

VISUALITY AND THE EMERGENCE OF CITY PLANNING IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY TORONTO AND MONTRÉAL

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COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING

In 1907, when the Civic Improvement Committee of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects (PQAA) introduced their plan for improvements to Montréal, they explained why it was needed: despite its “splendid natural location,” Montréal had many of the faults of an older city. The general plan of the old city was rectangular and the streets and blocks were laid out in a grid pattern; however, the city had grown, and the architects claimed that the original layout had become inadequate and inefficient. As a result, it had become impossible to properly manage the city.² Rather than suggesting drastic, sweeping measures aimed at rearranging the city, the PQAA’s plan offered a method for modifying and improving the existing city. The proposed changes centred on opening up main avenues to create “vistas,” constructing diagonal roadways, and connecting existing parks with thoroughfares to form a system of continuous avenues with “a lovely picture at each end.”³ Describing the central part of the city as “too congested,” the PQAA’s Civic Improvement Committee proposed cutting diagonal streets from the downtown to the east and west areas of the city to provide direct communication between the central business district and outlying areas.⁴ To support their proposal, they argued that the benefits of diagonal roads had already been demonstrated in cities such as Washington, DC, Vienna, and Paris.⁵ The PQAA’s plan outlined a strategy for turning a congested city with “gloomy and unattractive” views into a “well-designed city.”⁶ By implementing

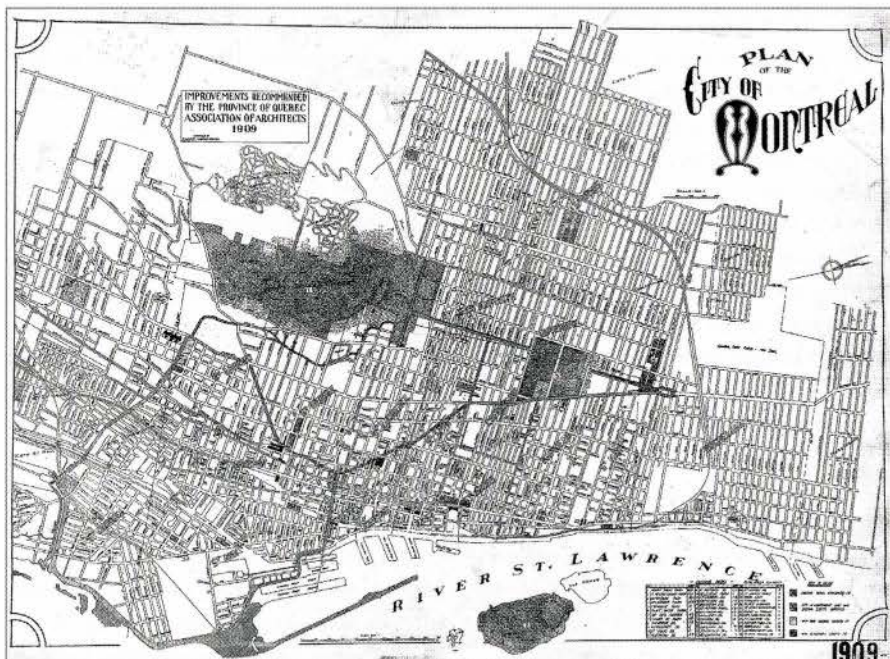


FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE CITY OF MONTREAL WITH IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE PQAA, 1909. | RICKSON OUTHET FOR THE PQAA'S CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE, VILLE DE MONTRÉAL, GESTION DE DOCUMENTS ET ARCHIVES.

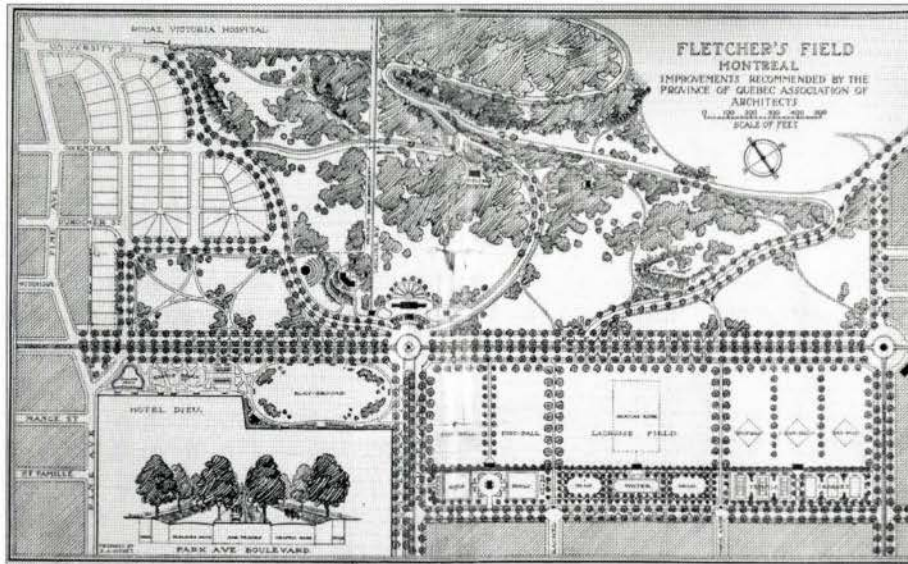


FIG. 2. FLETCHER'S FIELD, MONTREAL. IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE PQAA, 1908. | RICKSON OUTHET FOR THE PQAA'S CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTRÉAL.

the new plan, the architects argued, Montréal could become more distinctive, more efficient, more modern, and more beautiful. The campaign to modernize the city and attempts to improve the urban environment and civic life coalesced in the newly emerging field of city planning.

Similarly, the plan of improvements for Toronto, developed by the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA) and the Toronto Civic Guild of Art at about the same time as the Montréal plan, sought to transform the city from “a collection of overgrown villages” into a place where the city’s potential for greatness could be fulfilled.⁷ Like the plan for Montréal, the Toronto plan concentrated on creating broad, diagonal thoroughfares, building parkways to create a system of city parks, and beautifying the area around the harbour. They claimed that the “narrow cramped streets” and the “thickly populated districts” needed attention.⁸ These problems could be addressed by the proposed diagonal streets, which “would form great arteries of traffic and business through the city.”⁹ A member of the

Civic Guild City Plan Committee, architect W. Ford Howland, explained: “It is quite apparent to anyone that the rapid growth of Toronto will soon make the improvement of her streets and the development of her beautiful places most imperative for the proper expansion of civic life and character, as has been found necessary by many other cities of this continent.”¹⁰ Taking up ideas that had been applied in other urban centres, the OAA and Civic Guild sought to apply city planning initiatives to problems they perceived in their own cities. By incorporating elements such as diagonal streets and a system of continuous parkways to create a park system, they further aimed to integrate the qualities of an urban environment that were becoming valued internationally. They were certain that the proposed improvements would transform Toronto into a modern city.¹¹

The PQAA, the OAA, and the Civic Guild argued that specifically what was needed were *comprehensive* plans for Toronto and Montréal. In contrast to “piecemeal” development—which meant fixing minor

problems without considering the effect on the city as a whole—, comprehensive planning involved developing an ideal for a city that took into account its future growth.¹² “Piecemeal” changes could be undertaken by municipal Works Departments and would include, for example, widening a road. Comprehensive planning, on the other hand, required a practitioner with specialized knowledge and exceptional aesthetic sensitivity. As Montréal architect J. Rawson Gardner explained, comprehensive planning meant having a “well defined plan or ideal to work up to.”¹³ In order to grow and prosper, and to become cosmopolitan, these cities had to be transformed from the congested, overgrown, and inefficient places they had become into sites of beauty and pleasure, and that was only possible, they argued, through systematic planning undertaken by skilled architects.¹⁴

Architects in cities all over North America were arguing for comprehensive planning, and planning became a way to address the pressures caused by the transformation of colonial settlements into metropolitan centres. North American plan makers felt that a comprehensive approach to planning was the best way to avoid the horrors of crime, disease, and moral depravity associated with the slums of major European cities. Planning was viewed as a way of improving the aesthetic qualities of the urban environment, but it also provided a mechanism for implementing practical solutions to address problems such as traffic congestion and overcrowding.¹⁵ Through comprehensive planning, architects argued, it would be possible to enhance the urban environment rather than merely fix individual problems.¹⁶ Because comprehensive planning was seen as a means of improving the overall condition of the city, it would open up the possibility for civic

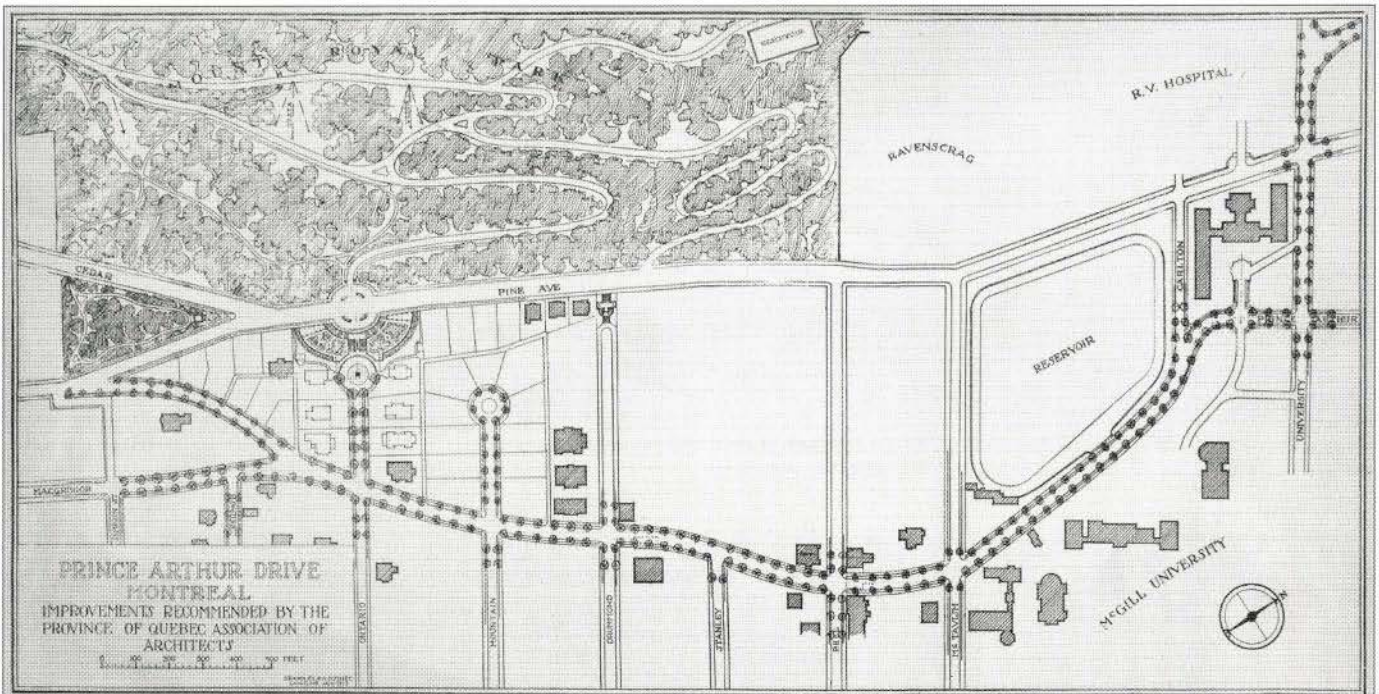


FIG. 3. PRINCE ARTHUR DRIVE. IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE PQAA, 1908. | RICKSON OUTHET FOR THE PQAA'S CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL

beautification and the enhancement of civic life. Through their attempts to implement comprehensive planning, architects in Toronto and Montreal participated in what Anthony Sutcliffe has defined as an international planning movement.¹⁷

With the rapid growth of both Toronto and Montréal, architects were concerned with a range of related issues. In Toronto, which was second to Montréal in size, Winnipeg was seen as a rival with the potential to draw away wealth.¹⁸ Architects concluded that by improving the condition of the city and by fostering civic pride, Toronto's appeal would grow and investment would not be lured away. Although Montréal was the largest city in the country and was securely established as a financial and industrial centre, civic spirit was weak. Corruption scandals had caused anxiety about the proper management and development of the city, and the drive for municipal reform was

strong.¹⁹ In both cities, poverty, poor health conditions, and immigration had also been identified as problems. The hope was that, by improving the overall condition of a city, the development schemes would resolve civic problems of all kinds.

Social historians, sociologists, and urban historians have shown that, around the turn of the century, city planners and social reformers believed there was a direct correspondence between poor health, cramped living conditions, and deficient moral values.²⁰ Dolores Hayden, for example, has shown that the social settlement movement sought to improve the physical and moral condition of the poor by creating municipal services, such as soup kitchens and public baths and laundries, which would, in turn, raise living standards.²¹ In Canada, the *Canadian Municipal Journal*, which addressed a readership of civic improvement

advocates, architects, and members of the business community, espoused the idea that disease and decay were endemic in cities. In an article discussing an American city planning conference, one commentator emphasized the negative outcomes that result from poor living conditions: "The most pitiful victim of modern city life is not the slum child who dies, but the slum child who lives. Every time a baby dies the nation loses a prospective citizen; but *in every slum child who lives, the nation has a probable consumptive and a possible criminal.*"²² The imminent threat of physical and moral decay, criminality, and a deficient citizenry spurred on civic improvement advocates and supported the argument in favour of city planning.

For those involved in civic improvement in Toronto and Montréal, improving social conditions meant changing the physical conditions and spatial organization of the city itself. In order to implement the



FIG. 4. BOULEVARD DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION. IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE PQAA, 1908. | RICKSON OUTHET FOR THE PQAA'S CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.

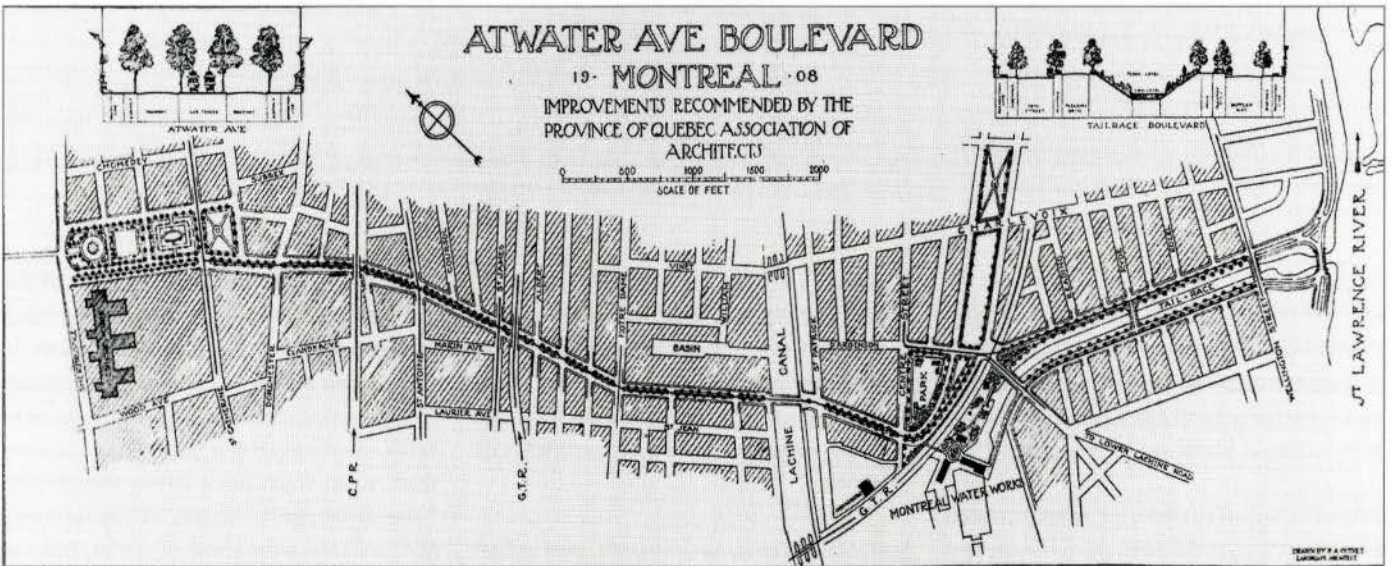


FIG. 5. ATWATER AVE. BOULEVARD, MONTREAL. IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE PQAA, 1908. | RICKSON OUTHET FOR THE PQAA'S CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.

desired changes and further the movement for better cities, architects and civic improvement advocates pressed municipal officials to support their planning initiatives. In both cities, that crucial reform period saw the emergence of new municipal institutions and agencies. The Public Health Department, in particular, took on an increasingly important role in major cities in the early twentieth century.²³ Attempting to address a set of ever more complex urban problems, architects

and civic improvement advocates in both cities forged new relationships with their municipal governments.

In their efforts to reshape the urban environment and to build new cooperative relationships with city officials, architects involved in civic improvement initiatives in early twentieth-century Toronto and Montréal relied on a range of visual materials, including architectural renderings, technical drawings, and plans, to

convey a vision for their respective cities. These renderings and plans were important, not only in attempts to create the desired urban environment, but also in the emergence of a planning movement in Canada. As Canadian architects claimed and adapted ideas from planning initiatives in countries such as Britain, France, and the United States and applied them to the cities in which they lived, they worked out their ideas and conveyed them to potential supporters through

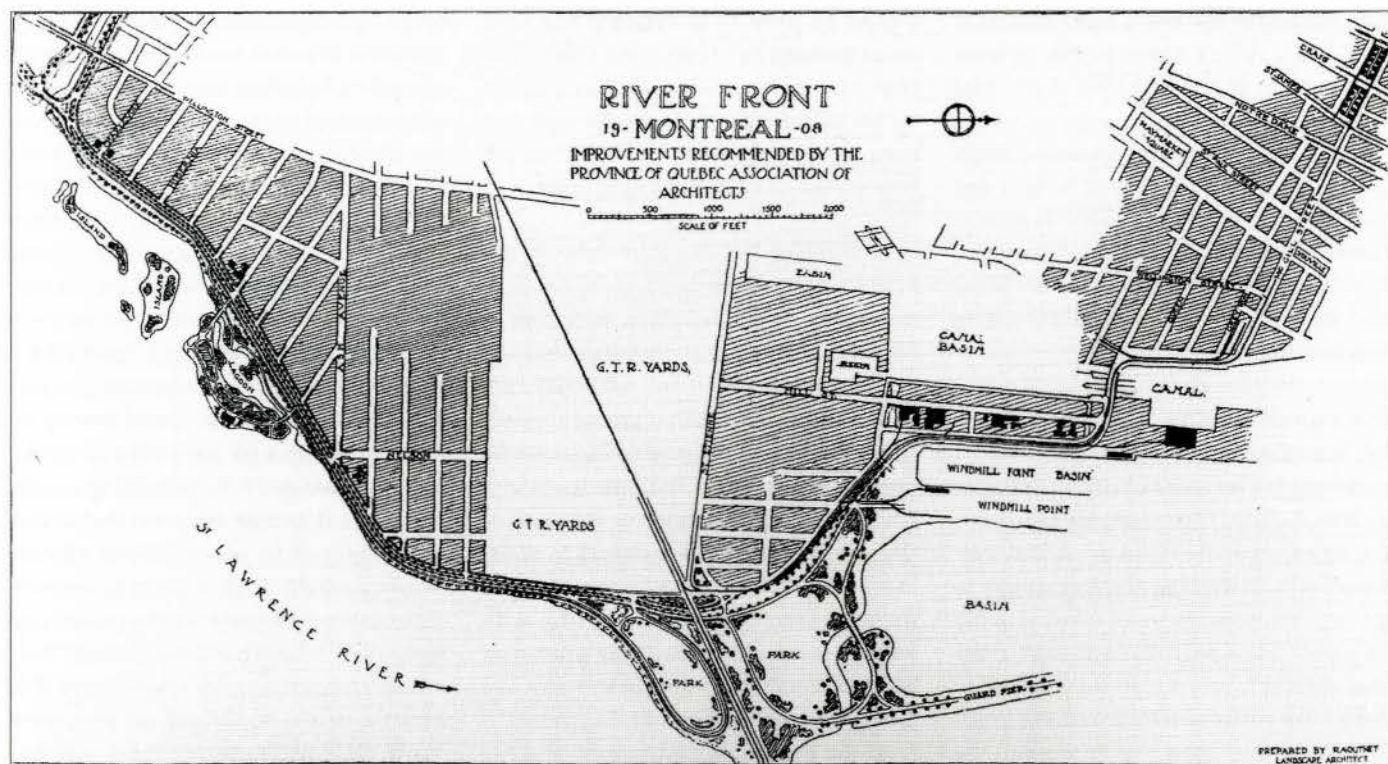


FIG. 6. RIVER FRONT, MONTREAL. IMPROVEMENTS RECOMMENDED BY THE PQAA, 1908. | RICKSON OUTHET FOR THE PQAA'S CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.

visual means. This article aims to show that these visual materials became one of the principal methods architects used in persuading civic officials and the public that their city planning initiatives would help to resolve complex urban problems. The visual discourse of the plans and renderings, in particular, sought to convince viewers of the value of aesthetic solutions to civic improvement. At the same time, the aesthetic quality of the renderings emphasized the importance of visibility in the experience of the modern city. Although the architects' efforts to create their desired cities for the most part failed, they were somewhat successful with an alternate but related ambition. The visually rendered improvement plans functioned both as a sign of professional expertise and as an instrument of the aestheticized discourse of early twentieth-century city planning. In this way, the

renderings were one of the professional and technical means through which architects attempted to constitute the city as a potentially utopic field of possibilities.

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT IN MONTRÉAL

In Montréal, the PQAA's Civic Improvement Committee established their vision for the city through a series of six architectural plans, which were drafted by landscape architect Rickson A. Outhet in 1908-1909.²⁴ It was only after much consideration and debate over a tentative scheme, sketched out in 1906, that the series of detailed drawings were prepared.²⁵ The PQAA was concerned with improving traffic circulation, beautifying the city, and providing new leisure spaces and recreation facilities for city dwellers, and the plans drawn up by Outhet

showed newly developed public parks and a series of tree-lined boulevards and parkways, diagonal thoroughfares connecting the central business district with the outer areas of the city, and a civic centre.²⁶ In order to show how the improvements would both fit into and transform the city, Outhet plotted all of the recommended improvements onto a plan of the City of Montréal (fig. 1). Topographic features, such as Mount Royal and the St. Lawrence River, were indicated on the plan in order to show how the built-up city corresponded to the geography of the region. The names of constituencies specified different political districts, and the street grid and park areas showed the infrastructure and spatial organization of the city. By integrating topographical, political, and spatial features into one plan, Outhet produced an overall picture of the proposals for the

city. Existing urban parks were shaded in dark grey, with a table in the bottom right corner that calculated their total area. Government lands were indicated with crosshatching, and proposed parks and boulevards were plotted in light and dark tones respectively. With its combination of existing and planned features, the PQAA's plan represented an ideal and showed how the proposals would improve the city.

The plan of the City of Montréal showing the PQAA's proposed improvements endorsed the very idea of city planning. In an article about their plans for Montréal, the architects of the PQAA presented their initiative as "a warning and an example to every place, however small, which is going to grow," because, they explained, cities that did not follow a plan were bound to encounter costly and inconvenient problems once they grew.²⁷ In Montréal, the diagonal roadways radiating from Victoria Square (shown as heavy black lines in fig. 1) clearly cut across the existing infrastructure of the city. These roads were identified as among the most expensive of the improvements. However, they were also described as urgent modifications, modelled on the success of diagonal boulevards in cities such as Paris. In Montréal's case, the proposed diagonal roads would run almost entirely through the poorest districts, and therefore, although costly, they would not be prohibitively expensive to the city. With the enhanced property values resulting from the diagonal thoroughfares, it was assumed the expenditure for the improvements would quickly be recovered.²⁸ The architects warned, however, that other cities might not be so fortunate. They argued that if cities planned for growth, there would be no need for expensive interventions in the future. By adapting their knowledge of the problems and solutions in other cities, the architects argued that planners

would be able to determine the best arrangement for their own cities. The plan of improvements was thus both an authoritative claim for particular interventions in Montréal and an assertion of the importance of city planning in general.

In addition to the city plan showing the PQAA's recommended improvements, there were five other plans, prepared as detailed architectural drawings focusing on improvements to Mount Royal Park and to the roadways that would connect the city's main parks and squares. While the city plan showed the new roads and embellishments in relation to the existing city, and the plans were drawn to scale, the five architectural drawings showed the proposed changes to the city, with existing features included only when they were to remain the same. In this way, the proposals were somewhat disconnected from the existing infrastructure, and the extent of the changes was less readily accessible to the viewer. In contrast to the city plan, which presented all of the information simultaneously in a single representation and showed how specific proposals fit into the city as a whole, the series of five drawings provided a more detailed, sequential account of the proposed improvements. Because each of the five drawings focused on parks and connecting roads, it is clear that the PQAA believed it was most important to improve these aspects of the city.

Parks were considered such an essential feature of improvement schemes because the ordered experience of nature they could provide was thought to offer relief from the perceived ills of modern urban life. The nineteenth-century public parks movement, which was particularly influential in England and the United States, sought to improve the conditions of urban life by incorporating natural scenery into urban environments. Conceived as pieces

of the countryside constructed in the city, pleasure grounds were carefully landscaped to heighten the urban dweller's experience of nature. In direct contrast to the urban environment in which they were created, pleasure grounds were thought to provide physical and psychic relief from the unhealthy and unnatural conditions of urban life.²⁹ The eminent town planner Thomas Adams confirmed the importance of parks when he explained: "parks are a better investment than hospitals and asylums, and if we do not spend money on the one we shall be compelled to spend it on the other."³⁰ By providing public parks, many people believed that urban problems could be prevented and a better citizenry would result. Visitors to pleasure grounds would experience the beauty and serenity of natural harmony through their encounter with a pastoral landscape. The benefits of a carefully laid out park were made clear by Frederick Todd, a member of the PQAA's Civic Improvement Committee, who explained:

People whose lives are lived among the bustle and strife of a large city require some place where they can rest after the days' exertion; mothers with little ones, whose life in the narrow tenements is ill-suited to fit them for life's battle; to all these what a boon are the public parks, where the air is at least more pure than in the street, and the children can romp on the grass or roam through the woods [...] The constant familiar observation of surroundings cannot help but have some influence, especially upon the younger members of the community, and if these surroundings are untidy and careless, they must influence to a certain extent one's after life, while the same is true if one's surroundings are neat, beautiful and artistic.³¹

Neatness, beauty, and artistic surroundings were the characteristics that obviated crime, disease, and immorality. Following Todd's notion of the purifying

effects of parks, the architectural drawings for Montréal's parks and parkways outline a vision for a city where leisure and recreation in a natural setting were essential features of modern urban life.

The belief that beauty and a good environment were essential mechanisms of reform was discussed, not only among architects, reformers, and civic improvement advocates, but also by members of the press. An excerpt from an article in the *Montréal Daily News* describes the positive power commonly attributed to a beautiful environment:

The clean street is an aid to virtue. The playground renders the corner policeman superfluous. Remove the slum, and you do not need to pay for a jail. Broaden your park spaces, and you give clean and happy minds to young and old. Offer the noble monument, and you will have high thinking. For, though the streets may be paved, and the water and other questions settled, a city can only be truly redeemed by the appeal to what is noble and true and beautiful.³²

Parks, in particular, were central to such notion of reform through aesthetics and, perhaps more directly than any other intervention, they were intended to prevent social deviance and to ameliorate the problems of modern urban life.

The PQAA's vision for improved park amenities in Montréal focused on Fletcher's Field (now parc Jeanne-Mance), a centrally located park on the northeast side of Mount Royal (fig. 2). The well-known American landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead designed Mount Royal Park in the late 1870s, and the PQAA's proposed modifications to the park were described as having considered Olmstead's original intentions.³³ The improvement plans included a new winding road for pleasure vehicles and pedestrians that

would lead up the mountain, where visitors could enjoy peace and quiet amidst the natural scenery. Playing fields for lacrosse, football, and baseball, along with other recreational facilities such as a playground and wading ponds, were planned for Fletcher's Field. The Civic Improvement Committee explained that it was "extremely desirable that the City should supply adequate playgrounds for the citizens."³⁴ Playgrounds kept children off the dirty streets and away from the moral corruption of back alleys. As Galen Cranz has shown, along with the principles of beauty and order, organized recreation was explicitly taken up as a way of teaching the principles of good citizenship, which included self-reliance, initiative, leadership, and a sense of ethics.³⁵ Between the playing fields and the houses along Esplanade Avenue, the architects designed an area they described as similar to Luxembourg Garden in Paris. That strip of land included tennis courts and a croquet lawn, along with decorative gardens and fountains. Skilfully combining recreation areas with pleasure grounds, the PQAA planned Fletcher's Field as a park with the finest conditions for people of all classes and ages.

The beautification of the area around Fletcher's Field was almost as important to the overall vision of development as the plans for the park itself. Concerned that the "unseemly display" of clotheslines and garbage bins in the backyards of the houses along Pine Avenue would spoil the view from the park, the architects proposed a scheme for street extensions so that roadways encircling the park would create a boundary between parkland and the nearby residences.³⁶ New, well-designed, detached or semi-detached houses could then be built to block the unsightly homes along Pine Avenue. Attempting to ensure the best view for park visitors and local

residents alike, the architects followed a key principle of Civic Art: they planned new streets with houses that would face onto the open space of the park. From the park, visitors would see the fronts of new middle-class homes rather than the cluttered backyards of rundown homes. Private developers were similarly involved in regulating the area. From the turn-of-the-century, developers used contracts specifying allowable building types and construction standards to exclude all but the affluent from the area around Mount Royal. Multiuse buildings were prohibited, as were new homes of cheap construction.³⁷ Although the PQAA's plan for the park itself followed Olmstead's reformist vision and was ostensibly for citizens of all classes, the surrounding residential area was an exclusive domain reserved for the wealthy.

Outhet's precisely rendered drawing of Fletcher's Field emphasized the aesthetic value of the proposals for improving the area. The aerial perspective of the drawing made evident the decorative quality of the tree-lined boulevards and the beautifying effect of the carefully laid out recreation fields and plots of land for housing. The newly planned area of housing was depicted in the drawing as unshaded blocks, which distinguished it from the existing residential construction, shown as shaded blocks (see top left section of fig. 2). By focusing on aesthetic effect, the drawing itself concealed any evidence of the exclusive development practices that intervention required. Instead, the new houses quietly seduced the viewer by appearing to fit seamlessly into the existing urban environment. These new rectangular, triangular, and trapezoid lots and the delicately curved streets erased the ramshackle houses and replaced them with the architects' dream: an orderly, aesthetically pleasing space. The captivating drawing obfuscated

what was at stake in the aestheticizing discourse of city planning. What Outhet's drawing did not show was that the architects of the PQAA aimed to create an environment that would, in itself, take on the social work of urban reform.

Outhet's drawing was a hybrid form that combined cartographic and topographical codes to produce an idealized urban space. The rationality of cartography was referenced by the compass direction and scaled measurement indicating the ratio between inches to feet found in the top right-hand corner of the drawing. The recessional perspective view of Park Avenue Boulevard, inset into the plan for Fletcher's Field, invited the viewer to imagine the three-dimensionality of the space, and the shading and modeling on the trees exceeded cartographic codes, turning even the plan itself into a kind of vista. The multiple views provided in the drawing attempted to convey to viewers how the improved area would feel. Looking down on Montréal from the all-seeing perspective of the God's eye view, the city was shown as a place of light, space, and beauty. The combination of rational measurement and perspective rendering worked to produce a persuasive drawing that would have seemed at once carefully thought out and visionary.

Outhet's Fletcher's Field drawing employed this hybrid visual discourse to lay out space that would be at once functional and beautiful. It depicted a broad three-lane boulevard that would divide the pleasure grounds of Mount Royal Park from the recreational area of Fletcher's Field. The proposed boulevard would have three separate roadways to divide regular traffic, the street railway, and pleasure driving. Four rows of trees, one between each lane of traffic, were proposed as a way to give Park Avenue a new grandeur, and the long vista would

be punctuated with circular "piazzas," in which the architects hoped to place fountains or monuments (see the perspective vista in fig. 2). The circular juncture at University Avenue, Park Avenue, and a new boulevard was, according to the architects, ideal for "a handsome fountain on the lines of the one at the Piazza di Termini at Rome, or else a monument to one of the Fathers of Confederation."³⁸ By appealing to the senses, the proposed features were intended to provide a respite from the chaotic conditions of modern urban life.

A second drawing in the series used similar visual strategies to show proposed improvements for another area adjacent to Mount Royal Park. Identified as Prince Arthur Drive (now Avenue Docteur-Penfield), the drawing portrayed the continuation of the tree-lined roadway leading around the park and the decorative features that would embellish the approach (fig. 3). Here again, the modeling on the trees was used to make the natural features of the landscape stand out from the urban environment surrounding the park. The trees along Prince Arthur Drive punctuate the aerial view of the streetscape and lead the eye through the drawing. In doing so, the drawing produced the same kind of experience of movement for the eye that the pleasure drive was meant to produce for the body. The important role of visibility in the modern city was particularly evident in this drawing. Outhet marked two points on the winding route through the park as places where the visitor could expect to view a pleasing vista. By indicating locations from which city dwellers could look at their city, the drawing validated visual experience as a primary mode of engaging with the city. The emphasis on looking, conveyed in this drawing, reinforced the PQAA's visually-oriented approach to city planning.

The other drawings in the series also relied on a juxtaposition of technical and persuasive features to delineate additional spaces of retreat and pleasant, orderly routes to connect them. These routes took the form of a succession of boulevards that were designed to run through the city, connecting the major parks. One of the new boulevards was intended to link Mount Royal, a large park on the hilly, elevated ground in the centre of the city, and Lafontaine Park, located in a residential area in the east end of the city. Outhet's drawing showed the boulevard running from Fletcher's Field along Duluth Street to Lafontaine Park. It continued beyond the park where it connected with Sherbrooke Street at the site of a new public bath (fig. 4). The PQAA's Civic Improvement Committee proposed that the boulevard might be a memorial to confederation, again suggesting statues to the fathers of confederation for the major intersections. Like the new Park Avenue, that boulevard was to have separate, tree-lined roadways dividing pleasure drivers, tramcars, and heavy traffic. Although the drawing was identified as a rendering of the boulevard, Lafontaine Park appeared to be its central feature. The park design showed a large parade ground, a lagoon, and a series of winding pathways, which were characteristic of the pleasure ground layout. It was these winding pathways and the experience of the natural landscape of the pleasure grounds that they provided, which were thought to be inherently purifying. The aerial perspective of the drawing highlighted the decorative features of the park and the orderly layout of the city streets. Although the three-dimensionality of the space appeared less pronounced than in the drawing for Fletcher's Field, the undulating lines of the pathways in Lafontaine Park stood out against the linearity of the hatched city blocks. The visual reprieve that the curvilinear areas of the drawing

provided to the viewer paralleled the restful and refreshing effects that the parks were intended to offer city dwellers.

Even though the boulevards were designed to beautify the city, the architects were also concerned with providing pleasant routes through the city and greater access to the city's leisure spaces. To that end, a further proposal sought to turn Atwater Avenue into another tree-lined boulevard that would extend from Sherbrooke Street, just a short distance from Fletcher's Field, to the Lachine Canal, ending at the point where Victoria Bridge crosses the St. Lawrence River (fig. 5). Outhet's drawing for this proposal included recessional perspective views of two boulevards, Atwater and Tailrace, which gave an indication of the kind of vistas the improvements would provide. The PQAA also proposed a parkway along the St. Lawrence River to provide a beautiful riverside view, and a plot of land being used as a dumping ground in the east end was slated for conversion to parkland (fig. 6). In the drawing for the riverfront, the viewer's attention was drawn to the beautification of the area looking onto the river through the contrast between the curves and rounded forms used to portray the parks and boulevards and the straight lines used to depict the built-up areas of the city. Because the streets adjacent to the proposed river front development had been merely sketched in, the focus of the drawing was on the riverfront. This vicinity, designed for the pleasure and rejuvenation of the city's inhabitants, is the section of the drawing that is the most decorative and agreeable to look at. In both proposals for new routes to the city's leisure areas, the visual techniques used in the drawings emphasized the desired effect of the proposal depicted in the drawings.

The PQAA's series of drawings for improvements to Montréal conveyed the importance of visuality in the improved city and adapted ideas from the international planning movement to the local conditions. Drawing on planning initiatives in other cities, particularly Paris, the plans emphasized improving traffic circulation by widening roads and carving out diagonal thoroughfares. At the same time, the architectural drawings articulated a plan for reordering the city's spaces of leisure, and the aesthetic properties of the drawings reinforced the idea that the modern city should be beautiful. Drawn up for members of the City Council, the renderings employed visual techniques, such as three-dimensionality, to enable viewers to imagine immersing their own bodies in these idealized spaces.³⁹ By combining aesthetic strategies with the rational discourse of cartography, each drawing provided multiple views of the proposed improvements. While the PQAA described their recommendations in terms of the way the appearance and spatial organization of the city would change and how citizens would use the new spaces and facilities, the drawings attempted to persuade civic officials that the proposals would function effectively as a means of social reform.⁴⁰ By emphasizing a visual experience of the city, Outhet's drawings affirmed that an important aspect of the improved urban environment would be its pleasing visual appearance.

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT FOR TORONTO

At the same time the PQAA was working on plans for improvements to Montréal, architects in Toronto were busy with a plan for their city. The idea for a city plan had been discussed at a meeting of architects in 1901 and, in 1903, the Toronto chapter of the OAA set themselves the task of "procur[ing] a plan for the present

and future beautification and general layout of the city."⁴¹ The OAA produced a blueprint in 1905 (fig. 7), but the municipal government refused to provide financial support for developing it into a city plan. At that point, the OAA and the Civic Guild agreed to collaborate in order to produce a plan themselves. While the Civic Guild raised funds from their well-off supporters in the business community, a committee of architects, including William Langton, Edmund Burke, and S.G. Curry from the OAA, and members of the Toronto Architectural Eighteen Club and the Civic Guild, revised the OAA's blueprint to produce a new document, the *Plan of Improvements to the City of Toronto*.⁴² The Civic Guild's ability to raise five thousand dollars by subscription to support their civic improvement initiative, which included creating the plan and producing an accompanying report, is both an indication of the wealth and influence of its members and a sign of the widespread support among prominent Torontonians for civic improvement and city planning.⁴³

The OAA's plan proposed a series of changes to three aspects of the city: a new layout for the waterfront, a series of parks and parkways, and new diagonal streets that would cut across the existing gridiron street layout.⁴⁴ These key features of the plan have been discussed by urban historians as evidence of the Canadian involvement in the City Beautiful movement; yet, although City Beautiful ideas were discussed and even embraced by some, criticism of City Beautiful and Beaux-Arts planning from the period shows that it was not, by any means, unanimously popular among Toronto architects.⁴⁵ An article in the country's leading architectural journal, *Canadian Architect and Builder*, clearly refuted that notion. Discussing architect J.P. Hynes's paper on civic improvements, the author



FIG. 7. PLAN OF THE SUGGESTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF TORONTO, 1905, PROCEEDINGS OF THE ONTARIO ASSOCIATION OF ARCHITECTS, 1906. | OAA, N.P. [90A].

noted that it was received with some opposition because it advocated a grand, ornamental entrance to the city, like those planned for Cleveland and Buffalo. The idea was criticized as merely a “Beaux-Arts project,” and what was required was described as city planning rather than merely beautification.⁴⁶ Because the support for City Beautiful planning was far from unanimous, and because the proposals for Toronto were comparable to civic improvement initiatives in cities throughout the United States, as well as those planned for Montréal, it is more accurate to interpret the OAA’s proposals as evidence of the Toronto architects’ eagerness to participate in the emerging field of city planning.

When William Langton proudly presented the plan to members of the OAA at their

annual convention in January 1906, he explained that it was essential to invest in the future development of Toronto, and he claimed that the proposals were not extravagant in comparison to the kind of improvements that were being executed elsewhere on the continent. Langton put it bluntly: Toronto was at risk of falling behind other cities in North America. He declared:

When the idea of planning the future development of Toronto first came into our minds, some of us thought that we had got hold of an original idea, but when, having become interested in the matter, our attention was awake to allusions (in professional and other journals) to similar efforts elsewhere, we found that everybody else on the Continent of America seemed possessed by the same idea. Plan making is in the air;

we have caught it from our generation; and Toronto in taking up this plan and carrying it out will be merely following a movement and following it a good way behind. That I think is the general argument for our plan; we must not be left too far behind.⁴⁷

The significance of the OAA’s plan was therefore, in part, its ability to demonstrate that Toronto was involved in the international planning movement.

One of the ways the Toronto architects aligned their proposals with similar city planning initiatives in other cities was through the production of visual materials, such as plans and renderings. Published in the OAA’s *Proceedings*, as well as in *Canadian Architect and Builder* (which Langton edited), the OAA’s blueprint was accompanied by a bird’s eye view of the

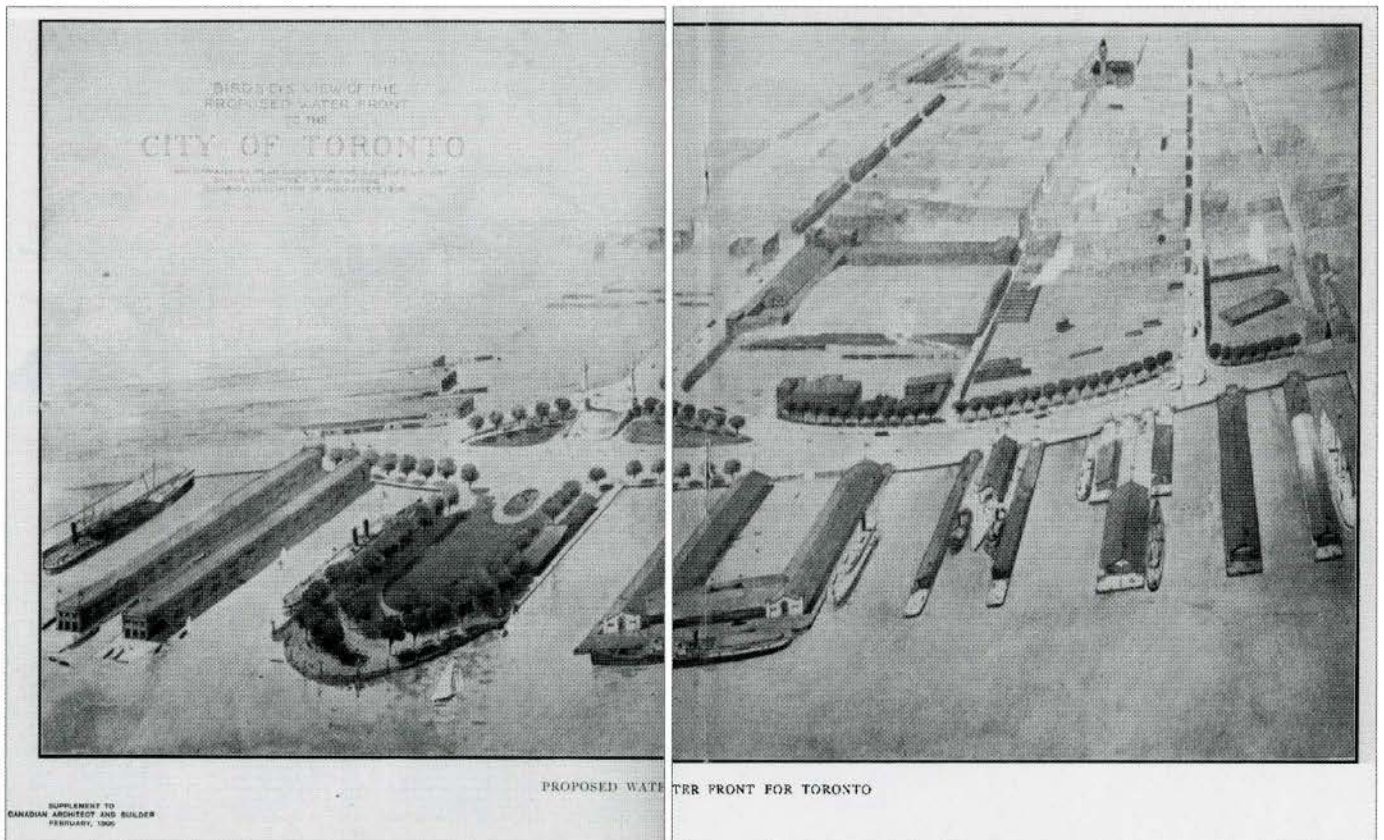


FIG. 8. BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE PROPOSED WATER FRONT TO THE CITY OF TORONTO, 1905. | OAA, CANADIAN ARCHITECT AND BUILDER, VOL. 19, NO. 2, FEBRUARY 1906, PLATES 1A AND B.

waterfront (fig. 8).⁴⁸ Looking down and across the waterfront area from an elevated viewpoint, the rendering depicted long, wide boulevards stretching off into the distance. Rows of trees were shown decoratively lining the parkway that ran along the lakefront, a small park area jutted out into the harbour, and a sailboat cruised nearby. The bird's eye view offered viewers an enticing vision of the entrance to the city. Projecting a lantern-slide of the waterfront drawing for his audience at the OAA convention, Langton explained that the beauty of the space was its scale and simplicity. "Broad and ample," the improvements would avoid the "vulgarity of swaggering pretentiousness" that other cities were risking with their plans for elaborate gateways around their harbours. The OAA's aim was to restore the natural character of the

environment with a park by the water.⁴⁹ By referring to a perspective rendering to present the proposal for a beautiful and orderly waterfront, Langton followed a precedent established in American city planning around the turn of the century, when bird's-eye views became increasingly common for competition drawings and client presentation drawings.⁵⁰ Drawn pictorially and obliquely from an elevated position, perspective renderings were favoured for their ability to portray the general features and overall sensibility of a design in a persuasive manner. The OAA's rendering conveyed their proposal for Toronto's waterfront at the same time that it compared the scheme with other, similar initiatives in American cities.

The OAA's plan and perspective rendering were seen by architects and engineers,

many of whom were already committed to the idea of city planning. To that audience, the unveiling of a plan of improvements for Toronto was an encouraging sign of progress. However, it was necessary to address a wider audience and to show City Council and the public that the improvements were a viable project for the city and not merely the pipe dreams of utopian architects. To that end, the OAA handed off their blueprints to the Civic Guild, who set to work on a revised version of the plan. Much of the work for civic improvement then began to take place outside the province's professional architectural association, yet the push for city planning was directed by architects who sought to change conditions in their own cities. A Plan Committee, headed by Langton, continued developing the plan, while a Publicity Committee

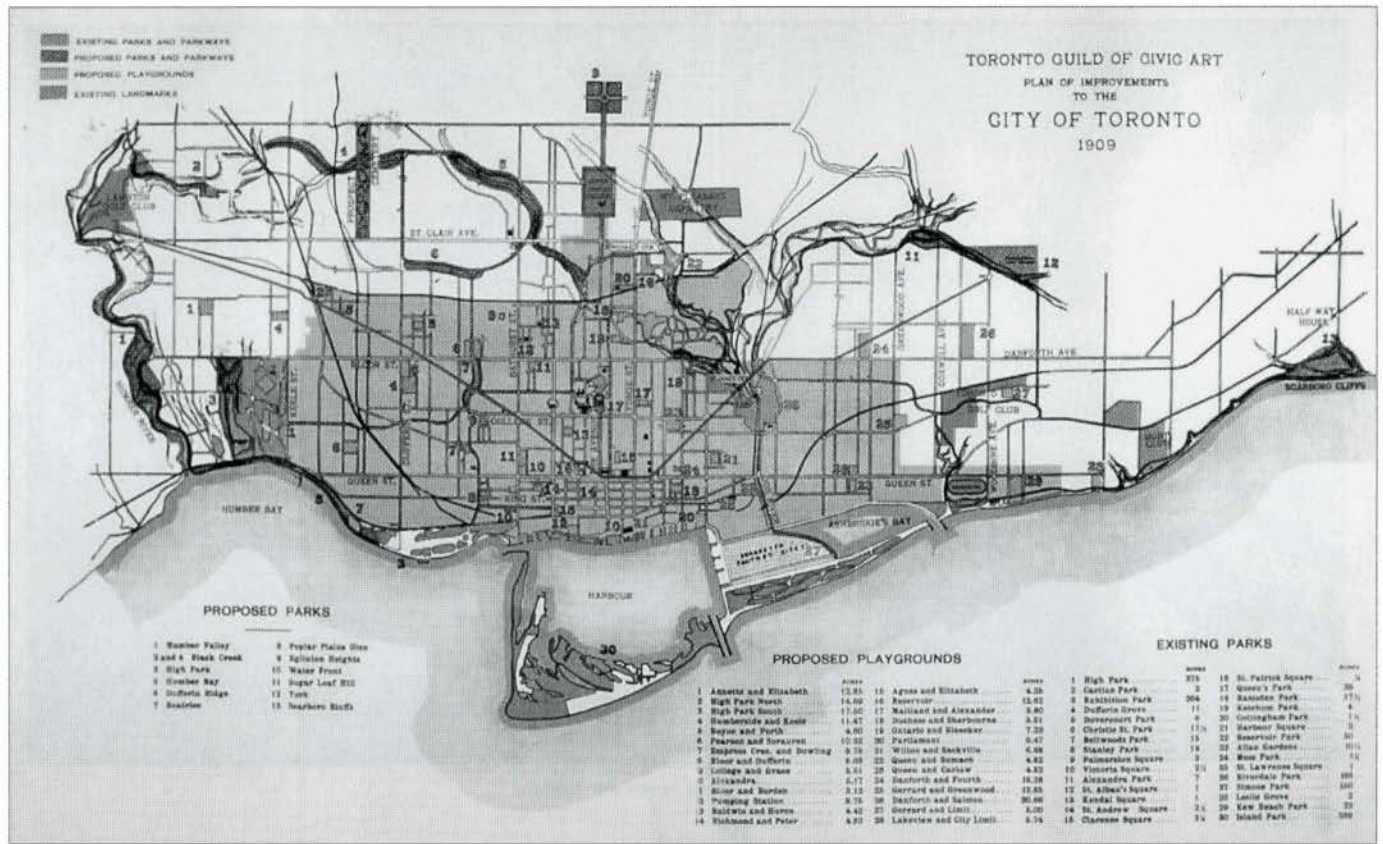


FIG. 9. PLAN OF IMPROVEMENTS TO THE CITY OF TORONTO, ACCOMPANYING THE REPORT ON A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR SYSTEMATIC IMPROVEMENTS IN TORONTO, 1909. | TORONTO GUILD OF CIVIC ART, CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES, FONDS 1015, BOX 146634, FILE 3.

set out to promote it and gain support for its implementation. A Citizens Committee of one hundred members also attempted to use their influence to get City Council and the provincial government to introduce legislation that would establish a commission to carry out the improvement plan.⁵¹ Concerned to see that the vision was developed in an expert way and that the plan itself was properly prepared, the advisory board of the Civic Guild considered hiring an architect and a draughtsman. With some financial support from City Council and more funds from their private sponsors, Langton proposed that the Civic Guild employ the English architect, Sir Aston Webb, to develop the plan into a form suitable for public distribution.⁵² In particular, Webb would finalize the details for junction streets

and squares, which were formed by the proposed diagonal roadways.⁵³

By 1907, when Webb was retained by the Civic Guild, his decade-long project (1899-1909) for a new building for the Victoria and Albert Museum (formerly the South Kensington Museum) was nearing completion and his plan for the Queen Victoria Memorial and redesign of the mall in front of Buckingham Palace (1901-1911) was underway. Although Langton did not explicitly state his reason for suggesting Webb, the museum building, the redesign of the mall, and earlier work for the Birmingham Law Courts with partner Ingress Bell had earned Webb a prominent reputation, of which Langton was evidently aware. Webb's contribution to the plan for improvements to Toronto

was minor compared to his work on a new addition for an expansive museum and his redesign of an important, symbolic area of London; however, with each of these projects, the architect was hired to create environments in which citizens would be enriched by the beauty and harmony of the space.

Webb must have seemed like an excellent choice to assist the Toronto architects, because both the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Victoria Memorial were important commissions that displayed Webb's skill for redesigning existing architectural and urban spaces. In the 1891 competition for a new building for the Victoria and Albert Museum, administered by the Office of Works and assessed by Alfred Waterhouse, then president of

the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), the eight entries were evaluated on a set of principles that included elements such as dignity, rhythm, general symmetry and balance, and artistic treatment of details.⁵⁴ Waterhouse also considered light, wall space, spatial provisions, cost, and congruency of the new building with existing ones. Most important, however, was the “excellence of the plan.” Here, the preferred traits were “simplicity, symmetry of plan, and directness of communication [...] position and arrangement of staircases, both for beauty and convenience.”⁵⁵ Waterhouse gave Webb’s entry full marks for the plan. Webb’s plan defined a cohesive space that flowed from one section of the museum to another. He demonstrated his ability to resolve a complex problem—presented by the need to coordinate a vast new building with a rambling, older structure—that was not unlike the problem of developing a plan for improvements to an existing city.

While the process of designing a new building for the Victoria and Albert Museum was similar to the process of city planning in that it involved integrating the old with the new, redesigning the mall in front of Buckingham Palace was similar to planning for improvements to Toronto, as both projects aimed to reshape urban spaces. In the commission for the Victoria Memorial, Webb was charged with transforming an area of central London into a memorial to the recently deceased monarch while, at the same time, carrying out a program of civic improvements. Londoners had often described their city as lacking the qualities appropriate for an imperial capital, and Webb’s design for the mall was seen as an opportunity to incorporate improvements that would give the city grandeur and spaciousness. Webb’s design opened up the main thoroughfare of the mall and formed beautiful vistas, like those created

by the boulevards of Paris.⁵⁶ To Langton, who longed for grand vistas and majestic spaces, Webb’s design offered a model for the successful redevelopment of a city centre.

Although Webb himself never visited Toronto, his draughtsman, A.W. Bentham, worked with the Guild for three months during the summer of 1907. The Guild was particularly concerned about solving the difficult challenge presented by the junctions of the proposed diagonal roadways. Combining “safety, convenience, and beauty with proper economy” was described as “a very difficult problem.”⁵⁷ However, the combination of beauty and convenience had also been the focus of Webb’s plan for the Victoria and Albert Museum. Working with the drawings prepared by the Guild, as well as with photographs and a description of the difficulties and aims of the project, Webb prepared a new set of drawings. Langton was thrilled by the results. He explained: “it is gratifying to see from it [the drawing] that the employment of Sir Aston Webb for this work is justified. Our own drawing looks amateurish beside his and the improvements are not in the way of elaborateness but in the way of that simplicity, which is the particular mark of good design.”⁵⁸ Webb’s contribution to the civic improvement initiative was thus in helping to draw up a plan that was suitable for publicity.

Produced for city councillors, prominent businessmen, and civic-minded citizens, and distributed with the Civic Guild’s *Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Improvements in Toronto*, the *Plan of Improvements to the City of Toronto* (fig. 9) should be read as one component of a diverse attempt to influence the development of the city and to convince the public that city planning would improve civic life. Steadfast in

its dedication to city planning, the Civic Guild Plan Committee saw the publication and widespread distribution of the plan as a central part of its campaign for civic improvement. The Plan Committee produced a small version of the plan for publication, which showed the principal streets and proposed improvements, as well as a large, fully detailed, colour version, which it hoped would be hung in City Hall and sent out for city planning exhibitions.⁵⁹ Under the careful management of the Committee, the smaller version of the plan was also issued to newspapers, along with a letter from William Langton, in which he impressed upon the reader the practical nature of the plan, the intention to carry out the improvements gradually, and, ultimately, its benefits for the people of the city.⁶⁰ He explained that the scheme would be beneficial both for business and pleasure, and although the interventions were directed at the city itself, the effects would be felt by its citizens. In their bid to improve the condition of the city and to inspire civic pride, the architects had to convince the public and the municipal government to support their city planning initiatives. Visual materials, such as the Civic Guild’s *Plan of Improvements*, at once conveyed the architects’ proposals and affirmed that they possessed the professional expertise to carry them out.

The Civic Guild’s *Plan of Improvements* used visual strategies that supported the architects’ dual objective. It consisted of key streets and existing parks and landmarks plotted onto a plan of the city. The street grid, which extended north from Lake Ontario and east and west to the outer edges of the city, corresponded with the grid laid out on the City Engineer’s *Plan of the City of Toronto* from 1902 (fig. 10). The shaded background in the central part of the improvement plan indicated the annexed area of the

city proper, while the surrounding section showed the suburbs beyond the city. These areas were consistent with the 1902 plan, in which the electoral wards of the city defined the city proper. In addition to showing features of the existing urban landscape, the Civic Guild's plan included proposed parks, playgrounds, and parkways. The streets, the topography, and the areas shown on the plan were the same as those found on the surveyor's city plan, and the suggested improvements to the city were depicted with the same visual means as the existing features of the city. Although the improvement plan used the city engineer's technical drawing for its structure, the proposals were rendered with a simplicity and an aesthetic quality that attempted to appeal to the viewer's desire for an orderly and beautiful urban environment.

The Civic Guild's *Plan of Improvements* attempted to present an authoritative strategy for developing Toronto, but the design was also persuasive. The Civic Guild had approached Webb for his superior draughting skills, with the hope that he would produce an aesthetically pleasing plan for a beautiful city. The graphic clarity and simplicity of Webb's plan was appealing to Langton precisely because it signified the clarity and simplicity of the proposed improvements. However, at the same time, because existing features of the city had been plotted onto an accurate, scaled city plan, the Guild's plan claimed a direct relationship to the existing city. By mapping proposed elements for future development onto the extant infrastructure, the unbuilt features would have seemed more feasible and thus the plan would have gained credibility. The colour-coded elements and the numbered keys indicating existing and proposed parks and playgrounds worked to convey the idea that the proposed changes to the city were natural additions to the

growing city. By using the language of objectivity, borrowed from the field of cartography, the architects attempted to foreclose any argument about the kinds of changes that should be implemented.

The Guild's *Plan of Improvements* utilized a set of conventions that were established in seventeenth-century Europe with the introduction of scientific map production. Historian of cartography J.B. Harley has explained the purpose of modern cartography as aiming to "produce a 'correct' relational model of the terrain."⁶¹ Cartography relies on scientific standards and technical processes to validate the accuracy of maps and to establish its product as an analogue of a pre-existing, objective reality. Drawn to scale from surveys, and emphasizing roads and landmarks, scientific maps were employed to settle property disputes and to define political boundaries, as well as to provide visitors with guides for navigating cities. Describing these maps as affecting a form of "space discipline," Harley argued that they have frequently been used to support struggles for political and economic domination.⁶² City plans, which are produced by following the precise measurements and exacting principles of cartography, also rest on the assumption that a representation can be an accurate depiction of a place in the world. The scale in the top right hand corner of the OAA's initial plan, which specified that one thousand feet of the real city corresponded to one inch on the plan, signified the scientific system on which the Civic Guild's plan was based. An indication of scale made the assertion that the representation corresponded proportionately to a physical space. Aspects of the topography, such as the harbour, Ashridges Bay, Don Valley, and Humber River provided the geographical setting for the city and, on the *Plan of Improvements*, these features worked to establish a clear relationship

between a real space in the world and the representation of it.

Thus, the Guild's proposal for improvements to Toronto used discourses of objectivity and persuasion to visualize a new kind of urban space and new and more pleasurable ways of experiencing it. In the improved city, the architects imagined that the natural and constructed features of the urban landscape would complement one another. The roadways would serve as conduits to and from parks, and the parks would break up the uniformity and oppressiveness of street after street of buildings. Whereas the city surveyor's plan of the existing city emphasized the repetitive, restrictive quality of the street grid, the improvements, plotted onto the Civic Guild's plan, offered a solution to the monotony and congestion. The bold diagonal lines that cut across the grid offered the promise of new routes for traveling from one end of the city to another. The radial arteries promoted circulation and fluidity and presented the possibility of further expansion. Parks, which I have argued were considered essential to the overall health and aesthetic effect of the city, appeared as green rectangles scattered across the plan, providing a revitalizing visual respite from the uniformity of the built environment.

The Civic Guild's *Plan of Improvements* constituted the city as a site of aesthetic pleasure, and one of the primary ways the improvements could be experienced was by travelling through the city. By 1909, when the Civic Guild's plan was produced, the automobile was a new form of transportation and pleasure driving was a new leisure activity for the upper and middle classes. Car outings were principally excursions around the city from park to park, and the proposed circumambient parkway and diagonal roads offered

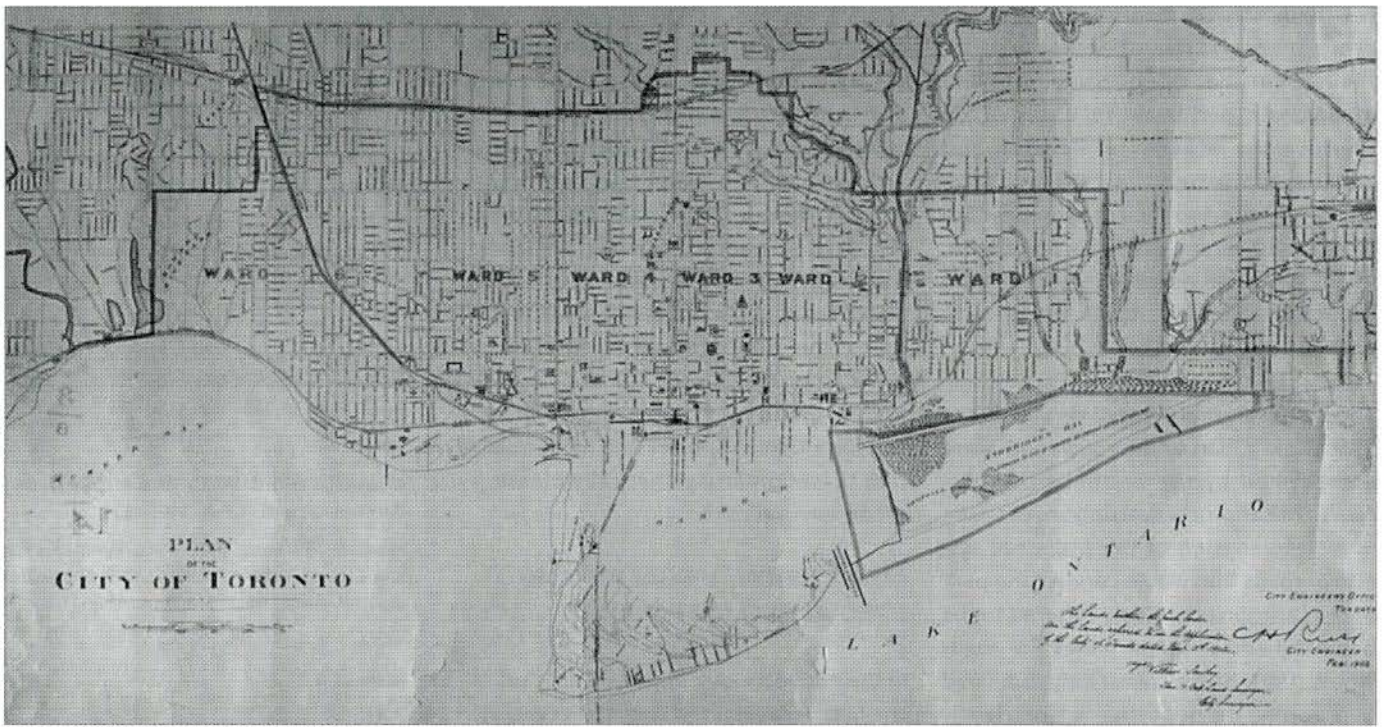


FIG. 10. PLAN OF THE CITY OF TORONTO, 1902. | CHARLES H. RUST, CITY SURVEYOR, CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES MT 00054.

new routes for city driving. The architects were interested in the new possibilities of motion, the new views, and the pleasure in looking at and moving through urban space. As Walter van Nus has noted, architects involved in city planning were concerned with visual variety because they assumed that the city would be experienced by people travelling through the city or within a park system.⁶³ With their emphasis on the vista and the drive, the architects imagined a profoundly cinematic conception of space. The diagonal roads would also contribute to the city's character and individual identity by creating squares and other unique spaces.⁶⁴ These small diversions and distinctive spaces were what would constitute the visual variety of the city.

The emphasis on pleasure driving was coupled with a concern for the efficient flow of traffic. City officials and businessmen had begun to use cars regularly in

their daily activities and city dwellers wanted to be able to drive from downtown to the outskirts in a short time. The proposed diagonal roadways, along with street widening projects, were aimed at alleviating traffic congestion.⁶⁵ Although congested roadways did not begin with the automobile, and the transition to a car-oriented city was a lengthy process that took decades to resolve, both the OAA's and the Civic Guild's plans identified effective traffic circulation as a necessary feature of the new city. Countless articles in the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* during the early 1920s were dedicated to the merits of various methods of rounding street corners, to make it easier for cars, rather than horses, to navigate the city streets. These ongoing discussions show that creating an efficient traffic system was a long, drawn-out process that was only in its early stages with the Civic Guild's improvement plan.⁶⁶

With the focus on pleasure and efficiency in travel and the visual and kinesthetic experience of the city as a whole, the plan for improvements satisfied the interests of the architects, businessmen, and prominent citizens who financed and produced it. Instead of attempting to improve slum housing in the downtown areas, the plan focused on upgrading aspects of the city that would benefit the mobile, middle-class inhabitants who had leisure time. Like the PQAA, the Civic Guild had proposed improvements that would wipe out slum areas; however, neither group addressed the issue of where the displaced residents would go.⁶⁷ With the Guild's proposals, the poor, many of whom lived in downtown slums, would not be better housed, nor would they have increased access to city services. At most, they might have access to a new, nearby park. The working classes, who frequently settled outside the city, relied on streetcars to get to and from work.⁶⁸

For them, the diagonal roadways might prove useful, if less pleasurable. With their belief that open spaces, edifying monuments, and beautiful vistas would improve the otherwise diseased and delinquent working class, the architects may have expected their proposals would solve a whole range of urban problems. In any case, the visual renderings of the proposed improvements erased poverty from the city altogether.

The proposals represented visually in the Civic Guild's *Plan of Improvements* were embellished by the aestheticizing discourse of Langton's descriptions of them. In his explanation of the proposed system of roads that would connect the park areas, Langton repeatedly referred to the beautiful and pleasant drives the roads would offer. He described Kingston Road as providing the opportunity "for a lovely drive along the water." Regarding a proposed extension of Ulster Street, he said that the road "finds a good course, pleasantly varied [...] all the way to High Park." In the eastern section of the city, Langton stated: "we have a beautiful drive all the way [...]," which, he explained, "descends to the Don [Valley] by a long, picturesque hill-road."⁶⁹ His descriptive language, particularly his use of aesthetic terms like "beautiful" and "picturesque," emphasized the visual features of the proposals and implied that if the Civic Guild's scheme was implemented, urban problems would be replaced by pleasurable aesthetic experiences.

The Civic Guild's initiatives were at once an attempt to influence urban development and an assertion of their specialized knowledge. The architects believed that city planning was the remedy for undesirable urban conditions, such as congestion and its attendant problems of disease and immorality and, by preparing a plan that held the promise of

eliminating congestion, they sought to convince civic officials and the public to support their proposals. In producing a plan that appeared both technically sound and aesthetically appealing, the architects demonstrated their expertise and attempted to lay claim to the city. The predominantly visual and aesthetic character of the proposals was a fundamental part of the effort to persuade the civic community to support their vision for the city. It was above all the visuality of their proposals that enabled architects to assert that they were the most qualified to design an aesthetically pleasing urban environment.

CONCLUSION: VISUALITY AND SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE

In their drive for civic improvement during the first decade of the twentieth century, the PQAA, the OAA, and the Civic Guild turned to a hybrid visual discourse that conveyed rationality at the same time that it was aesthetically engaging and persuasive. The visual strategies used in the renderings validated a visual experience of the city and claimed that aesthetic improvements could function as a mechanism of reform. The architects' proposals for civic improvements demonstrated their involvement in a growing international planning movement. They were at once an attempt to eliminate the evils of urbanism and an attempt to consolidate a base of support for their aesthetic visions. The architects deployed plans and renderings in an effort to constitute the city as a field of possibility and to claim it as their rightful domain.

NOTES

1. The author gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Western Ontario.
2. PQAA, 1907, « Improvement Plan for Montreal », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, April, p. 154.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Gardner, J. Rawson, 1907, « Proposed Diagonal Streets », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, April, p. 155.
5. *Idem* : 156.
6. Maxwell, Edward, 1907, « Report of Parks and Parkways »; and PQAA, 1907 : 154.
7. Howland, W. Ford, 1907, « Improvements for the City of Toronto », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3, March, p. 110-111.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Idem* : 110.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Idem* : 111.
13. Gardner : 156.
14. Howland : 111; and « The Beautifying of Cities », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 15, no. 3, March 1902, p. 34.
15. See PQAA, 1907 : 154.
16. « The Beautifying of Cities » : 34.
16. Sutcliffe, Anthony, 1981, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States, and France, 1780-1914*, New York, St. Martin's Press.
17. Walker, Byron E., 1906, « A Comprehensive Plan for Toronto », address delivered to the Canadian Club, March 20. Published as « The Plan of Improvement in Toronto », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 2, no. 7, July 1906, p. 248-250; reprinted in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920: An Anthology of Early Articles on Urban Reform*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974, p. 222-225.
18. Herbert B. Ames, a prominent Montreal businessman, wrote about the corruption in the 1890s. (Ames, Herbert B., 1894, « The 'Machine' in Honest Hands », *Canadian Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 2, June, p. 101-109; and Wickett, S. Morley, 1907, « City Government in Canada », in

- S. Morley Wickett, ed., *Municipal Government in Canada*, Toronto, Librarian of the University of Toronto.) Both essays are reproduced in Rutherford's *Saving the Canadian City*. The City Improvement League of Montréal, founded in 1909, was dedicated to the reform of local government and other civic improvement activities. For a brief history of the organization, see Atherton, W.H., 1927, « The City Improvement League of Montréal », *La revue municipale*, édition spéciale d'urbanisme, vol. 8, no. 9, December, p. 30-32.
19. For examples of social and urban histories relating to social reform, see Jones, Gareth Stedman, 1971, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society*, Oxford, Clarendon Press; Valverde, Mariana, 1991, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart; Hayden, Dolores, 1981, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, Massachusetts, MIT Press; and Hall, Peter, 1998, *Cities of Tomorrow. An Intellectual History of Urban Planning*, Oxford, Blackwell.
 20. Hayden, Dolores, 1981, « Public Kitchens, Social Settlements, and the Cooperative Ideal », *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, p. 150-179.
 21. See « Third National Conference on City Planning », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 7, no. 8, August 1911, p. 302 (Emphasis in the original). Also see « Third National Conference on City Planning », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 7, no. 6, June 1911, p. 219. *The Canadian Municipal Journal* was designated the official journal of the City Improvement League of Montréal on April 24, 1913. (Atherton, W.H., and Harry Bragg, 1914, « Review of Civic Improvements », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 10, no. 6, June, p. 236.)
 22. On attempts to regulate living conditions and the health of the population in Toronto, see my article « Picturing Filth and Disorder: Photography and Urban Governance », *History of Photography*, vol. 28, no. 2, summer 2004, p. 149-164.
 23. « Montreal Notes », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 19, no. 6, June 1906, p. 88. An early version of the plan was published in the *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, April 1907, p. 152-153. At the time, the members of the PQAA's Civic Improvement Committee were: W.S. Maxwell, Chairman; J Rawson Gardner; Percy E. Nobbs, Professor of Architecture at McGill; M. Doumic, Professor at École Polytechnique; Joseph Venne; C.J. Saxe; Hugh Vallance; Rickson A. Outhet; Frederick Todd; and Edward Maxwell. (« Plan of the Improvement of Montréal », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 4, no. 7, July 1908, p. 285.)
 24. « Montreal Notes », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 19, no. 7, July 1906, p. 107. See France Vanlaethem's discussion of these plans in « Beautification Versus Modernization », in Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem, eds., 1998, *Montréal Metropolis, 1880-1930*, Toronto, Stoddart and Canadian Centre for Architecture, p. 137-140. Jeanne M. Wolfe and Peter Jacobs have also discussed the PQAA's schemes in terms of Edward and W.S. Maxwell's involvement in urban reform in « City Planning and Urban Beautification », 1991, *The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell*, Montréal, Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, p. 50-55.
 25. The main features of the plan are described in « Work of PQAA », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 20, no. 10, October 1907, p. 214.
 26. PQAA, 1907 : 151.
 27. « Montréal Notes », *op. cit.*, vol. 19, no. 6 : 88.
 28. See Cranz, Galen, 1982, « The Pleasure Ground: 1850-1900 », *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America*, Cambridge, MIT Press, p. 3-59.
 29. Adams, Thomas, 1985, in Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams, and the Modern Planning Movement, Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940*, London, New York, Mansell Pub., p. 72.
 30. Todd, Frederick, 1905, « Character in Park Design », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 18, no. 9, September, p. 135. Todd delivered that paper at the Convention of the American Municipal Society in Montréal. Todd produced a plan for Mount Royal as a "model city" in 1911-1912. A synthesis of City Beautiful and garden suburb ideas, Todd's plan incorporated an orthogonal grid, rectangular parcels of land, and two diagonal avenues. (Corboz, André, 2000, « Ville Mont-Royal, cité-jardin vituvienne », *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*, vol. 25, nos. 2-4, p. 3-15.)
 31. *Montreal Daily Mail*, « The Value of the Beautiful », reprinted in *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 10, no. 8, August 1914, p. 325.
 32. On the design of Mount Royal Park, see: Olmstead, Frederick Law, 1881, *Mount Royal*, New York, Putnam and Sons; Fisher, Irving D., 1986, *Frederick Law Olmstead and the City Planning Movement in the United States*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, UMI Research Press.
 33. « Plan of Improvement of Montréal. Improvement Scheme for Fletcher's Field », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 4, no. 6, June 1908, p. 230, 285; and « Improvement Plan for Montréal proposed by the Committee of Civic Improvements of the Province of Quebec Architects' Association », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, April 1907, p. 155.
 34. Cranz, Galen, 1982, « The Reform Park: 1900-1930 », *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America*, Cambridge, MIT Press, p. 61-67.
 35. « Plan of Improvement of Montréal... » : 230.
 36. van Nus, Walter, 1998, « A Community of Communities: Suburbs in the Development of 'Greater Montréal' », in Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem, ed., *Montréal Metropolis, 1880-1930*, Toronto, Stoddart and Canadian Centre for Architecture, p. 62. Van Nus examined a range of building regulations, imposed by developers and local governments, which excluded the working classes from settling in certain areas of Montréal.
 37. PQAA, 1908, « Plan of Improvement of Montreal. Improvement Scheme for Fletcher's Field », *Canadian Municipal Journal*, vol. 4, no. 6, June, p. 230.
 38. *Idem* : 228-229.
 39. *Idem* : 230.
 40. « Toronto Chapter », *Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects*, Toronto, Canadian Architect and Builder Press, 1903, p. 28. On the early campaign for city planning, see « Guild History », *Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 1, May 1911, p. 2-3.
 41. The previous year, Langton delivered a lecture on « City Planning » at the Central Ontario School of Art, which was printed in the 1903 OAA proceedings. (*Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects*, Toronto, Canadian Architect and Builder Press, 1903, p. 143-153.) On the OAA's involvement in civic improvement, see Simmins, Geoffrey, 1989, « Beyond Regulation and Registration: the OAA and Society », *Ontario Association of Architects: A Centennial History 1889-1989*, Toronto, Ontario Association of Architects, p. 65-84.

42. Burke, Edmund, 1906, « Ontario Association of Architects Annual Convention », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 19, no. 1, January 1906, p. 5; and Advisory Board Minutes, March 3, 1905, *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*. Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Toronto Reference Library (hereafter TRL), SR 48, unboxed. Early sponsors of the Civic Guild included Sir Henry Pellatt and Byron Edmund Walker. Langton noted that he thought there would not be any problem raising even \$10,000 for an improvement scheme for the city. (*Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects*, Toronto, Canadian Architect and Builder Press, 1905, p. 108-109.)
43. According to James Lemon, the OAA adapted a plan drafted a few years earlier by a young architect, Alfred Chapman. (Lemon, James, 1989, « Plans for Early 20th Century Toronto », *Urban History Review*, vol. 18, no. 1, June, p. 13.)
44. On a Canadian City Beautiful movement see, for example, van Nus, Walter, 1984, « The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1893-1930 », in Stelter, Gilbert A. and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History*, Ottawa, Carleton University Press; and Lemon, *op. cit.*
45. See « A Plan for Toronto », *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 18, no. 3, March 1905, p. 33.
46. Langton, William, 1906, *Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects*, Toronto, Canadian Architect and Builder Press, p. 90.
47. *Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects*, Toronto, Canadian Architect and Builder Press, 1906, n.p. [90a]. *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. 19, no. 2, February 1906, plates 2, a and b.
48. Langton, *Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects*, 1906 : 90-91.
49. Planning historian Jon Peterson has noted that bird's-eye views became popular in city planning proposals following the McMillan Commission's plan for Washington, DC of 1902. (Peterson, Jon A., 2003, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917*, Baltimore, London, John Hopkins University Press, p. 126-127 and 289.)
50. Advisory Board Minutes, January 26, 1906, *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, TRL, SR 48, unboxed.
51. On fundraising, see: *Report of Plan Committee*, Toronto Guild of Civic Art Annual Meeting, March 30, 1906; *Advisory Board Minutes*, October 10, 1906; *Executive Meeting*, September 19, 1907; and *Report of the Plan Committee*, November 21, 1907, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, TRL, SR 48, box 2.
- On the arrangement with Sir Aston Webb, see correspondence between William Langton and Aston Webb, March to December 1907, Toronto Guild of Civic Art. TRL, SR 48, box 1, letters 1907-1910; Advisory Board Meeting, April 7, 1908, *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, SR 48, unboxed; Executive Committee Meeting, October 1 [1908?], *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, TRL, SR 48, unboxed.
52. General Meeting, February 19, 1907, *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, TRL, SR 48, unboxed. Another \$5000 was raised through subscription to pay for the architect's services.
53. Physick, John, 1982, *The Victoria and Albert Museum: The History of its Building*, Oxford, Phaidon, Christie's, p. 183-189.
54. Alfred Waterhouse, Public Records Office, Office of Works, Works 17/23/9, 148, quoted in Physick : 190. On Waterhouse's assessment of Webb's plan, also see page 191.
55. See Smith, Tori, 1999, « 'A Grand Work of Noble Conception': The Victoria Memorial and Imperial London », in Felix Driver and David Gilbert, eds., *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, Manchester, New York, Manchester University Press, p. 25; and Port, Michael Harry, 1995, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London, 1850-1915*, New Haven, Paul Mellon Center for the Study of British Art and Yale University Press, p. 22-23.
56. *Report of the Plan Committee*, November 21, 1907. Toronto Guild of Civic Art, TRL, SR 48, box 2.
57. *Idem*. Correspondence between Aston Webb and Mr. Bentham, August 19, 1907, Toronto Guild of Civic Art. TRL, SR 48, box 1, letters 1907-1910.
58. *Report of the Plan Committee*, November 21, 1907 and *Report of the Plan Committee*, December 4, 1908, and *Executive Committee Minutes*, October 17, 1907, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, TRL, SR 48, box 2.
59. « Toronto the Beautiful: A Suggestion for the Coming Year », *Toronto Sunday World*, January 3, 1909, p. 1 and 10.
60. Harley, J.B., 2001, « Deconstructing the Map », in Paul Laxton, ed., with an introduction by J.H. Andrews, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, Baltimore, London, John Hopkins University Press, p. 154.
61. Harley, J.B., 2001, « Maps, Knowledge, and Power », and « Power and Legitimation in the English Geographical Atlases of the Eighteenth Century », *The New Nature of Maps*, p. 62-69 and 110-147.
62. van Nus, 1984 : 171.
63. Langton, William, 1906, « The Plan of Improvements to Toronto », *Proceedings of the Ontario Association of Architects*, Toronto, Canadian Architect and Builder Press, p. 90-94.
64. On the proposed widening and extension of Teraulay Street (now Bay Street), for instance, see « Teraulay Street Extension », *Civic Guild Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 3, August 1911, n.p.
65. For an example, see « Street Corners », *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, vol. 1, no. 12, November 1922, p. 4.
66. In particular, it was acknowledged that a scheme to develop a civic centre would wipe out the slum area known as "The Ward," which was very close to the central business district. The plan for a civic centre was abandoned in 1913. *Minutes of the Executive*, May 31, 1911, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, TRL, SR 48, box 2.
67. See Harris, Richard, 1996, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy 1900 to 1950*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.
68. Langton, « The Plan of Improvements to Toronto » : 92-96.