

Economy, Necessity, Political Reality: Two Planning Efforts in Kitchener-Waterloo, 1912-1925

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Article abstract

Between 1912 and 1925, the Ontario communities of Kitchener and Waterloo experienced two distinct phases of city planning ideas and proposals. The second phase, in which Thomas Adams and Horace Seymour were the professional planners, led to the adoption of Canada's first urban zoning by-law. Stages in the planning process have been reconstructed, mainly from research in records of the municipal councils and boards of trade and from the daily newspapers. The emphasis is on local perceptions of planning, planning as an issue in local politics and the interaction between outside planners and the local community. Themes include the significance of key individuals and the press in leading public opinion, the reluctance of municipal councils to antagonize the voters, and recurrent suspicions of the motives of those who advocated planning. The case-study also illustrates the diffusion of ideas about planning, as of other aspects of urban reform, from large metropolitan centres to smaller cities, and the transition in these derived concepts from "City Beautiful" ideals to political realistic type of plan.

ECONOMY, NECESSITY, POLITICAL REALITY:

TOWN PLANNING EFFORTS IN KITCHENER-WATERLOO, 1912-1925*

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Elizabeth Bloomfield

Résumé/Abstract

Entre 1912 et 1925, les municipalités ontariennes de Kitchener et de Waterloo ont connu, en matière d'urbanisme, deux courants d'idées successifs. Le deuxième, inspiré par les urbanistes Thomas Adams et Horace Seymour, a abouti à l'adoption du premier règlement de zonage urbain au Canada. On a pu reconstituer les étapes de ces plans d'aménagement, grâce aux données recueillies dans les archives des conseils municipaux et des chambres de commerce, ainsi que dans les quotidiens de l'époque. L'auteur s'est intéressé surtout aux façons dont l'urbanisme a été perçu sur le plan local, sur son importance dans la politique municipale, et sur l'interaction entre les urbanistes venus de l'extérieur et la communauté: rôle de personnalités importantes et de la presse dans l'orientation de l'opinion publique, réticence des conseils municipaux à contrarier l'électorat, soupçons constants quant aux motifs des tenants de l'urbanisme. Cette étude individuelle illustre aussi la façon dont les concepts d'aménagement, comme ceux de tous les autres aspects de la réforme urbaine, se sont diffusés des grandes métropoles jusque dans les villes de moindre importance, ainsi que la transition entre des visions idéalistes de "la belle ville" et un urbanisme économiquement plus acceptable et politiquement plus réaliste.

Between 1912 and 1925, the Ontario communities of Kitchener and Waterloo experienced two distinct phases of city planning ideas and proposals. The second phase, in which Thomas Adams and Horace Seymour were the professional planners, led to the adoption of Canada's first urban zoning by-law. Stages in the planning process have been reconstructed, mainly from research in records of the municipal councils and boards of trade and from the daily newspapers. The emphasis is on local perceptions of planning, planning as an issue in local politics and the interaction between outside planners and the local community. Themes include the significance of key individuals and the press in leading public opinion, the reluctance of municipal councils to antagonize the voters, and recurrent suspicions of the motives of those who advocated planning. The case-study also illustrates the diffusion of ideas about planning, as of other aspects of urban reform, from large metropolitan centres to smaller cities, and the transition in these derived concepts

*The assistance of several persons with research for this article is appreciated: Miss Grace Schmidt helped with guidance to the local history materials of the Waterloo Historical Society and Kitchener Public Library; Mr. R.C. Keeling, City Clerk of Waterloo and Mr. R.W. Pritchard, City Clerk of Kitchener granted access to their municipal records; Mr. Charles McKinnon of the Economic/Scientific Archives, Public Archives of Canada helped to locate items in the Seymour Papers.

from "City Beautiful" ideals to a more economically acceptable and political realistic type of plan.

* * *

Canadian town planners will take courage in the midst of much cause for discouragement from the fact that at last a Canadian city of the size and importance of Kitchener has passed into law a comprehensive town plan for the regulation of its future growth and development on the scientific lines advocated by town planning science.¹

We have been making Town Planning History.²

In the mid-1920s, Kitchener enjoyed the reputation of a pioneer in the Canadian town planning movement, as the first Ontario municipality to adopt a modern town plan and enact an associated zoning by-law. The plans by Thomas Adams and Horace Seymour for Kitchener and Waterloo were on view at the British Empire Exhibition (Wembley) in 1924, and Adams in his speech there described the two municipalities as "the most advanced in Canada in regard to town planning."³ Kitchener was often cited as a model by Seymour and others in the *Journal* of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, for its adoption of a comprehensive plan and zoning by-law and for its initiative in convening meetings of Ontario municipal leaders to press the provincial legislature for wider zoning powers.

At the moment of triumph, Adams and Seymour glossed over the long struggles, the frustrations and compromises they and other planning advocates had endured to gain acceptance of the plan. For Adams, though he had already taken

up his work for the Regional Plan of New York, the Kitchener plan was a practical vindication of his seven years as Town Planning Adviser to the Canadian Commission of Conservation and an object lesson in the application of the principles and procedures of planning. For Seymour, and the planners associated with him in the Town Planning Institute of Canada, the Kitchener-Waterloo plan was a test case to prove both that a professional town plan could be accepted by the citizens of two smallish, ordinary municipalities, and also that a comprehensive zoning by-law could be enacted in Ontario. The sequence of procedures followed in the Kitchener and Waterloo plans illustrated the general pronouncements of Adams, especially in the 1920s. They also provided a basis for elaboration in other Canadian town plans, notably that of Vancouver for which Seymour was Resident Engineer in the later 1920s.

Kitchener and Waterloo must have seemed unlikely places to be acclaimed the most advanced in Canada for their attitudes to town planning. They were small in population (with a total of only 30,000 people in 1924, four-fifths of whom lived in Kitchener), highly industrialized, unpretentious and practical in municipal policies. Both were "Main Street" towns, in which

It is exceedingly difficult to persuade men who are obsessed by a small private interest that the freedom of the whole community to live

its own life in clean air and sunlight and to live and play in a pleasant environment is more important than the freedom of any individual to do as he likes with a piece of land which he considers his own . . . and that the efficiency and economy of industry and commerce may be involved in proposals for a more orderly and scientific development of towns and cities.⁴

This case-study of efforts to plan the physical development of Kitchener ("Berlin" until 1916) and Waterloo from 1912 to about 1925 emphasizes local perceptions of town planning, planning as an issue in local politics and the interaction between outside planners and the local community. Themes include the significance of key individuals in the planning movement, the role of local boards of trade and the press in leading public opinion, the reluctance of municipal councils to antagonize the voters and recurrent suspicions of the motives of those who advocated planning. Attitudes to planning may also be considered in the context of each town's commitment to economic growth and its competitiveness in relation to other Ontario municipalities. The study also illustrates the diffusion of ideas about planning, as of other aspects of urban reform, from large metropolitan centres to smaller cities and the transition in these derived concepts from "City Beautiful" ideals to a more pragmatic view.

The history of the planning movement in Berlin/Kitchener and Waterloo is considered in several phases: its origins in the general awareness of civic problems when Berlin achieved cityhood in 1912;

the formation of the Berlin Civic Association and negotiations for a city plan in 1913-4; Leavitt's plan and its reception in 1914; quiescence of the planning movement and its revival with the Kitchener City Planning Commission from 1917; negotiations for a new comprehensive plan, 1921-2; the Adams-Seymour Plan 1923-4; and the contrasting sequels in Kitchener and Waterloo during the rest of the 1920s.

I

The first phase of interest in city planning was associated with Berlin's attainment of city status in June 1912. Unlike most other cities in Ontario, Berlin had waited until its population reached the statutory 15,000 before asking to be declared a city. Its population had grown to 15,196 at the 1911 census, an increase of 56 per cent over the 1901 census figure. In value of property assessment, there had been an increase of 117 per cent in the same decade, much of it in new factories.⁵ Its value of industrial production increased 408 per cent between 1890 and 1910, the eighth fastest rate of growth in Canada municipalities with over 10,000 population in 1911, and second only to Sault Ste. Marie in Ontario.⁶ At the 1911 census, 6,342 persons, or sixty per cent of Berlin's labour force, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries.⁷ In mid-1912, Berliners prided themselves on over 100 manufacturing concerns, eight of which had been established in the previous year, and another thirteen expanded.⁸ Berlin's factories traditionally specialized in leather tanning and leather products, furniture, buttons, shirts and collars. Just the week before the official celebration of

cityhood, the voters approved, by well over the necessary two-thirds majority, a by-law to grant the Canadian Consolidated Rubber Company a bonus and fixed assessment in return for the company erecting Berlin's largest factory, to employ 500 men in the manufacture of rubber tires. Berlin thus became "the rubber centre of Canada."⁹

For Berlin, 1912 was *annus mirabilis*. Contemporary accounts express a mood compounded of pride in the city's achievements, awe at its phenomenal growth, and determination to maintain business confidence and the rate of growth. Much had been achieved despite Berlin's lack of natural advantages. Success was to be explained by the one great asset of a frugal, industrious work-force and by the unremitting effort of the Town Council and Board of Trade to attract and hold enterprising manufacturers. A policy of municipal self-improvement seemed necessary for Berlin to compete with other Ontario towns and cities in the pursuit of economic growth. The town leaders were ever alert to innovations in urban services which would make Berlin more efficient and attractive to industrialists and good workers. Berlin had been early to adopt the policy of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities - the water system in 1898, gas and electricity in 1903, and the street railway in 1908 - and had taken an early lead in the movement for the public ownership of Niagara Power for the same reason. City planning, with housing and public health a prominent issue in the larger cities of the day, now appeared as another challenge which must be won if Berlin was to continue growing, and an appropriate one as the city joined the league of larger

municipalities. This mood is caught in the following passage from the volume commemorating cityhood:

What is perhaps second to its desire to see new industries come, is the effort [Berlin] is putting forth to secure the growth and expansion of the industries it possesses . . . by fair treatment; by encouraging the erection of good homes; by increasing educational facilities, hospitals, parks and playgrounds; improving streets, by abundance of light and by generally making it a good city to work in . . . and . . . live in.¹⁰

In this City Progressive, there are indications pointing to a widening of public spirit and a deepening of interest in the general welfare. A leaven is at work which has for its object the making of Berlin a more beautiful city, a better city and a model city.¹¹

During the first year of local interest in city planning, activity was limited to Berlin, and was not co-ordinated by any formal organization. It consisted of a series of public meetings, significantly beginning with the Board of Trade and including also a meeting of representatives from other Ontario municipalities. Two of the strong local advocates of city planning took the lead from an early stage, and were supported by extensive press coverage and comment on the subject. While city planning was discussed in terms derived from elsewhere, notably European and American cities, most of those involved at this stage seem to have been more interested in specific local problems which



*Berlin's central business section viewed from the southwest, c. 1910.
Victoria Park, in the foreground, was developed as a park from 1896.
[Source: Kitchener Public Library]*

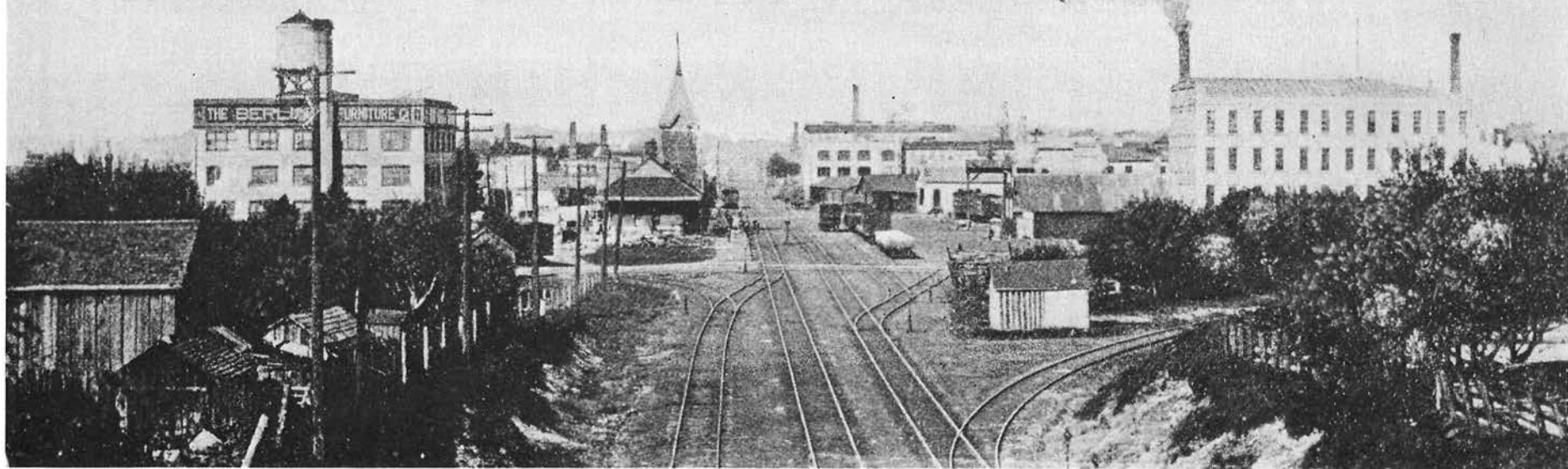
they thought might be painlessly rectified by general city planning. Until the spring of 1913, there was remarkable agreement in support of general city planning, perhaps because its implications were not yet understood.

At the February 1912 meeting of the Berlin Board of Trade, President H.L. Janzen raised the matter of city planning with reference to the need for a new Post Office and Customs Building, the widening of King Street and the wasteful lack of co-ordination among public utilities and the Engineer's Department, evident when a newly-laid pavement was torn up to lay sewer pipes or water mains.¹² At the time of cityhood celebrations, Mayor W.H. Schmalz raised the subject again in relation to the need for a new City Hall to match Berlin's new civic dignity.¹³ The same need was elaborated by D.B. Detweiler, who also condemned the lack of control over the building of dwellings on lanes and alleys, and suggested that members of Toronto's Civic Guild should be invited to Berlin to talk about city planning.¹⁴ More specific proposals were made to the City Council in November 1912 by W.H. Breithaupt, a local engineer and entrepreneur with American experience and connections.¹⁵ He recommended that Blucher Street, a narrow and discontinuous alignment of road in the North Ward, be improved into a wide, boulevarded thoroughfare, as the beginning of a system of boulevards around the outskirts of the city. He defined city planning, blending its aesthetic and functional aspects, and observing that "any city ... was beautiful that had its business, manufacturing and residential sections and also provided for pleasure grounds and driveways."

But most of Breithaupt's address and the subsequent discussion dealt with specific problems of Berlin's street system, notably the discordance between the section parallel to the business zone on King Street and the block of streets parallel to and generally north of the Grand Trunk Railway tracks, the lack of alternatives to congested King Street for traffic between Berlin and Waterloo and the danger of level crossings. The *Berlin Daily Telegraph* reported that while no resolution was passed in connection with the proposition it was generally agreed that steps should be taken to adopt a general system of city-planning.¹⁶ With an editorial "A City Plan" a few days later, the newspaper began a long series of editorials, special reports and reprinted articles defining and advocating planning. It commended "the principle of making permanent improvements according to a definite and comprehensive plan," as approved by the City Council, as "a most encouraging sign of the growing recognition of the futility and unwisdom of longer continuing the haphazard and wasteful methods of municipal improvement."¹⁷ The editorial also advised engaging an expert without delay and warned that the city had insufficient powers under the Municipal Act to do much about planning. The *Berlin News Record* published reports by the city assessors on the "well nigh scandalous ... living conditions of the masses" and the comment that the situation called for a general city plan and better building regulations as well as an effort by "the manufactures and monied men of the city" to provide more housing.¹⁸

"An important meeting of prominent citizens" was convened by D.B. Detweiler on 18 November 1912

BERLIN, ONT., FROM MARGARET AVENUE BRIDGE.



Grand Trunk Railway tracks and industrial belt, Berlin, c. 1906, as seen from the Margaret Avenue overbridge looking southwest. G.T.R. station is in the left centre of photograph; the Waterloo branch of the G.T.R. swings off to the right. The three large factories which are visible all make furniture.

[Source: Kitchener Public Library]

in the City Hall "to inaugurate a town planning policy for Berlin."¹⁹ Of the thirty-two persons who attended the meeting, at least eighteen were members of the Board of Trade, including its current president. Seven were city aldermen in 1912. Five were merchants, six manufacturers, three lawyers or accountants and two engineers. The church, education and medicine were represented by seven, and there was one newspaper publisher. Several others were known to own considerable real estate, described in directories as "gentlemen" living on their rents. Two of those present spoke with approval of the drastic replanning of European cities, and two others of the aggressive and progressive attitudes in the cities of western Canada. But most were concerned with particular problems, especially urging the purchase of land for a federal-civic square with a new Post Office and City Hall and the need to extend sewer and street railway systems. It was generally agreed that "a definite and adequate town planning policy was needed ... if Berlin was to expand along the right lines," and there was unanimous support for the motion: "That this meeting ask the City Council to stop the issue of building permits for dwelling houses on lanes [as these are] the slum districts of the future."²⁰ It was also resolved that a more general meeting be arranged for December 11th with the double aim of launching a city-planning movement in Berlin and a larger provincial City Planning Association. The committee elected to organize this meeting consisted of the Mayor, President of the Board of Trade, the most prominent figures in business, manufacturing, real estate and the professions, and was

chaired by a newspaper publisher.²¹

Detweiler's powers as publicist and organizer and the contacts he had first made ten years earlier in the Niagara Power movement were exercised again. He wrote to presidents of boards of trade and mayors of thirty-five towns and cities in western Ontario, inviting them to a meeting in Berlin on "Town Planning and Beautifying."²² By December 4th he had received favourable replies from Preston, Brantford, Waterloo, Galt, Brampton, St. Thomas, Woodstock, Hamilton, Toronto and Listowel. An illustrated address was to be given by C.H. Mitchell, the engineer who had assisted Detweiler in the organization of the Niagara Power campaign by speaking at the first meeting at Berlin in 1902 and was by 1912 Vice President of the Toronto Civic Guild. Mitchell would also drive around Berlin during his visit, to make specific suggestions for improvements.

Readers of Berlin's newspapers at this time could hardly miss the major articles on the scope and implications of planning. The *Berlin Daily Telegraph* especially featured the "live subject." W.H. Breithaupt elaborated his suggestions for Berlin's street system, urging "a comprehensive general system of streets for the as yet partly occupied territory within and adjoining the city boundaries, and intelligent improvement of existing streets," including the widening of busy, narrow streets and the cutting of additional streets to give easier access from the outlying areas to the centre of business.²³ Berlin's City Engineer, Herbert Johnston, also discussed the problems of city



Market Place, Berlin, Canada.

Berlin Market at rear of Town Hall, c. 1905, with Frederick Street to right looking down to the Post Office across King Street. The market building was replaced in 1907, but local demands for a new City Hall in place of the plain structure of 1869, and a larger Post Office instead of the 1886 building, perhaps to be combined in a civic-federal square, were one element in the early civic planning movement.

[Source: Kitchener Public Library]

planning, mentioning progress in major Canadian cities, the laying out of garden suburbs and company towns and the work of the Public Health Committee of the Commission of Conservation.

The primary objects should be . . . proper housing accommodation for all citizens with sufficient light, air and space; [to] improve and widen the streets to handle traffic rapidly and safely; . . . to do everything that will make the lives of the people of this city more comfortable, healthy and happy.

To achieve these objects, "the one essential" was the designation of factory, business and residential districts (the last "graded as to the class of homes") - or what what came to be called zoning.²⁴ Mayoral candidate W.D. Euler, also on the organizing committee for the general meeting, announced a "progressive platform" including "the building up of the City along definite lines of city planning" as well as "system, economy, harmony and efficiency" in the operation of public utilities.²⁵ The work of the Toronto Civic Guild was described, notably its influence in having the City and Suburbs Plans Act passed by the Ontario Legislature.²⁶

The City Planning and Civic Improvement Congress held in Berlin on December 11, 1912 linked the local proponents of town planning with the wider Canadian movement. The 150 persons present passed a resolution that a representative committee of fifteen work towards the formation of a provincial organization. Three members of the committee were Berliners with other members from Galt, St. Catharines, Toronto, Waterloo, Sarnia, Welland,

Preston, Brantford, Ingersoll and Ottawa.²⁷ Dr. C.E. Hodgetts of the Commission of Conservation stressed the housing problem in civic improvement and outlined the best methods to prevent slums becoming established. C.H. Mitchell used examples from English and American cities to illustrate the possibilities of civic improvement. He adapted his message to this audience by urging municipalities to plan while still fairly small in size "if they are to escape the mistakes of older cities," and commending co-operation among towns and cities "to impress upon the Dominion and Provincial authorities the great desirability of legislation to encourage and assist various kinds of civic improvements." Mitchell deprecated

the common idea in American cities until quite recently that city planning has been almost exclusively identified with city beautifying. This view is not fair to the whole subject, because it loses sight of the practical sides of the question, which are very many and complex.... City planning should mean the acquiring of a city convenient, useful, economical and healthful as well as a city beautiful.²⁸

Mitchell's particular suggestions for Berlin, based on his drive around the city, concerned the site of a civic centre and the extensions of several central streets. He also urged the restriction of parts of the city to industrial or residential uses and praised proposals to buy additional parklands.

In early 1913, both the President of Board of Trade and the

new Mayor took up the issue of city planning in important speeches. President Janzen, who owned substantial real estate, especially in Berlin's business district, declared that city planning had three aspects: street planning, the "most vital," as Berlin's "streets were laid out to accommodate the traffic of a village or, at most, a small town;" the design and layout of adequate public buildings, federal and civic, to serve a city of 50,000 population; and an alternative to level railway crossings. "Berlin is now too large a place to permit the Grand Trunk Railway to use part of the principal street as a car-shunting yard."²⁹ Mayor Euler, in his inaugural address to the City Council, exhorted citizens to

lay broad and deep the foundations of a greater Berlin ... in our civic work we should plan for a future population of 40,000 to 50,000.... The City Planning Movement in its various phases of street widening and straightening, civic centre, location and architecture of public buildings, parks and playground development, and general beautification, deserves special encouragement.

He suggested a joint meeting of the City Council, Board of Trade, Trades and Labor Council, Horticultural Society and Women's Canadian Club with the "object of forming a local city planning organization."³⁰ The Mayor's call for a public meeting was endorsed by the Council at its next meeting, and \$50 was voted towards the organizing expenses.³¹

"Bigger, better, beautiful, busy Berlin is the aim of new

organization" was the headline of one local press report of the representative meeting held on February 6, 1913.³² Chaired by the Mayor, and attended by more than 50 citizens, the meeting included discussion of the general scope of city planning as well as "problems of practical necessity." H.L. Janzen in the course of a lengthy speech acknowledged that Berlin's need for city planning was the result of its pursuit of economic growth:

The agitation for definite plans of civic improvement [is] created by the fact that our forefathers did not look as far into the future as the people do today. The wonderful industrial growth of the city has presented problems that must be solved.... The trouble has been that we in Berlin have been too good-natured in our dealings with the railways and have been too eager after the almighty dollar to look after the problems when they are most easily solved.³³

Particular problems discussed were those raised at previous meetings, but the question of possible union, with Waterloo, or at least co-operation in planning was asked for the first time. Finally, following the example of the Toronto Civic Guild, it was decided to elect a "preliminary, working organization committee" of twelve members "to suggest methods ... for securing a permanent body representative of all the various classes and interests of the city, to take up the work in an energetic manner."³⁴

II

The preliminary committee



King Street, Berlin, c. 1910. Main business street of Berlin, from just north of the Queen Street intersection to the Water Street corner. The Berlin and Waterloo Street Railway Company was municipalized in 1908 and the line double-tracked in 1909-10. [Source: Kitchener Public Library]

quickly attracted support from the Board of Trade, which urged the City Council to help the new association.³⁵ During February and early March, the committee worked out the constitution of the new Berlin Civic Association, so that it would have open membership but a governing council including representatives of the City Council, Board of Trade and other interested and influential organizations. By mid-March, the Finance Committee of the City Council had recommended a grant of \$200 to the Berlin Civic Association.³⁶

In early April, the Berlin Civic Association announced its objective of 1000 paid members and was investigating the best site for a new city hall and civic square. The *Berlin Daily Telegraph* kept up the propaganda for planning with a glowing account, "City Planning in Calgary," of the engagement of Thomas Mawson "to prepare a comprehensive scheme of reconstruction along modern and scientific lines."³⁷ Two days later, the Civic Association announced arrangements for a visit to Berlin by a "well-known city-planning expert," C.W. Leavitt, Jr. of New York, to address a public meeting and make recommendations for improvements.³⁸ In addition to the organizations already involved in the formation of the Civic Association, invitations were sent to the Light, Water and Park Commissioners of Berlin, the Board of Education, Daughters of the Empire, and the municipal councils of Galt, Waterloo, Preston and Hespeler.³⁹

Leavitt arrived on the morning of April 18, 1913, and for several hours that afternoon toured all five wards of Berlin in an

automobile, and also visited the Waterloo Park, so he could advise the Waterloo Park Board on improvements in layout.⁴⁰ That evening he addressed a meeting of about 100 in the Library Hall, drawing on his observations of Berlin and Waterloo to illustrate the principles and procedures of planning. He played down grandiose, City Beautiful planning, emphasizing instead that planning is for the benefit of the people. "If the work to bring about [this purpose] is well planned and properly executed, the town will be made beautiful, even if there are none of those features ... which popularly go by the name of ornaments."⁴¹ Leavitt predicted that "Berlin and Waterloo are destined to become a great residential city" and envisaged a parkway system in a figure of eight shape encircling the built-up area of both towns and connecting existing public parks with one another as part of a possible park system linking Berlin-Waterloo with other towns along the Grand River. He declared that Berlin offered a great opportunity "to plan comprehensively on the lines of order and harmony with existing conditions." He made practical suggestions for sewage disposal, relief of traffic congestion, abatement of the smoke nuisance, building with reinforced concrete and underground wiring. All such developments would improve appearance, efficiency and public health.⁴²

Leavitt also presented a written report of his recommendations, considered first by the Executive of the Civic Association at its regular weekly meeting on April 28. There was disagreement with his suggestion of a civic centre near a "union station," but respect for the scope



Residential area between business district on King Street to the south and the railway-industrial zone to the north, c. 1910. Ahrens Street runs from left to right across the picture. Hibner Place, the small triangular park created 1895, marks one junction between the two discordant street-systems of Berlin, one parallel to King Street and the other to the G.T.R. tracks. Most houses were built in 1890s; cement sidewalks, curbs and gutters were laid in 1907 and financed by frontage tax system. [Source: Kitchener Public Library]

of Leavitt's recommendations, particularly that immediate action be taken to secure the services of a professional planner competent "to give you a practical as well as a beautiful plan." It was perceived by the Executive that the main stumbling block would be money, as it was believed that the cost of drawing up a plan would be \$5000 for the first year and \$15000 a year thereafter for advising on the working out of the plan. D.B. Detweiler and Mayor Euler thought that if the plan dealt with the problem of level crossings, the City Council might contribute \$1000. One member asked whether there was not someone in Canada to do the work, but it was believed that "no man in Canada claimed to be an expert." W.H. Breithaupt speculated that the City might give \$1000, the Waterloo Town Council a substantial amount, and private subscriptions might be persuaded from those interested in laying out real estate blocks.⁴³

From this point, the city planning movement ran into difficulties. Instead of being discussed at a Council meeting in early May, the Leavitt report was merely referred to a later Finance Committee meeting.⁴⁴ Changed attitudes were clear at the Board of Trade meeting on May 8, 1913. A resolution from the Toronto Board of Trade "that a Government Commission be appointed to make a thorough investigation of city planning, sub-division of property, laying out of streets and all things of interest to cities and towns" was endorsed. But President Janzen then launched into a sweeping condemnation of the local planning association. City planning had "drifted into the hands of a promiscuous and calumnious lot of people of not very large vision who seemed to

think that city planning is spending money from the city treasury," for projects such as civic and union station squares.⁴⁵ Among the reasons for the change in attitudes to city planning were personality clashes, distrust of the motives of those enthusiastic about planning by others less involved and a new awareness of the high costs of a corrective approach to planning which would require the expensive acquisition and clearance of built-up blocks in order to extend streets or open squares. In vain did D.B. Detweiler defend the Civic Association at the Board of Trade meeting, and W.H. Breithaupt argue in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* that Berlin had a unique opportunity to reshape the central business section, and to guide new peripheral development. He appealed to businessmen in these terms:

What is \$1000 or \$5000 in comparison to the gain in values which will at once accrue if a proper comprehensive plan is adopted? The advertising value of such a plan will be worth many times the cost.⁴⁶

By the end of May the general mood was unpromising. The Finance Committee recommended that City Council grant \$1000 for a comprehensive plan "on condition that the Waterloo Council guarantee a proportionate amount, and that the proposed plan of the two municipalities is acceptable to both."⁴⁷ But a Council amendment to strike out this recommendation of the Finance Committee was narrowly passed by eight votes (including the Mayor's) to seven.⁴⁸ Five of those who voted against any grant to the Berlin Civic Association had been

prominent in the city planning movement within the previous seven months. An attempt by the Civic Association and the *Daily Telegraph* in late May to depict how the proposed federal square and civic centre scheme might look on the King-Frederick-Scott block may not have had the desired effect of stirring civic pride but instead may have impressed readers with the inevitably high costs of such a project.⁴⁹

Rebuffed by a majority on City Council and Board of Trade, the Berlin Civic Association vowed to recruit more paying members, and by early July 1913, W.H. Breithaupt and D.B. Detweiler reported they had raised \$500 from canvassing friends in order to pay for a definite plan.⁵⁰ On the strength of private subscriptions received and hoped for, the Civic Association issued a firm invitation to C.W. Leavitt to carry out a thorough survey and prepare a comprehensive plan. Leavitt arrived in late September for a brief visit. He declared that Waterloo would have to be included in the plan and asked that small committees of citizens survey (and report by October 18) on specific aspects of city development. Berlin, predicted Leavitt, had "splendid opportunities of becoming one of the most beautiful inland cities on the continent," with a population of 100,000-150,000 within fifty years.⁵¹

In a special meeting a week later, the association eagerly took up Leavitt's suggestion that the new civic square be sited off King Street, in the block between Queen and Scott, Duke and Roy Streets, and urged that the city start assembling land. Those in favour spoke of the square's advantages such as a firebreak, a place of

rest for women shoppers and a "good advertisement for Berlin." But, asked George Rumpel, "where is the money to come from?". He calculated that to open Duke Street alone would cost \$100,000 and to acquire only one block from Frederick to Scott would cost \$235,000. In predicting great resistance to such spending, he remarked, "Berlin is a big city, but small in some matters."⁵² That Berlin's electors would be certain to oppose such expensive remodelling of the city centre was proved when they decisively defeated a by-law proposal to enlarge city property at King and Frederick Streets by buying the Bowman House property for only \$35,000.⁵³ The mood revealed in this vote influenced the 1914 Council at its first meeting to rescind a by-law passed on June 2, 1913 for widening Queen Street North between King and Weber streets by six feet (which would have had the effect of straightening out a "jog" between Queen Street North and South).⁵⁴

Arthur D. Fiske, representing Leavitt, visited Berlin for the second week of November 1913, bringing a tentative plan as a basis for criticism. The laying out of "zones"-industrial, commercial and home zones - was of the utmost importance. The greatest expense would be incurred in "making the first radical changes in the part of the city already built upon wrong lines." Leavitt urged that "the city should immediately acquire all lands to be used for any improvements" such as streets, parks, squares and public buildings. This land would be

sold at a price measured by the increased land created by the improvement, and may thus be made to defray all the

expenses incurred. Only actual experience can show how much land will need to be so used; for the increase in its value will depend largely upon the nature of the community, its rate of growth and other local conditions.⁵⁵

Leavitt's assumption that Berlin would be able to acquire such an indefinitely large area at potentially enormous cost reveals his ignorance of the ways in which the city's power was limited by Ontario provincial legislation and by the need to submit all money by-laws to the local electors.

With the waning of general enthusiasm for city planning, the tone of newspaper editorials altered, disavowing the aesthetic and stressing the practical and economic benefits of planning. City planning was not

tearing down a space in the middle of the town and building it over to resemble a section of Dresden or Paris. Such schemes are almost always architectural in their inception. They are expensive and the result is they are not carried out.... We now realize that real city planning is intelligent direction of the growth of a city, with only such changes in the older sections as are necessary for health and economy.⁵⁶

Alterations of the existing urban fabric to eradicate slums were perceived to be necessary, however, and some former supporters of planners now turned more directly to the housing problem. A paper given at the International Town Planning Conference, Ghent, was reprinted, with its message that

"Town Planning ... cannot solve the housing problem because it fails to touch the two root difficulties - the high price of land and the poverty of the working classes." Reform of the tax system, to a single tax according to value, was necessary to end speculation and the stimulation of high land prices and restrictions on house-building and factory investment.⁵⁷ Discussions of the link between housing problems and foreign immigration at the Ottawa meeting of the Conservation Commission were reported, with the comment,

As is well known, the foreign quarter of the Canadian town is the section under present conditions where squalor and unsanitary surroundings prevail to the greatest degree.⁵⁸

Berlin City Council acted twice in February 1914 in relation to local housing problems. It passed a by-law forbidding the granting of permits for erecting or remodelling residences on lanes or alleys (defined as streets less than forty feet wide). It was argued for the by-law that the erection of dwellings on lanes led to slum districts which resulted in depreciation of neighbouring property and that such buildings were often hastily erected before the grade of the street was established, which led to inefficient servicing with water mains and sewer pipes. Against the by-law it was said that workingmen could not afford proper lots on street frontage.⁵⁹ The Council also expressed sympathy for the proposals of the Berlin Housing Company (composed of leading industrialists and merchants) to erect workingmen's housing under the Housing Companies' Act by which the company would provide fifteen

per cent of the cost and the city would guarantee bonds for the balance. The main motive was to stimulate industrial growth "generally admitted to be somewhat retarded owing to lack of houses."⁶⁰

Until early 1914, the Waterloo Town Council chose to remain aloof from the city planning proposals, and Waterloo did not form an equivalent of the Berlin Civic Association. With a population of about 4700 in 1914, Waterloo was an industrial town like Berlin, with notable distilling, brewing and iron-working concerns and thirty other factories, as well as a distinctive concentration of insurance companies. Admired for its wide streets and attractive sixty-five acre park, Waterloo was rather complacent about having escaped some of Berlin's planning problems.

In June 1913, W.H. Breithaupt did win a motion of support from the Waterloo Board of Trade for the inclusion of Waterloo in the city planning scheme, though one sceptic observed that the plan would help Berlin rather than Waterloo, and only lead to union of the two municipalities.⁶¹ The Board of Trade established a Civic Planning Committee which organized a special meeting to discuss planning. Most of the "large attendance" of twenty-five members agreed that planning was generally beneficial, but were uncertain whether to combine with the Berlin Civic Association in a joint plan, pay \$500 or \$600 for a separate contract with Leavitt, or wait and see what the plan for Berlin looked like. P.V. Wilson, president of the Waterloo Board of Trade, supported the idea of a proper

plan, for,

if the Council had a plan, they would have an easier time in directing people who wish to purchase factory sites.... A plan would also provide residential districts, so that people building homes would know that in the future they would not be under obnoxious smoke.⁶²

His arguments for a comprehensive plan, in association with Berlin, carried the day. A representative meeting of Waterloo citizens, held in late January and addressed by D.B. Detweiler and W.H. Breithaupt of Berlin, supported the same policy more enthusiastically and almost unanimously urged the Waterloo Town Council to grant \$400 toward the cost of the Leavitt plan. The deciding factor was the desirability of co-ordinating street layouts along the boundary between the two municipalities.⁶³ A few days later, the Town Council voted for the grant, though Town Engineer Charles Moogk was sceptical of what could be bought for \$400 ("it would remedy the evils on paper but not in fact") and claimed that ninety per cent of the ratepayers would vote against civic planning.⁶⁴ Leavitt's assistant Fiskien paid a hasty visit to Waterloo so it could be included in the joint plan.⁶⁵

III

Leavitt's "City Plan for Greater Berlin (shewing Waterloo)" was received on 10 March 1914, and set off another spate of interest in planning. The fact that the Berlin Civic Association could afford to pay only \$1500 (including

the \$400 from Waterloo) for the services and expenses of Leavitt and Fisker perhaps explains why the plan was not personally delivered to Berlin but had to be collected by W.H. Breithaupt from Fisker who came only as far as Toronto.⁶⁶ Measuring five by six feet, the plan was displayed at the offices of the Berlin and Northern Railway, the street-railway enterprise owned by W.H. Breithaupt. It was also accompanied by a report of fifty foolscap pages. The *Berlin Daily Telegraph* described the plan as "an interesting study" and a "magnificent piece of art" (a phrase often repeated less flatteringly without the adjective), and remarked that "contrary to general expectations there are very few radical changes proposed in the central portions of either Berlin or Waterloo."⁶⁷

Leavitt's plan was a compromise between the "incongruous," "unwieldy and badly balanced" physical layout of the Twin-City, especially of Berlin, and his conceptions of the ideal city:

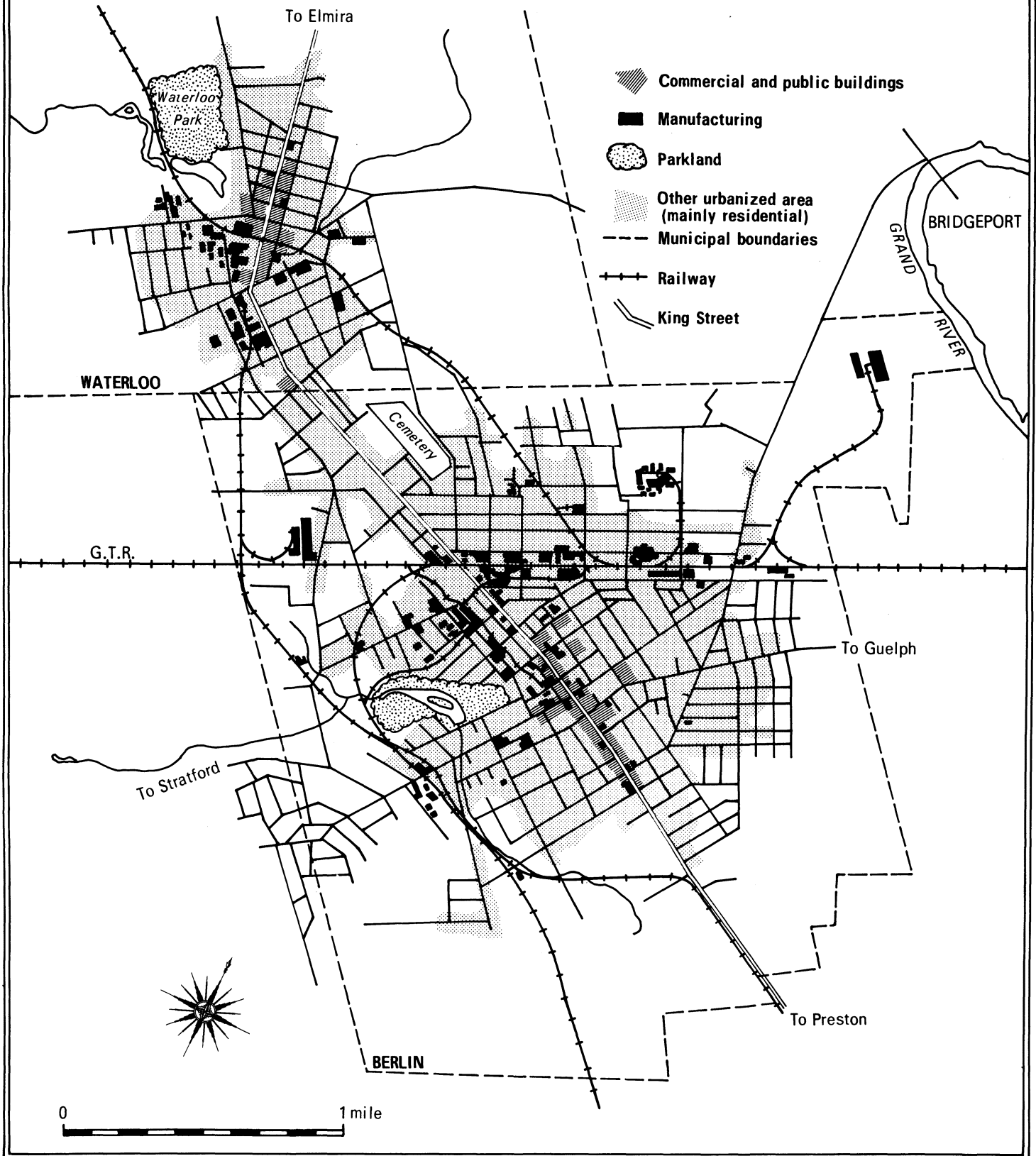
Should we have a clear field on which to construct the ideal city, we might consider the centre to contain the public, semi-public and business office buildings lying as close together as practicable. On the lines of transportation, either rail or water, would be the manufactories and other industries. Surrounding these and radiating into the country should be the parks and parkways, separating this busy life from the residential sections and, at the same time, forming natural connections which afford pleasant walks between the

business and the home.⁶⁸

Leavitt himself considered his plan to be "an ideal rather than a practical plan for Berlin," "something ... impressive" which would inspire the citizens. But he also suggested that a city plan, once adopted, should remain a fixed and unchanging framework for all future development.⁶⁹

Leavitt's main recommendations may be deduced by comparing Map 2 with Map 1. Visually, the most distinctive feature was the system of boulevards encircling the existing built-up areas of Berlin and Waterloo in a "figure-of-eight" or "dumb-bell" shape and connecting the existing parks with one another as well as with others which might be acquired and developed. Existing land uses were generalized into broader zones of business and manufacturing, the latter being greatly increased in total area. In suggesting the layout of future residential expansion, Leavitt gave expression to his preference for curvilinear street patterns, with radiating diagonal arteries connecting the new suburbs with existing main streets and the system of boulevards. The Berlin Civic Square was to be off King Street, occupying the area between Queen, Weber, Scott and Duke Street extended, with the new City Hall on the southeast side of, and facing, Frederick Street. A Union Station Plaza could be created by removing the G.T.R. freight sheds and clearing buildings from several blocks surrounding the station, and would be connected with the Civic Square by two avenues, in "quiet dignity." An alternative to King Street was proposed, to run from Berlin's easterly limits through to the new Blucher boulevard in the North Ward. In Waterloo, the area

BERLIN and WATERLOO, 1913

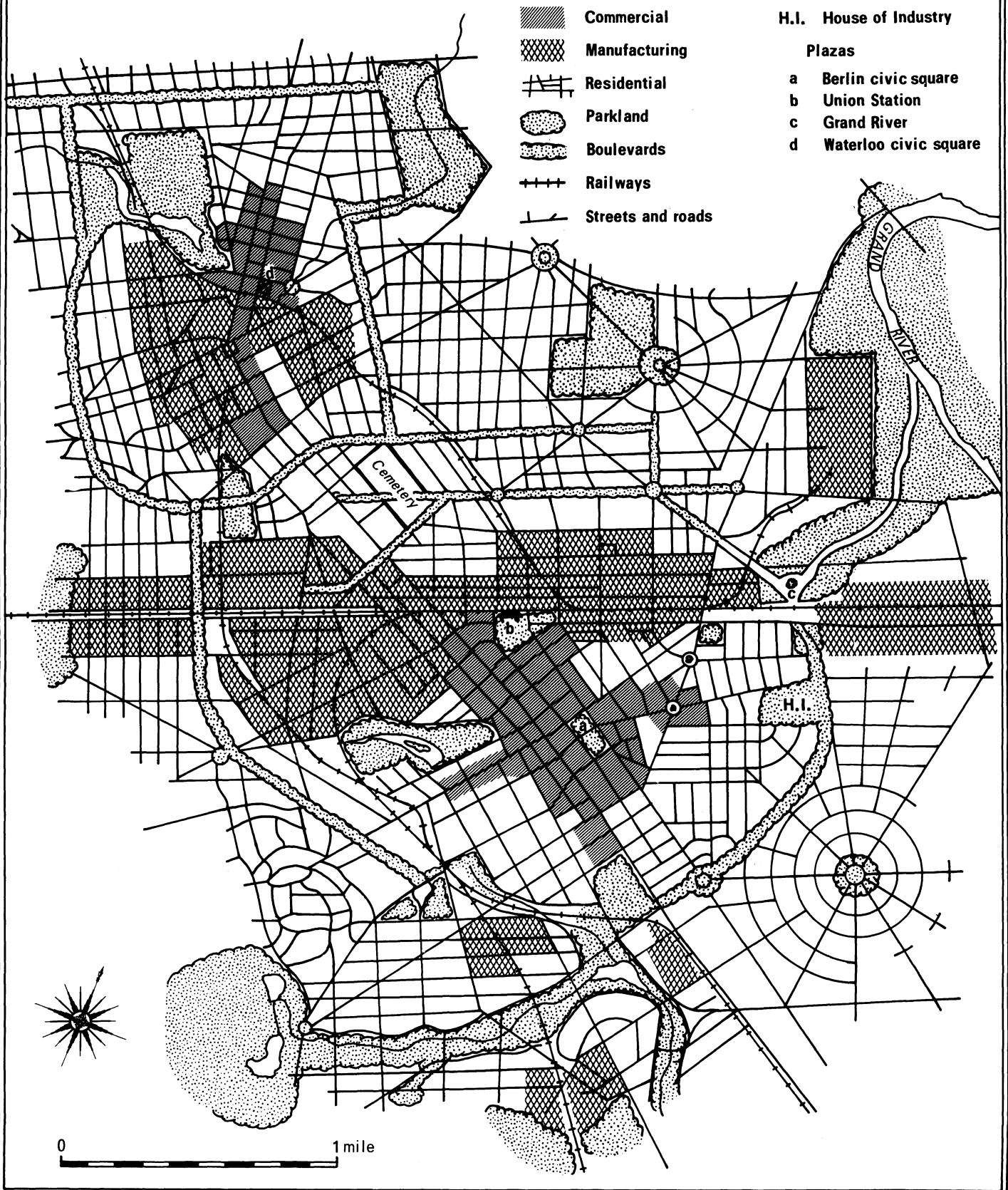


MAP 1: Actual streets and land uses of Berlin and Waterloo in 1913 (compiled from "Map of Busy Berlin" and "Plan of ... Waterloo ...," 1913, and from directories and fire insurance plans.)

CITY PLAN FOR GREATER BERLIN

(shewing Waterloo)

Charles W. Leavitt Jr., 1914



MAP 2: Leavitt's plan for Berlin and Waterloo, 1914 (redrawn at reduced scale from original).

surrounding the existing Town Hall could be developed into a civic square. To deal with the problem of level crossings, Leavitt suggested that no subways be built until the Grand Trunk Railway had elevated the track by seven or eight feet for most of its length through the urban area. Then it would be possible to construct subways on six streets.⁷⁰

The report was the main subject at the first annual meeting of the Berlin Civic Association held 17 March 1914. President W.H. Schmalz remarked that, in sponsoring Leavitt's plan, the citizens had been given an opportunity to assist

a branch of civic work, which while it belongs mainly to the municipal council, is usually neglected and forced into the background.... Civic planning must eventually prove of great value...; the practical and artistic needs are considered alike.

Rather optimistically, he declared that

the proper foundation when systematically laid, will enable the city to add from year to year such improvements that are not only necessary but also ornamental, without any additional cost or inconvenience to anyone.

He described the plan as "a work of art" which contained many excellent features, rather than a blueprint to be followed in all of its details. The report he called "an instructive work, historically, geographically, statistically and artistically." It was decided to appeal to the B.C.A. members and the City Council for \$1000 so that 200 copies of the map could be

printed and the report published in pamphlet form - "a great advertising medium."⁷¹

The lack of radical changes proposed in Leavitt's report did not dispose a majority on Berlin City Council to regard it any more favourably than it had in mid-1913. In response to the B.C.A. request for \$1000, the Finance Committee of Council recommended \$300.⁷² This was vigorously opposed by five aldermen at the next Council meeting. Alderman Hahn

could not see where Berlin would derive any benefit from the plan ... it looked like some kind of embroidery outline. There is not the least possibility of carrying out the plan.

If the matter were submitted to a vote of the people, he was satisfied it would be voted down. Alderman Hett complained:

It was perfectly plain that the plan was absolutely impracticable. It was patterned after the city of Paris.... It is nothing more than an extraordinary extravagance.... Berlin seems to be like a boy with a swelled head. It makes mistakes. This city should not be carried away with these extravagant notions, but should be in the line of retrenchment.... The rate should be low so that manufacturers can be attracted to the city. It is in the interest of the workingmen that the tax-rate should not be high.

Alderman A.L. Breithaupt's remark that Hett was willing to spend \$1000 for cemetery gates detracted

from Hett's call for retrenchment, and Breithaupt's claim that the plan though "by no means perfect, gives us something to work towards" helped to get the \$300 grant passed by ten votes to five.⁷³

In Waterloo, interest in Leavitt's plan had spurred the formation of an Advisory Committee on Town Planning, comprising five citizens prominent in commerce, manufacturing or the insurance business, the Town Engineer Charles Moogk and Dr. W.L. Hilliard who became the leading advocate of planning in Waterloo.⁷⁴ Approval of the "Westmount" sub-division (proposed by A.W. Merner for the Westmount Improvement Company) was deferred by the Town Council until it could be known that it was compatible with Leavitt's plan for Waterloo.⁷⁵ The Advisory Committee commended Leavitt's proposals and urged the Town Council to accept the plan and to carry out the report "as far as possible," especially asking "that no building permits be granted for vacant properties lying in the way of proposed street extensions as shown on the plan."⁷⁶ At first, Council demurred because of some errors and because Leavitt himself had not done the work, but it did accept the plan later and appointed five more members to the Advisory Committee.⁷⁷ Typical of the practical attitude to planning was the first recommendation of the enlarged Advisory Committee: that there be a system of garbage disposal for the town, because "before a Town can be beautiful, it must be made clean."⁷⁸

The Sixth National Conference on City Planning at Toronto in late May, 1914, attracted two representatives each from Berlin City Council, Berlin Board of Trade and Berlin Civic Association.⁷⁹

Local newspapers gave considerable space to the Conservation Commission's Canadian town planning act, by which "the whole question of Town Planning and the Housing Problem" would be the responsibility of a federal cabinet minister, to whom chairmen of zones in each province would report. Expert engineering advice would be freely available to each municipality. There was also provision for compensating private property owners adversely affected and for the local authority to recover half the unearned increment if property values greatly increased.⁸⁰ Addresses by Frederic Olmstead and Thomas Adams ("the greatest authority in his own line throughout the English-speaking world") were announced.⁸¹ Leavitt's plan for Greater Berlin was on show in Convocation Hall and was praised by the *Toronto Globe* as "perhaps the finest of all" the exhibits of almost 300 Canadian, American and European centres, for "getting away from the old idea of a gridiron" to "handsome curves arranged in every sort of ingenious fashion to conform with the lay of the land," so making the city "pleasing to the eye, as healthy and park-like as possible while in no way interfering with commercial and other necessities."⁸² Alderman Dr. Rudell commented on his return to Berlin that city planning as discussed at the conference seemed to apply to bigger cities than Berlin, and he assumed that the real estate companies would continue to lay out the subdivisions without the municipality having much influence.⁸³

What did Berlin-Waterloo's first attempt at city-planning achieve? The Leavitt plan had almost no direct effect, except for the modification of a few

subdivision plans in Waterloo. The only way for residents to protect their neighbourhood was for a majority on a specific street to get up a local petition to the City Council for their street to be declared "residential" with a by-law setting the "building line" or minimum distance between edge of road allowance and front of the house. This practice had begun in 1909 in Berlin. The aesthetic ideals of the early civic planning movement inspired some property developers and the new Waterloo Lutheran Seminary to use landscape architects or their imitators in laying out grounds attractively.⁸⁴ The new interest in parkland led to the donation of some land by private owners and the purchase of more by the Berlin Council, and to a movement to conserve woodland, especially along the banks of the Grand River.⁸⁵ Financing and presenting the Leavitt plan gave local enthusiasts experience of the substantial local resistance to be expected to radical replanning, if it would restrict the freedom of small property-owners and run the city into debt to correct the mistakes of the past. For the urban population at large, a cautious acceptance of a practical, economical kind of planning, ahead of development, was beginning. The *Berlin News Record* summed up this commonsense view:

City planning was first regarded as an aesthetic craze. Instead it means the application of reason and common sense to city work and endeavor. Beautification is an incident not the sole object. The idea that the purpose of the local association was to add frills on the city's skirt has deterred many citizens from

assisting the movement. Once this is removed, greater interest will be taken in its efforts. Following a well-devised plan in city building is as necessary as following a good plan in erecting a city block. City planning is: ECONOMY, necessity, scientific reality. A definite PLAN of orderly development into which each improvement will fit as it is needed.

BUSINESS methods for city work.

CORRELATION of the city's activities.

Encouragement of COMMERCE and facilitation of business.

PRESERVATION of historic buildings with their associations.

The development of a CANADIAN city....

NOT merely superficial beautification.

NOT extravagance, dreams, fads.

NOT the immediate execution of the whole plan.

NOT the surrender of the city to artists with vague schemes for civic adornment.

NOT wholesale alterations at great expense with no assured financial returns.

NOT the interruption of commerce and business....

NOT imitation of London, Vienna and Paris....⁸⁶

IV

Local interest in city planning dropped between mid-1914 and mid-1921. The emotional and material demands of war were complicated in Waterloo County by the conflicting loyalties of a mainly German population. Berlin went through the trauma of deciding to change its name to the more

patriotic Kitchener by July 1916. Some interest continued in planning matters in other cities and in the Conservation Commission. Thomas Adams, Town Planning Adviser to the Commission from late 1914, visited Berlin-Waterloo several times at the invitation of the B.C.A. During the debate on changing Berlin's name, Adams addressed a lengthy letter to the Berlin and Waterloo municipal councils and Boards of Trade, urging that the opportunity be taken to unite the two towns. He argued for economy and efficiency of administration by reducing overlapping and duplicate services and appealed to the spirit of postwar reconstruction and concluded:

I can conceive how fine the combined city would be as a town planning proposition and perhaps that is one of my chief interests in supporting the union.⁸⁷

Berlin was also represented by D.B. Detweiler on the provisional committee which in early 1916 tried to set up a permanent Civic Improvement League for Canada, with others such as Sir John Willison, G. Frank Beer, Noulan Cauchon and Thomas Adams.⁸⁸ But the service of the Conservation Commission most appreciated locally was its concern with urban fire hazards - "Canada's Fire Loss" as it was called, a cause pioneered by Detweiler on behalf of the Board of Trade.⁸⁹

City planning groups survived in both Waterloo and Berlin/Kitchener. Waterloo's Advisory Committee on Town Planning advised the Town Council on street extensions and the approval of subdivisions and notably urged the town to acquire the Snider mill-dam property to prevent its being

drained, and subdivided into building lots.⁹⁰ In January 1916, Waterloo Board of Trade came out strongly in petitioning for an Ontario town planning act

to enable cities, towns and municipalities to prepare town planning schemes with the object of securing improved sanitary and hygienic conditions, and convenience and amenity in connection with the layout of building land.⁹¹

W.H. Breithaupt for the Berlin Civic Association asked Berlin City Council in June 1914 to form an Advisory Council like Waterloo's, but a similar purpose was served by appointing some aldermen each year to the Executive of the B.C.A.⁹² The City Council also, reluctantly, made small grants to the B.C.A. in 1915 and 1916.⁹³ The B.C.A. advised City Council, unsuccessfully on such issues as the widening of King Street, more successfully on the opening of new streets on the edge of the city and ending duplication of street names.⁹⁴

With the passing of the Ontario Planning and Development Act in April 1917, cities as small as Kitchener could at last take advantage of town planning legislation. The act empowered any city, town or village to have made for its approval a general plan of the municipality and of the surrounding "urban zone" (up to a radius of five miles in the case of a city, three miles for a town or village). The main elements of such a plan were described as highways, parkways and boulevards, parks and playgrounds and the emphasis was on regulating future development rather than correcting past mistakes. Any municipal

council might also appoint a planning commission to consist of the mayor or reeve and six other persons, required only to be "ratepayers" who would hold office for three years, two retiring each year but eligible for reappointment. Municipal officers such as clerk and engineer were to perform duties at the request of the planning commission and the commission's operating expenses were to be paid. Appeals against plans could be made to the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board.⁹⁵

The act had been welcomed in advance by a unanimous motion of Kitchener City Council:

That recognizing the importance of legislation to facilitate a general scheme for the future growth of the City, including such purposes as widening streets, opening new streets, establishing factory, residence and business districts, and regulating in general the best development of City, we strongly endorse the proposed enactment of legislation to this end by the Ontario legislature at the present session.⁹⁶

There was less agreement on the composition of the new Planning Commission which Kitchener moved quickly to establish. The Kitchener Civic Association suggested that the six ratepayers be W.H. Breithaupt, A.R. Kaufman, W.A. Greunawald, D.B. Detweiler, W.O. Knechtel and Irvine Master.⁹⁷ Alderman Reid criticized these names for including too many large real-estate owners, remarking that previous "City Planning schemes had been spoiled because big property-owners were mixed up in the schemes." When a motion

that the six members be W.H. Breithaupt, A.R. Lang and Walter Harttung and Aldermen Asmussen, Sass and Uttley was lost, the matter was referred to the next Finance Committee meeting.⁹⁸ Its more acceptable suggestions were finally approved, with W.H. Breithaupt and W.H. Schmalz appointed for three years, Walter Harttung and A.R. Lang for two years, and Samuel Brubacher (the only alderman) and Martin Huehnergard (City Assessor) for one year.⁹⁹

The Kitchener City Planning Commission (C.P.C.), consisting of much the same members till 1922, with A.R. Kaufman a significant addition from 1920, held monthly meetings at which desirable improvements were proposed. W.H. Breithaupt was chairman till 1921, and its leading spokesman. He adhered to the corrective view of planning and continued trying to carry out aspects of the Leavitt plan. In Breithaupt's view

Town planning consists largely in rectifying past mistakes and omissions.... Most of our cities . . . suffer inconvenience from inadequate and indirect street systems, from lack of provision of space required for public buildings and parks; industries, business and residence sections are not localized. Each private owner of land large or small has been allowed to subdivide with regard only to getting the largest number of saleable parcels out of his holding, without consideration of fitting into a general street plan - often blocking what might have developed into an important thoroughfare - without restriction of

proportion of parcel or lot, or how much of it may be built on. Factories are located in the midst of residence sections due to change of ownership of the ground, and business locations may be similarly determined.¹⁰⁰

Progress had been "obstructed" by "prejudice and private interest," and provincial legislation was inadequate to carry out any corrective planning. Breithaupt held the engineer's ideal of the city efficient and, with a touch of the autocrat, had little patience with the need to persuade those less sure about the benefits of planning.

Planning proposals made by the C.P.C. to Kitchener City Council between 1917 and 1921 fared poorly. A motion that a new road be cut through the cemetery from King Street east was defeated by Council.¹⁰¹ It was to plan for new urban development, as in approving the plan by Consolidated Rubber Company for a subdivision of semi-detached houses (financed under the Ontario Housing Act) close to the Dominion Tire factory in northwest Kitchener.¹⁰² The C.P.C. also took issue with the Council's Cemetery Committee on the site of the proposed new cemetery.¹⁰³ While the City Engineer was helpful, the C.P.C. received little support from City Council. Criticized for "taking a little too much upon themselves in asking the City Engineer to busy himself with some of their plans for the opening of streets," the C.P.C. was required by a Council motion "when entering upon any scheme of street improvement to consult with the council before proceeding to the point where labour and expense are involved."¹⁰⁴ When a long list

of proposed street extensions was received by City Council from the C.P.C., the Mayor remarked sourly that it was easy to see that the C.P.C. had no responsibility for financing their proposals, as only one of them would cost \$250,000.¹⁰⁵

In early 1919, the C.P.C. presented a set of changes as a "proposed new city plan" under the Planning and Development Act. The plan was far from being a comprehensive one as it was concerned only with street layout. About half the proposed changes were for opening up or extending streets in built-up central Kitchener and about half were suggested alignments of new streets to provide a framework for suburban development on the northern and eastern edges of the city.¹⁰⁶ Both kinds of proposals were objected to, by individual landowners and by the Waterloo Town Council, which was naturally affected by proposals for new arterial streets on the northern edge of Kitchener and also legally involved as Waterloo came within Kitchener's "urban zone" under the Planning and Development Act.¹⁰⁷ A hearing by the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board, in Kitchener on 7 May 1919, upheld most objections and withheld its approval. Some of the proposed peripheral roads cut across too many previous surveys and infringed the freedom of property-owners to lay out subdivisions; the cost and injury to private investment of cutting through central areas was not justified by the uncertain benefits of doing so.¹⁰⁸ The O.R.M.B. eventually did accept the Kitchener plan as amended, but any specific proposals also required city by-laws for implementation, and City Council showed little disposition to co-operate.

By early 1921, the C.P.C. was realizing that practical progress in planning would depend on a new joint plan, preferably by an outside planning expert.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Adams was invited to visit Kitchener, and among his recommendations was the suggestion that Waterloo should form its own Town Planning Commission under the Planning and Development Act.¹¹⁰ Waterloo Council acted promptly in appointing six "men who are practical and representative of all classes" to join the mayor, and confirmed this resolution with a by-law.¹¹¹ By this move, Waterloo overcame the handicap it had suffered for four years, of having to submit its own development and subdivision plans to the Kitchener C.P.C. and of being poorly organized to react to C.P.C. proposals which affected Waterloo.¹¹²

V

When the City Planning Commission asked Kitchener City Council to consent to a new general survey and comprehensive plan, the city began a process of making up its mind which was almost farcically prolonged. It did lead, however, to a successful contract with Adams and Seymour and to a thorough and successful plan. The new phase saw the emergence of A.R. Kaufman as C.P.C. chairman and leading proponent of planning.¹¹³ It was also marked by a shift to the preventive emphasis in planning and a more conciliatory and compromising approach to specific planning objectives.

N.C. Helmuth, secretary of the C.P.C., first wrote to City Council in June 1921 urging a new general plan, and in August a letter was received from A.R. Kaufman

apparently offering to pay part of the cost.¹¹⁴ His offer was referred to the Finance Committee, which resolved:

That although we appreciate the interest of Mr. A.R. Kaufman and his offer re the city plan, the great amount of important engineering work makes it impossible to undertake a general city plan this year.¹¹⁵

In the next few months, Kitchener was given an object lesson in the need for city planning. The grant of a permit to the Dominion Shirt Company to build a factory on Church Street, an entirely residential street in the South Ward, parallel to King Street, aroused the opposition of local residents to the point of threatening legal action. The City quickly revoked the building permit. Kaufman took the opportunity to write to the *Daily Telegraph* pointing out that the Church Street residents could have protected themselves long ago by declaring their street residential and asking Council to pass a by-law fixing the building line but stressing that the C.P.C. was urging Council to engage a city planning expert who would divide the city into zones and so protect residential areas from invasion by factories.¹¹⁶

The next day, the newspaper reported that City Council had decided to bring "Town Planning Expert" Thomas Adams to Kitchener to make a detailed survey of the city and that \$3000 for his fee would be budgeted over the next three years.¹¹⁷ This was contradicted later by a joint meeting of the City Planning Committee of Council and the C.P.C. when it was decided to use

the money budgeted for Adams's visit to pay for an engineer to make a contour map of the city and a landscape architect to make a detailed survey, both under the direct supervision of the City Engineer.¹¹⁸ Two weeks later, at the next Council meeting, supporters of an Adams plan helped pass a motion that a contract be made with Thomas Adams for a total cost of \$3000, \$300 in 1922 and \$1350 in each of 1923 and 1924 with the stipulation that "no zoning be done until such time as a new and correct survey plan is made" to satisfy the Finance Committee of Council.¹¹⁹ But it was only narrowly passed over many objections. Mayor Greb, worrying that the City was "biting off more than it could chew," was not inclined to put the motion. Alderman Harttung, also a member of the C.P.C., argued strongly for a contract with Adams, declaring, "If progressivism is going to kill a Council, I hope it kills me quick." The motion was passed after supporters argued that \$300 was nothing to prevent future controversies like the Church Street factory building permit.¹²⁰ The Council reversed itself two weeks later, however, in accepting a Finance Committee recommendation that any contract with Adams be laid over for further consideration and that J. T. McGarry, the assistant town engineer, prepare a new survey of the city.¹²¹

In late August another season of vacillation began. The City Clerk was instructed to write to Thomas Adams to ask if he would be willing to sign a contract on the same basis as London, Ontario.¹²² But when Adams's favourable reply was received, it was referred to the Finance Committee and again treated in a

cavalier and delaying fashion.¹²³ The City Engineer was asked to contact other planners, including Charles Leavitt of New York and Noulan Cauchon of Ottawa to see if their rates might be competitive.¹²⁴ When no replies had been received by late November, and after some uncharacteristic urging by the Board of Trade that the City engage a competent town planner, the Finance Committee finally recommended that a contract be signed with Adams.¹²⁵

During the year of delay and indecision, the C.P.C. had continued to make specific recommendations on street openings, widenings and extensions, on building lines and the approval of new subdivisions as well as to urge the engagement of an outside planner. That the City Council was no more reconciled to the potential statutory powers of the City Planning Commission was shown in October 1922 when it reacted strongly to proposed amendments to the "Town Planning Act." According to the explanation given to City Council by Mayor Greb, city or town planning commissions would be given power until then vested only in the municipal councils and would be able to undertake works which would place the municipality at great expense as well as to receive a levy of one and a half mills on the tax rate. The Mayor and Alderman Ahrens were deputed to attend the convention of the Ontario Town Planning Association in Toronto on October 17-18 and register a strong protest.¹²⁶ Actually Mayor Greb misrepresented the scope of the proposed amendments, grossly exaggerating the tax levy which would, in fact, have been only one-tenth of a mill. One wonders how much of the widespread opposition to the proposed legislation was similarly based on

misunderstanding.¹²⁷

Meanwhile Waterloo's Town Planning Commission (T.P.C.) had little success with recommendations to the Town Council. Dr. Hilliard, chairman, addressed Council in March 1922 on the lack of any complete plan for the town and recommended the establishment of building lines.¹²⁸ By October 1922, members of the T.P.C. were so discouraged they thought of resigning. It took a well-attended meeting of the Waterloo Board of Trade to impel Waterloo's Council into serious consideration of a joint plan with Kitchener.¹²⁹ At its November meeting, the council agreed in principle but delayed action as no funds had been budgeted for 1922, and the Town Engineer was fully occupied with other work.¹³⁰ During the winter Horace Seymour, now engaged as Adams's associate on the Kitchener plan and A.R. Kaufman of the Kitchener C.P.C., as well as the Waterloo T.P.C., led by Dr. Hilliard, continued to put pressure on the Waterloo Council.¹³¹ At the Council's March meeting, the T.P.C. asked that Waterloo sign a contract with Adams for a comprehensive plan in conjunction with Kitchener's. Seymour, who was present, submitted a draft contract for the Council's consideration.¹³² By April, this had been amended to a contract with Seymour himself as consultant, for a plan to cost \$2000.¹³³ Finally in May, Waterloo Town Council approved a grant to the T.P.C. of \$500 a year "with access to all books, records and plans of the Town as long as they are not removed from Waterloo."¹³⁴

Seymour supervised the systematic survey and planning of Kitchener (from January 1923) and Waterloo (from May 1923) and spent far more time than Adams on the

spot.¹³⁵ But the stages of work were an object lesson in Adams's methods: a reconnaissance survey of the city and region with maps of transportation, street services, street traffic, assessment values and the existing land use pattern, followed by a tentative skeleton plan of the region based on the survey, a city survey and, finally, a complete working plan of the city adapted to the law of the province.¹³⁶ What was more significant in contributing to the acceptance of the Kitchener and Waterloo plans was the interpolation of phases of public presentation and discussion of survey findings and tentative recommendations. In the first of two such phases, preliminary reports were produced for Kitchener in July 1923 and Waterloo in September 1923.¹³⁷ In each case, the report consisted of an explanation of survey findings and draft recommendations and was addressed to the City or Town Planning Commission, with press releases sketching the main recommendations.¹³⁸

The reports were favourably received as "little expense will be involved ... the engineers have eliminated everything that does not seem to be attainable within a reasonable number of years at comparatively small cost."¹³⁹ In both Kitchener and Waterloo, the draft proposals were first publicly discussed in special meetings of the Boards of Trade. The Kitchener Board of Trade was addressed by A.R. Kaufman on the benefits of preventive planning which would guard against repetition of the mistakes of the past.¹⁴⁰ The Waterloo meeting, under the joint auspices of the T.P.C. and the Board of Trade, was addressed by Seymour in a "very comprehensive and enlightening" speech which

inspired the Board of Trade to set up an advisory committee to help gain public and council support for the plan.¹⁴¹

The second phase of public discussion in October and November 1923 was more broadly based. The reports were printed in instalments in successive Saturday editions of the *Daily Record*.¹⁴² Special meetings were arranged by the Kitchener C.P.C. with members of the various Kitchener commissions and boards and by the Waterloo T.P.C. to announce plans for a civic square park.¹⁴³ In mid-November the C.P.C. and T.P.C. together announced the culmination of this phase of "submitting town-planning schemes to the scrutiny of the general public."¹⁴⁴ The publication of the draft plan and zoning by-law on November 24 was to begin a week of ward meetings at which anyone might question aspects of the plan or make suggestions. Five public meetings were held between November 26 and 30.¹⁴⁵ Seymour addressed all the meetings and Adams also spoke at the final meeting which was by far the best attended and the only one to attract considerably more than about twenty people. Planning was justified in practical, commonsense terms ("we plan our homes and factories - why not our cities and towns?"), and there was usually an appeal to the self-interest of householders concerned to protect their investment from the unwanted intrusion of factories or business. But businessmen were also reassured that the zoning regulations would not be retroactive, and non-conforming uses could remain. Adams made a nicely calculated appeal to local pride and sensitivities when he claimed that "the smaller city which was properly planned would be an

attraction to industries in the big cities" interested in relocating and that "the mere fact that a building was a factory should not give occasion to objection because many factories were as attractive as residences."¹⁴⁶

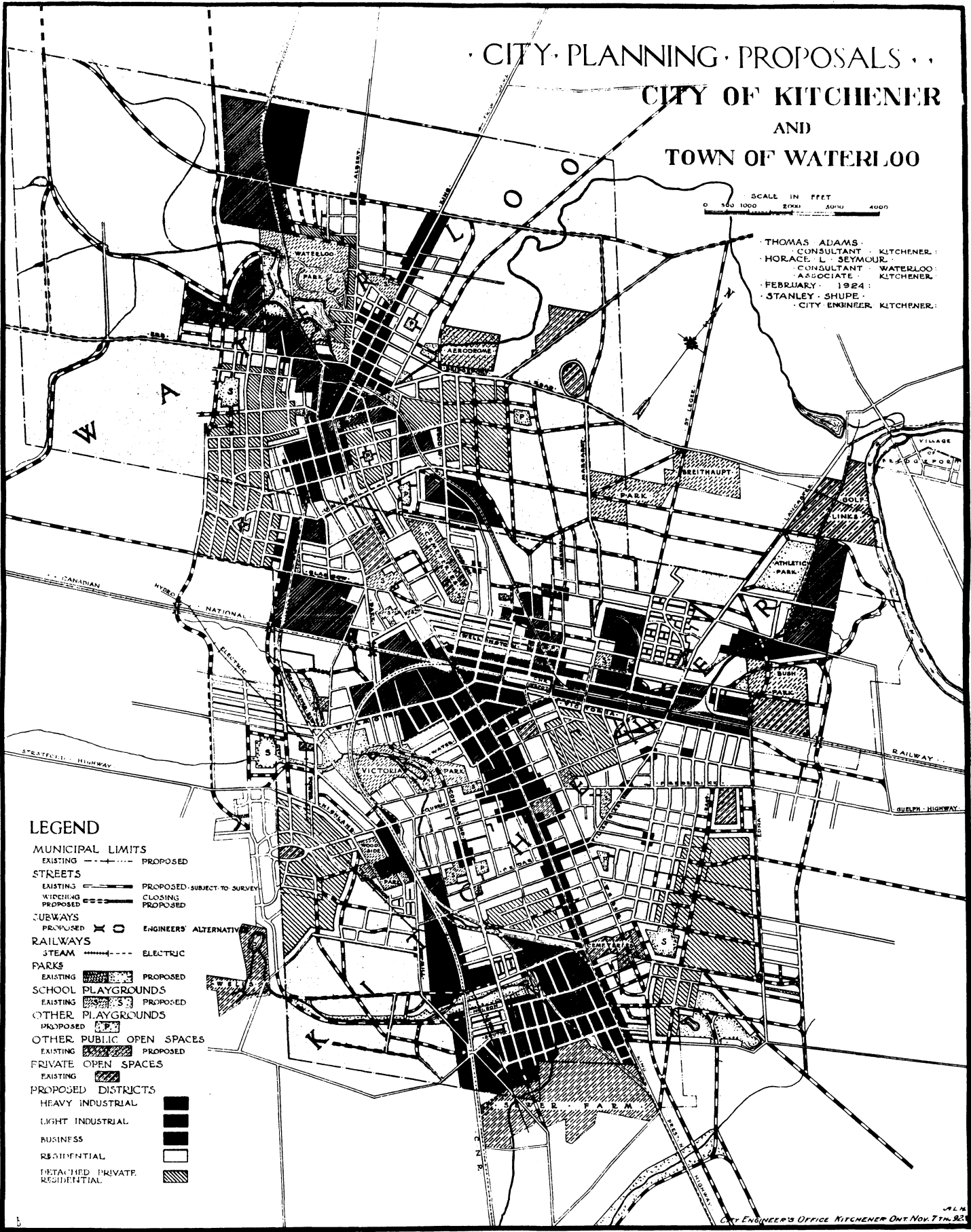
Significant objections were made at one Waterloo meeting and, more strongly, at one Kitchener meeting. Waterloo wanted a larger industrial zone, with most of it away from the Kitchener boundary and in the northwest of the town, where land was lower, cheaper and more accessible to both railway lines. It was feared that if the industrial area were located near Kitchener "many workmen would build in Kitchener, and their money would be spent in Kitchener."¹⁴⁷ Residents in part of Kitchener's South Ward objected to the zoning of their area for industrial use (as the "logical" place for industry was "the territory around the tracks in the North Ward"). Three ladies claimed that it was unfair to zone land on Benton and Church Street for residential purposes only because when "they wanted to sell their land in future they would be losers" if the land could not be used for commercial purposes.¹⁴⁸ The zoning map was changed to suit all these objections and also to benefit from some useful suggestions for new arterial streets, made at the meeting for Kitchener's East and Centre Wards. (The final zoning map appears here as Map 3).

Two Kitchener incidents marred the mood of sweet reasonableness achieved during the phase of public education. The first was a squalid row in the Kitchener City Council which showed that resentment and suspicion remained about the motives of those prominent in planning. A.R. Kaufman presented a

· CITY · PLANNING · PROPOSALS ·
**CITY OF KITCHENER
 AND
 TOWN OF WATERLOO**

SCALE IN FEET
 0 500 1000 2000 3000 4000

· THOMAS ADAMS · CONSULTANT · KITCHENER ·
 · HORACE L. SEYMOUR · CONSULTANT · WATERLOO ·
 · ASSOCIATE · KITCHENER ·
 FEBRUARY · 1924 ·
 · STANLEY · SHUPE · CITY ENGINEER · KITCHENER ·



LEGEND

- MUNICIPAL LIMITS
 EXISTING ——— PROPOSED - - - -
- STREETS
 EXISTING ——— PROPOSED-SUBJECT TO SURVEY - - - -
 WIDENING PROPOSED ——— CLOSING PROPOSED - - - -
- SUBWAYS
 PROPOSED X O ENGINEERS' ALTERNATIVE
- RAILWAYS
 STEAM ——— ELECTRIC - - - -
- PARKS
 EXISTING [diagonal lines] PROPOSED [cross-hatch]
- SCHOOL PLAYGROUNDS
 EXISTING [diagonal lines] PROPOSED [cross-hatch]
- OTHER PLAYGROUNDS
 PROPOSED [diagonal lines]
- OTHER PUBLIC OPEN SPACES
 EXISTING [diagonal lines] PROPOSED [cross-hatch]
- PRIVATE OPEN SPACES
 EXISTING [diagonal lines]
- PROPOSED DISTRICTS
 HEAVY INDUSTRIAL [solid black]
 LIGHT INDUSTRIAL [solid dark grey]
 BUSINESS [solid medium grey]
 RESIDENTIAL [white]
 DETACHED PRIVATE RESIDENTIAL [diagonal lines]

MAP 3: *Proposals of Adams and Seymour for street improvements and zones in Kitchener-Waterloo, 1924. (Facsimile of map published in Town Planning Institute of Canada Journal, January 1925.)*

bill for \$600 he had already paid, which had been incurred when he engaged a draftsman from Toronto to prepare the basic survey maps for the new city plan. Kaufman had done this without consulting either City Council or the C.P.C. of which he was chairman, because he believed there was "need for urgent haste" if the city plan was not to be delayed a whole year. After an acrimonious discussion in which resentment of Kaufman's wealth and "high-handed" methods was plain, the Council voted eleven to three against reimbursing Kaufman.¹⁴⁹ The other incident was of another order but showed that Kitchener C.P.C. was not of one mind on the proper approach to planning. W.H. Breithaupt wrote a letter to the *Daily Record*, restating his corrective view of planning and outlining desirable street improvements in the already developed parts of the city. Seymour replied in a memorandum to the C.P.C. explaining the practical reasons for stressing preventive planning:

We have placed emphasis on preventive rather than corrective measures in the interest of obtaining both economy and the most permanent results ... where we have been unable to adopt suggestions that have the effect of correcting existing defects, it is because we do not think the value of the improvement is worth the expense involved.¹⁵⁰

Both municipal councils promptly approved the draft plan in general outline, and, assisted by Seymour's advice, both sought to amend section 399a of the Municipal Act to give the municipality, with the approval of the O.R.M.B., power to pass by-laws regulating the use

of land or buildings for any purpose, not just to reserve districts of detached private residences, as in the Act.¹⁵¹ Amendment was sought, by private bills for each place, as well as by general legislative amendment. The fact that W.G. Weichel, Mayor of Waterloo, also represented North Waterloo in the Ontario Legislature, was helpful in both courses of action. With more general amendment in mind, Kitchener used a time-honoured tactic, inviting representatives of municipal councils, boards of trade and planning commissions and others interested in town planning in South-western Ontario, to a meeting in mid-February 1924.¹⁵² Nine municipalities in addition to Kitchener and Waterloo attended, to discuss the need for legislation on town planning - London, Hamilton, Brantford, Galt, Guelph, Elmira, Preston, Bridgeburg and Oakville.¹⁵³ A resolution of warm support for the Kitchener-Waterloo amendment was passed, which perhaps helped the amendment to pass the legislature in April 1924.¹⁵⁴

In the end, only Kitchener enacted the zoning by-law. The City Council first passed the zoning by-law in October 1924, but it had to be amended on appeal to the O.R.M.B. and was finally passed on December 26, 1924.¹⁵⁵ The most disheartening change from the Adams-Seymour draft was the deletion of restrictions on billboards, the "billboard industry" having insisted on maintaining its hold in residential districts and being powerful enough to get its way with the O.R.M.B.¹⁵⁶ Subsequent amendments to the Kitchener zoning by-law could only be made with O.R.M.B. permission. From 1925 to 1930, there were twelve such amendments, ten of them permitting small

commercial development, such as corner stores, in residential areas.¹⁵⁷ Reviewing the operation of the zoning by-laws after three years, A.R. Kaufman reported emphatic support from the entire City Council and general approval from the public.¹⁵⁸ He cited several specific examples where zoning and the Adams-Seymour plan had resulted in savings and greater efficiency of city services. "The local enthusiasm ... is based on a realization that the plan is not visionary and impossible of attainment."

Waterloo's Town Council continued to "lay the matter over for further consideration" and was still doing so in 1930 when the Waterloo Board of Trade and Town Planning Commission held a joint meeting at which the City Engineer and Building Inspector of Kitchener spoke about the way in which the zoning by-law was "working harmoniously" there.¹⁵⁹ The Board of Trade expressed full sympathy and support for the town planning movement, but that was not enough to overcome municipal inertia and lack of a sense of urgent need. The indefatigable Seymour signed an agreement with Waterloo Township in 1924 for a township plan but there is no evidence such a plan was implemented.¹⁶⁰

* * *

In concluding this article, three questions are considered. What were the factors in Kitchener's eventual success in passing a zoning by-law, in however weakened a form? In what ways did experience in Kitchener-Waterloo influence planners in their generalizations about priorities? How well does this case-study illustrate general trends in Canadian planning?

During these early stages in the process of introducing planning, the role of several agents can be seen, as well as the significance of timing and of changing ideas about the purpose and procedures of planning. In some of these, Berlin/Kitchener and Waterloo were characteristic of other cities; in other respects, the small size and sub-metropolitan functions made the towns distinctive. Local boards of trade and the press were essential in keeping the idea of planning before the local community, especially in the 1912-14 phase, as they were also in maintaining the growth ethos and civic boosterism generally. The Waterloo Board of Trade continued to promote planning in the 1920s, when the Kitchener Board had lost its active enthusiasm for the cause. The daily press was much stronger in its advocacy of planning in 1912-14 than later.

The role of determined individuals was crucial throughout, especially in exerting pressure on municipal councils and in contacting outside planners and other towns and cities. The personalities of these leading proponents played a part in gaining general public acceptance. W.H. Breithaupt, D.B. Detweiler and A.R. Kaufman were clearly the most important figures, with Dr. W.L. Hilliard active in the smaller Waterloo setting. Breithaupt, Detweiler and Kaufman were all "businessmen"; none ever served on the municipal council (though Detweiler was elected to the Berlin Light Commission), but all were "public-spirited citizens" concerned for Berlin/Kitchener's progressive image. Breithaupt worked longest for planning in this period, his interest as an engineer being especially in the technical

and efficiency aspects. Detweiler was more concerned with planning as one progressive cause among several; his contacts with influential people in government and the planning movement kept Berlin in touch with provincial and national trends. Breithaupt was responsible for the continuity between the first and second phases of intensive interest in planning and the 1919 plan was his work. His influence was smaller during the Adams-Seymour phase when his corrective view of planning was replaced by the more practicable preventive approach. Kaufman was the vital link between Adams and Seymour and the local community and most active in keeping up pressure on both municipal councils.

The collective attitudes of the municipal councils played a part. The Berlin Council in the first phase was especially apprehensive about committing itself to a grandiose scheme of civic improvement which would raise the tax-rate and frighten away prospective manufacturers and good workmen, but it was also susceptible to the idea that a progressive plan would have advertisement value. Berlin was caught between its self-image as a progressive, rapidly growing, industrial city and its reputation for low property taxes. It was also very conscious of its image among other towns and cities and very competitive with them. Berlin/Kitchener's initiative in calling Ontario planning conferences in December 1912 and February 1924 echoed the role it prided itself on taking with the beginnings of the Niagara Power movement. Waterloo was much less active in the planning movement, usually responding to suggestions from Berlin/Kitchener, rather than taking the initiative itself. But

Waterloo's Town Council and Board of Trade usually reached a consensus more readily and were more consistent in planning matters - except in the final step of adopting the 1924 plan and zoning by-law.

It has been suggested that property developers were intimately involved in the planning movements of larger metropolitan cities.¹⁶¹ In Kitchener-Waterloo, there were frequent references, before as well as after World War I, to the advantages to property-owners of planning and zoning in maintaining or raising property values by preventing the indiscriminate mixing of residential with other land uses, especially industrial. But the appeal was overwhelmingly to individual homeowners, and its success was the main factor in the public acceptance of the 1924 by-law. Owners of real property in the central business district were generally opposed to the corrective approach in the earlier phase of the planning movement. Owners of suburban properties, interested in developing small subdivisions, were also hostile to the street-opening proposals of the 1919 plan. Real estate agents and developers were not prominent in the local planning movement, as they are claimed to have been in larger, metropolitan cities.

Why did the Adams-Seymour plan of 1923-4 succeed when the Leavitt plan of 1913-14 and the Breithaupt plan of 1919 had failed? As with other municipalities considering city plans in 1913-14, the timing was wrong. The urban land boom had ended by then, and a crisis in municipal finance had begun which lasted nearly ten years. Moreover the war distracted attention from urban problems. The 1912-14 phase

was an essential preliminary to later success of the 1924 plan, however, in creating local awareness of the implications of city planning. The single most important factor in the passing of the 1924 by-law was the commitment of the outside planners, and especially of Seymour, to devising a practical and acceptable plan. Leavitt had paid only fleeting visits to Berlin and had clearly not known how limited were the powers of the municipal council. Seymour worked in Kitchener-Waterloo for well over a year and was prepared particularly to explain the purpose of the plan to the public and to work out the legislative and administrative implications at the local and provincial levels.

In the final reports for Kitchener and Waterloo, Seymour summed up the requirements of a successful plan. It must, above all, be practical - politically realistic and economically acceptable - in terms of costs, municipal powers and public acceptance. Adams and Seymour seemed personally to share many of Leavitt's aesthetic ideals on the dignity of the new City Hall surroundings and connections with the railway station and on the desirability of parkways and boulevards, but these personal preferences were subordinated to suit locally perceived values and needs.¹⁶² This political realism may be contrasted with Leavitt's (and Breithaupt's) approach in several ways. First was the shift in emphasis from "corrective" to "preventive" planning, as it was impractical to propose radical remodelling of the inner city or retroactive zoning of land uses. Second, the plan should be considered not as a fixed blueprint by which to control all future

developments but as "elastic and capable of modification to meet unforeseen changes in conditions," for "planning is an operation that never ceases."¹⁶³ Third, the single most important requirement in making the plan effective was interesting the public and winning its confidence and co-operation, which included helping the local planning authorities with drafting by-laws and parliamentary bills, and proving to businessmen that planning paid, "not only in the conservation of life but also in the saving of money."¹⁶⁴ Seymour declared:

The final plan can only be successful if it has the support of a strong public opinion. It is a comparatively easy matter to prepare a plan showing extensive street widenings, openings and improvements, restricted areas, parks, parkways and boulevards and a civic centre with monumental groups of public buildings, if no regard is paid to cost or public feeling - a plan that may be technically and artistically desirable but for the present impossible of being carried out.... The plan if successful must be based on present possibility ... it must be a plan of such present practical value that public opinion will be the greatest single factor in making it effective now and assuring its success in future.¹⁶⁵

Kitchener-Waterloo's experience of planning may be compared with general trends in planning thought between 1912 and 1925. Others have considered the changing ideas about planning throughout Canada at this time,

basing their generalizations mainly on the statements of professional planners or on the planning movements in larger, metropolitan cities.¹⁶⁶ Distinct phases have been identified, with that inspired by the ideal of the "City Beautiful" lasting till about 1913 and characterized by the architectural features of coherence, civic grandeur and visual variety, with the civic centre, parks and parkways prominent in the plans. After the interruption of World War I the planning movement was dedicated to the "City Efficient," shaped more by the concerns of the municipal engineer and purporting to be based on "scientific" principles. In practice, as Van Nus and Gunton have argued, planners in the 1920s settled for something far short of an optimally efficient urban organism.

Berlin/Waterloo became involved in planning and more general schemes of civic improvement relatively late, from mid-1912 when the "City Beautiful" movement was waning. Because of this late start and also because of the community's small size and sub-metropolitan, industrial functions, the local movement did not exemplify pure "City Beautiful" traits. Enthusiasm for civic grandeur and an imposing civic centre was certainly there, but beautification for its own sake was disavowed from the beginning. Mitchell and Leavitt spoke to approving audiences of the primary importance of efficiency and functional order. Hodgetts stressed the fundamental need to plan for better housing and public health, as well as the value of starting to plan while towns were still small. All these were arguments more commonly quoted from planners after World War I.

Leavitt's 1914 plan did have various hallmarks of "City Beautiful" plans but, given the small size of Berlin-Waterloo, it could also be interpreted as being similar to "Garden Suburb" plans. The Leavitt plan proved unacceptable because of its implications for private property rights and because of the powerlessness of small municipalities to plan under provincial legislation of the time.

Planners of the 1920s have been implicitly condemned for their failure to adhere to purer planning ideas and generally to bring in a new, perfect urban order. Van Nus has argued that planners forsook the ideal of the efficient city for "a more passive, managerial sort of planning which sought little more than the co-ordination of the desires and development policies of private interests." Planning became a "continuous administrative process rather than the gradual completion of a largely fixed design," with "elastic zoning in place of a workable long-range plan," and planners compromised their principles for "political dependence on local businessmen" and the property industry.¹⁶⁷ Evidence can be found in the case of Kitchener-Waterloo to support most of such generalizations. But detailed study of planning efforts in a particular time and place makes one more sympathetic to the planners. To begin, planners were undoubtedly dependent on the invitation and fees of municipal councils. Further, planners were not engaged in a doctrinaire exercise of designing the perfect environment but in achieving public acceptance and legislation for some measure of urban planning, in the hope that more could be added later. And Kitchener-Waterloo was a test case, success

in which would encourage other communities to follow suit. The planners' objective of an acceptable plan and the local constraints on their efforts explain their political realism and emphasis on public relations.

"Town planning is civil and political engineering, engineering technology and the psychology of suggestion," as "an Ottawa Planner" remarked of Seymour's plan of Waterloo. "It takes a great deal of patient education and persistence to 'put a plan across' and this is what must definitely occur if good is to come to the cause and encouragement to the planner."¹⁶⁸ As important as planning was as a science, it was still an art of the possible.

* * *

NOTES

- 1 "Kitchener Plan Becomes Law," Town Planning Institute of Canada, *Journal* (TPICJ) IV, 1 (1925), p. 1.
- 2 H.L. Seymour, "Report on the Plan of the Town of Waterloo," 30 April 1924, p. 16 (Seymour Papers, P.A.C.).
- 3 Seymour, "Report, Plan ... of Waterloo," foreword, TPICJ, III, 3 (1924).
- 4 "Kitchener Plan Becomes Law," TPICJ, IV, 1 (1925), p. 1.
- 5 *Busy Berlin: Annual Report of the Berlin Board of Trade, 1911.*
- 6 *Census of Canada, 1911*, Vol. III., p. xiv.
- 7 *Census of Canada, 1911*, Vol. IV, table VI.
- 8 *Berlin Daily Telegraph* (BDT), "City Inauguration Number," 15 July 1912, p. 21.
- 9 BDT, 6 July 1912, pp. 1, 7.
- 10 *Berlin: Celebration of Cityhood*, 17 July 1912, p. 70.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 12 Berlin Board of Trade, *Minutes*, 8 February 1912.
- 13 BDT, 15 July 1912.
- 14 *Berlin News Record* (BNR) 9 August 1912. Daniel Bechtel Detweiler (1860-1919); son and grandson of Mennonite ministers; travelling salesman for J.Y. Shantz Button Co. 13 years; from 1901, vice-president of G.V. Oberholtzer Shoe Co. (later renamed Hydro City Shoe Co.); from 1908 developed Algoma Power Co. from large water-power resources at Michipicotenon north shore of Lake Superior. Advocate and publicist for Niagara Power movement from 1902, convening representatives of Western Ontario municipalities in key meetings; used similar approach in promoting civic planning and improvement (1912-) and the Great Waterways Union of Canada (1914-); active on the Board of Trade, and the Light Commission and in the promotion of the sugar industry. A collection of Detweiler's papers in the Kitchener Public Library contains some useful items on early city planning.

- 15 William Henry Breithaupt (1857-1944); second son of Louis Breithaupt, founder of Breithaupt Leather Company of Berlin; qualified engineer at Rensselaer Polytechnic, Troy, N.Y.; bridge engineer for Pennsylvania Railroad, C.P.R., Chicago, Santa Fe and California till 1890; consultant bridge and structural engineer New York City till 1899; 1900 returned to Berlin to manage Breithaupt family interests in Berlin Gas Works, Berlin and Waterloo Street Railway and extensive real estate. Built Berlin and Bridgeport Street Railway 1902 and developed riverside park at Bridgeport. Chief mover in city planning movement 1912-22; very active on Berlin/Kitchener Library Board, a founder of Waterloo Historical Society and of Grand River conservation scheme.
- 16 BDT, 5 November 1912; Berlin City Council (BCC), *Minutes*, 3 November 1912.
- 17 BDT, 9 November 1912. These included a whole-page article on "Town Planning in Germany" by Frederic C. Howe, reprinted from the *New York Outlook*.
- 18 BNR, 13 November 1912; *ibid.*, 14 November 1912.
- 19 BDT, 20 November 1912; BNR, 20 November 1912; Detweiler Diary, 18 and 19 November 1912.
- 20 BDT, 20 November 1912.
- 21 BDT, 4 December 1912: W.V. Uttley (Chairman), W.H. Schmalz (Mayor), H.L. Janzen (President of Board of Trade), A.L. Breithaupt, D.B. Detweiler, W.D. Euler, J.F. Honsberger, C.H. Mills, George Rumpel, J.A. Scellen, H.J. Sims, Robert Smyth, S.J. Williams.
- 22 Letter quoted in Waterloo Board of Trade *Minutes*, 25 November 1912. Detweiler's invitation was followed up by a supporting circular from the Secretary of the Berlin Board of Trade, W.M.O. Lohead, whose sentiments on city planning were untypically grandiloquent: "Come and bring others with you so that the beauty of civic art and the glory of unrestrained and symmetrical civic expansion may be exemplified and assured for ourselves and for future generations." (Copy in Detweiler Papers, Kitchener Public Library). Detweiler was also responsible for inviting Mitchell, whom he had known since 1902 in connection with the Niagara Power Movement. Detweiler Dairy, 13 June 1912; 20, 21, 25 and 30 November 1912; 10 and 11 December 1912.
- 23 BDT, 7 December 1912; BNR, 7 December 1912.
- 24 BDT, 9 December 1912.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 7 December 1912.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 9 December 1912. This Act applied only to cities of over 50,000 population and could not help Berlin.
- 27 BNR, 12 December 1912.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 12 December 1912.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 10 January 1913.

- 30 *Ibid.*, 13 January 1913. Just after Mitchell's visit, the *Berlin News Record* published a special bulletin of the Civic Guild (12 December 1912), and there were several suggestions for a local organization modelled on Toronto's. The engineer H.J. Bowman proposed a "joint civic guild for the twin city" to include Waterloo. BNR, 16 December 1912.
- 31 BCC *Minutes*, 19 January 1913.
- 32 BNR, 7 February 1913.
- 33 BDT, 7 February 1913.
- 34 *Ibid.*; BNR, 7 February 1913. Those elected were ex-Mayor W.H. Schmalz; ex-President of Board of Trade H.L. Janzen; the Rev. F.E. Oberlander (Lutheran), the Rev. Theo Spetz (Catholic); Dr. A.E. Rudell, Mrs. J.A. Hilliard; G.M. DeBus representing business; August Lang and F.S. Hodgins representing industry; and three engineers, H.J. Bowman, W.H. Breithaupt and Herbert Johnson.
- 35 BDT, 8 February 1913.
- 36 BCC, Finance Committee, *Minutes*, 12 March 1913.
- 37 BDT, 3 April 1913; *ibid.*, 16 April 1913.
- 38 Charles Wellford Leavitt, Jr. (1871-1928) of New York; civil and landscape engineer, with an impressive record of laying out company towns, resorts, private estates for the wealthy (in New York State, Florida and California), and racetracks. His other Canadian commissions included
- racetracks at Toronto, Winnipeg and Montreal, the town of Grand Marie, Manitoba, and schemes for the beautifying of suburbs such as Government House property in Toronto and Pelham Park in Hamilton. Leavitt was later elected president of the American Institute of Consulting Engineers and attended most of the National Conferences on City Planning, including that at Toronto in 1914. When he died in 1928 the National Conference on City Planning published a notice of regret in the journal *City Planning* (immediately after a similar notice for Ebenezer Howard), in which it was said that Leavitt's "activities in the realm of City Planning have done much toward the acceptance of the city planning idea through successful practice." (I am grateful to Frank S. So of the American Planning Association for help in tracing biographical details of Leavitt).
- 39 BDT, 10 April 1913.
- 40 Waterloo Board of Park Management, *Minutes*, extraordinary meeting.
- 41 BNR, 19 April 1913.
- 42 BDT, 19 April 1913.
- 43 BDT, 30 April 1913; BNR, 3 May 1913.
- 44 BCC, *Minutes*, 5 May 1913; BDT, 6 May 1913.
- 45 Berlin Board of Trade, *Minutes*, 8 May 1913; BDT, 9 May 1913.

- 46 BDT, 10 May 1913.
- 47 BCC, Finance Committee, *Minutes*, 29 May 1913.
- 48 BCC, *Minutes*, 3 June 1913. BDT, 3 June 1913.
- 49 BDT, 27 May 1913. Asked by Detweiler, Miss Watson, sister of artist Homer Watson, made a perspective drawing of the proposed civic centre, which was put on display and published in both daily newspapers. Detweiler Diary, 13 and 21 May 1913.
- 50 BDT, 4 June 1913; *ibid.*, 7 July 1913.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 25 September 1913. Chairmen of the citizen committees were: transport, W.H. Breithaupt; streets and driveways, D.B. Detweiler; housing, Ald. W.E. Gallagher; industry, August Lang; playgrounds G.M. DeBus; public buildings and civic squares, H.J. Bowman; water and drainage, the City Engineer; education, Dr. Honsberger; sanitation and health, Dr. Oberlander.
- 52 BDT, 2 October 1913.
- 53 BCC, *Minutes*, 6 October 1913; BDT, 1 November 1913. The property was eventually bought by the City in January 1922 for \$80,000 (By-law 1649, 23 January 1922).
- 54 BDT, 20 January 1914.
- 55 BDT, 11 November 1913.
- 56 "Sane City Planning," BDT, 8 September 1913.
- 57 J. Fels, "Taxation, housing and town planning," BDT, 22 November 1913.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 8 January 1914; *ibid.*, 22 January 1914.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 5 February 1914.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 20 February 1914.
- 61 Waterloo Board of Trade, *Minutes*, 9 June 1913; BDT, 11 June 1913.
- 62 Waterloo Board of Trade, *Minutes*, 27 October 1913; BDT, 28 October 1913.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 24 January 1914.
- 64 WTC, *Minutes*, 26 January 1914; BDT, 28 January 1914.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 29 January 1914.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 12 March 1914; *ibid.*, 16 June 1914.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 12 March 1914.
- 68 BNR, "Forward Edition," 25 April 1914, p. 17.
- 69 *Ibid.*, and letter from Leavitt to Detweiler, 24 April 1913. Detweiler Papers, Kitchener Public Library.
- 70 BDT, 12 March 1914; BNR, "Forward Edition," 25 April 1914.
- 71 BDT, 18 March 1914. Leavitt's plan was printed in a smaller format, and copies survive in the Planning and Development Department of Kitchener City Hall, the Archives of Ontario and the Public Archives of Canada (among the Seymour

- Papers). The report was not printed, but an anonymous, untitled and undated typescript of 24 foolscap pages among the Detweiler Papers in the Kitchener Public Library would seem to incorporate considerable passages from Leavitt's report and to have been the draft of the proposed pamphlet.
- 72 BCC, Finance Committee, *Minutes*, 12 March 1914.
- 73 BCC, *Minutes*, 15 March 1914; BDT, 17 March 1914. The B.C.A. could afford only to print copies of the map not of the report as well. The large original map was officially accepted by City Council from the B.C.A. in mid-June and appreciation expressed for the "splendid plan." *Ibid.*, 15 June 1914.
- 74 WTC, *Minutes*, 2 March 1914. Other members -- P.V. Wilson of the Waterloo Trust and Savings, J.H. Roos of Mutual Life, E.F. Seagram of the Seagram distillery and C. Fischer and S.B. Bricker, merchants -- were all active in the Board of Trade.
- 75 WTC, *Minutes*, 2 March 1914; *ibid.*, 31 March 1913.
- 76 BNR, 23 April 1914.
- 77 WTC, *Minutes*, 4 May 1914; BDT, 5 May 1914; WTC, *Minutes*, 8 May 1914; BDT, 9 May 1914; BNR, 9 May 1914. The new members were F.G. Hughes and C.W. Wells (dentists), E.M. Devitt and W.J. Beattie (merchants), and B.N.W. Grigg (Mutual Life insurance).
- 78 BDT, 11 June 1914.
- 79 *Ibid.*, 16 May 1914. Mayor Euler and Alderman Rudell represented the Council, G.M. DeBus and W.H. Leeson the Board of Trade, and S.J. Williams and W.H. Breithaupt the B.C.A.
- 80 BDT, 11 May 1914; *ibid.*, 13 May 1914; BNR, 13 May 1914.
- 81 BDT, 16 May 1914; *ibid.*, 23 May 1914.
- 82 *Globe*, 27 May 1914; BDT, 29 May 1914.
- 83 BNR, 28 May 1914.
- 84 BDT, 25 January 1913 and BDT, 26 March 1913. The most notable new subdivision was "Queen's Park," laid out by Messrs. Grauel and Riener on land bought from Henry Schneider on the southwestern edge of Berlin. The curvilinear street plan is obvious on both Maps 1 and 2.
- 85 BCC, *Minutes*, 2 December 1912; BDT, 20 May 1914.
- 86 BNR, 24 April 1914. The definition of city planning was adapted from Arthur C. Coney of the Massachusetts Homestead Commission.
- 87 BDT, 1 April 1916 has full text; WTC, *Minutes*, 6 March 1916.
- 88 BDT, 21 January 1916.
- 89 Berlin Board of Trade, *Minutes*, 6 May 1915; KCC, *Minutes*, 4 December; WTC, *Minutes*, 15 December 1916.
- 90 BDT, 9 May 1914. This objective was achieved with by-law 598, passed 8 January 1917.

- 91 Waterloo Board of Trade *Minutes*, 24 January 1916.
- 92 BCC, *Minutes*, 15 June 1916. The number of aldermen on the Civic Association's Executive increased from two in 1914 to four in 1917, BCC, FC *Minutes*, 16 April 1914; Kitchener City Council (KCC) *Minutes*, 5 February 1917.
- 93 \$100 in 1915, BCC, *Minutes*, 5 April 1915; \$200 in 1916, BCC, *Minutes*, 17 February 1916.
- 94 For example, the opening of Edna Street along the eastern boundary of Kitchener by by-law 1363, 2 November 1914.
- 95 *Statutes of Ontario 1917*, ch. 44, pp. 247-253.
- 96 KCC, *Minutes*, 19 February 1917.
- 97 *Daily Telegraph* (DT), 22 May 1917.
- 98 KCC, *Minutes*, 21 May 1917.
- 99 KCC, FC *Minutes*, 31 May 1917; KCC, *Minutes*, 5 June 1917.
- 100 W.H. Breithaupt, "Some features of town planning with application to the City of Kitchener," TPICJ, 1, 6 (1921), pp. 5-8.
- 101 KCC, *Minutes*, 4 February 1918.
- 102 DT, 20 November 1918.
- 103 *Ibid.*, 16 January 1919; KCC, FC *Minutes*, 13 February 1919; DT, 23 April 1919.
- 104 KCC, *Minutes*, 5 May 1919.
- 105 DT, 20 July 1920.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 20 November 1918; a retrospective view of the plan is given by W.H. Breithaupt in TPICJ, 1, 6 (1921), pp. 5-8.
- 107 WTC, *Minutes*, 5 May 1919; DT, 6 May 1919.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 17 May 1919.
- 109 KCC, *Minutes*, 18 April 1921; *ibid.*, 6 June 1921.
- 110 WTC, *Minutes*, 6 July 1921; DT, 7 July 1921.
- 111 Town of Waterloo By-law 703, 2 August 1921.
- 112 Persons appointed to the Waterloo T.P.C. were: Dr. W.L. Hilliard (physician) as chairman, and Charles W. O'Donnell (a baker) for three years; Allen Bechtel (apparently retired) and John H. Ziegler (a grocer) for two years; and William D. Brill (proprietor of Waterloo Shirt Co.) and E.H. Schlosser (customs clerk) for one year.
- 113 Alvin Ratz ("A.R.") Kaufman, 1885-1979; son of Jacob Kaufman, industrialist, who developed an empire of lumber and planing mill products and promoted Berlin's rubber industry, helping to establish three successful rubber companies 1900-1907. The third, the Kaufman Rubber Company, established in 1907 by father and son, continued in the family, and made a large proportion of Canada's rubber footwear. "A.R." was a paternalistic employer, resisting attempts to unionize his workers and provoking a major strike in 1960. Philanthropist on a substantial scale, notably to

- hospitals, the YMCA and the YWCA, he pioneered and financed the Canadian family planning movement from 1930. Dominant figure in town planning in 1920s, Kaufman was chairman of the C.P.C. 1922-1959 and served on the Kitchener Board of Park Management 1924-1964.
- 114 KCC, *Minutes*, 6 June 1921; KCC, *Minutes*, 2 August 1921.
- 115 KCC, FC *Minutes*, 10 August 1921.
- 116 DT, 8 March 1922.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 9 March 1922. Adams had by this time left the Conservation Commission and was in private practice as a town-planning consultant in England. Biographical details of Thomas Adams are not provided here, as they have been published several times elsewhere, most recently in J.D. Hulchanski, *Thomas Adams: A Biographical and Bibliographic Guide* (Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Toronto, Papers on Planning and Design, No. 15, 1978).
- 118 KCC, *Minutes*, 20 March 1922; DT, 21 March 1922.
- 119 KCC, *Minutes*, 3 April 1922.
- 120 DT, 4 April 1922.
- 121 KCC, FC *Minutes*, 13 April 1922; KCC, *Minutes*, 18 April 1922.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 30 August 1922.
- 123 *Daily Record* (DR), 17 October 1922.
- 124 KCC, FC *Minutes*, 2 November 1922.
- 125 DR, 21 November 1922; KCC, FC *Minutes*, 30 November 1922.
- 126 KCC, *Minutes*, 16 October 1922; DR, 17 October 1922.
- 127 The full text of the proposed legislation is given in TPICJ, 1, 12 (1922), pp. 10-17.
- 128 WTC, *Minutes*, 13 March 1922.
- 129 Waterloo Board of Trade, 30 October 1922; DR, 31 October 1922.
- 130 WTC, *Minutes*, 7 November 1922.
- 131 Seymour himself in his "Report on the Plan of Town of Waterloo, May 1923 to April 1924" (Seymour Papers, PAC) credited the "active insistence" of Dr. Hilliard and the "unofficial, but extremely helpful assistance" of A.R. Kaufman.
- Horace Llewellyn Seymour, 1882-1940; graduated S.P.S., University of Toronto 1902; surveying 1903-14; with Commission of Conservation 1914-19; 1919- Federal-Provincial Housing Loan; 1922-24 associate to Adams for Kitchener and consultant for Waterloo; 1926-29 Resident Engineer, Harland Bartholomew Ltd. for Vancouver Plan; 1929-32 Director of Planning, Alberta; 1932- housing and town planning consultant Ottawa, and consultant, Alberta; with some consulting for Saint John, N.B. and Nova Scotia during the 1930s. During the 1920s, very active in the Town Planning Institute

- of Canada, holding office and helping produce the *Journal*. ("Unofficial biography" in the collection of Seymour Papers, Public Archives of Canada).
- 132 WTC, *Minutes*, 5 March 1923.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 2 April 1923.
- 134 *Ibid.*, 7 May 1923.
- 135 During the year that Adams was consultant for the Kitchener plan, he was also engaged in preparing a regional plan for West Middlesex, part of Greater London, and had several contracts in Canada left over from his service for the Conservation Commission. Late in 1923, it was announced that Adams had been appointed Director of Plans for the Regional Plan of New York and was cancelling all his Canadian work except for the Kitchener plan and the new Armstrong Whitworth company town (Corner Brook) in Newfoundland. TPICJ, 11, 6 (1923); DR, 24 November 1923.
- 136 Thomas Adams, "Modern city planning; its meaning and methods," *National Municipal Review*, XI, 6 (June 1922), pp. 157-176. A Canadian version was published in TPICJ, 1, 11 (1922), pp. 11-15.
- 137 Thomas Adams and Horace Seymour, "Report on the City Planning Survey of Kitchener, Ontario," July 1923; Horace Seymour "Report on the Town Planning Survey of Waterloo, Ontario," September 1923 (Seymour Papers, P.A.C.).
- 138 For Kitchener these featured alternative arterial streets parallel to King Street (DR, 27 July 1923), the rationale of the zoning system (DR, 28 July 1923) and the proposed annexation of about one square mile of Waterloo Township to Kitchener (DR, 18 August 1923).
- 139 DR, 28 July 1923.
- 140 Kitchener Board of Trade *Minutes*, 14 September 1923.
- 141 Waterloo Board of Trade *Minutes*, 24 September 1923. The committee consisted of C.W. Wells (current President), the senior member J.H. Roos, and P.V. Wilson and C.D. Collins.
- 142 The Kitchener report in DR, 20 October, 27 October and 3 November 1923; Waterloo report in DR, 3 November, 10 November, 17 November, 24 November 1923.
- 143 *Ibid.*, 24 October 1923.
- 144 *Ibid.*, 14 November 1923; *ibid.*, 17 November 1923.
- 145 Each meeting was well reported in the *Daily Record* of the following day.
- 146 DR, 1 December 1923.
- 147 *Ibid.*, 30 November 1923.
- 148 *Ibid.*, 1 December, 1923.
- 149 *Ibid.*, 2 November 1923 and 6 November 1923.
- 150 Quoted in Thomas Adams and Horace L. Seymour, "Report on the Plan of the City of Kitchener, Ontario, February 1923 to March 1924," 4 April 1924 (Seymour Papers, P.A.C.), pp. 2, 9-11.

- 151 KCC, *Minutes*, 3 December 1923; WTC, *Minutes*, 3 December 1923; DR, 4 December 1923; WTC, *Minutes*, 15 December 1923.
- 152 KCC, *Minutes*, 5 February 1924.
- 153 DR, 16 February 1924.
- 154 Horace L. Seymour, "Report on the Plan of Town of Waterloo, Ontario, May 1923 to April 1924," 30 April 1924 (Seymour Papers, P.A.C.).
- 155 City of Kitchener By-law 1823, amended by-laws 1834 and 1835.
- 156 TPICJ, IV, 1 (1925), p. 2.
- 157 City of Kitchener By-laws; O.R.M.B. Files.
- 158 Alvin Kaufman, "Town Planning in Kitchener after three years trial," TPICJ, VII, 6 (1928), pp. 134-137.
- 159 Waterloo Board of Trade *Minutes*, 9 October 1930.
- 160 Waterloo Township Council, *Minutes*, 31 May 1924; TPICJ, IV, 1 (1925), p. 2.
- 161 See, for example, Walter Van Nus, "Towards the City Efficient: The Theory and Practice of Zoning, 1919-1939," in Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 226-246.
- 162 See, for example, Adams and Seymour, "Report on ... Kitchener," 4 April 1924, pp. 4, 17-18; Seymour, "Report on ... Waterloo," 30 April 1924, pp. 1-3.
- 163 "Report on ... Kitchener," April 1924, p. 5.
- 164 "Kitchener Plan Becomes Law," TPICJ, IV, 1 (1925), p. 1.
- 165 H.L. Seymour. "Report on the Town Planning Survey of Waterloo, May to August 1923, September 1923 (Seymour Papers, Public Archives of Canada), p. 2.
- 166 See Walter Van Nus, "The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1893-1930," in Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 162-185; Van Nus, "Towards the City Efficient," in Artibise and Stelter, *The Usable Urban Past*; and Thomas I. Gunton, "The Ideas and Policies of the Canadian Planning Profession, 1909-1931," in Artibise and Stelter, *The Usable Urban Past*, pp. 177-195.
- 167 Van Nus, "Towards the City Efficient," pp. 226-239.
- 168 TPICJ, III, 1 (1924), pp. 8-9.