component of a modern, comprehensive plan. In the wake of the VTPIC's founding, its members quickly allied themselves with the VBT and together the organizations pushed the city council and provincial government to adopt planning measures. In 1924, the Vancouver City Council agreed to throw its weight behind the quest for a provincial planning act, directing a special committee to work with the VTPIC to draft new planning legislation in October 1924.⁵¹

Passing Provincial Planning Legislation, November 1924– December 1925

Although the special committee tasked with drafting the act consisted of the City Engineer and City Solicitor alongside members of the VTPIC, its chief author was VTPIC member A.G. Smith, the province's Registrar of Land Titles and previously author of the B.C.'s 1921 Land Registry Act.⁵² While Smith's draft legislation drew on both British and American examples, his inclusion of zoning enabling provisions became so important and well recognized that, after the bill reached the legislature some newspapers even referred to it as the "Zoning Act" or "Zoning Bill."⁵³

Such nicknames reflected a growing public recognition of zoning's popularity across America, especially in the wake of the introduction of the 1924 State Standard Zoning Enabling Act (SZE). B.C.'s first zoning bylaw clearly relied on the example set by SZE, adopting similar organization and wording throughout. Both the SZE and BC's bylaw sprang from a desire to preserve land and property values and to regulate the nature of land use partly through defining

⁵¹ Bottomley, "Ideology, Planning, and the Landscape," 175.

⁵² Ibid., 178.

⁵³ "Zoning Act to be Reconsidered," *Vancouver Morning Sun*, 6 December 1924; "BC Zoning Bill to be Redrafted," *Daily Colonist*, 23 November 1925.

the types of buildings allowed within a given district. Furthermore, both the SZEA and B.C.'s legislation discussed the need to preserve the "character" of a district and the "character" of any buildings pre-existing in that area.⁵⁴ Though both pieces of legislation also made reference to the power of zoning to ensure public health and safety and to prevent overcrowding, they were purpose-built to maintain race and class boundaries and to promote the economic aspirations of elite civic residents.

By mid- November, the draft act had been written, endorsed by Vancouver's City Council, and submitted to the legislature for consideration. Though, in mid November 1924, the *Vancouver Daily Province* reported that the provincial government would adopt the proposed town planning act before year's end, by early December, matters had complicated.⁵⁵ After refusing to entertain a delegation from the VBT to again press the case for planning legislation, Liberal Premier John Oliver signaled that the act was of low priority to him, and to the province's municipalities in general, stating he felt it "impossible to develop municipal interest in planning" and intended to let the matter rest until the following year.⁵⁶

Oliver's words illustrated the nature of planning advocacy in the province at this time. The bulk of support for the town planning act came from a small group of white, land-owning real estate

⁵⁴ The Advisory Committee on Zoning, "A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act Under Which Communities May Adopt Zoning Regulations" (United States: National Bureau of Standards, 1924); British Columbia Statutes, *An Act Respecting Town Planning, 1925*, George V. Chapter 55.

⁵⁵ "Will Report on Town Planning Draft Proposal," *Daily Times*, 8 December 1924; "Cabinet Considers Town Planning Act," *The Vancouver Daily Province*, 14 November 1924.

⁵⁶ "Town Planning Bill Will Lay on Table," *The Vancouver Daily Province*, 9 December 1924.

and business interests from Vancouver.⁵⁷ Though, thanks to their racial, social, and economic power, their voices carried disproportionate political influence, they were not a majority. Their inability to persuade groups across the province to come to the act's defense led to its initial failure. As Oliver pointed out in a meeting with the BC Associated Boards of Trade in early December, he had previously "sent out a circular letter to all municipalities asking for suggestions and comments [on potential town planning legislation], but the returns were practically nil."⁵⁸ Furthermore, while Victoria, the province's capital and second-largest municipality, did not lack for planning advocates of its own, its business leaders were, largely, unwilling to endorse the draft planning act, as was its city council.⁵⁹ Given the lack of support for the act, Oliver tabled the legislation in mid December, calling on B.C.'s municipalities to suggest amendments to it.⁶⁰

Oliver reintroduced the planning act nearly a year later, with the Legislative Assembly referring it to its Municipal Commission for consideration.⁶¹ However, as the Commission quickly found, opposition to the draft had not abated. This time, much of the criticism raised against the

⁵⁷ Bottomley, "Ideology, Planning, and the Landscape," 182.

⁵⁸ "Town Planning Bill Will Lay on Table." Only twelve municipalities responded to Oliver's circular letter of 1923, and of these twelve only two, Point Grey and Oak Bay, a similarly exclusive residential district near Victoria, wrote back to Oliver to support provincial planning legislation. John Bottomley, "Ideology, Planning and the Landscape," 172.

⁵⁹ As Victoria's *Daily Province* reported, despite entreaties from the Vancouver Board of Trade, Victoria's Chamber of Commerce refused to endorse the act, finding it "cumbersome and expensive." "Town Planning Act is Essential Says Vancouver," *Daily Province*, 16 December 1924. Victoria's City Council voted against supporting the act, likewise naming it "unnecessarily cumbersome and expensive." "Against Proposed Town Planning Act," *Daily Province*, 16 December 1924.

⁶⁰ "Town Planning Legislation to Come Down Again," *Daily Colonist*, 5 November 1925.

⁶¹ The year's interval between the tabling of the draft in late 1924 and its reintroduction in November 1925 can, in part, be attributed to the province's 1924 general election, which saw Oliver and his Liberal party re-elected.

legislation came from disgruntled local councils who felt that the proposed act infringed on their authority. Their objections centered on three aspects in particular. Firstly, in general, they disagreed with the proposed act's obligatory nature, feeling it should function as permissive, enabling legislation only. Secondly, they opposed the act's direction that each municipality establish an independent Town Planning Commission to prepare comprehensive, harbour, and railway plans, and approve requests for land subdivision.⁶² Local authorities also argued against the creation of an expert provincial Central City Planning Bureau, staffed by six technical civil service officers and led by a chief inspector, which, as per the draft act, would hold the authority to monitor local planning commissions and act as a final board of appeal for local planning and zoning matters.⁶³

Municipal actors presented so many critiques to the Commission that it recommended the legislation's complete redrafting; local newspapers predicted another year of debates and revisions before its passage.⁶⁴ For Vancouver's planning advocates, however, a second year's wait was intolerable. In perhaps an attempt to save the legislation from yet again being tabled, in early December, a delegation of Vancouver planning advocates made "last minute representations" to the Municipal Commission urging its members to allow a revised version of

⁶² According to the draft act the local planning commissions would, depending on the municipality's population, be composed of three to four ex-officio members, five to eight appointed members, and an appointed Chair (Town Planning Institute of Canada, Vancouver Branch, *Proposed Town Planning Act for British Columbia, 1924*, UBC-RBSC, Frank E. Buck Fonds, Pamphlets and Clippings, box 13, file 6).

⁶³ Town Planning Institute of Canada, Vancouver Branch, *Proposed Town Planning Act for British Columbia, 1924*, UBC-RBSC, Frank E. Buck Fonds, Pamphlets and Clippings, box 13, file 6.

⁶⁴ "Town Planning Will Probably Stand for a Year," *Daily Colonist*, 30 November 1925.

the act to come before the Legislature before the year's end.⁶⁵ The Municipal Commission agreed and, on 16 December, Mary Ellen Smith (née Spear), the province's first female Member of the Legislative Assembly and, as of 1921, its first female cabinet minister, introduced the new bill, now entitled the Town Planning Act, to the Legislative Assembly.

Mary Ellen Smith was a supportive and able, advocate for the planning act. A politician and reformer, she participated in the Suffrage League of Canada, National Council of Women, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, and the Vancouver's Women's Liberal Association. She was also the wife of Ralph Smith, a provincial trade union leader, MLA, Member of Parliament, and B.C.'s finance minister in 1916. After her husband's death in early 1917, Smith won his seat in the riding of Vancouver City's ensuing by-election. Thereafter, her progressive politics influenced her work as a legislator. Her first act as an MLA was to introduce, and argue for, the Minimum Wage Bill for Women, 1918 and, in 1920 she successfully sponsored the Mothers' Pensions Act.⁶⁶ Furthermore, she had supported every previous attempt to introduce provincial planning legislation.

In introducing the planning act on 16 December 1925, Smith spoke of her long commitment to the legislation, and to the promise of planning, noting, "we are building for the future now and

⁶⁵ "Little Left in TP Leg. Now," *Daily Colonist*, 7 December 1925.

⁶⁶ For a more detailed biography, and deeper analysis of Smith's reform activism and political career, please see: Irene Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992); Elizabeth Norcross, "Mary Ellen Smith: The Right Woman in the Right Place at the Right Time," in *Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia*, ed. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), 357–364.

should build along scientific lines.”⁶⁷ Though all previous attempts at introducing such an act had been frustrated, this time, likely to the relief of Vancouver’s planning supporters, the act found support and was approved by the Legislative Assembly on 18 December.

The Vancouver Town Planning Commission and Its Search For a Planning Advisor, 1926

By including a zoning bylaw within its Town Planning Act, B.C. firmly demonstrated the national turn away from British planning innovations and back towards American ones. While Canadian cities implemented zoning ordinances prior to 1925, a province choosing to include zoning enabling provisions within its planning legislation marked a definitive departure from previous trend. BC set an example and all provinces updating planning legislation in the years after integrated zoning bylaws.

However, while enabling legislation was implemented by the province, zoning was a municipal undertaking and the chief benefactors of the Town Planning Act’s passage were, largely, those members of Vancouver’s white, British-Canadian middle class who had stewarded the legislation from start to finish. While these individuals may genuinely have felt the passing of the Town Planning Act marked a great moment for their province, their attention was on what the legislation permitted Vancouver to do: implement a comprehensive zoning bylaw that would safeguard the economic, social, and racial priorities of this dominant class.

Vancouver’s eagerness to use the new powers granted to its city council under the 1925 Act was reflected by the speed with which the Council established the Vancouver Town Planning

⁶⁷ “Mary Ellen Speaks for Town Planning,” *Daily Colonist*, 16 December 1925.

Commission (VTPC). The Council gave notice of a motion to introduce a town-planning bylaw a mere three days after the Act passed and, slightly over a month later, it created the VTPC. Not surprisingly, when the Council moved to appoint VTPC members, five of the nine individuals named were prominent members of the VBT. This ensured that the interests of Vancouver's business elites would still dominate future planning debates, particularly those surrounding the selection of a town planning advisor.⁶⁸

These discussions were not as clear-cut as the members may have wished. As BC's own planning legislation reflected, though American innovations were shifting back into favour across Canada, British influence remained. As the first city to implement a zoning bylaw within provincial planning legislation, Vancouver's decisions were closely followed by Canada's planning professionals and advocates. The VTPC's choice of a style and planning advisor would set the tone for further action across the country. Additionally, although Vancouver could be 'excused' for obtaining outside planning expertise when it sought first Mawson's and then Adams' advice in the 1910s, the field had changed by 1926. By then, a small yet organized working group of Canadian planners existed who were eager to take charge of planning within their home nation. Although theirs was a newer, less proven expertise, the members of the TPIC were respected and could not be written off. As the first large Canadian city to pursue a comprehensive town plan since the TPIC's inception, Vancouver's search for a town planner became a key testing ground for the members of the TPIC: would they be allowed a chance to claim planning contracts within Canada and demonstrate their ability, or would they take a back seat to the foreign experts they now saw as colleagues rather than advisors?

⁶⁸ Bottomley, "Ideology, Planning, and the Landscape," 225.

Hiring An Advisor

The VTPC members wasted little time beginning their search, producing an initial list of candidates in mid- April 1925 and contacting its first choices by mid-May. The letter sent by VTPC Secretary J. Alexander Walker to the ten individuals and firms on the short list invited the candidates to send a detailed response laying out their experience addressing harbor, rail, and traffic planning, an outline of their anticipated vision for Vancouver, and an estimate of their charges. Since the VTPC was eager to move forward, Walker's letter also included a polite request for a quick reply.⁶⁹

As the final list of candidates reveals, the VTPC's members made an effort to canvass a range of firms and individuals yet, from the start, some priorities framed the VTPC's search more than others. Firstly, the list of candidates demonstrated a decision to follow the trend set by B.C.'s recent provincial planning legislation and distance itself from British approaches to planning. Only one of the VTPC's candidates, Thomas Adams, had firm connections to the British planning movement.⁷⁰ Secondly, the VTPC's list of candidates underscored the centrality of zoning to its search criteria. All of the nominees save one, James Ewing, an engineer and planner from Montreal, claimed experience with zoning bylaws. Furthermore, the majority of the VTPC's nominees were American experts known for their experience with zoning ordinances:

⁶⁹ Form letter from J. Alexander Walker to the VTPC's candidates, 17 May 1926, City of Vancouver Archives (CAV), City Of Vancouver (COV) Fonds, Vancouver (B.C.) Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁷⁰ Yet, since, by 1926, Adams had been working in North America for over ten years, even his representation of a British approach was by then qualified.

Harland Bartholomew, Robert Whitten, John Nolen, the members of the Technical Advisory Corporation (TAC), Edward Bennett, Charles Wellford Leavitt, and Morris Knowles.⁷¹

Bartholomew, a civil engineer from St. Louis, Missouri, had built a reputation around his work with zoning. By 1926, just eight years after he began his practice, he stood as one of the United States' most recognized, and prolific, authors of city plans and zoning ordinances. So popular was his approach, he had even developed his own standard zoning code.⁷² Perhaps most relevant to Vancouver, though, was that Bartholomew had recently acted as a consultant to the Seattle Zoning Commission, helping develop its first zoning ordinance in 1923.

Despite his suitability to the VTPC's position, Bartholomew, faced tough competition. Robert Whitten, a lawyer turned city planner from New York City had been creating zoning ordinances even longer than Bartholomew. He co-authored New York's 1916 zoning ordinance and afterward created "precedent-setting" ordinances in Cleveland, Ohio's elite residential suburbs, displaying an aptitude for "protect[ing] elite white homeowner interests" that may have appealed to the upper class members of the VTPC.⁷³ While he lacked experience designing ordinances for

⁷¹ A 1921 *American City* article chronicling the progress of zoning in the United States noted that of the hundred zoning ordinances in force, or in preparation, across the country, the TAC was responsible for twenty-four, Bartholomew for eighteen, John Nolen for nine, Robert Whitten for five, and Edward Bennett for five. "The Remarkable Spread of Zoning in American Cities", *The American City* 25.6 (December 1921): 456–458.

⁷² So popular was Bartholomew's uniform approach that, notes historian Marina Moscovitz, he grew tired of the uniformity and complained that he found himself "not at complete liberty to introduce unusual new ideas and concepts...[as] I seldom found a commission...willing to venture far from traditional habits and trends." Marina Moscovitz, "Zoning the Industrial City: Planners, Commissioners, and Boosters in the 1920s," *Business and Economic History* 27.2 (Winter 1998): 310.

⁷³ LeeAnn Lands, *The Culture of Property: Race, Class, and Housing Landscapes in Atlanta* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 143.

Pacific North West or Canadian cities, Whitten's overall knowledge of zoning clearly impressed the VTPC. Interestingly, however, Whitten somewhat declined the VTPC's invitation. He chose not to write back to the Commission himself and instead signaled that he would prefer partnering with Thomas Adams. In his letter to the VTPC, Adams further vouched for Whitten's credentials to the VTPC, deeming him, "the leading zoning expert in America."⁷⁴

Although John Nolen regretfully declined the VTPC's invitation, that he was considered again testifies to the VTPC's preference for candidates with zoning experience. By 1921, Nolen had authored several ordinances and was known as a "stout champion" of the practice.⁷⁵ Nolen also had a long reputation as a planning expert within the United States. Although he had trained as a landscape architect, he worked as an planner out of his Cambridge, Massachusetts office from 1905 onwards, and, in 1919, authored one of American city planning's founding texts, *New Ideals in the Planning of Cities, Towns, and Villages*. An acknowledged leader amongst American professionals, he cemented this role by becoming president of the National Conference on City Planning in 1927.⁷⁶ Had Nolen accepted the VTPC's commission, Vancouver would have gained both the aid of a zoning expert and prestige from associating the city with such a preeminent planner.

⁷⁴ Letter from Thomas Adams to the VTPC, 3 June 1926, CVA, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁷⁵ James Metzenbaum qtd. in Jody Beck, *John Nolen and the Metropolitan Landscape*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 102.

⁷⁶ For a full biography of Nolen, and analysis of his work, please see: R. Bruce Stephanson, *John Nolen: Landscape Architect and City Planner* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014).

The Technical Advisory Corporation was a New York City-based firm established by architect-planner George B. Ford and traffic-engineer Ernest P. Goodrich. Ford, like Whitten, helped to author the 1916 New York zoning ordinance and continued to promote and practice zoning in the years following. Ford and Goodrich started the firm in 1914 and, by the 1920s moved into planning consultation, becoming one of the country's foremost creators of zoning ordinances. As then TAC President Campbell Scott stated to the VTPC, the Corporation had served "over one hundred planning and zoning commissions."⁷⁷ However, Scott also cautioned the VTPC that the distance between New York and Vancouver would necessitate the TAC serve the VTPC "along somewhat different lines than those under which we have...serv[ed] other planning commissions."⁷⁸ While the Corporation normally provided an expert team of engineers, surveyors, draftsmen, and fieldsmen to carry out its plans, the distance to Vancouver made the team's deployment impossible: the TAC could act only as consultants.⁷⁹

Edward Bennett was the final zoning expert highlighted in the *American City* considered by the VTPC. Responding to the VTPC, he noted that "all the members" of his firm had recent experience with zoning.⁸⁰ Bennett's name and reputation were already familiar to Canadian planning advocates thanks to his earlier work in Ottawa. An interesting figure in the history of America's planning movement, Bennett forged his career while working with City Beautiful

⁷⁷ Letter from Campbell Scott, President, Technical Advisory Corporation, to the VTPC, 25 May 1926, CVA, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory-Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁷⁸ Scott to the VTPC, 25 May 1926.

⁷⁹ Perhaps the TAC's lack of familiarity with the West Coast combined with its hints that dividing the consultation team from the workers on the ground would waste time and money were what turned to VTPC to Bartholomew. However, as Bartholomew had been employed with the TAC until 1918, he would have been quite familiar with its approach.

⁸⁰ Letter from E.H. Bennett to the VTPC, 28 May 1926, CVA, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

expert Daniel Burnham, yet continued as a leading planner even after the City Beautiful's displacement in the mid-1910s. Part of his success must be attributed to his early adoption of zoning.⁸¹ Even before the term "zoning" was developed to describe the type of land regulation it came to represent, many of Bennett's plans, including his work for Ottawa and Hull, contained "district controls" which set out residential, industrial, and business zones.⁸² By the 1920s, he had become a vocal advocate for zoning, winning several prominent commissions and preparing zoning ordinances for St Paul, Minnesota, Chicago, Illinois, and Pasadena, California between 1922 and 1923.⁸³ Bennett's previous work in Canada, coupled with his zoning experience, made him an ideal candidate.

While neither Charles Wellford Leavitt, a landscape architect based in New York City, nor Morris Knowles, a civil engineer from Pittsburgh, were mentioned by the *American City's* article, both had experience with zoning prior to 1926. Leavitt was responsible for designing an ordinance for Palm Beach, Florida in 1925 while Knowles sat on Herbert Hoover's advisory zoning commission and helped draft the 1924 SZE. While neither man boasted the experience of Bartholomew or the TAC, both were familiar with the creation of zoning ordinances. Given that B.C.'s Town Planning Act's section on zoning bylaws bore similarity to the 1924 SZE, Knowles' insight in particular, would have been valuable to the VTPC.

⁸¹ As historian David Gordon notes, "Bennett's consulting practice survived the young profession's shift because he combined functional and aesthetic design." David L.A. Gordon, "The *Other* Author of the 1908 *Plan for Chicago*: Edward H. Bennett- Urban Designer, Planner, and Architect," *Planning Perspectives* 25.2 (April 2010): 234.

⁸² Gordon, "A City Beautiful Plan for Canada's Capital," 287.

⁸³ "The Remarkable Spread of Zoning in American Cities", *The American City* 25.6 (December 1921): 456-458.

As even a brief review of the VTPC's American candidates reveals, the members of the Commission were far from ignorant of developments in planning in the United States. The nominees represented the leading American planners of the time, and were all familiar with recent American advances. While the VTPC evidently favoured American innovations, it did not necessarily follow that an American planner would win the VTPC's contract. Zoning had made its first appearance in New York in 1916 but English-Canadian planners imported it in the years following. The first applications of zoning ordinances on Canadian soil were conducted in the early 1920s by English-Canadian planners registered with the TPIC such as Frank Buck (Point Grey, B.C.), Horace Seymour (Kitchener, ON), and William Begg (Moose Jaw, SK). While zoning opportunities were not as numerous in Canada as they were in the United States, what work there was had been undertaken by Canadian, rather than American, planners. Therefore, that the VTPC would choose an American firm or individual was not a *fait accompli*; most of its Canadian candidates were versed in zoning.

While James Ewing had no practical zoning experience, the VTPC's other Canadian candidates, Noulon Cauchon, and the firm of Horace Seymour and Arthur Dalzell, all produced zoning ordinances for Canadian cities in the years prior to 1926. Additionally, the partnership of the Toronto-based Seymour and Dalzell brought with it extensive first-hand experience in Vancouver, something no other applicant boasted. From 1908 to 1918, Arthur Dalzell worked in Vancouver as the city's Assistant Engineer before taking a position with Thomas Adams in 1919. In addition to his personal knowledge of Vancouver's urban issues, Dalzell had also spent 1919-1920 touring Western Canada, undertaking "special studies and investigation of the problems of urban development in [that region]" on Adams' behalf. This study took him back to

BC but also saw him tour Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, lending him a familiarity with the Western Canadian region as a whole that no other candidate could equal.⁸⁴ Although Seymour had no specific experience with Vancouver, he designed Kitchener's zoning ordinance from 1922-1924 and, prior to that, worked extensively in Eastern Canada, planning for Waterloo and London, Ontario and helping Adams re-plan Halifax after the 1917 explosion. All three men were amongst the nation's most prominent and respected planning professionals at that time. They were also each active, founding members of the TPIC.⁸⁵

Therefore, while the VTPC's Canadian candidates had designed fewer ordinances than the American nominees, they were not without practical experience. In Seymour's case, his work in Kitchener, coupled with Dalzell's knowledge of Vancouver, should have put him within the VTPC's short-list. He hinted as much in his letter to the VTPC accepting the candidacy, highlighting the importance of his experience "in the preparation of, we believe...the first and, as yet, the only effective Comprehensive City Plan and Zoning Ordinance in Canada" as well as "the value the knowledge possessed by...Mr. Dalzell."⁸⁶

Seymour certainly did all he could to gain himself and Dalzell the VTPC's commission. He assiduously courted the VTPC's good opinion, personally visiting Vancouver in early June to meet with VTPC members. He toured Vancouver and, in so doing, "confirm[ed] a number of points already noted by...Mr. Dalzell, so familiar with Vancouver's growth and problems."⁸⁷ He

⁸⁴ Letter from Horace Seymour to the VTPC, 14 June 1926, CVA, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁸⁵ Both Noulon Cauchon and Horace Seymour sat as Presidents between 1919–1926.

⁸⁶ Seymour to the VTPC, 14 June 1926.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

sent his and Dalzell's formal acceptance to the VTPC from Vancouver on 14th June and promised to return to the city in a few weeks' time to meet with the rest of the VTPC and "to explain in detail any matters connected with our proposals."⁸⁸

It appears that both Seymour and Dalzell hoped their prior connection to Walker, in particular, might help their bid. Like Dalzell and Seymour, Walker was a founding member of the TPIC, present at its inaugural meeting on 31 May 1919. While Seymour met with Walker personally during his June trip to Vancouver, Dalzell wrote to Walker in early July, emphasizing his interest in obtaining the VTPC's commission. In his letter, he noted that he expected Seymour to be back in Vancouver shortly, stating that Seymour would likely call on Walker before Dalzell's letter reached Vancouver.⁸⁹

Seymour and Dalzell also received a prominent endorsement when Thomas Adams moved to support their bid in late June. Writing to Walker on 25 June, Adams vouched for Seymour's and Dalzell's training, experience, and reputation. Throwing his considerable support behind them, Adams even told the VTPC to favour their submission over his. "I have the highest regard for their abilities," he wrote, "[and] I know of no Canadian town planners who are as well qualified as they are to advise you. I do not hesitate to support their candidature even although my own name is being considered."⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Letter from Arthur Dalzell to J. Alexander Walker, 2 July 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁹⁰ Letter from Thomas Adams to J. Alexander Walker, 25 June 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

Given that both Seymour and Dalzell worked with Adams throughout the early 1920s, he did have firsthand knowledge of their abilities. Furthermore, although Adams had accepted the VTPC's invitation and sent in his bid, he had done so reluctantly, concluding, "from the point of view of my personal interests and convenience it would suit me best if I were not selected." It seems as if, due to his previous attachment to Vancouver's planning development in the late 1910s, he felt obliged to answer the VTPC's call in 1926. His support of Seymour's and Dalzell's bid over his own, therefore, may have in part been spurred by his wish to forward the opportunity to colleagues he trusted. However, as Adams would soon reveal, his backing of Dalzell and Seymour had as much to do with their position within the Canadian planning profession as it did with his wish to pass the VTPC's commission on to others.

The VTPC and Harland Bartholomew

The VTPC had sent out its initial call for bids on 17 May and, by early June, had received answers from all but one of its choices, Harland Bartholomew. The VTPC made it clear that Bartholomew was its likely first choice by courting him when he failed to answer its original appeal. For example, when Bartholomew's response failed to appear, Walker wrote to him, notifying him that all the other candidates had sent in responses and again inviting him to send in a bid.⁹¹ Bartholomew's telegraphed response stated his reason for demurring: he was not interested in "purely consulting services" and would only reconsider if the VTPC would allow his firm to act as an "actual planning service" that would combine its resources, where necessary,

⁹¹ Letter from J. Alexander Walker to Harland Bartholomew, 10 June 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Harland Bartholomew, 61-B-5, file 5.

with the support of local draftsmen.⁹² Walker responded to Bartholomew the next day, writing, “I have been requested to write to you...to assure you that your proposal though delayed will be welcomed and will receive every consideration”. However, Walker cautioned that Bartholomew’s reluctance to involve local actors might affect his candidacy. He asked Bartholomew to consider using local engineers, stating, “in order to help the Commission in their choice of Consultant you might be good enough to emphasize in your proposal just what local assistance you can use.”⁹³

Through his letters to Bartholomew, Walker revealed that the VTPC was in a difficult position. Though Bartholomew clearly sat at the top of the Commission’s list, its members knew that public support would be necessary to see the plan through to completion and that the choice of outside, rather than domestic, talent might prove unpopular. As the first Canadian metropolis to seek a comprehensive plan since the First World War, Vancouver’s choices were open to wide scrutiny from Vancouver’s residents but also from municipalities, and planning professionals, across the nation. The VTPC members knew that completely ignoring Canadian talent in their choice of planning consultant would likely prove an unpopular decision, tainting the success of the plan before it even had a chance to get off the ground. However, the VTPC also knew that Vancouver was at once a city within a Dominion, Canada, and within a region spanning both the U.S. and Canada: the Pacific North West. As part of this region, Vancouver’s main municipal competitors were American coastal cities. Given its southern competition, the VTPC members

⁹² Letter from Harland Bartholomew to J. Alexander Walker, 21 June 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary’s Subject Files, Harland Bartholomew, 61-B-5, file 5.

⁹³ Letter from J. Alexander Walker to Harland Bartholomew, 22 June 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary’s Subject Files, Harland Bartholomew, 61-B-5, file 5.

may have wished to hire a prominent American planner so as to promote their plan as equal to those of their American competitors.

By all evidence, the VTPC's members went to some effort to assess candidates equally, weighing the proposals against one another and carefully studying the applicants' qualifications, plans, and fees. Amongst the documents within the VTPC's archival records is a three-page chart thoroughly comparing the candidates by education, amount of publications, practical experience, and expected salary.⁹⁴ Furthermore, many of the proposals sent in by the candidates contain underlining and marginalia left by an unknown VTPC member, calling attention to salary requirements, previous experience, and the size of the team the given planner expected to use.⁹⁵

Despite this deliberation, however, Bartholomew remained the VTPC's central choice, and the only one it essentially coached through the application process. In addition to Walker reminding Bartholomew to submit a proposal, VTPC members also coaxed him firstly to agree to work with local draftsmen and surveyors and appoint a Canadian as the plan's Resident Engineer.⁹⁶

Bartholomew evidently agreed to this request since, when the VTPC announced his selection to the local press in early August, it included the news that Horace Seymour had been appointed the plan's Resident Engineer.

⁹⁴ Please see: "Chart of Candidates," CVA, COV Fonds, Vancouver (B.C.) Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁹⁵ To view the individual proposals, please see the containing file: CVA, COV Fonds, Vancouver (B.C.) Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁹⁶ Letter from Harland Bartholomew to J. Alexander Walker, 22 June 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Harland Bartholomew, 61-B-5, file 5.

The VTPC vs. Canadian Planning Professionals

While the VTPC may have hoped Bartholomew's appointment of Seymour as Resident Engineer might mollify critics, in some ways, the opposite occurred. On 3 August, the same day that Arthur G. Smith contacted Vancouver's major newspapers announcing the VTPC's final decision, he also wrote personally to Adams, assuring him that "there is not the slightest doubt in the minds of the Commission of the value of the services which you offered" but alerting him that it had gone a different direction. The bulk of the letter is dedicated to Walker's defense of the VTPC's decision to hire an American rather than Canadian planner, despite Adams' endorsement of Seymour and Dalzell. "You will appreciate that in the first instance we would have favoured a Canadian," Smith explained "but the very considerations which you mentioned in your letter as influencing you in the enlistment of associates...had a decided bearing upon our elimination of the Canadian offers."⁹⁷

As Smith indicated, Adams' original letter to the VTPC had advised the Commission that "the consultant you employ should not act solely on his own judgment...but should seek expert assistance from...specialists."⁹⁸ To that end, Adams proposed assembling a team of experts, including zoning specialist Robert Whitten, who would have worked with him had he been awarded the VTPC's commission. In his letter to Adams of 3rd August, Smith seemed to indicate that the VTPC had weighed its candidates against Adams' suggestions. And, as neither Cauchon, Ewing, Seymour or Dalzell had proposed working alongside a group of specialists, they had been deemed unable to handle the contract. The best the VTPC could do, explained Smith, was

⁹⁷ Letter from Arthur G. Smith to Thomas Adams, 3 August 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

⁹⁸ Letter from Thomas Adams to J. Alexander Walker, 3 June 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

appoint Seymour as Resident Engineer in the hopes that, through this act, “we may aid the Canadian profession in getting that larger experience which is necessary in planning a modern city.”⁹⁹

Smith’s letter to Adams was also significant due to Smith’s failure to name Bartholomew as the VTPC’s final choice. Instead, Smith refers only to the rejection of all Canadian applicants. This omission hints that Smith predicted the VTPC’s decision would affect more than just the residents of the city under question. The VTPC knew that the members of the TPIC saw Vancouver’s plan as a chance to prove themselves. Consequently, it understood that those within the nation’s planning profession would negatively perceive the dismissal of all Canadian candidates, no matter who the VTPC had appointed in their place. Secondly, Smith’s failure to name Bartholomew specifically illustrates his recognition that, to the TPIC, Bartholomew’s qualifications mattered less than his citizenship. By choosing an American planner over a Canadian one, the VTPC had pitted the emerging TPIC, an organization developed to assert Canadian experience and protect its members against the incursion of American competitors, against its Southern colleagues.

By 1926, Adams had moved on from his foundational roles as Town Planning Advisor to Canada’s Commission of Conservation and as President of the TPIC, from 1914 to 1923. He had worked strenuously to promote, advocate, and institute town planning in Canada. His interest in the matter to which he had devoted so much of his professional life remained. Not surprisingly, therefore, he wrote back to Smith expressing his displeasure, firmly stating: “My main

⁹⁹ Smith to Thomas, 3 August 1926.

purpose...in [recommending Seymour and Dalzell] was to indicate to your commission that there were men in Canada as competent as any you could have obtained from the outside. I do not consider that any question should have stood in the way of your selecting Canadian experts in preference to myself or any other group not practicing in Canada.”¹⁰⁰ Adams even went so far as to call the VTPC’s hiring of Seymour as Resident Engineer — the olive branch extended to Canadian professionals in lieu of appointing one of their number as its main planner — an act that “makes the matter worse rather than better.”¹⁰¹ In Adams’ mind, placing Seymour as a mere “assistant” was an insult; “I suggested [Seymour’s] name as a consultant and not as an assistant,” Adams reminded Smith, making clear his displeasure.¹⁰²

In his response to Smith, Adams likewise made no mention of Bartholomew specifically, only noting, “[I] have no doubt that the firm you have selected is of the highest eminence.” As this again underscores, to Adams, the fight was not between Seymour, or any other candidate, and Bartholomew. It was between all the Canadian candidates and outside competitors. Adams was also not the only Canadian planning advocate to express these sentiments. Noulan Cauchon likewise received a personal letter from Smith on 3rd August containing an apology for not hiring a Canadian. “I am supported in this [statement] by all the members of the Commission,” Smith wrote, “[we] would have been delighted to secure the services of a Canadian consultant”.¹⁰³ “[B]ut,” Smith continued, “the longer we gave to a study of the subject the more firm our

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Thomas Adams to Arthur G. Smith, 20 September 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary’s Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

¹⁰¹ Adams to Smith, 20 September 1926.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Letter from Arthur G. Smith to Noulan Cauchon, 3 August 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary’s Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

conclusion became that the planning of [Vancouver] could not be satisfactorily accomplished by any one man". Smith again emphasized that the Commission meant no insult to Canadian planners; it simply felt that, since no Canadian candidate proposed to work with a team of other experts, none would be able to adequately complete the plan the VTPC sought.

Smith tried to soften the blow, noting that not only could no single Canadian planner complete the task, but that "no ordinary human being would have united in himself the various qualifications which would be called into play."¹⁰⁴ Noulan Cauchon, however, echoed Adams in his dissatisfaction. In his response to Smith, Cauchon stated " 'tis of course quite axiomatic that none of us know all about everything...yet I venture to believe that a collaboration of Canadian Engineers and planners could have adequately met the planning problems of Vancouver."¹⁰⁵

In his reply to Smith, Cauchon hit on a solution that, seemingly, the VTPC did not consider. For all Smith's apologies and insistences that the VTPC wanted to hire a Canadian individual or firm, the Commission's records do not contain any evidence that it ever thought of asking its Canadian candidates to work together once it decided it needed a group of experts. If, as Smith indicated, somewhere along the line, the VTPC had decided to change its original mandate and choose an organization with a wide range of experts rather than just one individual, then why did it not approach the Canadian candidates and ask them to form such a coalition?

¹⁰⁴ Smith to Noulan, 3 August 1926.

¹⁰⁵ Letter from Noulan Cauchon to Arthur G. Smith, 26 August 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary's Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

Based on the existing archival material, it seems more likely that, despite Smith's apologies on behalf of the VTPC, its members were set on choosing an American candidate. As its specific pursuit of Bartholomew in June shows, even as Seymour, the strongest Canadian candidate, was meeting with the VTPC in an effort to secure his bid, it was contacting Bartholomew, reassuring him that his proposal would receive full consideration, and even alerting Bartholomew to its inner workings so that he could tailor his proposal to suit its needs. Although it likely helped that Bartholomew, like Adams, would not take on the task alone and insisted the VTPC employ his chosen group of experts, the VTPC members began courting him before they knew his demands. While the VTPC, or at least the members of the TPIC within its midst like Walker and Smith, may genuinely have wished to hire a Canadian planner, it does not seem as though a Canadian was ever truly a frontrunner. Seymour had come closest, but, as Adams indicated, his appointment as "assistant" to Bartholomew was more of a professional disappointment than a career boost.

Conclusion

This examination of planning in Vancouver has largely examined the VTPC's 1926 search for a planner, and its members' ultimate rejection of Canadian candidates, in relation to that decision's effect on the aspirations of Canada's professional planning cohort. It has also emphasized the VTPC's members' choice as one based on their assessment of Vancouver's needs, and their detailed knowledge of foreign planning developments. From the early 1900s onwards, Vancouver's planning advocates, like their colleagues across English-Canada, actively drew on a variety of planning networks to learn of, and acquire, planning expertise. Shifting perceptions of Vancouver's planning needs variously led these local actors to entertain City Beautiful and

Garden City approaches before turning to the type of comprehensive planning and zoning measures espoused by American experts by the late 1910s and early 1920s.

As has been emphasized, the VTPC's search for a town planner took place during a crucial moment within the evolution of planning in Canada. A near decade long dominance of British planning innovations was crumbling across the nation as provinces and municipalities became increasingly dissatisfied with the lack of progress under British styled provincial planning legislation. By the early 1920s, many municipal and provincial planning leaders had begun to again look to the United States for inspiration and, in 1925, British Columbia cemented this trend by including a key American planning innovation, the zoning bylaw, within its first provincial planning act. As the first city in Canada to gain the right to create zoning ordinances under provincial legislation, Vancouver's move to select a town planner became more than just a local matter. Its choice would either firmly herald the ascendancy of a new source of planning inspiration or confirm the continuation of the British style. And, by composing a candidate list comprised largely of zoning experts, the VTPC signaled from the earliest days of its search that it would follow in the footsteps of B.C. and turn to the south for inspiration.

The VTPC's move to emphasize the importance of zoning and cement that choice by selecting an American expert continued the trend set by B.C. in including zoning within its 1925 Act. The B.C. Town Planning Act set the standard by which the provinces that passed such legislation in the years following would be measured. In 1928, Saskatchewan's Town Planning Director, Stewart Young, received a letter shortly after its new Town Planning Act passed assuring him that the Saskatchewan act was equal to and, "in some respects...much superior to the B.C.

legislation.”¹⁰⁶ In updating its provincial planning legislation in 1929, Alberta too followed B.C.’s lead and allowed its municipalities to pass zoning by-laws.¹⁰⁷

The VTPC was also the first municipal planning commission to search for a city planner at a time when the nation’s town planning professionals had gained the experience and organization necessary to compete against foreign experts for domestic planning work. As Arthur Dalzell wrote to J. Alexander Walker during the VTPC’s search, “[y]ou know that elaborate plans have been made for Ottawa, Calgary and other Canadian cities by American and European experts, but that the only real town planning now being carried out in Canada...[is] by Canadians, who should really know their own problems better than outsiders.”¹⁰⁸ While it is impossible to discern the complete inner workings of the VTPC, it is evident that it was conscious of how its decision would affect the Canadian planning profession. Arthur G. Smith’s letters to Cauchon and Adams, and his missive to the members of the Vancouver press, are all apologetic and defensive. All of these letters spend more time excusing the VTPC’s failure to hire a Canadian planner than they do explaining the virtues of Bartholomew. It is only in Smith’s letter to the press that Bartholomew’s name and qualifications are mentioned at all as reasons for awarding him the commission. Even then, equal space was dedicated to praising Seymour’s professional

¹⁰⁶ G.F. Fountain to Stewart Young, 11 April 1928, SAB, Department of Municipal Affairs Fonds, Community Planning Branch, MA6, file 6, Town Planning Acts and Amendments.

¹⁰⁷ P.J. Smith, “The Principle of Utility and the Origins of Planning Legislation in Alberta, 1912–1975,” in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), 196–225.

¹⁰⁸ Arthur Dalzell to J. Alexander Walker, 2 July 1926, CAV, COV Fonds, Town Planning Commission Secretary’s Subject Files, Advisory- Consulting Engineers, 61-B-1, file 2.

achievements and emphasizing that he, rather than an outside expert, would oversee all “actual work upon the ground” in Vancouver.¹⁰⁹

The 1926 competition marked one of Canada’s last comprehensive city planning contracts before the advance of the Great Depression.¹¹⁰ Although, as planning historians emphasized, the 1930s did not mark an end to efforts to shape the urban environment, it did mark the end of the TPIC.¹¹¹ In a series of letters to the wider TPIC membership throughout late 1931 and early 1932, its president, Arthur Dalzell, wrote of the Institute’s mounting financial issues and declining support from its membership.¹¹² In light of such difficulties, the TPIC ultimately suspended its operations and did not appear again until 1952. Whether or not the Vancouver commission would have cemented the fortunes of the TPIC cannot be known. However, at the

¹⁰⁹ Smith to Editors, 3 August 1926.

¹¹⁰ Interestingly, Harland Bartholomew worked for Vancouver at various points between 1926 and the 1940s. Harland Bartholomew and his team finished the first version of their plan for Vancouver in 1928 but updated it to include plans for South Vancouver and Point Grey in 1929. They also wrote at least eleven additional reports on topics such as zoning, street planning, regional planning and decentralization, parks and recreation, and public and civic buildings for Vancouver between 1944 and 1948. For the two comprehensive plans, please see: Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *A Plan for the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, Including a General Plan for the Region*, St. Louis, MO: Harland Bartholomew and Associates, 1928; Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *A Plan for the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, Including Point Grey and South Vancouver and a General Plan for the Region* (Vancouver: Wrigley Printing Company Ltd., 1929). All of Bartholomew and Associates’ additional reports from the 1940s are held by the City of Vancouver Archives, please see: CAV, City Publications Collection, PD 102, 103, 105, 244, 288, 535, 537, 538, 813, 1212, and 1303.

¹¹¹ Planning historian Jeanne Wolfe notes that, although cities did not seek comprehensive plans during this time, efforts to shape the urban environment continued throughout the 1930s. For example, in an effort to create make-work projects for unemployed workers, municipal governments had labourers undertake projects to improve civic infrastructure like building bridges and roads, as well as landscaping parks. Jeanne Wolfe, “Our Common Past: An Interpretation of Canadian Planning History,” *Plan Canada—75th Anniversary, Special Edition* (July 1994): 24–25.

¹¹² Dalzell sent letters to the TPIC membership addressing its future on 2 November 1931, 20 January 1932, and 19 April 1932. These letters can be viewed in the papers of Frank E. Buck: UBC-RBSC, Frank E. Buck Fonds, Town Planning Institute of Canada, box 11, file 16.

time, the failure of even Canada's top planning experts to achieve the position was certainly a heavy blow to the TPIC's efforts to assert its members' credibility, and establish a monopoly over Canadian contracts.¹¹³

¹¹³ Although Seymour accepted the VTPC's offer of Resident Engineer, his disappointment in not obtaining the role as chief planner may have been expressed by his departing the Vancouver project as soon as an opportunity came for him to take a true leading role. In 1928 he became the province of Alberta's Director of Town and Rural Planning. Holding the position until 1932, he helped Alberta implement its new town planning legislation of 1929 by assisting municipalities with zoning ordinances and comprehensive plans, advising on farmstead planning, and establishing the province's first post-secondary town planning course at the University of Alberta in 1929. Donald G. Wetherell, "Cecil Burgess' Architectural Career and Writings," in *Architecture, Town Planning and Community : Selected Writings and Public Talks by Cecil Burgess, 1909-1946*, ed. Donald G. Wetherell (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005), lvii.

Conclusion

As the nineteenth century closed and the early twentieth century unfurled, town and city dwellers across North America and Europe lived out their daily lives across a dynamic, quickly evolving urban landscape. Throughout these years, rapid industrialization, modernization, and urbanization changed the size, form, and demographics of cities across the globe, while also creating a set of shared concerns over new urban ills. Recognizing common cause, urban reformers, municipal administrators, government officials, and technical professionals drew on advances in transport and communication to connect across political and geographic boundaries, circulating knowledge of what they had viewed and learned, and creating a transnational urban reform movement.

By the 1900s, a distinct transnational modern urban planning movement had emerged from within this wider urban reform milieu. By the 1910s, the regularity of transnational conferences and exhibitions such as the American National Conference on City Planning, the Royal Institute of British Architects' 1910 town planning conference, and Ghent's Premier Congrès International et Exposition Comparée des Villes had solidified the field, allowing experts, professionals and lay planning advocates to meet, learn, and exchange information. In between such conferences, correspondence, journal circulation, and travel kept a growing, international cohort of planners connected and informed as they learned of, adopted, and adapted foreign ideas.

It has been suggested that English-Canadian urban reformers and planning advocates stood outside this cohort, and that local knowledge of foreign advances in modern planning largely

arrived with Thomas Adams in 1914. Through applying a transnational lens to its consideration of English-Canada's modern planning movement between 1890 and 1930, this dissertation has reassessed such interpretations. To decenter Adams from the narrative of early Canadian planning history, I began this study in the 1890s, illustrating the extent of English-Canadian involvement in the international planning cohort, and examining its circulation and adoption of foreign planning innovations.

In doing so, I emphasized the heterogeneous nature of English-Canada's planning cohort throughout the 1890s and early 1900s, and the informed, selective nature of their interactions with foreign planning ideas and experts. In the years before technical professionals strove to assert their dominance over the planning field, a variety of urban reform actors, business and real estate interests, government officials, and public health professionals likewise came to support planning, and claimed a right to shape the urban environment. Through the use of purpose-built channels, they connected to the wider, transnational planning movement, acquiring and circulating knowledge across their home cities, regions, and nation, but also hiring outside experts and adopting new ideas. As evidenced through the decreasing popularity of the American City Beautiful approach, and rising acceptance of the British Garden City style, throughout the 1910s as new social issues shifted national priorities, these individuals' perceptions of local and national interests directed their selection, adoption, and rejection of foreign innovations.

As we have seen, local planning advocates likewise connected to one another within Canada, organizing to promote planning municipally and nationally. The Toronto Housing Company's and, later, Commission on Conservation's campaign to contract Thomas Adams as a national

planning advisor to Canada brought together a broad coalition of urban reformers, public health experts, and government officials who jointly supported Adams' suitability for the role. While Adams' arrival in Canada has been perceived as the true beginning of the nation's modern planning movement, as I have argued through my study of this earlier period, English-Canadians were knowledgeable, critical planning actors in the years before 1914. Furthermore, though Adams' presence helped bolster a preference for British innovations throughout the First World War, this preference did not equate to an uncritical acceptance. As I illustrated through a case study of Saskatchewan's planning advocates' initial acceptance, and then quick rejection, of its British-based planning legislation, English-Canadians continued to employ planning networks to learn of new foreign ideas, and were unafraid to abandon those that proved inimical to local conditions. This is echoed in my case study of Vancouver, where local actors' early interest in provincial planning legislation written by Adams and modeled on the British 1909 act gave way to a preference for American planning innovations by the 1920s and a 1925 provincial planning act that was, largely, put forward in order to enable cities to implement American-style zoning bylaws.

Though, in his analysis of Canada's pre-1930s planning movement, historian Stephen V. Ward classifies Canadians as undiluted borrowers of foreign planning innovations, as my dissertation has emphasized, such a categorization is too limiting. Although Ward emphasizes that undiluted borrowers still hold the power to decide what does or does not get imported, he defines them as "rather uncritical" actors who "[receive] practices without conscious selectivity...[and] with only very limited awareness of the full range of alternative external planning models that are available." He also notes that undiluted borrowers often rely heavily on foreign planning experts

to lead local movements, and do not “filter imported ideas and practices through...[local] planning movements.”¹

My research has disrupted such a strict categorization of English Canada’s early urban planning movement. It illustrates that English Canadians were critical borrowers who decided which innovation or expert to import based on their perceptions of local needs and a broad knowledge of external planning trends gathered through interacting with foreign experts within Canada, attending international planning conferences, travelling to view new approaches firsthand, and reading of innovations in planning in journals and newspapers. As I emphasize, English Canadian planning advocates developed webs of municipal, provincial, and national ties to one another through which they certainly filtered news of planning ideas and practice. Additionally, although Adams certainly influenced and helped lead English-Canada’s early planning movement, he did not found it, and instead functioned as a key organizer. Local planning actors valued Adams’ expertise, but they remained knowledgeable of external planning trends and were happy to turn away from his suggestions in favour of different innovations.

If, however, English Canadian planning advocates were not undiluted borrowers of planning ideas, where do they then fit within Ward’s categorization? In his typology of diffusion, Ward establishes two groups of borrowing in addition to undiluted: synthetic and selective. He defines synthetic borrowers as those with a highly developed local planning movement and resident planning experts who go beyond simply filtering external techniques through their networks,

¹ Stephen V. Ward “Re-Examining the International Diffusion of Planning,” in *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, ed. Robert Freestone (New York: Routledge, 2000),

instead “deconstruct[ing]” foreign models “breaking them down into component elements...integrating them with planning ideas and practices that are present...[creating] something distinctive and new.” In contrast, Ward notes, while selective borrowers display some innovation, it is not at the same level as synthetic borrowers. Instead, selective borrowers largely “emulate specific aspects of external planning practice in a...direct manner” but do not do so “slavish[ly] or uncritical[ly]” and remain directed by local priorities, rather than under the sway of foreign ideas or experts.²

As I argue, English-Canada’s early planning movement fits in between Ward’s categories of selective and undiluted borrowing. These early planning advocates, and the planning movement they created, were, as a whole, neither developed nor formally organized enough to offer distinct planning innovations during the period I consider and cannot be deemed synthetic borrowers. In turn, they do not completely fit Ward’s definition of selective borrowers. While, like selective borrowers, English-Canadians certainly preferred to emulate specific foreign innovations rather than adopt “substantial packages of planning practice,” Canadian planners did not offer their own planning innovations, nor did they extensively blend imported ideas with locally devised ones to create new approaches.³ Furthermore, in common with Ward’s definition of undiluted borrowers, English-Canadians did selectively import foreign experts for their knowledge, leadership abilities, and organizational skills.

This dissertation has served to reconsider Canada’s role within the wider, transnational planning cohort, and illustrate English-Canadian planners as critical and knowledgeable importers of

² Ward, “Re-Examining the International Diffusion of Planning,” 45–48.
a few

external ideas and experts and, in doing so, has reconsidered the role played by Thomas Adams, focusing on his efforts to first organize English-Canadian planning advocates and then establish a formal, professional Canadian planning institute. While Adams was not the sole founder of English-Canada's modern urban planning movement, his presence in Canada between 1914 and 1923 greatly shaped planning practice and had a profound effect on formalization of planning as a recognized profession. A leading figure in the development of the British Town Planning Institute in 1914, Adams brought his zeal for organization with him to Canada, first officially uniting the nation's diverse cohort of planning advocates within the Civic Improvement League of Canada and then aiding the efforts of technical professionals to establish planning as a separate, male, technical profession under the Town Planning Institute of Canada in 1919. Such a separation crucially changed the character of the English-Canadian movement, and specifically devalued the contributions of female urban reformers and lay planning advocates. While some male, amateur planning supporters were accepted as non-voting, partial members of the TPIC, no women were allowed to join in the years before the Great Depression.⁴

Despite the shift enacted by the TPIC's creation of "official" planning professionals, the path to professionalization was not an easy one. The Vancouver Town Planning's rejection of Canadian planners in favour of an American expert denied TPIC members' a chance to firmly establish their skills and best their foreign rivals. While these members believed in their right to shape Canada's urban environment, without the support of influential citizens and municipal governments, they could not establish the monopoly they sought.

⁴ For a greater consideration of women's role in the planning profession throughout the 1940s and beyond, please see: Sue Hendler with Julia Markovich, *I Was the Only Woman: Women and Planning in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017).

Although the years between the TPIC's initial dénouement and reemergence in 1952 marked the cessation of this earlier push for professionalization, interest in planning throughout Canada did not abate during these years, and the circulation and adoption of foreign planning innovations continued. In two case studies of Canada's planning achievements between the 1930s and 1960s, Stephen V. Ward notes that this period saw the continued presence of, particularly, British and American ideas and experts within Canada. In the 1940s, a dearth of trained Canadian planners led to an influx of European experts, many of whom were British.⁵ Despite efforts to bolster the number of home-grown planners through the creation of Canada's first planning programs at McGill University (1948), the University of Manitoba (1949), the University of British Columbia (1950), and the University of Toronto (1951), as Ward asserts, "both British planners and planning ideals were ascendant" well throughout the 1950s.⁶

Until the late 1960s and 1970s British and American planning ideas continued to play a visible position in English Canada's planning community. At this time, the reemergence of the TPIC, renamed the Canadian Institute of Planners in 1974, combined with dedicated post-secondary planning programs, led to a new influx of Canadian planners. At its peak in the late 1920s, the TPIC boasted a membership of 367, a number that plummeted to 45 by 1949.⁷ By the mid-1970s, however, over 1,000 Canadian-born planners were practicing within the country and, more so than in any previous period, as Stephen Ward notes in his assessment of the Canadian planning

⁵ Stephen V. Ward, "The International Diffusion of Planning: A Review and a Canadian Case Study," *International Planning Studies* 4.1 (1999): 64.

⁶ Ward, "The International Diffusion of Planning," 63–66.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 63.

field during that time, “senior roles were being filled overwhelmingly by Canadian-born-and-trained planners.”⁸

Though this dissertation concludes its examination of English-Canada’s planning movement in 1930, as Ward’s brief surveys of the decades following illustrate, a transnational analysis of Canada’s planning activities can be carried forward past my study’s end date. While Ward finds that the period between 1930 and the mid 1960s marked a continued, generally uncritical reliance on foreign innovations, he also argues that the theme uniting Canada’s planning history is the extent to which the “conscious priorities” of local planners and reformers have directed domestic interactions with foreign planning practices.⁹ Just as my study has interrogated the “uncritical” and “undiluted” nature of Canada’s early urban planning movement, arguing that English-Canadian advocates were critical, selective, and knowledgeable borrowers of foreign expertise, future scholars may likewise find that a transnational analysis of the post-1930s period reveals a more complex story than has previously been recognized.

⁸ Stephen V. Ward, “British and American Influences on Canadian planning.” *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 13.1 (1998): 135.

⁹ Ward, “British and American Influences,” 135.

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