

A City Beautiful plan for Canada's capital: Edward Bennett and the 1915 plan for Ottawa and Hull

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The 1915 *Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull* was one of Canada's first comprehensive plans. It was prepared by Edward Bennett, a leading City Beautiful architect, who combined both technical and aesthetic planning. Bennett employed some of the most advanced techniques of the day, similar to the 1909 *Plan of Chicago*. The 1915 Ottawa–Hull plan is almost unknown today, since it was shelved shortly after it was released. The plan was dogged by a fire in the Parliament Buildings, a European war, poor implementation provisions and reaction against its City Beautiful urban design recommendations. Nevertheless, many of its technical recommendations were implemented by the National Capital Commission over forty years later.

This paper examines the 1915 *Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull* [1]. The plan was prepared by Edward H. Bennett, a Chicago architect who was one of the leading City Beautiful planners of the day. The paper focuses mainly upon the plan itself, which is little known, despite its status as one of Canada's first comprehensive plans. The discussion only briefly considers the contentious background to the plan and the complex reasons why it was never implemented [2].

Both the Ottawa plan and Bennett were largely dismissed from planning history after the decline of the City Beautiful during the second decade of this century. Planning practice moved on to focus on technical matters such as zoning, traffic engineering and public works under the guise of the 'City Scientific' or the 'City Practical' [3]. The dismissal of City Beautiful planning assumes that it was a one-dimensional (or perhaps three-dimensional) process – focusing only upon grandiose architectural plans for civic centres, rendered in a lush Beaux Arts style. Since few of these civic centres were ever built, it was too easy to dismiss the contribution of the other elements of these plans to professional practice [4]. In fact, the comprehensive plans prepared by Edward Bennett for Chicago and Ottawa contained some of the most advanced techniques of the day. The 1915 report's background studies were the basis for plans which transformed the Canadian capital forty years later.

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Background to the 1915 plan

In June 1893, Wilfred Laurier, the Leader of the Opposition, declared that he would transform Ottawa into 'Washington of the North' if elected Prime Minister [5]. Surprisingly, his statement referred to town planning rather than politics. Laurier spoke during the year of the influential Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, when L'Enfant's grand plan for Washington had just passed its centenary. The time may have seemed right for the transformation of Canada's 'Westminster of the Wilderness', but the efforts of prime ministers, noted planners and federal bureaucrats had little effect over five decades [6].

Ottawa was not planned as a national capital. It was a rowdy lumber town with a population of 10–12 000 when Queen Victoria designated it as Canada's capital in 1857. The colonial legislature in Montréal initially refused to accept the royal choice, but relocated after the new parliament buildings were completed in 1866 [7]. Ottawa was still a dreary industrial city at the turn of the century, with little evidence of its status as Canada's capital, other than the magnificent Gothic Revival parliament buildings [8]. The embarrassing state of the rest of the city appalled Laurier and another future Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, then arriving as a civil servant [9]. After his election as Prime Minister, Laurier established the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC) in 1899 to acquire property and execute public work for:

the improvement and beautifying of the said city, or the vicinity thereof, by the acquisition, maintenance and improvement of public parks, squares, streets, avenues, drives or thoroughfares, and the erection of public buildings ... [10].

The Commissioners retained Montréal resident Frederick Todd to advise them on landscape planning. Todd had trained in Frederick Law Olmsted's office, and was perhaps Canada's first professional landscape architect [11]. In 1903, Todd prepared a preliminary parks plan for the national capital, which considered both Ottawa and its sister city Hull, located across the Ottawa river in the province of Québec [12]. However, the OIC declined to retain him as a regular consultant and relied on its technical staff for design and construction.

Although a few of the parks and parkways recommended by Todd were built, the architecture profession expressed general dissatisfaction with the quality and lack of direction of the OIC's works. Colborne P. Meredith, past president of the Ontario Association of Architects (OAA), agitated for the OIC to prepare a proper plan for its work after he was appointed to the Commission in 1910 [13]. Meredith arranged for the OAA and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC) to censure the OIC on the basis that 'the commission was working in a haphazard way, without any comprehensive plan.' They cited the recent work of the McMillan Commission in Washington DC in preparing a new plan for that city [14].

The OIC's early years coincided with the emergence of the modern city planning movement in North America and Britain. In Ottawa, town planning was advocated at the highest level. The Governor General, Earl Grey, personally planned improvements to the vice-regal estates and sponsored the 1912 cross-country tour of Henry Vivian, a British planning and social housing advocate [15]. English planners, Raymond Unwin and Thomas Mawson, also gave public lectures in Ottawa as part of extended visits to promote town

planning in North America during 1911. They both praised Ottawa's natural beauty and criticized the work of the OIC [16]. Noulan Cauchon, a Canadian engineer, gave further local impetus for planning by publishing dozens of articles and speeches on the subject in the Ottawa newspapers [17].

The election of Conservative Robert Borden as Prime Minister in 1911 provided the opportunity for a fresh approach to planning the national capital. A typhoid epidemic and housing shortage in Ottawa helped press the need for planning at the local level. The national government expanded the mandate of its Commission of Conservation from natural resources and public health to include housing conditions and town planning. The Commission hosted the Sixth National (US) Conference on City Planning, which was held in Toronto in 1914 [18].

The national and city government retained Noulan Cauchon to prepare the preliminary surveys and topographic maps needed for a comprehensive plan of Ottawa. From 1912 to 1914, Meredith advocated a 'commission for Ottawa Beautification' comprised of leading architects to supervise the plan. He lobbied for the job of consulting architect, with Thomas Mawson to be appointed as planning and landscape consultant and Cauchon as consulting engineer [19].

Prime Minister Borden and his advisors had other ideas.

The Federal Plan Commission

Borden was uncomfortable with the idea of a commission of architects, whom he could not control. He also wanted a plan to cover both Ottawa and Hull. In September 1913, the government appointed a Federal Plan Commission to:

draw up and perfect a comprehensive scheme or plan looking to the future growth and development of the City of Ottawa and the City of Hull, and their environs, and particularly providing for the location, laying out and beautification of parks and connecting boulevards, the location and architectural character of public buildings and adequate and convenient arrangements for traffic and transportation within the area in question [20].

The Commission was chaired by Herbert Holt, a prominent Montréal railway executive, banker and Conservative Party activist. The Mayors of Ottawa and Hull were ex-officio members. The other Commissioners were Montréal lawyer Sir Alexander Lacoste, Toronto real estate developer Robert Home Smith and Toronto architect Frank Darling. All three were strong Conservative Party supporters. The Federal government agreed to pay half the costs of the commission, while Ottawa and Hull would split the remainder, based upon the relative proportions of their populations [21]. The government included \$8000 in its 1913–14 appropriations and \$55 000 for the next fiscal year to cover the cost of the plan.

The Commission's first activity was the selection of consultants. Darling and Home Smith were the only members of the group with direct experience in town planning and they likely had considerable influence in the selection process. Frank Darling was one of Canada's most respected architects at the turn of the century. He was a director of the Toronto Civic Guild of Art, which sponsored two plans for that city in the City Beautiful

style. Home Smith developed large portions of the western edge of Toronto. He also served on the Civic Guild and was a Toronto Harbour Commissioner. The Harbour Commission had recently prepared a comprehensive plan for the Toronto waterfront with Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. as a consultant. The plans were vigorously implemented under the direction of its chief engineer, E.L. Cousins [22]. Home Smith approached Olmsted for advice about the new Federal Plan Commission and Holt interviewed him in Montréal in November 1913 [23].

The English landscape architect Thomas Mawson had been lobbying for the Ottawa planning contract for three years through Meredith, Cauchon and Governors-General Earl Grey and the Duke of Connaught. Prime Minister Borden personally interviewed him in December 1912, but his senior staff had doubts about his suitability for the job. Although Mawson was involved in seven planning projects in Canada during 1912, he preferred to work from his Lancaster studio, with local associates and occasional visits to clients during his trans-Atlantic speaking tours [24].

The Federal Plan Commission's first move was to retain a consulting engineer. Although Noulan Cauchon had just completed the preliminary surveys for the plan, he was likely regarded as a bit of an eccentric. His frequent articles in the Ottawa *Citizen* newspaper criticized the OIC and advocated all kinds of city planning schemes. Instead, the Commission appointed E.L. Cousins, the chief engineer of the Toronto Harbour Commission, whose work was well known to the Toronto-based members of the FPC. The Commission then chose Chicago architect Edward Bennett (see Fig. 1) as its chief planning consultant in December 1913. Darling and Home-Smith would likely be familiar with Bennett's work from their Civic Guild plans. Bennett visited Darling and Cousins in Toronto before his interview, and travelled with them to Ottawa to meet Holt and the other members of the Commission. When word of the appointment leaked out, Meredith resigned from the OIC in protest, sending a strongly worded letter to Prime Minister Borden and an angry letter to Frank Darling [25].

The Ottawa *Citizen*, prompted by Cauchon, ran a story complaining that Canadian and British town planners were excluded in favour of an American. Holt defended the Commission's choice in a letter to the Cabinet, portions which were later released to the newspapers.

... I am sure that you will appreciate that the work of City Planning involves broad generalising study in economics and design, which requires the services of an expert who has made a special study of this work and has extensive previous knowledge. The Commissioners, after an exhaustive investigation, arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Bennett was the best man for the position, having had the knowledge and experience necessary to make studies and plans of such important work as contemplated for the Federal Capital. The Commissioners also considered that it is most important to have as their expert a man who has a thorough architectural training and who specialized in City Planning, and came therefore to the conclusion that Mr. Bennett's experience and the knowledge which he has gained at the Beaux Arts, which is acknowledged to be one of the greatest Architectural Colleges in the world, eminently fits him for the position.

The Commissioners would have preferred appointing a Canadian for this position if they could have found a man considered competent and with sufficient practical experience to work out a plan which would be of credit not only to Ottawa but to the whole Dominion of Canada [26].

Edward Bennett

Despite the outcry from the disappointed local competitors, the Federal Plan Commission probably made the right choice in 1913. Edward H. Bennett (1874–1954) was one of the foremost American planners at the time, and would likely be considered the leading proponent of the City Beautiful in that era. Bennett was born in England, educated in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and joined Daniel Burnham's office in 1903. He immediately proved his worth in the San Francisco plan (1904–5), where Burnham left him in complete charge of the work after a few weeks in residence, and gave him credit as co-author of the plan [27].

It was clear that Bennett had found a mentor who shaped his thinking on city planning. A quarter century after Burnham's death, he recalled his powerful personal influence:

... Mr. Burnham's influence with men was probably founded on his power to analyze their thoughts or feelings, and to make them realize he understood what was in their minds. A personal basis was often established, giving him greater influence especially over younger men. When a young man realizes that an older man has this perception and when the young man knows that the older one stands for high ideals, it becomes possible to share these ideals, and to raise his plan of thought to them. At least he does not wish to be seen to fall below those ideals, and, willingly or not, he catches the spirit and becomes attuned to the thought of the elder man [28].

Burnham and Bennett's greatest collaboration was on the 1909 Chicago plan. Burnham was clearly the instigator and guiding force of the plan, but he again insisted that Bennett



Figure 1. Edward H. Bennett, photographed by Underwood and Underwood, Washington. (Source: courtesy Art Institute of Chicago.)

should be given equal credit for the work. This was no mere promotion of a valued associate; Bennett worked full time on the plan from 1906 to 1910, supervising the office and consultants, revising reports and preparing most of the technical analyses and drawings. Burnham, busy with a thriving national architectural practice, donated his time to the project and prepared an early draft of the text. He usually took a Sunday evening briefing from Bennett at his home and chaired a weekly progress meeting (see Fig. 2). As an indication of Bennett's importance in the planning process, the Chicago Plan Commission continued to retain his services as its city planning advisor until 1930. During this period, he supervised implementation of many proposals in the plan, including Grant Park and the Michigan Avenue extension. Bennett clearly played a leading role in one of America's most prominent early plans for over a quarter of a century [29].

The record of Bennett's role in the San Francisco and Chicago plans appears to have diminished with time; most commentators refer to them as the 'Burnham plans' [30]. However, Burnham declined all city planning work after 1906, referring potential clients to Bennett or Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., his collaborator on the McMillan Commission plan for Washington. Bennett set up his own firm in 1910, and was preparing plans for Detroit, Minneapolis, Portland and Brooklyn at the time he received the Ottawa commission. In the years ahead, he would prepare plans for, Denver, Buffalo, St. Paul, the New York Regional Plan, the Federal Triangle in Washington and the 1915 San Francisco and 1933 Chicago World's Fairs. Bennett was clearly the leading American planner operating in the City Beautiful style and was frequently invited to speak at planning conferences and universities. Despite the widely reported death of the City Beautiful movement after 1910, Edward Bennett made a forty-year career as a planning consultant operating in that mode [31].

With hindsight, the protests against Bennett's Ottawa appointment by Mawson and the



Figure 2. Burnham and Bennett at a September 1910 meeting of the Chicago Plan Commission. Burnham second from the left; Bennett sixth from the left, far side. Bennett, then 36, appears considerably younger than most of his clients. (Source: courtesy Art Institute of Chicago.)

disappointed local contenders appear somewhat ironic. Rather than choosing a leading British practitioner supported by the local élite, the Federal Plan Commission appointed a polite, self-effacing man born in England, educated in France, and thoroughly familiar with the latest American techniques.

What could be more Canadian?

Bennett's approach to the Ottawa–Hull plan

Bennett never hid his *City Beautiful* influences, despite the criticism the movement endured after 1910. We have a clear record of his approach to the Ottawa–Hull plan in a speech he gave to the Canadian Club in April, 1914. In a lecture lasting 1½ hours, illustrated by 95 lantern slides, he clearly set forth his philosophy of city planning:

... to create conditions of life such that the maximum of health, happiness and efficiency of the citizens may be obtained; to create and foster in the minds of all citizens the sense of entity of the city and the interdependent relationship of the various elements of the city, and thereby to promote a spirit of co-operation.

A city may be said to be a setting for the lives of its inhabitants, and this setting may be one in which the influences are deleterious or, on the contrary, one in which the stimulus is given on every hand to a beautiful expression of life; I use the term 'beautiful' in its broadest sense. Whether this be during the working hours or those of play, the influence of harmonious and orderly surroundings is constantly active and it is fair to say that the production of orderly and harmonious or, in other words, beautiful surroundings is one great aim of the City Plan ...

... Growth, expansion, is the most potent factor in this study. Wherever there is growth there are powerful forces at work, needing only to be directed to produce fine results. the linking together and relating of various sections of a city plan, existing and to come, is of primary importance. Convenience and economy must underlie this study, but in addition, a city plan must be a work of art, a living thing capable of arousing and binding together the interest and enthusiasm of all. In this connection, it may be said that a plan is the clear delineation of the invisible expression of the life of the community, rough-hewn already and simply waiting to be interpreted [32].

Bennett was unapologetic about his approach, perhaps because he believed that it was rooted in the best traditions of city design and incorporated modern technical advances in planning. One quarter of his lecture was devoted to a history of city planning, drawing especially on the experiences of European capitals such as London, Vienna, Rome, Berlin and, especially, Paris. The next section of the speech covered recent American experiences illustrated by Burnham's and his work in the 1893 World's Fair, Cleveland, San Francisco, Chicago, Portland, Minneapolis and Brooklyn. While Bennett showed a few slides of his plans' trademark water-colour renderings, most of the discussion focused upon the technical aspects of planning – railway relocation, street design, regional park systems, traffic congestion and zoning. He described how each of these elements was being implemented in selected cities. Finally, Bennett expounded upon the design of capital cities, with particular reference to the 1903 McMillan Commission for Washington [33].

Bennett concluded with a review of the site of the Canadian capital, comparing it to the river edges in London, Paris, Berlin and Budapest. His final slides compared the Gothic splendour of the Parliament Buildings on the bluff over the Ottawa River to the best

elements of Princes' street in Edinburgh. This comparison was a particularly adept political touch, given the Scottish background of many members of the Canadian élite. Overall, the slide show was a strong performance, showing a wide ranging familiarity with appropriate urban design precedents combined with a mastery of technical planning and implementation. However, the *Ottawa Citizen's* report of the speech was a portent of future problems. Noulan Cauchon's story attacked Bennett for his architectural approach to planning and lack of attention to housing for the poor [34].

How the plan was prepared

A foreign consultant preparing a master plan can expect political and technical problems without an adequate local presence, as Thomas Mawson discovered in Calgary [35]. The Federal Plan Commission opened an Ottawa office in December 1913, headed by Canadian

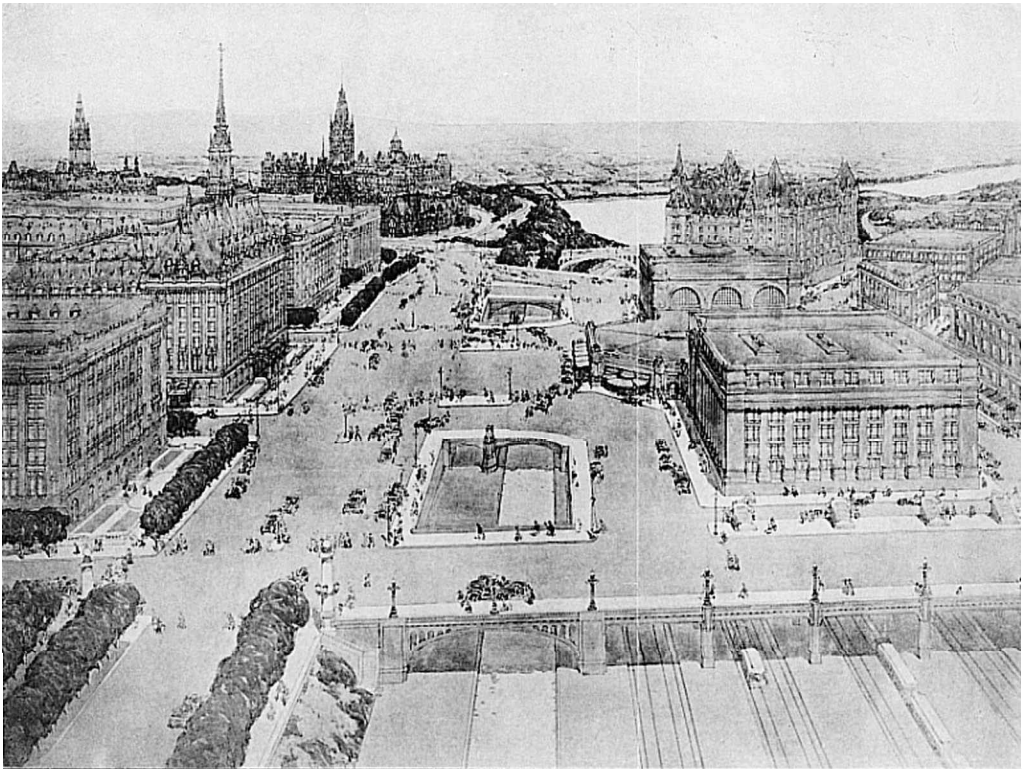


Figure 3. Rendering of the proposed municipal plaza astride the Rideau Canal in Ottawa. The Parliament Buildings are on the bluff at the upper left. The consolidated train station and Château Laurier hotel are shown at the upper right. The site of the plaza and the proposed City Hall on the mid-left are now occupied by the National Arts Centre. (Source: FPC 1915, Drawing 5; Rendering by Jules Guérin.)

engineer, A.E.K. Bunnell. He reported directly to Bennett and Cousins, and supervised a team of engineering assistants and draftsmen who prepared the surveys and detailed technical analyses of the site. Bennett and Cousins made several trips to Ottawa for meetings with the Commission and staff during 1914. They also kept in daily contact by letter, telegram, overnight courier and the occasional use of that relatively new business communications device, the long distance telephone [36].

E.L. Cousins prepared the railway, utility and waterway sections of the plan from his Toronto office, where he was visited by Darling, Home Smith and Bennett. Cousins and Bennett collaborated on the road plans. All the urban design, zoning, parks and government building analysis was done in Bennett's office in Chicago. Frank Darling made two trips to Chicago to review these plans. Bennett retained Jules Guérin to do the water-colour renderings in the luminous style that he used in the Chicago plan. In the best tradition of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Bennett and his staff did a 'charette' over the 1914 Christmas holidays to complete the drawings before the year-end deadline [37].

The initial output was a group of twenty-seven drawings hung in an exhibition at a downtown Ottawa office building in January 1915. The plans included technical analysis of land uses, population densities and growth and railway and streetcar traffic, but Jules



Figure 4. Rendering of the proposed central district of Hull, showing proposed new bridge to Ottawa in the foreground. Substantial federal investment in Hull only began fifty years later. (Source: FPC 1915, Drawing 7; Rendering by Jules Guérin.)

Guérin's renderings probably stole the show [38]. His water-colour aerial perspectives, some as large as six feet by three feet, showed bird's-eye views of the regional park system and the future central areas of Ottawa and Hull (see Figs 3–5).

After feedback from the Commission and senior federal and municipal officials, the technical drawings were modified and the text of the final report was prepared. Bennett wrote a first draft in early 1915, incorporating sections by Cousins on the engineering issues. It appears that the Commissioners ordered a complete re-working of the introductory portion of the plan to incorporate their political concerns [39].

Components of the plan for Ottawa–Hull

The technical analysis underlying the plan was thorough and largely stood the test of time. Bunnell prepared population projections which indicated that the Ottawa–Hull regions would grow from 125 000 to 250 000 by 1950. They were almost exactly correct, despite the upheavals in the intervening years [40]. Bennett's staff and Cousins prepared forecasts of streetcar and railway traffic based upon comparisons with other North American cities. Bennett personally researched the growth in space needed for government offices by proportional comparison to Washington. The one forecast where the planners were radically wrong was on the future role of the automobile. While Bennett believed that the

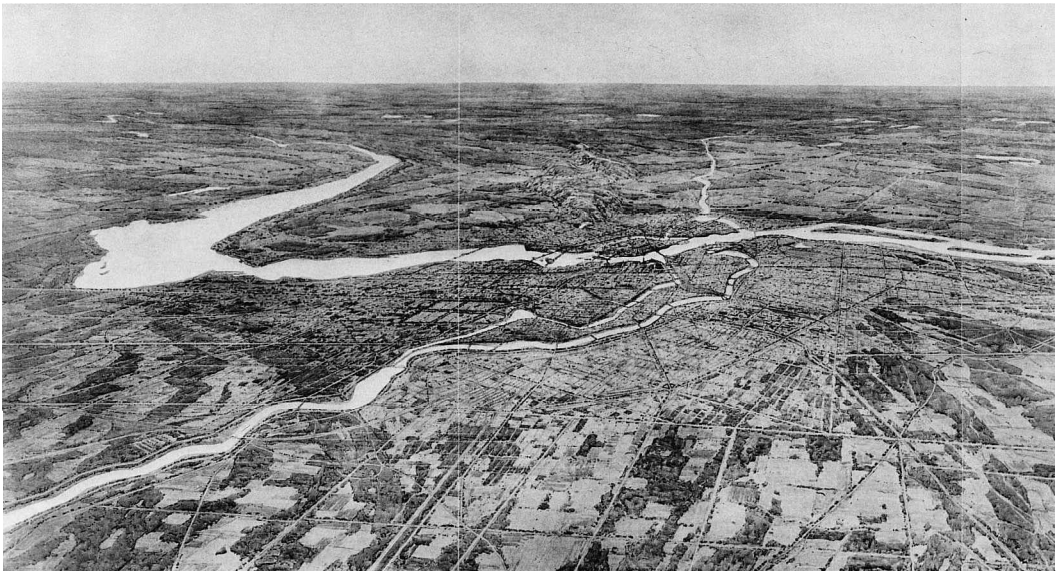


Figure 5. Aerial view of the National Capital Region, looking north, with Ottawa below the river and Hull above. The view is centred on the wedge of the Gatineau Hills that Todd recommended as the Gatineau Park in 1903. The original water-colour rendering was 2 m by 1 m and was the highlight of the 1915 plan's public display. (Source: FPC 1915, Drawing 1; Rendering by Jules Guérin.)

horse was on the way out, the automobile was still an expensive luxury in 1914. The plans for automobile roads focused on inter-regional highways, rather than daily commuter routes.

The 1915 FPC report contained most of the components suggested for a comprehensive plan by Thomas Adams and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., the leading authorities of the time [41]. It included:

- a regional parks and forest preserves system;
- a parkway and playground plan;
- street layouts for future suburban expansion;
- regional passenger and freight railway plans;
- regional highway plans;
- new plans for street railway lines;
- utility analysis;
- waterway and flood analysis;
- plans for federal and municipal government buildings;
- a central business district plan;
- a preliminary zoning scheme.

The parks provisions included many of the suggestions in Todd's 1903 report, especially the acquisition of the Gatineau hills north of Hull. Guérin's rendering of the wedge of hills almost reaching the river forms the frontispiece for the plan (see Fig. 5). The railway plans recommended removal of the east–west freight line through the centre of the city and its replacement by a limited access highway. Passenger service was to be consolidated in a union station opposite the Château Laurier hotel.

The planning team forecast the future streetcar congestion downtown, and recommended a streetcar subway under Wellington Street to relieve the pressure. Bennett devoted considerable effort to untangling the knot of streetcars, trains and vehicular traffic near the downtown bridges over the Rideau Canal. His solution involved the widening of Elgin Street, clearing the west bank of the Rideau Canal to create a new plaza and the cutting of a new diagonal road and bridge from Laurier Avenue (see Fig. 6). This was the only new road proposed to be cut through the built up area.

Bennett's analysis of the government centre was based upon its historical and natural context. The Parliament buildings were placed on the cliff edge of Barrack Hill in 1859 to take advantage of the site's visual prominence and the vista from the river. The Centre Block and its campanile (later the Peace Tower) were fitted to the bluff, rather than sited to terminate a north–south axis extending from one of the narrow streets of the 1824 town-site. Succeeding generations of amateur planners and politicians suggested widening Metcalfe Street to create this axial vista in the Beaux Arts style, but the government always balked at the cost of acquiring so many downtown buildings [42]. Bennett suggested that while a perpendicular axial vista was appropriate for classical architecture, Ottawa's Gothic Revival buildings should be viewed on a diagonal axis for best effect. He recommended that a widened Elgin Street and a proposed plaza along the canal would be the appropriate ceremonial approaches (Fig. 3). The federal government buildings were planned to extend along Wellington Street to the west, with municipal buildings down Elgin Street to the south-east (Fig. 7).

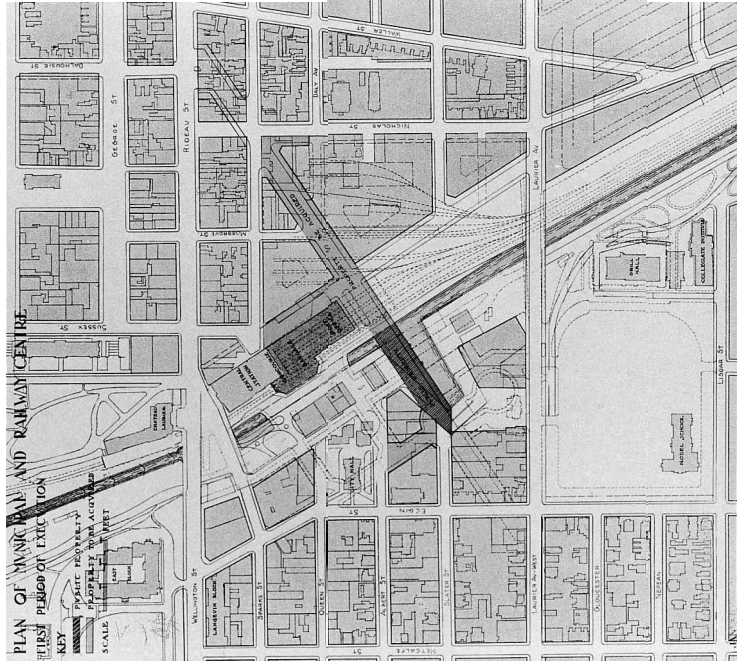


Figure 6. Plan of the proposed street and railway relocations to create a union railway station and municipal plaza adjacent to the Rideau Canal. Elgin Street is extended to create a diagonal view to the Parliament Buildings. (Source: FPC 1915, Drawing 6; drawing by office of E.H. Bennett; E.L. Cousins, consulting engineer.)

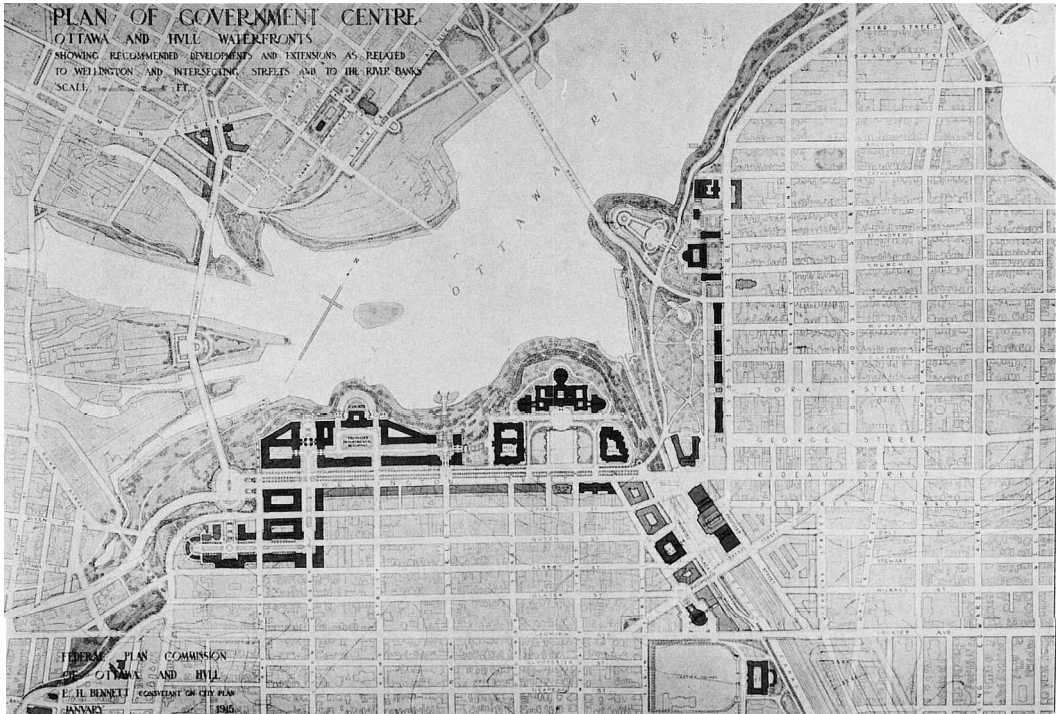


Figure 7. Plan of the proposed government centre, with Parliament Buildings on the bluff at the centre. New federal government buildings followed Wellington Street to the west and Sussex Drive to the north. The Supreme Court was built on the bluff to the west, as shown by Bennett, but the City Hall and railway station along the canal to the south were relocated outside the core in the 1960s. (Source: FPC 1915, Drawing 14; drawing by office of E.H. Bennett.)

The plans for both the downtown and the suburbs include both Ottawa and Hull, its hitherto neglected sister city across the river. Hull was to get its own civic centre and new bridges to connect to Ottawa (Fig. 4). The renderings illustrate some neo-classical buildings associated with the City Beautiful style, combined with others drawn in the manner of the Château Laurier (Ottawa) and Château Frontenac (Québec) hotels, which was to become something of a Canadian national style in the first half of the century (see Fig. 3). The Château style was vigorously promoted by the Canadian railways for their hotels across the country, so Holt may also have had some influence in the iconography [43].

The zoning provisions of the plan (Bennett called them District Control) reviewed current practice in both Europe and America. Bennett recommended separating the city into six districts:

- (a) industrial areas;
- (b) general railway and transport areas;
- (c) a central business district to include retail, wholesale and light industry;
- (d) a central residential district;

- (e) an outer or general residential district;
- (f) a suburban residential district at present unplatted.

The inner circle in the zoning plan (Fig. 8) was a central business district, with the next ring for central residential development. Three heavy industrial districts were proposed for locations marked 'a' and 'b' on Fig. 8, which would reduce the amount of discomfort from smoke and odours, and provide good access to the relocated freight railway yards and highways [44].

Finally, Bennett personally prepared studies of the silhouette of the capital's skyline from six locations (Fig. 9). He included height limits for each section of the downtown in the zoning plan to protect the prominence of the Parliament Buildings in the skyline.

What the 1915 report did not include were any plans for housing, particularly housing the poor. Bennett was certainly aware of the unsuitable residential conditions in some parts

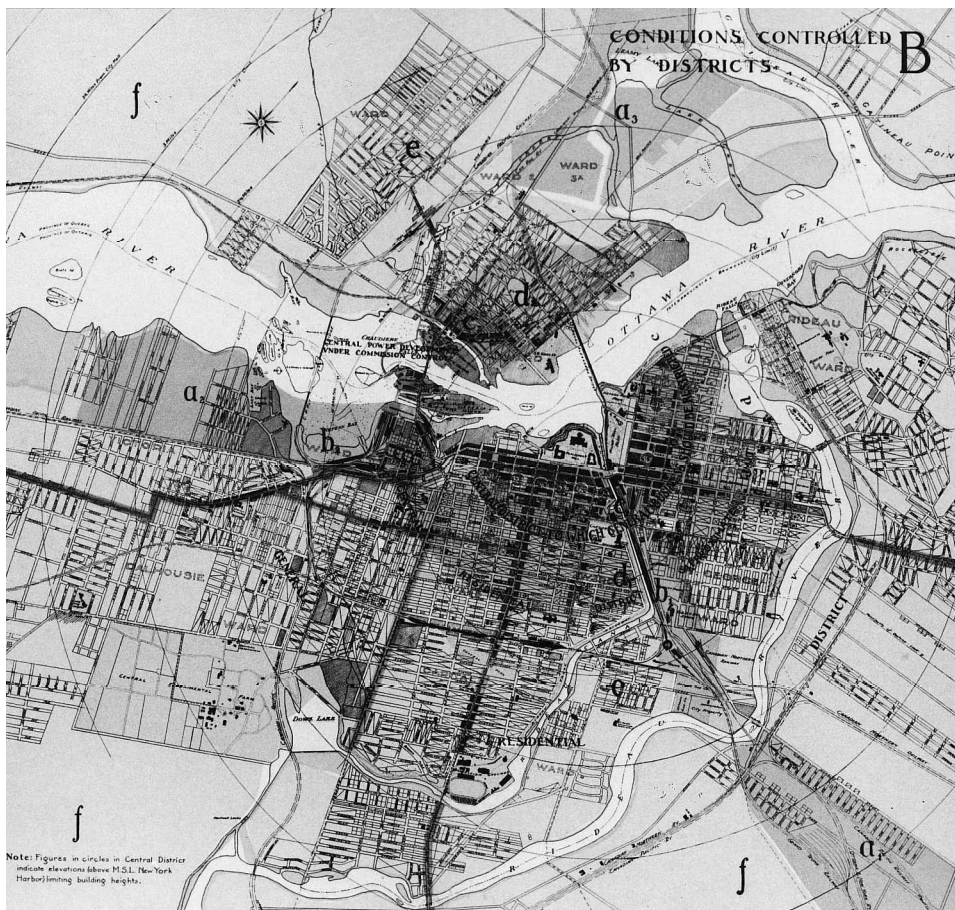


Figure 8. Proposed Zoning for Ottawa-Hull. (Source: FPC 1915, Drawing 19b; drawing by office of E.H. Bennett.)

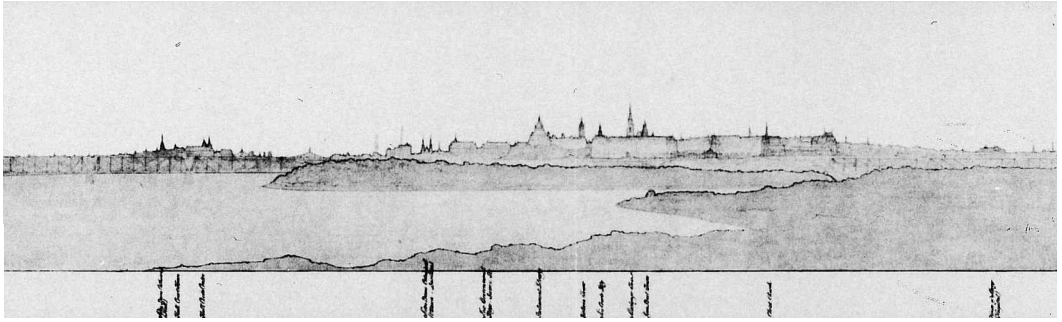


Figure 9. Proposed skyline of the National Capital. The City of Ottawa immediately adopted Bennett's suggested 110 foot height limit to protect the silhouette of the Parliament Buildings and churches on the skyline for the next fifty years. The City amended its plan in the 1960s to permit high rise buildings by private developers, effectively destroying this silhouette. (Source: FPC 1915, Drawing 17; sketch by E.H. Bennett.)

of the region, and the planning team's population density analyses hint at the problems. However, the order in council establishing the Federal Plan Commission did not encompass housing, and it is doubtful that the Commissioners were inclined to address it [45]. City Beautiful plans rarely gave more than token consideration to housing, since housing reform was seen as a separate movement at the time [46]. The discussions of suburban housing and street standards included in Bennett's original draft were edited out of the FPC's final report, just as they were removed from the *Plan of Chicago* [47].

Implementation provisions

The Commissioners themselves and their advisors in the civil service appear to have prepared the implementation provisions of the 1915 plan. The first and foremost recommendation of the Commission was:

We are of the firm opinion that the future improvements in the area about the Capital of Ottawa and Hull should not be attempted without first establishing a Federal district and securing for the Federal authority some control of local government [48].

This recommendation is coupled with a description of the operation of the District of Columbia but no discussion of the future relationship of the cities of Ottawa and Hull, or the provinces of Ontario or Québec [49]. No material on this subject is found in Bennett's drafts or papers, but the Federal District proposal was a hot political issue in Ottawa for the previous decade [50].

The Commissioners also recommended the reorganization of the railway network, a comprehensive plan for the Government Buildings and zoning, as proposed by Bennett and Cousins. Finally, they recommended that:

The highly commendable work of the Ottawa Improvement Commission should be extended and enlarged by the development of a broad and forceful policy as to further park lands, and there should

be established a National Park of Forest Reserve in the Laurentian Hills, under control of the Dominion Government [51].

The Commissioners regarded the railways as the most important technical problem in the plan, and they were probably correct. Traffic in Ottawa was choked by over 100 level crossings in the downtown area. Multiple passenger stations and freight yards scattered throughout the city decreased the efficiency of the railway network. The plan recommended that the new Federal District Commission 'be placed in complete control of the railway situation within the limits of the district', and the acquisition and control of all existing tracks and terminals [52]. Given that Herbert Holt was the president of a prominent railway company, this recommendation was both radical, and an indication of a serious co-ordination problem between the railways [53].

The fate of the Federal Plan Commission report

The final report of the Federal Plan Commission included 158 pages and 24 fold-out drawings. Unfortunately, the FPC staff made three errors during the printing of the report. The crest gilt-stamped into the cover contained an error in the arms of one of the new provinces, leading to more complaints about absentee American consultants. More seriously, the French translation of the report and a proposed 'popular' version were not immediately printed, although funds were already budgeted for their production. As a result, the Federal Plan Commission report was neither widely distributed, nor available in both Canada's official languages.

The report was printed by the end of 1915, but it was not tabled in Parliament until March 10, 1916. It was not an auspicious time. The war in Europe was going badly and the Centre Block of the Parliament Building had burned in a spectacular fire the month before. The report received a few brief reviews in the press, and the Federal Plan Commission disbanded, having completed its limited mandate [54].

The plan quickly sank from sight in a capital transfixed by war. The only reminder of its existence was Guérin's water-colour paintings which hung in Ottawa City Hall for several years. Eventually, they were removed, for fear of damage during the hurly-burly of the municipal nomination meetings of the day. The drawings were shipped to the Commission of Conservation's office in the federal government where they were eventually misplaced [55].

The conventional explanations why the 1915 plan was 'put on the shelf' include:

- the nation was focused on the war [56];
- any expenditure in Ottawa was diverted to rebuilding the Centre Block [57];
- a City Beautiful plan was inappropriate for Ottawa [58].

The first two points were valid excuses for inactivity in the short term. However, the war ended in three years, and many plans were made for improving the country upon the return of the veterans [59]. Why not a suitable national capital for a 'nation forged in fire'?

Secondly, the Centre Block was rebuilt by 1925, including the new Peace Tower. The country was still in an expansionary mood in the mid 1920s. Why did the federal government not proceed with the rest of the plan for Ottawa?

A partial answer might be that the political aspects of the Commission's work were naive, and not conducive to effective implementation. The FPC conducted their meetings in English, without an interpreter, even though the Mayor of Hull spoke only French [60]. The Commission was comprised entirely of prominent Conservatives, and the plan was commonly referred to as the 'Holt Commission report'. When the Tory government fell in 1920, the Commission had been dissolved for five years and there was nobody to advocate the plan to the new Liberal administration. The contrast with the powerful and long-term promotion of Burnham and Bennett's 1909 Chicago plan by the Commercial Club is particularly instructive here. It was not until 1927 that Prime Minister Mackenzie King re-organised the OIC and installed one of Ottawa's few business barons as its chairman [61].

In addition, the Federal District proposal was a complete non-starter in the City of Hull and the Province of Québec. They were fiercely opposed to the loss of any of their territory or sovereignty. The Hull City Council was so incensed by the proposal delivered in the English version of the report that they refused their contractual obligation to pay for their share (\$6560.32) of the report. The federal government sued for the money in the Exchequer Court and won. Hull appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, which upheld the appeal on a technicality. The federal government launched an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council before eventually dropping the case [62]. This petty dispute was hardly the foundation for a new era of co-operation between federal and local governments.

Opposition to City Beautiful planning may have more explanatory power for the long-term disappearance of Bennett's plan. Although Meredith and Cauchon made the usual complaints about the City Beautiful approach after Bennett was selected, their criticism has the taint of sour grapes. Their champion, Thomas Mawson, was equally identified with the City Beautiful style, but without the detailed technical competence and interest in zoning shown by Bennett in all his plans since Chicago. Cauchon confined himself to minor street improvements and other City Practical initiatives as Chairman of the Ottawa Town Planning Commission, but the plans he prepared as a consultant for other cities were replete with wide boulevards and grand civic centres [63].

Thomas Adams' opposition was a more serious obstacle to the 1915 plan. He rose to prominence as secretary of the Garden City Association and founding president of the Royal Town Planning Institute in Britain. Adams was called to Canada in 1914 to act as the Town Planning Advisor to the Commission of Conservation. He remained in Ottawa for a decade, and tirelessly promoted town planning. Adams founded both the Civic Improvement League and Town Planning Institute of Canada and wrote dozens of articles for a variety of journals. Within the emerging North American planning community in 1914, Adams was perhaps equal in eminence to Bennett, but opposite in approach. If Bennett could be considered the leading City Beautiful planner of the day, Adams was equally prominent as a proponent of the 'City Scientific.' Following his Canadian assignment, Adams led the New York Regional Plan of 1929 [64].

Adams revealed his position immediately after the Holt Commission report was tabled in 1916. The next issue of the Commission of Conservation's journal contained his article stating:

Had the *British* method of preparing a town planning scheme been adopted the plan and scheme to give it effect would have been prepared simultaneously, but the Federal Commission adopted the simpler *American* method of preparing a plan and making a general report, leaving the detailed

scheme and the financial considerations for subsequent consideration. The work still to be done in this direction is as important and as large in extent as that which the Commission has accomplished, and the value obtained from the plan and report would be commensurate with the activity shown in proceeding with the second stage and preparing an actual town planning scheme. But even the Federal Plan cannot be properly carried out without a provincial town planning Act, so that in Ottawa, as elsewhere, the greatest urgency is in getting legislation [author's emphasis].

Any attempt to carry out such a plan by piecemeal methods will produce little or no result beyond what could have been obtained without incurring the expense of preparing the plan. In addition to preparing a scheme for executing the plan, it will be desirable to supplement the work which has been done by the Federal Plan Commission in certain important directions. The suburbs of Ottawa suffer as much as other cities from ragged and scattered development and from the absence of security against depreciation of residential property. One of the most urgent problems in the city is to regulate the new growth round the suburbs where the beginnings of unhealthy housing conditions are being permitted to be established [65].

We might take Adams' comments about 'the British method' with some caution. Patrick Abercrombie, editor of the leading British journal, *Town Planning Review*, described the FPC report as: 'one of the most elaborate and full City Planning reports which has appeared for a town in the British Empire' [66]. There was also praise from Canada's former colonial masters: Jacques Gréber featured the plan in his influential *L'Architecture aux États Unis* [67].

Adams implemented his own projects in Ottawa, which reflected different priorities. He founded local branches of the Civic Improvement League and the Town Planning Institute, and lobbied for planning enabling legislation at the province of Ontario. His most substantial accomplishment was the establishment of the federal government's first social housing programme in 1919. Adams designed the plan for Lindenlea, an Ottawa garden suburb which was the demonstration project for the programme [68].

By 1920, Adams had mellowed a bit on the topic of the 1915 plan and suggested:

The plan prepared for Ottawa has many satisfactory features which should be definitely approved by the Government and the city. It seems a great misfortune that the plan has been so completely ignored since its preparation at a great cost in money. Many of these features would not involve either the Government or the city in any expense over and above what would be necessary in any case if no plan were followed

... Like the plans of Washington and Chicago, the Ottawa plan is not complete. In the case of Washington, the plan of L' Enfant has been followed by the American Government with some unfortunate modifications in detail. Latterly, there has been a tendency to refer back to the original plan and get rid of the objectionable features that have been permitted to creep in.

But the plans of Washington and of Ottawa do not deal with the important question of zoning the cities into districts for the purpose of controlling the character, height and density of buildings in the cities. This defect is being removed in Washington, and a commission in control of the city's affairs, under the United States Government, is now authorized to employ experts to prepare a zoning plan of the city to supplement the lay-out plan of L' Enfant [69].

Adams is being either polemical or disingenuous here. The McMillan Commission plan is now recognized as the first American comprehensive plan, while the Chicago plan was certainly the most detailed and complete prior to Adams' own multi-volume Regional Plan of New York. He also does not acknowledge the detailed transportation and zoning

recommendations in Bennett's Ottawa Plan. Adams' complete rejection of the City Beautiful approach is clearly stated at the end of the article:

With proper building regulations capital will be less timid and will be attracted to the city. The prevailing assumption that town planning is merely an aesthetic fad is shown by these statements to be entirely wrong. It is on economic grounds that we need town planning and proper zoning. Orderly development and health will produce beauty without seeking beauty as an end in itself [70].

These words, written by the Federal government's chief town planning advisor, must surely have been the end of the Holt Commission's plan.

The legacy of the 1915 plan

The City Beautiful movement was extensively criticized by contemporary planners and later academic analysts. It was vigorously opposed by practitioners like Adams and the engineers and land use planners who dominated planning after 1910 in North America. They argued that the 'aesthetic approach' ignored both technical and social issues [71].

During the rise of the social sciences in planning in the 1970s, the academic criticism of City Beautiful plans was particularly severe. Van Nus suggested that the language of Canadian City Beautiful plans 'suggests an authoritarian impulse' and that the architects involved placed undue emphasis on the ugliness of Canadian cities at the turn of the century. He argues that 'the shortage of decent housing become popularly regarded as Canada's greatest social problem and suburban planning as the principal solution'. The problem in Ottawa was:

... the population had by 1914 reached 123 000 souls, who would have occupied five square miles, given a density of forty per acre. In fact, the subdivided area covered sixty-five square miles, some of which was dotted with scattered shack dwellings, but a great part of which was unused, held by absentee owners in search of speculative profit [72]

The Holt Commission plan, based upon a mandate which excluded housing issues, could never satisfy the advocates of improved accommodation for the poor.

In recent years, the role of urban design in planning has made a comeback, and some City Beautiful plans are being re-evaluated in a more positive light [73]. Ugliness does matter, particularly in a national capital as dreary as Ottawa in 1913. Few patriotic citizens want an ugly capital. Federal politicians and civil servants also wanted a well planned city for both symbolic and practical reasons. They had to live and work in the community.

One could argue that the City Beautiful was an especially appropriate approach for planning Ottawa in 1913. A national commission of the federal government was the client, and its chairman, Herbert Holt, interpreted the objective to be:

... a beautiful Federal District, of which not only the citizens of Ottawa and Hull and the surrounding country will be proud, but a Capital in which everyone in the Dominion of Canada can take satisfaction [74].

Under these conditions, the urban design skills of a planner like Edward Bennett, and the presentation techniques of Jules Guérin would be particularly important for the plan.

The critics of the City Beautiful also over-state their case on the impracticality of the plans. Granted, not many diagonal boulevards were cut through the urban fabric in North America [75]. But concentrating on the luminous images of new civic centres led many observers to ignore the technical planning which was the foundation of the Chicago and Ottawa plans. Most of the railway relocation proposals in the 1915 Ottawa plan were carried out as suggested in the 1950s [76]. The east–west limited access highway proposed in the 1915 plan is now the Queensway, which is the backbone of both the regional expressway and transit networks.

The City Scientific critics also seem oblivious to the zoning proposals in City Beautiful plans. Bennett was a leading proponent of zoning, and prepared ordinances for several cities. His zoning proposal for Ottawa was one of Canada's first published reports [77]. The City of Ottawa implemented Bennett's suggestion for a 110 foot height limit immediately [78]. This byelaw remained as one of the few controls on downtown built form until the City finally prepared a comprehensive plan and zoning byelaw thirty years later.

The criticism that the City Beautiful approach places undue emphasis on monumental civic centres may be correct for many commercial cities, but is particularly misplaced for Ottawa. Without the national government, it would be little more than another lumber town in the valley of the Ottawa River. The prominence, beauty, symbolic content and function of the capital are the primary concerns of the national government in urban planning. The FPC selected a consultant who was an expert in these fields. Bennett was the recognized American authority in the grouping of public buildings in 1912, contributing the chapter on that subject to John Nolen's first city planning textbook [79]. He later was appointed Chairman of the Board of Architects for the reconstruction of Washington in the 1920s and 1930s. Bennett's appreciation of the Gothic architecture of the Parliament buildings, its setting on the bluff above the river and suggestions of the oblique axis along Elgin Street have been foundations of the planning of the parliamentary precinct for subsequent decades [80].

The Holt Commission report was dogged by a parliamentary fire, a European war and poor implementation provisions. The plan was also tarred by the 'City Beautiful' brush, which was an inappropriate package of criticisms for this city, in most instances. Although his plan was shelved, Bennett remained optimistic about its influence, citing his mentor Daniel Burnham's phrase during a return visit to Ottawa in 1930:

... A noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing asserting itself with ever-growing insistency [81].

Although little of Bennett's design was implemented before his death in 1954, some of his 'logical diagrams' live on in the physical fabric of Canada's capital today. Edward Bennett's 1915 report on Ottawa and Hull deserves recognition as one of Canada's first comprehensive plans.

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Notes and references

ABBREVIATIONS FOR PRIMARY SOURCES:

CPM	Colborne P. Meredith papers, National Archives of Canada, MG 29 E62
DHB	Daniel H. Burnham papers, Art Institute of Chicago, Burnham Library of Architecture, Collection 1943.1
EHB	Edward H. Bennett papers, Art Institute of Chicago, Burnham Library of Architecture, Collection 1973.1
FPC	<i>Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull</i> , Ottawa: FPC, 1915
NC	Noulan Cauchon papers, National Archives of Canada, MG 30 C105
NCC	National Capital Commission Library Reference Section
NMC	National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada
OA	Records of Olmsted Associates, Inc., Manuscript Division, U.S. Library of Congress, Washington DC, Job File 5070, "Ottawa City Plan, Ottawa Canada, 1913-1914".
OIC	Department of Finance, Ottawa Improvement Commission papers, National Archives of Canada, RG 19, Vol. 551.

1. Herbert S. Holt (chmn), *Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull*, Ottawa: FPC, 1915.
2. The politics of the selection and implementation processes are the subjects of companion papers.
3. See G.B. Ford, 'The City Scientific', in *Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference in City Planning*. Boston: The Conference, 1915, pp. 31–39. For Canadian viewpoints see T. Adams, Editorial: Town planning is a science. *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 1(3) (1921) 1–3. Also P.W. Moore, Zoning and planning: the Toronto experience, 1904–1970, A.F.J. Artibise and G. A. Stelter (eds) *The Visible Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1979, pp. 318–340; and W. Van Nus, Towards the city efficient: the theory and practice of zoning, 1915–1939, in A.F.J. Artibise and G. A. Stelter (eds) *The Visible Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1979, pp. 220–243.
4. W. Van Nus, The fate of city beautiful thought in Canada, 1893–1930, in G. Stelter and A. Artibise (eds) *The Canadian City*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984, pp. 167–186. John Taylor dismisses the 1915 plan as a failure, but allows that it did influence the 1950 plan prepared by Jacques Gréber. See J.H. Taylor, City form and capital culture: remaking Ottawa. *Planning Perspectives* 4 (1989) 79–105 and Jacques Gréber, *Plan for the National Capital*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950 (2 vols).
5. W. Eggleston, *The Queen's Choice: A Story of Canada's Capital*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961. Laurier's 'Washington of the North' speech is discussed in Chapter 8. He first made the promise at a national Liberal convention in June 1893. Prime Minister Laurier later re-affirmed his pre-election promise of bettering the capital at a political demonstration on Cartier Square in Ottawa,

- on August 8, 1896. (see p. 156 and C. Ketchum, *Federal District Capital*, Ottawa: publisher unknown, 1939, p. 18).
6. K. Hillis, A history of commissions: threads of an Ottawa planning history. *Urban History Review* XXI(1) (1992) 46–60. Also W. DeGrace, Canada's capital 1900–1950: five town planning visions. *Environments* 17(2) (1985) 43–57.
 7. For the selection of Canada's capital see D.B. Knight, *Choosing Canada's Capital: Conflict Resolution in a Parliamentary System*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991. For the urban history of Ottawa, see J.H. Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1986. On Ottawa's early history, see L. Brault, *Ottawa Old & New*. Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946.
 8. C. Young, *The Glory of Ottawa: Canada's First Parliament Buildings*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
 9. R.M. Dawson, *William Lyon Mackenzie King, a political biography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958. Laurier is quoted in K. Hillis, *op. cit.* [6], p. 46. For a more positive view of Ottawa, see J.H. Taylor, *op. cit.* [7].
 10. *An Act Respecting the City of Ottawa*, 62–63 Vict. Ch 10. 7 (c), assented 11 August, 1899.
 11. P. Jacobs, Frederick G. Todd and the creation of Canada's urban landscape. *Association for Preservation Technology (APT) Bulletin* XV(4) (1983) 27–34.
 12. F.G. Todd, *Preliminary Report to the Ottawa Improvement Commission*. Ottawa: OIC, 1903.
 13. Colborne Meredith was the son of Edmund A. Meredith, one of Canada's most influential early civil servants. See Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984. C.P Meredith's confrontational early OIC meetings are recorded in CPM Vol. 6 , file #43.
 14. The RAIC report is included in a 'blue paper' issued by the federal government: *Report and Correspondence of the Ottawa Improvement Commission*. 2 George V. Sessional Paper No. 51a. Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, 1912. For Meredith's behind the scene's orchestration of events, see CPM Vol. 6 , files 42–44. For the McMillan Commission see C. Moore (ed.), *The improvement of the park system of the District of Columbia*, 57th Congress, 1st. sess. S. Rept. 166. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902 and also J.A. Peterson, The nation's first comprehensive city plan: a political analysis of the McMillan plan for Washington, DC, 1900–1902. *American Planning Association Journal* 55(2) (1985) 134–150. On Daniel Burnham's role as principal consultant to the commission, see DHB papers and T.S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, Ch. 7.
 15. On the role of Governor General Grey, see W. Eggleston, *op. cit.* [6], p. 163. Earl Grey personally invited local leaders when Vivian spoke in Ottawa in 1912. Letter from Grey to Meredith, CPM papers, 1912 correspondence. Earl Grey was previously active in the English town planning movement by inaugurating Letchworth in 1903 and as a member of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust (1904–1917). See M. Miller and A.S. Gray, *Hampstead Garden Suburb*, Chichester UK: Phillimore, 1992.
 16. Mawson lectured on May 25, 1911. 'The Ideal Governmental city: How to Plan and Build It', CPM Vol. 11. For typical texts of Mawson and Vivian's standard speech from their cross-country tour, see 'Two Notable Addresses on Town Planning and Housing.' Calgary: Calgary Planning Commission, 1912. Meredith's role in organizing their criticism of the OIC's work is documented in CPM 1911 Correspondence files.
 17. Cauchon's articles are collected in scrapbooks in NC Vol. 2–4. He began to publish planning articles in 1911, and continued until his death in 1935. For a general review of Cauchon's life and professional career, see S. Coutts, *Science and Sentiment: The Planning Career of Noulan Cauchon*. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, Carleton University, 1982.
 18. For the Commission on Conservation, see M.F. Girard, *L'écologisme retrouvé: Essor et déclin de la Commission de la conservation du Canada*. Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa,

1994. For the typhoid epidemic, see K. Hillis, *op. cit.* [6]. For the 1914 conference see *Proceedings of the Sixth National Conference on City Planning – Toronto May 25–27, 1914*. Cambridge, MA: University Press, 1914.
19. See CPM papers, correspondence for 1912 and 1913.
20. FPC 1915, p. 9.
21. Sir William Van Horne of the Canadian Pacific Railway was the Prime Minister's first choice to chair the FPC, but he declined the nomination. For the circumstances of the formation of the FPC, see the 1913 correspondence of the Deputy Minister of Finance in the OIC papers. For Holt's background, see T. Regehr, *A Capitalist Plans the Capital*, unpublished paper to the Canadian Historical Society, 1984 meeting. Professor Gilbert Stelter's suggestion that we review this paper is appreciated. The background of the other members was obtained from H.C. Charlesworth (ed), *Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*. Toronto: Hunter-Rose 1919; *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Canadian History*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1926; *Who's Who and Why*. Toronto: International Press, 1914.
22. Toronto Harbour Commission, *Toronto Waterfront Development, 1912–1920*. Toronto: Brigens, 1913. For Cousin's and Home Smith's roles in implementation of the plan, see W. Reeves, *Visions for the Metro Toronto Waterfront I: Toward Comprehensive Planning, 1852–1935*. Toronto: University of Toronto Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Major Report No. 27, 1992.
23. R. Home Smith to F.L. Olmsted, Jr. Oct. 13, 1913 and FLO to RHS 16, 22 & 24 Oct. 1913 (OA). FLO was busy in Denver at the time and appears not to have visited Ottawa prior to his interview with Holt, if at all. He may have lost the job by his reluctance to quote a fixed fee to prepare the plan. FLO to Holt 19 & 25 Nov. 1913 and Holt to FLO 24 Nov. 1913 (OA). I am indebted to Dr L.D. McCann for sharing copies of the Olmsted Bros. correspondence on the Ottawa plan.
24. For Mawson's lobby, see T. Mawson, *The Life and Work of An English Landscape Architect*. London: The Richards Press Ltd, 1927 and Meredith's 1911–1913 correspondence in CPM papers. Mawson peppered his Canadian speeches with tributes to the British Empire and courted his vice-regal contacts assiduously, even going so far as to dedicate the fourth edition of his book *The Art and Craft of Garden Making* (Batsford, 1912) to the Duke of Connaught. See Gordon Cherry, Thomas Hayton Mawson (1861–1933): a biographical note, *Planning History Bulletin* 9(2) (1987) 28–29. Like most consultants today, Mawson used his books as promotional material for potential clients. He gave another copy to Frank Darling of the FPC, which survives in the Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto.
25. Cauchon's articles for 1911 to 1913 are found in NC Vol. 2. Bennett's visit to Darling and Home Smith in Toronto is noted in his Nov. 13 1913 diary, in the EHB papers. Bennett agreed to serve jointly with Olmsted as landscape architect during the visit, EHB letter to F. Darling, Nov. 13, 1913 (OA), but the arrangement subsequently fell through. This visit was prior to his December 1, 1913 interview with Holt in Ottawa. Meredith's letters are found in CPM 1913 correspondence. Meredith had apprenticed in Darling's office in Toronto, so Darling was in a unique position to judge his ability and temperament. See Meredith's autobiographical manuscript, 'I' in CPM vol. 9.
26. The complete letter is in OIC papers of the Department of Finance, file 142–1.
27. Bennett's background is summarized in J. Draper, *Edward Bennett: Architect and City Planner, 1874–1954*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1982. For the San Francisco Plan see EHB papers, Boxes 52 and 53 and the DHB papers.
28. The quote is from a speech by Bennett at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1929. DHB papers Box 40, file 2.
29. For the Chicago Plan see EHB papers, Series VII, Boxes 54–62 and the DHB papers. Daniel H. Burham and Edward H. Bennett, with C. Moore (ed.) *Plan of Chicago*. Chicago: Commercial Club, 1909.

30. For example, see R. Freestone and G. Cherry, Burnhamania. *Planning History* 16(1) (1994) 41–42.
31. Burnham's referrals are in numerous letters in his 1907–1912 correspondence in DHB Vol. 1. For example, when Sir William Van Horne solicited his services for a city plan for Montreal, Burnham suggested Bennett be retained. DHB letters to Van Horne, August 16 and 24, 1910. There is no record of Ottawa approaching Burnham in DHB or OIC. Bennett's projects are catalogued in J. Draper, *op. cit.* [27].
32. Edward Bennett, 'Some Aspects of City Planning, with General Reference to a Plan for Ottawa and Hull.' Address at the Normal School, Ottawa, Ontario, April 21, 1914. EHB Papers, Box 40, p.7.
33. The published speech contains brief descriptions of Bennett's images. Several of Bennett's original lantern slides survive in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago's Ryerson Library of Architecture. Many of the remainder were traced from the reports in the EHB and DHB papers and Bennett's contribution to the 1909 Plan of Chicago, and W. Moody (ed.) *Wacker's Manual of Citizenship*. Chicago: Commercial Club of Chicago, 1914. See David Gordon, 'Introducing a City Beautiful Plan for Canada's Capital: Edward Bennett's 1914 Speech to the Canadian Club' Paper presented to the Society of American City and Regional Planning Historians Conference, October 24, 1997.
34. *Ottawa Citizen*, April 22, 1914.
35. W.T. Perks, Idealism, orchestration and science in early Canadian planning: Calgary and Vancouver re-visited, 1914/1928. *Environments* 17(2), (1985) 1–28.
36. EHB diaries and correspondence in EHB papers, Boxes 50 and 51.
37. EHB 1914 diary, December 26–30, 1914.
38. See R. Brugemann 'Burnham, Guérin and the city as image', in J. Zukowsky (ed.) *The Plan of Chicago: 1909–1979*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1979. Once again, Bennett's role is hardly mentioned, even though he appears to have personally supervised the preparation of the critical drawings. For example, his original drawing of the 'Snow Scene' remains in the AIC lantern slide collection. It was used by Guérin as the base for plate CXXXVII.
39. The draft report is in EHB Box 51. None of the text from first section of the FPC report is found in Bennett's draft, with the exception of a few paragraphs describing the site. The final draft was completed in 1915 and sent for printing by the Commission staff.
40. See J. Gréber, *op. cit.* [4], *Plan for the National Capital – General Report*. Ottawa: National Capital Planning Service, 1950, Chapter 3.
41. See T. Adams, *Outline of Town and City Planning: A Review of Past Efforts and Modern Aims*. New York: Russell Sage, 1935.
42. W. Eggleston, *op. cit.* [5].
43. For the 'Château style', see H. Kalman, *History of Canadian Architecture* (Vols 1–2). Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 718–722.
44. FPC, p. 117 and Drawing 19. All references to zoning in Germany were removed from the final draft due to the Great War.
45. Although Holt was subsequently involved in several charitable programmes to improve the conditions of the working class in Montréal. See T. Regehr, *op. cit.* [21].
46. See G. Cherry (ed.) *Shaping an Urban World*. London: Mansell, 1980, pp. 23–58. My thanks to the editor for suggesting this reference.
47. EHB papers, draft Ottawa plan in Box 51. For the fate of the housing provisions in Burnham and Bennett's *Plan of Chicago*, *op. cit.* [29], see Kirsten Schaffer, *The Fabric of City Life: The Social Agenda in Burnham's Draft of the Plan of Chicago*, introduction to *Plan of Chicago*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993.
48. FPC, p. 13.
49. FPC, pp. 21–22.

50. See W. Eggleston, *op. cit.* [5]. Ottawa passed a referendum approving a federal district on its second try, prior to the Federal Plan Commission.
51. FPC, p. 14.
52. FPC, p. 97.
53. For Holt's background as a railway executive, see T. Regehr, *op. cit.* [21] and T.D. Regehr, *The Canadian Northern Railway: Pioneer Road of the Northern Prairies 1895–1918*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976.
54. 'Town Plan Report Provides for Creation of Federal District', *Ottawa Citizen*, March 11, 1916 and 'Keeping Alive Federal Town Planning report By Discussion, Metropolitan Area Suggested,' *Ottawa Citizen*, March 30, 1916. Bennett published the plan as 'A plan for Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion of Canada' in the *American Institute of Architects Journal* 4 (1916) 263–268.
55. See OIC papers for reference to the drawings. Adams requested all of the FPC's papers and drawings be shipped to his office. The Commission of Conservation papers have not been located to date, see M.F. Girard, *op. cit.* [18], preface.
56. W. Eggleston, *op. cit.* [5], p. 170 and National Capital Commission, 'A Capital in The Making'. Ottawa: NCC, 1987, pp. 16–17.
57. W. Eggleston, *op. cit.* [5] p. 171 and NCC, *ibid.*
58. W. Van Nus, *op. cit.* [4], J.H. Taylor *op. cit.* [4], N. Cauchon, Town planning, with special reference to Ottawa. *The Canadian Engineer* 37 (1919) 455–478.; A federal district for Ottawa, *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, April, (1922) pp. 3–6.
59. For example, Noulan Cauchon proposed several schemes to the Soldier's Settlement Board. See NC papers, Vol. 8.
60. T. Regehr, *op. cit.* [21], p. 15.
61. The poor political strategy and implementation provisions are the subject of a companion paper. For Bennett's role in the Commercial Club and the later Chicago Plan Commission, see EHB papers Series VII and the DHB papers. See also T.S. Hines, *op. cit.* [14], ch. XIV and Thomas J. Schlereth, Burnham's plan and Moody's manual: city planning as progressive reform. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 47(1) (1981) 70–82. For the 1927 reorganization of the OIC as the Federal District Commission under Thomas Ahearn, see W. Eggleston, *op. cit.* [5], pp. 173–178.
62. OIC papers, File 142–1.
63. see S. Coutts, *op. cit.* [17], pp. 53–59; Noulan Cauchon, 'Reconnaissance Report on the Development of Hamilton, 1917,' NC papers Vol. 1 and 'How Hamilton Might Become City Beautiful,' *Hamilton Herald*, April 4, 1917, NC vol. 3.
64. See T. Adams, Editorial: Town planning is a science. *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 1(3) (1921) 1–3. Adams' biography is M. Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900–1940*. London and New York: Mansell, 1985. For a guide to Adam's articles on Canadian planning, see J.D. Hulchanski, *Thomas Adams: A Biographical and Bibliographic Guide*. Toronto: University of Toronto, Papers on Planning and Design; No. 015, 1978.
65. T. Adams, Ottawa-Federal plan. *Town Planning and the Conservation of Life* 1(4) (1916) 88–89.
66. *Town Planning Review* 7(4) (1916) 268. Abercrombie later praised both the Plan of Chicago and the FPC report in 'Civic Study in Civic Design' a paper presented to the 43rd Annual General Meeting and Conference of the Institution of Municipal and County Engineers (UK) 29 June, 1916. (NC papers Vol. 12.)
67. Jacques Gréber, *L'Architecture aux États Unis: Prevue de la Force d'Expansion du Génie Français*, ch. XIV, 'Grandes Compositions D'Ensemble'. Paris: Payot, 1920, pp. 141–154.
68. T. Adams, The federal housing project. *Town Planning and the Conservation of Life* 6(2) (1920) 25–28; M. Simpson, *op. cit.* [64].

69. T. Adams, The future of Ottawa. *Town Planning and the Conservation of Life* 6(2) (1920) 33.
70. T. Adams, *ibid.*, 35.
71. William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1989.
72. W. Van Nus, *op. cit.* [4]; pp. 178–79.
73. W.H. Wilson, *op. cit.* [71]; W.T. Perks, *op. cit.* [35]; H. Kalman *op. cit.* [43], Ch. 12; L. McCann, Planning and building the corporate suburb of Mount Royal, 1910–1925. *Planning Perspectives* 11, (1996) 1–43.
74. FPC, p. 16.
75. The Benjamin Franklin Parkway in Philadelphia was the exception. Ironically, it was designed by Jacques Gréber, who later prepared the 1950 plan for the Ottawa region. Bennett was implementing the Michigan Avenue extension in Chicago, and also cited the recently completed Aldwych/Kingsway project in London as examples of new roads. See D. Schubert and A. Sutcliffe, The ‘Haussmannization’ of London: the planning and construction of Kingsway–Aldwych, 1889–1935. *Planning Perspectives* 11 (1996) 115–144.
76. See NCC, J. Gréber, *op. cit.* [56]. Plan for the National Capital General Report. Ottawa: National Capital Planning Service, 1950.
77. For Bennett’s zoning articles see ‘The General Aspects of Zoning,’ *Citizens Zone Plan Conference*, Chicago, 1919; Zoning in relation to city planning, *Illinois Journal of Commerce*, Dec. 7 (1920), EHB papers, files 40.15; 40.16. Among the first comprehensive zoning byelaws to be implemented in Canada were in Kitchener. See T. Adams, Zoning Ordinance for the city of Kitchener, Ontario, Canada. *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* II(6) (1925) 148–149; W. Van Nus, *op. cit.* [3], pp. 220–243.
78. City of Ottawa, byelaw 3754, dated June 1, 1914.
79. J.H. Taylor, J.G. Lengelle and C. Andrew (eds) *Capital Cities/Les Capitales: Perspectives Internationales/International Perspectives*. Ottawa: Carleton U Press, 1993. L. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. New Haven CT: Yale U. Press, 1992; E.H. Bennett, Public buildings and quasi-public buildings, in J. Nolen, *City Planning*. New York: Appleton, National Municipal League Series, 1916, pp. 103–116. For Bennett’s role in Washington’s Federal Triangle project, see the EHB papers, Boxes 63–66 and J. Draper, *op. cit.* [27], pp. 36–41.
80. See NCC, J. Gréber, *op. cit.* [67].
81. The legendary saying has no precise origin, according to T.S. Hines, *op. cit.* [14], p. 401. Bennett quoted from Burnham’s RIBA 1910 speech, ‘The city of the future under a democratic government,’ *Transactions of the Town Planning Conference, London, 10–15 October 1910*. London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1911., p. 378. Bennett listed this speech as a source for his 1914 Ottawa speech in his hand-written notes and draft in the EHB papers, Box 51.3. Bennett was invited to give another speech to the Canadian Club in Ottawa in 1930 to present his Federal Triangle project. He also quoted Burnham to close that speech, EHB papers, Box 66.2.