

Thomas Mawson: Imperial Missionary of British Town-Planning

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THOMAS MAWSON:

Imperial Missionary of British Town-Planning

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a new sort of evangelist appeared upon the Imperial stage: the British Town-Planner. In those splendid years before the First World War the sun never set on them; along the lecture circuits of the Empire they could be found spreading the good news of social progress through civic art. Some of these self-appointed apostles of a new faith are today regarded as revered ancestors of the town-planning profession. Patrick Geddes, for example, is remembered largely because Lewis Mumford will not let us forget him, having persuaded more than one generation of philistines that his perplexities are profundities, his vision prophetic. Thomas Mawson is not so lucky.

In 1903 both Geddes and Mawson were called to Dunfermline by James Currie Macbeth, interim secretary of the new Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, for the purpose of furnishing the Trust "with a Report on the laying out of the [Pittencrieff] Park and Glen." Andrew Carnegie had funded this Trust with the vague purpose of bringing "sweetness and light" to the citizens of the town he had left as a young boy.¹ Macbeth assumed that Geddes and

Mawson would work together towards self-evident goals and concluded his invitations to them with the unfortunate statement, "I do not think it necessary to give you any instructions..." Macbeth's successor, J. H. Whitehouse (the first Secretary of the Trust), did little to clarify the situation. Having previously been connected with Cadbury's famous model city of Bourneville, Whitehouse would have assumed that the ultimate objective of the Trust was a model city for Scotland. Geddes and Mawson therefore, leapt to the conclusion they were to be rivals for the redesigning of the whole of Dunfermline with all of the Trust's money. Geddes saw it as an opportunity to realize his visionary ideas about regional planning, apply the principles of biological evolution to human society and pursue his theory of "civics as applied sociology." Mawson, an ego in search of a crown, saw it as an opportunity to enter the company of the great nineteenth-century planners of Paris, Berlin and Vienna.

Alas, one cannot redesign and be redesigned by faith alone, especially in Scotland; for the local Scottish Trustees had other ideas. They did not wish to spend all the money at once. That would be self-destructive; what pleasure and satisfaction was there in holding an office that is here today and gone tomorrow?² For that reason they would not want to squander it on either Geddes's or Mawson's plan. Moreover it was calculated that the land acquisition required by Mawson's "improvements"

1. Perhaps the source of his vagueness was the symbolic nature of his Dunfermline Trust. He left town the son of an impoverished weaver and made a legendary fortune in the United States. Before he left Dunfermline, he lived in a wretched weaver's cottage; when he returned to Scotland, he lived in Skibo Castle. When he left Dunfermline, Pittencrieff House, Park, and Glen were private and enclosed by a high fence. When he returned, he bought the property, had the fence taken down, the gates thrown open, and the property made public.

2. The Carnegie Dunfermline Trust is still active under the leadership of the present Secretary Fred Mann.

(Fig. 1) outside Pittencrieff alone would cost over half-a-million pounds. And they certainly did not wish to transform Dunfermline into a model city after the pattern of some Sassenach chocolate-maker's company town like Bourneville. Anyone of the assumptions upon which Macbeth, Whitehouse, Geddes, Mawson or even Carnegie gave encouragement in this enterprise had the potential to cause a riot in Dunfermline.

When in 1904 the Trustees received two ambitious and lavishly produced plans from Mawson and Geddes³ they were stunned. What they had expected from Geddes, an Edinburgh biologist with bad eyesight, who had attracted some notice as the designer of simulated animal habitats at the Edin-

burgh Zoo, was to advise on transforming Pittencrieff Glen into a nature trail. From Mawson, known for his first book *The Art and Craft of Garden-Making* (1st edition 1900, 2nd ed. 1901) and his "make-work" public parks like that of 1898 at Hanley (Fig. 2) in the Potteries, they wanted a plan for transforming the grounds of Pittencrieff House into a municipal park. What they got was the ridiculous and the sublime. Which was which depends upon one's point of view, but in any case the Trustees would have neither, and in 1905 the offered Geddes and Mawson only a fraction of their fees. Geddes grumbled, then graciously accepted; Mawson sued and later settled out of court for the cost of printing his report. Meanwhile, on 20 January 1905 as the Trustees were disengaging themselves from an ambitious English garden-designer and a strange Edinburgh intellectual, they paid a visit to James Whitton, Glasgow's Superintendent of Public Parks. On 10 February they asked him for "a scheme for the formation of walks and other work on the Park and Glen." Whitton, an artist in the traditional sense, was accustomed to doing what was asked of him, and what one sees today is largely his work.

3. Thomas H. MAWSON, "Pioneers Always Ahead": *The Carnegie Dunfermline Trust Scheme for Pittencrieff Park, Glen, and City Improvements* (London; Thomas H. MAWSON, Hon. A.R.I.B.A., 28 Conduit Street, 1904). MAWSON organized his report under twenty-six headings of which only the last one — "Pittencrieff Park and Glen" — was devoted to what he had been engaged to do. Patrick GEDDES, *City Development: A Study of Parks, Gardens, and Culture Institutes: A Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust* (Edinburgh: Geddes and Company, 1904).

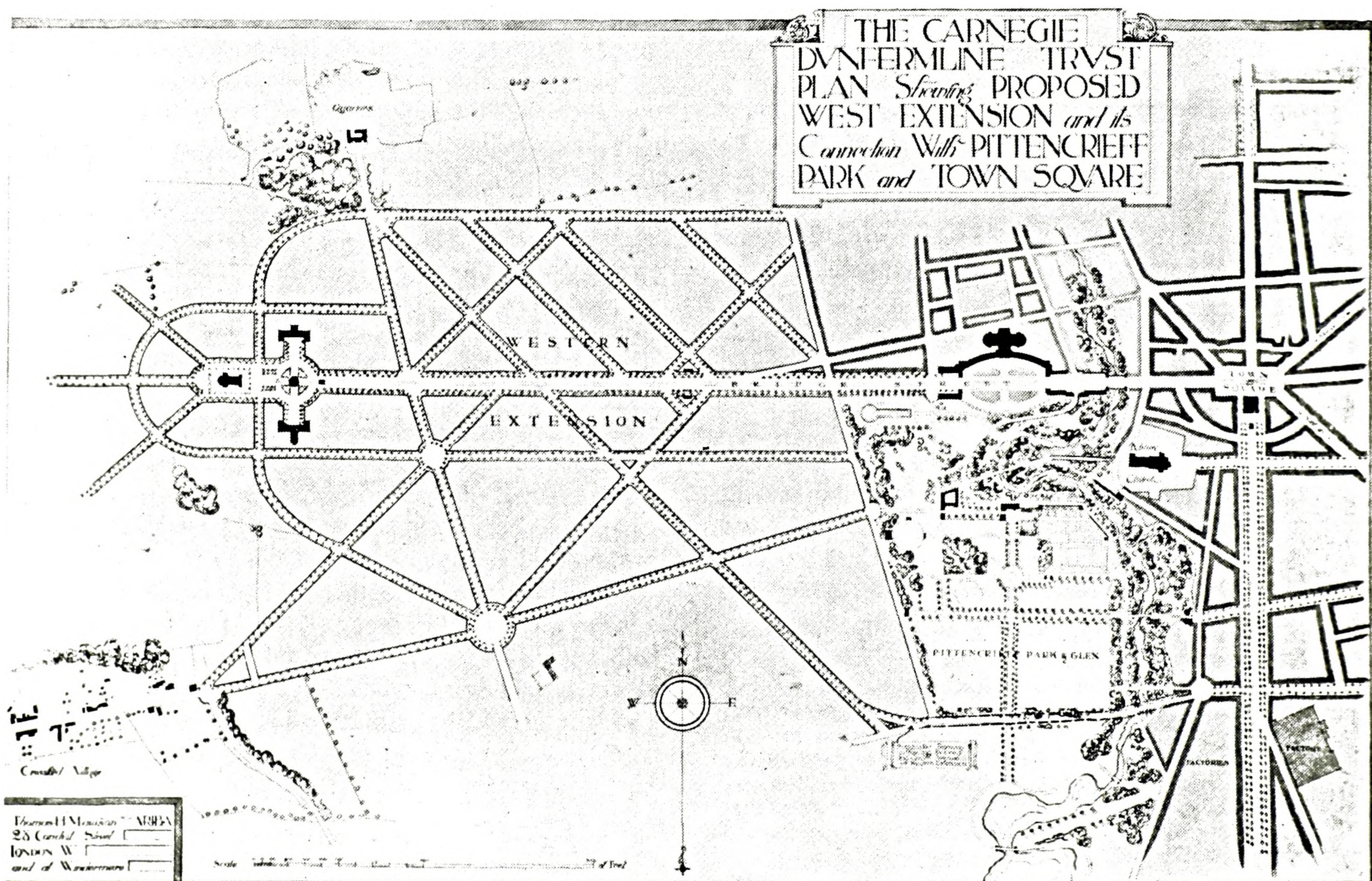


FIGURE 1

Both Mawson and Geddes were failures. But sometimes a failure in hand can be worth two successes in the bush. In those days, when a man failed at home it was easy to export himself to a more naïve and less resolved part of the Empire. After Dunfermline, Geddes developed a travelling exhibition of photographs, prints and maps illustrating his ideas and exported himself to the eastern parts of the British Empire, especially India, where he made a number of civic improvement reports.⁴ Mawson left for the western dominions. "Dunfermline brought me a rich reward," he said in his autobiography, "for without my published report it is safe to say that I would never have been commissioned to replan so many Canadian towns."⁵

As few of Mawson's and Geddes's plans at home or abroad were actually carried out (many were later altered or destroyed), Geddes is remembered for what he said and Mawson forgotten for what he did. Mawson's more important commissions include the Peace Palace Gardens at the Hague (1908); involvement from 1912-13 in planning the grounds of four Canadian universities, Dalhousie (Halifax), Saskatchewan (Saskatoon), Calgary, and British Columbia (Vancouver); planning in 1912 at Banff, Calgary, Regina, in 1913 at Athens; and in 1917 at Salonika. This impressive list is largely forgotten for reasons having more to do with ideological content than aesthetic quality.

Mawson devoted his career to supporting the Imperial System, the Aristocracy and the Capitalist Establishment, three institutions that were challenged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by economic uncertainty, social radicalism and the Boer War. When established institutions are threatened, it is the historic function of architecture and the lesser civilizing arts to confirm the faithful and beguile the uncertain by the laying on of tangible artifacts in the belief that all is well or will be better. This was the rationale of the City Beautiful Movement and of the Beaux-Arts mode of civic architecture favoured by Thomas Mawson.⁶ For a brief splendid moment this tactic

appeared to work. Its apogee came in 1912; by 1915 both the civilization and Mawson's career had begun to disintegrate.

Because Mawson's reputation was vitally linked to the above institutions his prestige languished with theirs in the 1920s. Yet though weakened by the First World War, income tax and the Russian Revolution, these institutions continued to commission works of art. Before the war they had sponsored civic monuments to their living faithful; afterwards it was monuments to their faithful departed. Predictably Mawson was involved in preserving the memory of the old civilization. In 1924 he was one of the nine founding members of the Royal Fine Arts Commission, an agency responsible for the approval of War Memorials.⁷ Because Mawson's favorite son had been killed in the war he had more than a professional interest in this. In the son's memory, he designed a garden city for crippled war veterans which (true to form) he published in a book entitled *An Imperial Obligation* (1917).

Mawson spent the last years of his life propagating his own reputation. His autobiography was published in 1927, seven years before his death. The motto on its title-page (Fig. 4) fixes the ideological distance between Mawson's concept of art and that of the contemporary *avant-garde*. It is inscribed under an appropriately classical, double-headed device in a tondo: "I look backward that I may the better press forward." For millenia prior to Mawson, this principle had been essential to the traditional functioning of all the arts.

Another mark of his debt to Renaissance humanism, an ideology involving portraiture as a major art, was his passion for his own portrait (Fig. 5) by Hubert von Herkomer.⁸ This artist has been forgot-

and popularity of the term "City Beautiful." Mawson was an avid reader of Robinson and one of the first in Britain to use the term professionally. ("Mr. Robinson is the author of the most delightful works on civic art in the English language." *Life and Work*, p. 253.) In his Dunfermline Report on page eight, MAWSON writes: "To deal with, and provide for this increased street traffic [another special interest of Robinson, incidently] seems to me to be the most pressing need, and the one on which the 'City Beautiful' must be founded."

4. A selection of these obscure reports has been reprinted in *Patrick Geddes: Spokesman for Man and Environment* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972) Marshall Stalley, ed. The first major showing of Geddes's exhibition was at the influential London Town-Planning Conference of 1910.

5. Thomas H. MAWSON, *Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect* (1927), p. 102.

6. Norman T. NEWTON, in his *Design Upon the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), credits Charles Mulford Robinson, a Rochester, N.Y. journalist, with the coinage

7. Though War Memorials provide excellent opportunities for comprehending the mentality of a society, they have received little serious study from historians. In City Beautiful projects carried out after the first War, War Memorials were given prominent positions, e.g., in Ottawa, where the Memorial was finished in 1939, just in time for the next war.

8. The greater part of Mawson's will is devoted to entailing this portrait to the eldest surviving male of succeeding generations of his family. Herkomer's last portrait, incidently, was of a western Canadian, and Mawson was responsible for it. While working in 1913 on plans for the

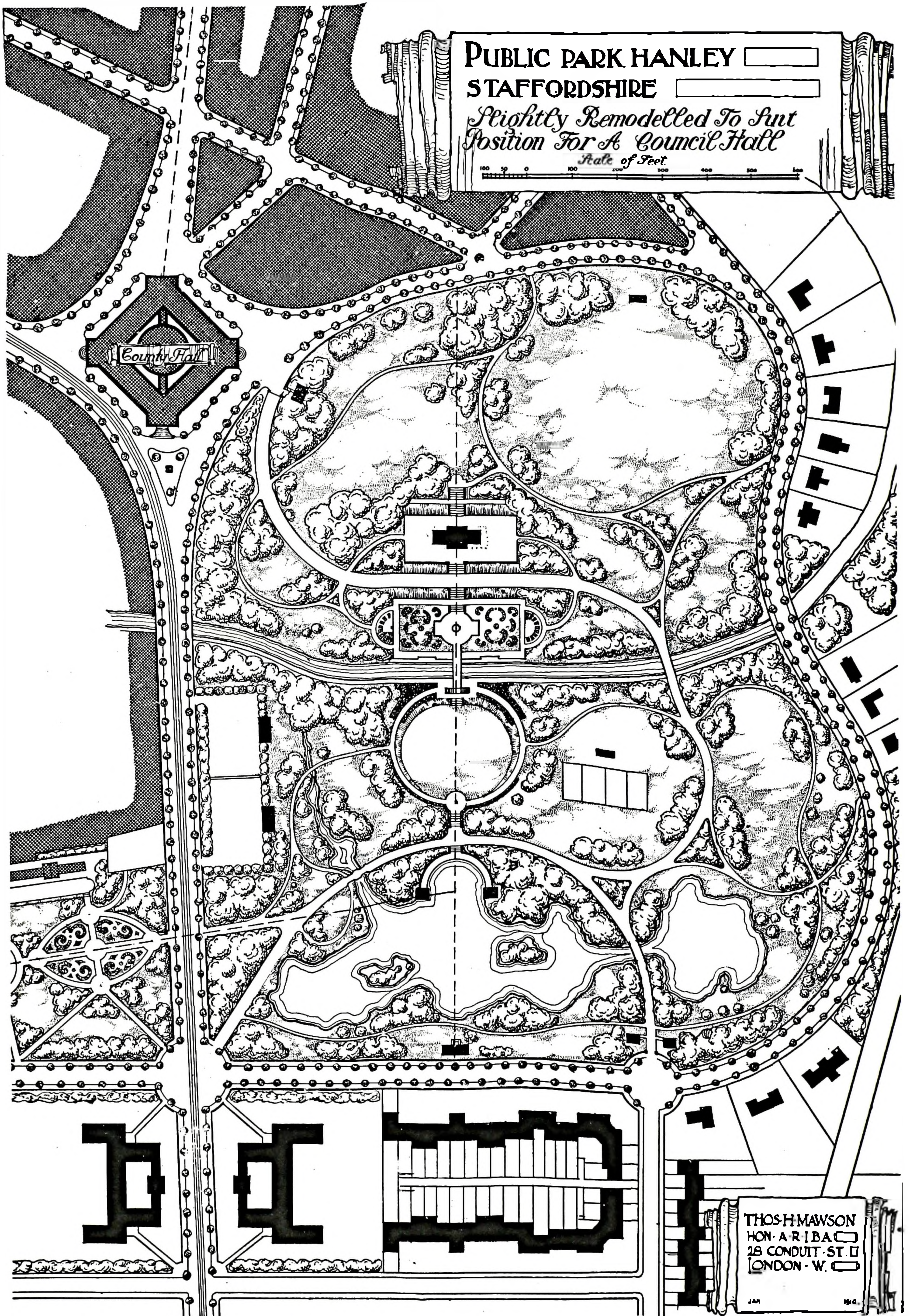


FIGURE 2

ten for the same reason as Mawson: support of the Establishment of his day.⁹ From 1873 until his death in 1914 Herkomer was one of the Empire's most fashionable portraitists. In 1886 he was shopping around for an architect to draw an elevation for "Lululaund", a family memorial house. Shortly before the American architect Henry Hobson Richardson died, in that very year, Herkomer visited him in Boston and exchanged a portrait for an architectural design.¹⁰ Seventeen years later Herkomer played the same game with Mawson, this time trading a portrait for a garden design. Mawson's "modernized medieval type of rose garden" for "Lululaund" has been destroyed along with the house.

As with Herkomer — a poor boy from an old family, who made good — Mawson traced his family's reputation as architect-builders back to one Joseph Mawson in the eighteenth century and was motivated by a desire to restore the family's position in society. He was born in 1861 in Lancashire of Nonconformist, Liberal parents. His father was a chronic business failure whose last misfortune was a nursery. He died in despair and left Mawson, aged eighteen, responsible for his widow, his three younger children, and a host of debts. Mawson succeeded, however, where his father failed and by 1900 had won recognition as a nurseryman and landscape designer.

What Mawson had, and his father lacked, was the knack of advertising himself. This he did chiefly in books and articles. *The Art and Craft of Garden-Making* was his first book.¹¹ Its second edition (1901) had a rich green binding decorated with a vaguely Art Nouveau device and chapter headings surrounded by Art Nouveau borders. It contained an abundance of Arts & Crafts garden benches, gateways, pergolas and herbaceous borders in the manner of Gertrude Jekyll. In the fourth edition (1912) the content, format and typography had all

public gardens surrounding the Regina Parliament Building, he showed a photograph of his Herkomer portrait to Lieutenant Governor Brown who, seized by a passion for a Herkomer portrait, took the next ship to England. After finishing it, Herkomer caught pneumonia and died.

9. Herkomer's most famous work is *The Last Muster* (1875), illustrating a group of Chelsea Pensioners at Chapel. The Chelsea Pensioners, of course, are retired defenders of Empire looked after by the State.
10. Only the gateway survives. Leonard EATON, *American Architecture Comes of Age: European Reaction to H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1972).
11. Subsidy publishing at that time not having fallen into its present disrepute, Mawson paid to have his book published. The later editions were published by Batsford.

been "Georgianized", recalling design books of the eighteenth century.

From the contemporary point of view Mawson always took the wrong turn. Where he turned right, we would have him go left. If instead of "going Georgian," he had stuck to the Arts & Crafts gardening style, Mawson today would be compared favourably with Gertrude Jekyll.¹² But he was Establishment by nature. The *avant-garde* position was incapable of satisfying his ego — as was the garden-making profession. This was his problem at Dunfermline. He was hired as a landscaper; he conceived of himself as an architect. And so he transformed himself into an architect and town-planner. In characteristic self-advertising fashion he announced this to the world in his *Civic Art*, published in 1911.¹³

By 1912 Mawson was involved in many North American town-planning activities. Lord Leve-rhulme, his chief British patron — and supporter of the pro-American School of Town Planning at Liverpool and of its oracle *The Town-Planning Review* — concluded that Mawson was too much involved in North American activities to be of much further use to him and so dismissed him. In a conciliatory and carefully worded reply, Mawson explained his devotion to North America: "I was very anxious that the English School of Town Planners should exercise a wide influence in Canada and the Colonies, and that for some unaccountable reason I seemed to be one of the chosen apostles whose appeal was exercising an influence." An apostle he was. In his autobiography he confessed that on several occasions while lecturing in Canada he "indulged in oratorical flourishes which sane propaganda does not call for." One of these was at the University of Toronto. "City planners," he declared, "[are] out to save souls by communities, by providing conditions in which intellectual, moral, and physical well-being became a possibility." He reported that the Bishop of Toronto, who was present, cheered.

His first target on the Canadian crusade was Ottawa. In 1910, Lord Grey, then Governor General, had urged him to publicize the need for

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12. In 1901, for example, he did the gardens for a Voysey house at Windermere. He came to know Voysey well enough to relate, in his autobiography, some amusing anecdotes about Voysey. In this regard his nonconformist, Liberal background would have served him well.
 13. It is no coincidence that the title is derived from Charles Mulford Robinson's *Modern Civic Art or the City Made Beautiful* (first edition 1903), or that it appeared shortly after the 1910 London Town-Planning Conference focused attention on British developments in this field.

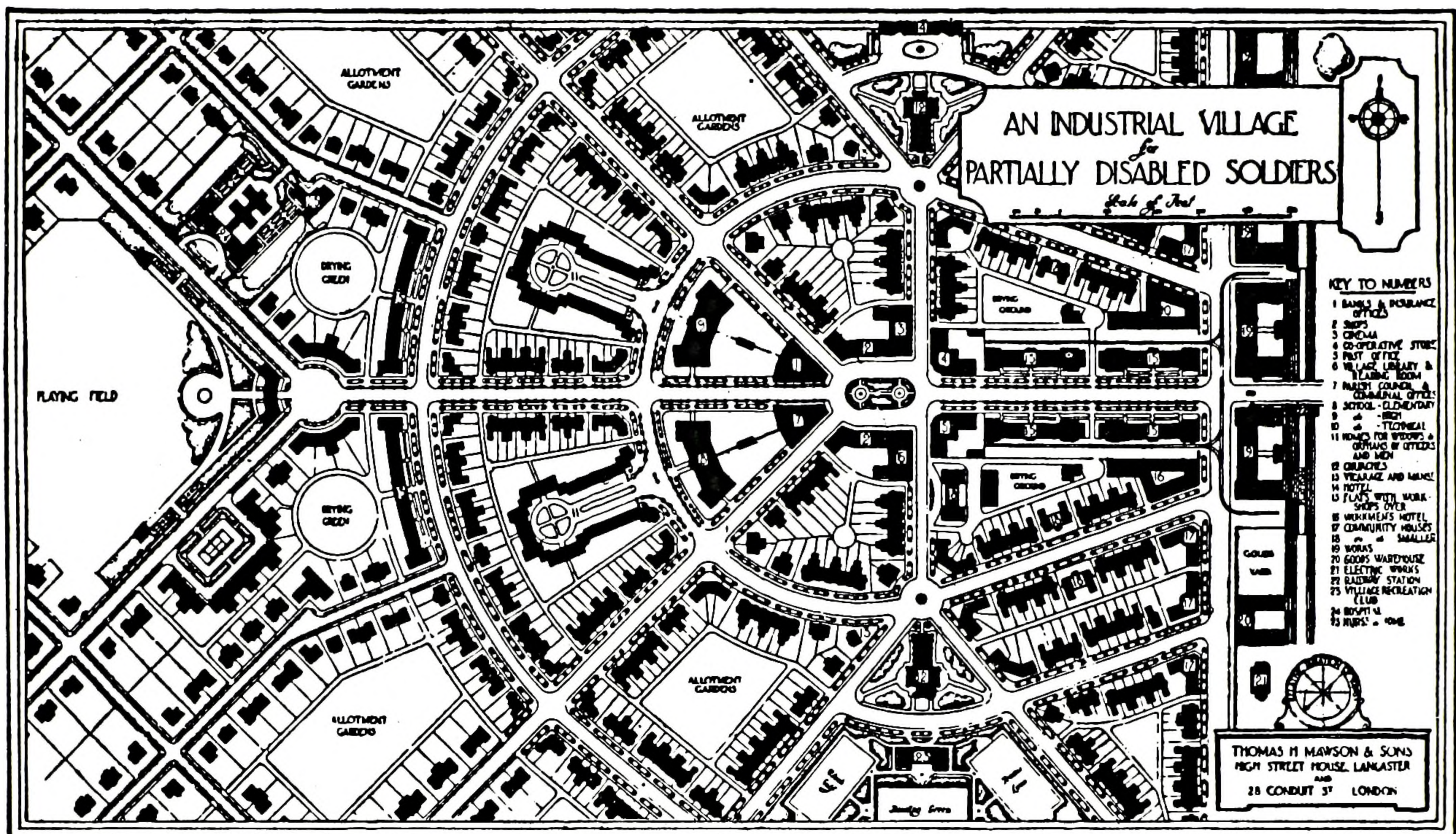


FIGURE 3

replanning Ottawa. By 1913 a Federal Plan Commission was established, and Mawson took credit for it. "The replanning of Ottawa," he records in his autobiography, "came into the sphere of practical politics only through the success of my propaganda work." One might assume, therefore, that he had got the job. But an American planner Edward Herbert Bennett became the Consultant. As a consolation prize the Conservative Prime Minister, Robert Borden, who had supported Mawson for the Ottawa job, asked him to make a new plan for the town in Banff National Park.

Since 1908 the Liberal Association at Banff had been demanding greater expenditure of federal funds in developing and advertising the place. Their chief objective was to make it a winter as well as a summer resort. Minister of the Interior in Laurier's (Liberal) government, Frank Oliver of Edmonton, had replied to these demands: "the advertising of Canada as a theatre of Winter sports has not been encouraged as it was considered that it would have a detrimental effect upon the efforts to advertise Canada as an agricultural country of mild climate." That was only the half of it. He went on to spotlight the importance of the Canadian Pacific Railways as the single most potent force in the history of Western Canadian town-planning: "and that may explain the fact that the C.P.R. have not

up to the present time favoured the idea, and their interest and advertising agencies would be required to make such a resort a success." In the summer of 1912, by which time there had been a change of government, Borden sent Mawson to Banff and killed two birds with one stone. He soothed Mawson's wounded pride and made a conciliatory gesture to Liberal Banff. Mawson arrived in Banff in fine style as a part of the entourage of the new Governor General, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught.

According to Mr. W. F. Lothian, a retired senior administrator in the Parks Branch, who is writing a history of the National Parks, the Mawson plans were destroyed in a departmental house-cleaning. The only description appears in the annual report for 1913. It seems safe to say that Mawson's plans had no impact whatsoever on Banff. What one sees today is largely the original plan of 1888 by George Alexander Stewart, Dominion Land Surveyor and first Superintendent of Rocky Mountain Park, as it was then called. He was responsible for the central processional boulevard (Banff Avenue) and for placing the service roads and utilities within city blocks. Here clearly is a Canadian town-planner we ought to know more about.

Mawson proposed to leave the Stewart plan as it was and to create appropriate terminal architectu-

ral features to the vistas on Banff Avenue. He also proposed a radial boulevard from the new northern architectural complex on Banff Avenue to the newly relocated CPR Station. This integration of railway buildings with civic centres was a characteristic feature of the City Beautiful and one which Mawson introduced in to his plans for Calgary and Regina. Neither of his suggestions was acted upon at Banff. Not until the Depression, as a make-work project, was Banff given an appropriate southern architectural terminus, i.e., the Parks Administration office, an imposing stone building. Mawson would have approved: from the Establishment viewpoint, what better terminus could there be for a rigidly controlled federal town? And the northern terminus? It is not architectural, but it is there, as any visitor can see. It is Cascade Mountain, and Banff Avenue focuses the viewer's full attention upon it.

This use of a grand processional avenue to focus attention on a spectacular natural feature is a device frequently employed in western Canadian planning. Another example is the University of British Columbia campus on Point Grey, Vancouver. Late in 1912 an adjudication committee announced the results of a competition.¹⁴ First prize went to the firm of Sharp and Townsend (Fig. 6). Early in 1913, the University Consultant Committee, composed of Mawson and two other experts,¹⁵

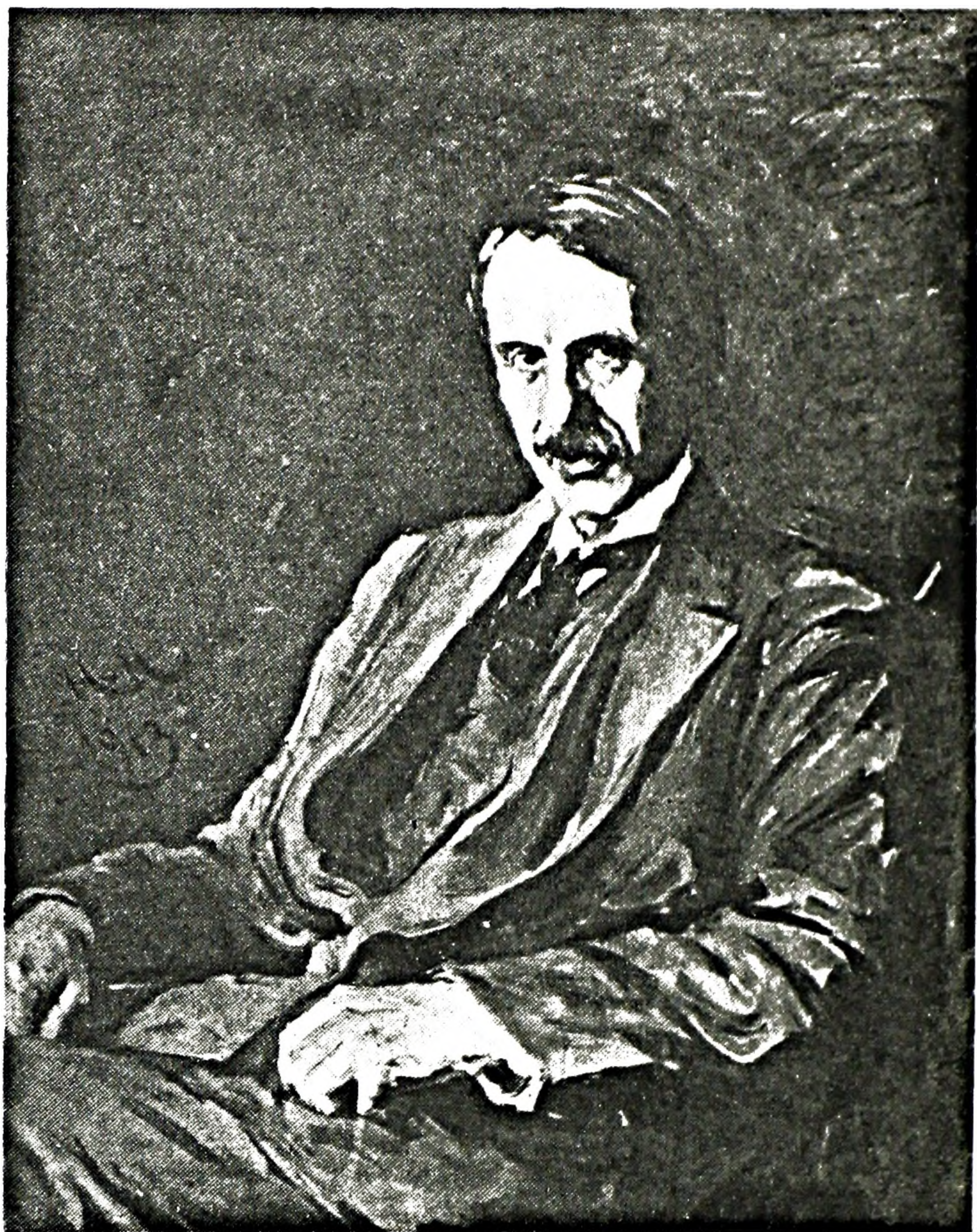


FIGURE 5

ratified this plan: "The winning design was conceived on correct principles, and... with some modifications, it would be worthy of the great opportunity such a scheme afforded."¹⁶ It featured ceremonial boulevards leading into a cross-axial plan spiked together at the centre by a monumental administration building. Though the administration building was never built, the essential features of the plan survive in the ceremonial entrances and cross-axial Mall. It is along this north-south Mall that one encounters the western Canadian resistance to terminal architectural features and corresponding

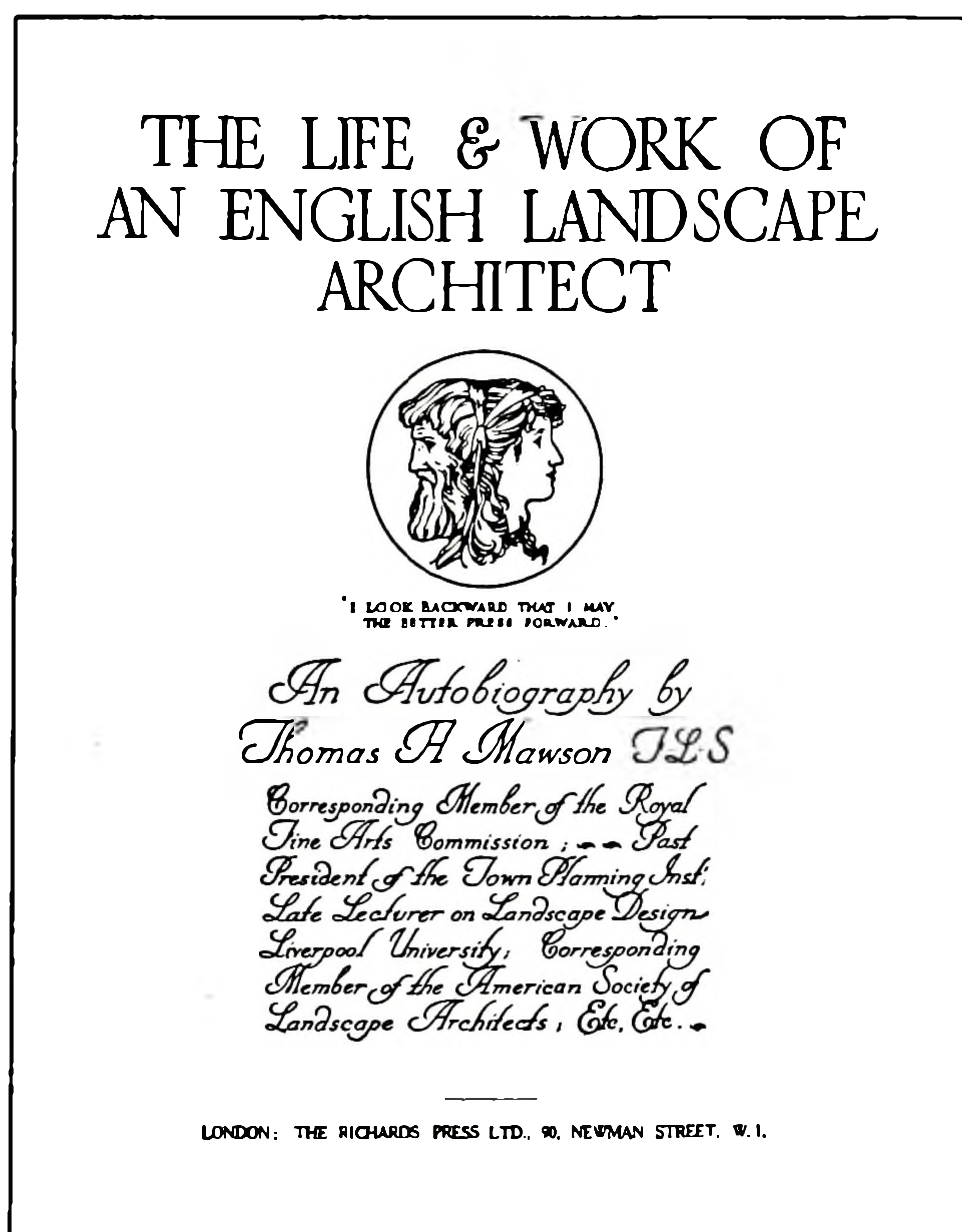
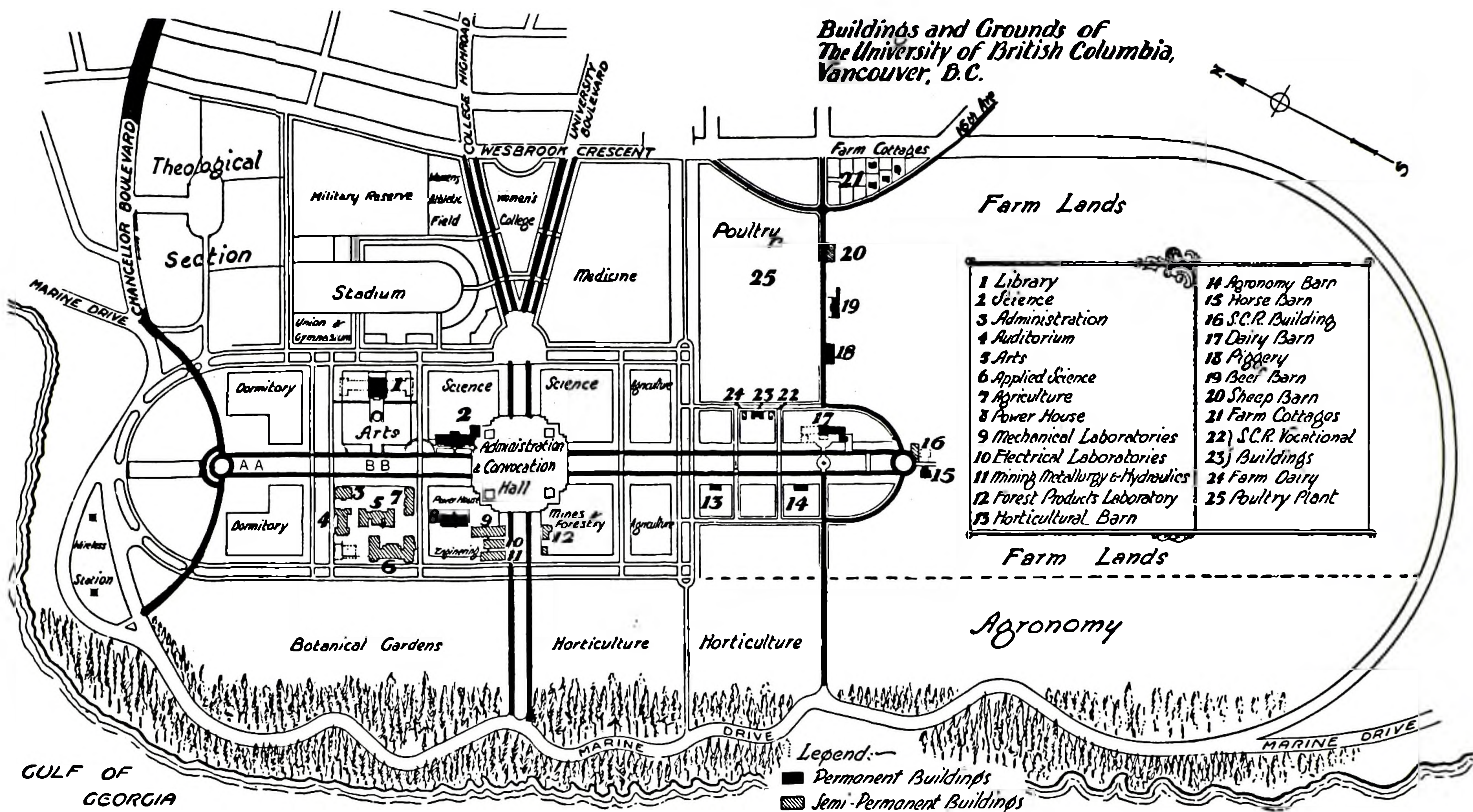


FIGURE 4

14. The judges were the Provincial Minister of Education, the President of the University, the Chairman of Convocation, British Columbia architects Samuel Maclure and Arthur Cox, and the British architect Douglas Carøe (the Chairman). H. T. LOGAN, *Tuum Est — A History of the University of British Columbia* (Vancouver 1958), p. 43.
15. Warren Laird, professor of architecture at the University of Pennsylvania and Richard Durley, professor of engineering at McGill.
16. "University of British Columbia," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, II, No 5, (Sept.-Oct. 1925), p. 173. After the first War, this new journal surveyed the great accomplishments of Canadian architecture. They were three: the new universities, the new capitals, and the old Quebec churches and houses.



GULF OF
GEORGIA
FIGURE 6

fondness for natural ones. With the sun at one's back, the attention is focused upon a terrace ("AA" on the plan) marked in the distance by a flagpole. From this terrace, there are sweeping views of English Bay, Howe Sound and the North Shore with its snow-capped mountain peaks. Just in case one misses the point of this exercise, bronze plaques on the base of the flagpole and on the terrace wall are there to tell one what it is all about:

"This University of British Columbia... is like a Virgin Goddess in a Primeval World..."

"On this superb natural site we stand within a cathedral as boundless as our wonder whose quenchless lamps the sun and moon supply, its choirs the winds and waves, its organ thunder, its dome the sky."

In other words, the Mall is the nave of a pantheistic cathedral and the viewing terrace is an altar rail where believers receive communion from the sanctuary of Nature.¹⁷

17. When the University was considering where to locate the Sedgwick Undergraduate Library the Mall presented a difficult problem. The logical location was across from the old library. It would have been a grave act of sacrilege to put the building on the sacred Mall, thereby ruining the vista. So it was decided to indulge in a glorious act of sacrifice by putting the new library (Archit: Rhone & Iredale, 1971) under the Mall. (Indicated "BB" on the plan) Americans are fond of creating wide avenues which terminate in acts of man, i.e., architecture. Canadians

In Mawson's autobiography the UBC plan rates only a mention. But two other British Columbia projects of 1912 are illustrated and discussed. One was "Meadlands," a waterfront resort town near Victoria for the British Columbia Electric Railway Company.¹⁸ The other was a redevelopment

adopt and adapt to such broad processional planning features when they focus upon grand acts of Nature, as at Banff and U.B.C. How better express the total integration of Man and Nature than burying architecture?

18. Mawson, who had a branch office in Vancouver, was probably asked to do a plan because his selection would have pleased the London directors of this British enterprise. By locating houses, on the greensward and fitting the road system in to the topography, Mawson was able to recycle his Hanley Park design (Fig. 2) into "Meadlands." It was to be located north of Victoria on the west coast of the Saanich Peninsula on what is now called "Pat" Bay and near the present-day Victoria International Airport. Needless to say, it was not built. The project hinged on the acquisition of a foreshore strip and the granting of foreshore rights. Acquisition proved difficult and the local North Saanich Conservative Association blocked the foreshore rights. Also the distance from Victoria, and the war (which halted Victoria's development for forty years), were responsible for the project's failure. As a sidelight to Mawson's character, a frantic telegram of 5 November 1912 from the company's engineer to the Victoria manager is worth noting. Mawson, in a New York interview, announced he had planned "Meadlands" and "that work was to begin at once." Without the foreshore strip and the foreshore rights this was premature, to say the least. The story surfaced in the Vancouver papers, but the Victoria

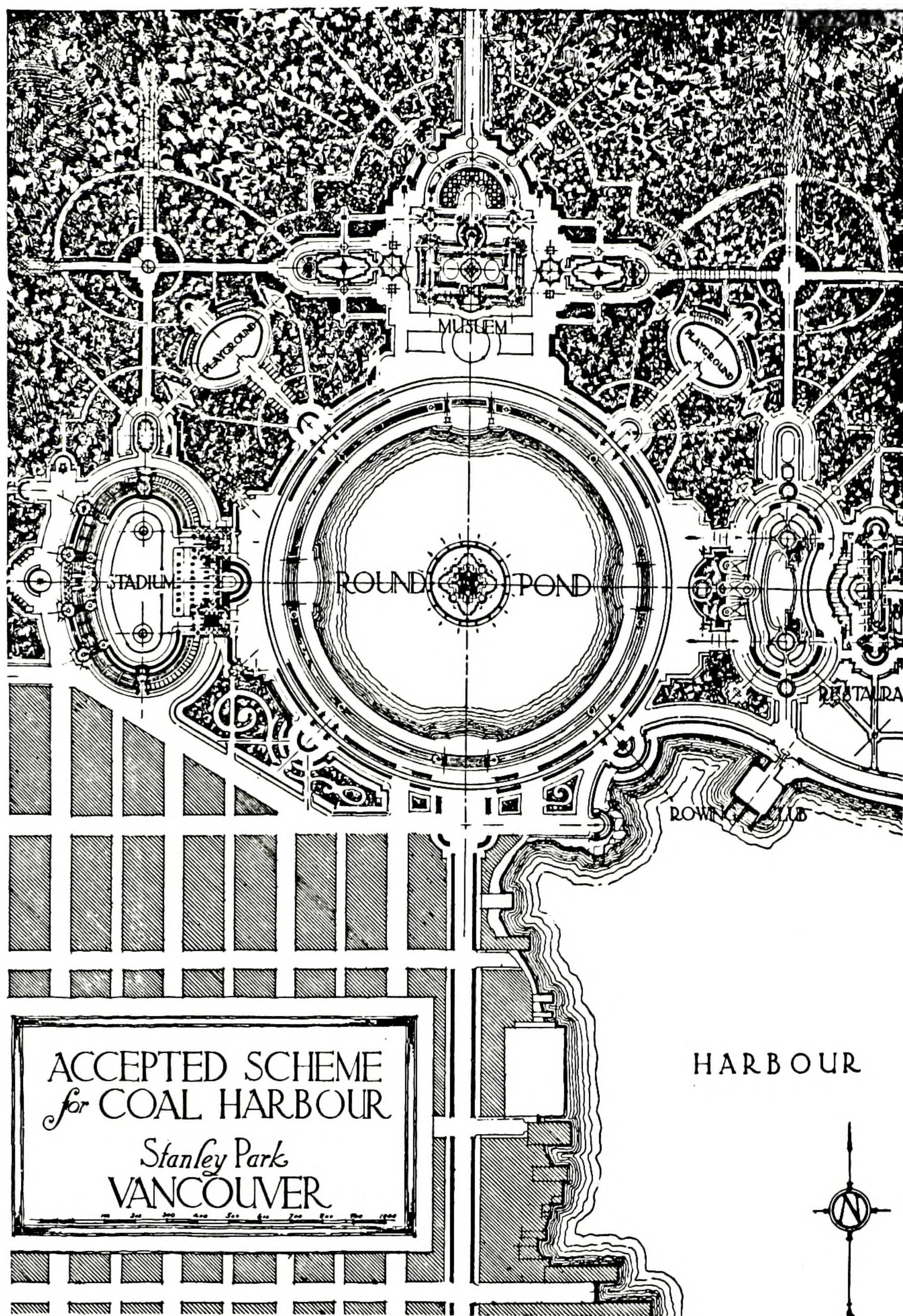


FIGURE 7

scheme for Coal Harbour on the perimeter of Vancouver's Stanley Park¹⁹ (Fig. 7). As usual Mawson was not content to stick to what he was hired to do. He tried to manœuvre his landscape scheme for a small corner of Stanley Park into a scheme for the redevelopment of downtown Vancouver. He located an art museum as a focal point

on the main axis of Georgia Street, which he treated as a processional avenue tying together the elements of the "City Beautiful": park and art museum at one end, civic buildings (Court House, etc.) at the center and the railway station at the other end.²⁰ Otherwise, he did not alter the gridiron plan of the city.²¹

manager was able to suppress it there. The subtleties of real estate development escaped Mawson. He tended to believe that faith in civic art, enthusiasm and the self-evident superiority of his plans could conquer any mundane opposition.

19. Mawson propagated this in "Vancouver — A City of Optimists," *The Town Planning Review*, IV, i (April 1913).

20. Edward Bennett's plan for Minneapolis of 1917 is another example of an art museum prominently positioned in a City Beautiful plan. It is tempting to consider this as evidence for the art museum serving as a spiritual centre replacing the cathedrals and pilgrimage churches of Medieval and Renaissance cities.

21. It is commonplace to speak of grid-iron plans being typically North American and as dull, monotonous and embarrassing. Perhaps they are, but are they not a

For Regina (Fig. 8) Mawson attempted to make a compact, coherent package of the various institu-

better expression of egalitarian-oriented North American civilization than the hierarchical neo-Baroque plans which look so well on paper, but which North Americans show reluctance to build? This is possibly one reason why Mawson's work was not carried out. Mawson, incidentally, also kept the grid-iron plan of Calgary in his redevelopment scheme of 1912. Here he imposed a new civic centre, new bridges, an exhibition park, and residential districts upon the grid-iron. The only evidence of this plan today is Centre Street Bridge. Thomas MAWSON, *Calgary: A Preliminary Scheme for Controlling the Economic Growth of the City* (London: Batsford, 1914).

tions of the provincial capital of Saskatchewan by the use of radial avenues, vistas, processional boulevards and civic centre. The one feature worth noting is the prominence of railway hotels and stations. The old Union Station was made the apex of an arrow. From it avenues led to a Government House complex and a new civic centre. Railway hotels flank the intersection of these avenues at Union Station. A new railway station is a prominent feature of the new civic centre which is linked with the Parliament Building. The high profile of railway stations in the plans of capital cities is

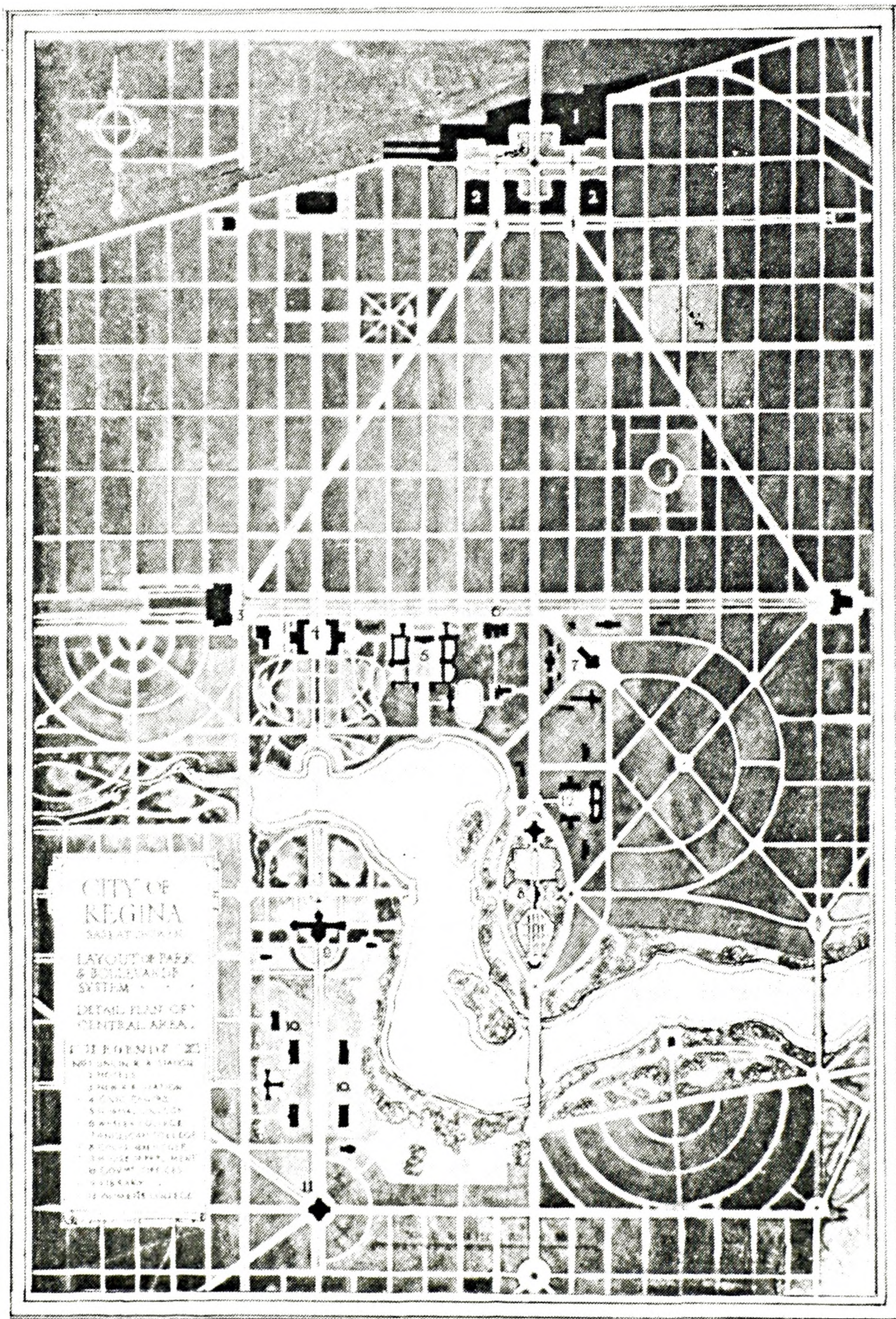


FIGURE 8

peculiar to North America, where the railway was for a long time the major enterprise, requiring more capital investment and providing more tangible benefits than any other.²²

Yet Mawson failed in Canada. To understand this a comparison between him and his contemporary in British Columbia, Francis Mawson Rattenbury (perhaps a distant relative), may be illuminating. Both were Beaux-Arts designers and both served the capitalist Establishment. Both understood the traditional social function of architecture. But Rattenbury succeeded where Mawson failed.

Timing had a great deal to do with it. Rattenbury had won the British Columbia Parliament Building competition in 1892 and directed its construction from 1893 to 1898 — the years of the last and worst nineteenth-century economic depression. His design served moreover as an image of conviction for the new Establishment of British Columbia, i.e., the Candian Pacific Railway Company and the Bank of Montreal.²³ Rattenbury, therefore, helped

to create the post-depression confidence which peaked in the years 1910–12. Mawson, unfortunately, arrived at the end of this cycle. His plans were not immediately carried out because of the First World War and the slump which preceded it. After the war society had changed to such an extent that his plans were no longer viable.

Second, though they both understood the traditional social function of architecture, Rattenbury understood the traditional social function of architecture, Rattenbury understood it better in western Canada. (He was cleverer too: his code-name for his entry in the Parliament building competition was “B.C. Architect”.) Mawson served the institutions of Aristocracy and Imperialism, Rattenbury those of Democracy and Nationalism.

Both looked backwards so that they might the better press forward. But in the end ideology determined which man would succeed and which would fail. Mawson was a missionary who did not make it.

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22. There are numerous examples: Washington (where Union Station was the only commercial structure exempted from the city's height restrictions; this served to identify its civic status); Winnipeg (where a cross-axis boulevard to Broadway links the legislative building with the railway station); Kansas City (one of the first “City Beautiful” plans); Boise, Idaho (where the Capitol is linked directly by a broad avenue to the railway station on a hill towering over the city).

23. This is discussed in John FREEMAN, “The Other Victoria,” *RACAR*, I, i (1974), pp. 41–46.