

IMAGINATION AND THE MODERN CITY
Reform and the Urban Geography of Toronto,
1890-1929

by

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in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The moral injunctions about beauty and order that attach to turn-of-the-twentieth-century urban reform and city planning derived from the era's concern with Domesticity and evangelicalism. Evangelical Protestant women believed they could protect their homes and children by creating, safe, orderly, aesthetic-- "homelike"--environments in the home and in the city. This environmentalist city milieu hummed with ideas appropriated from the Decorative Arts--the social necessity of art, the practicality of beauty, the beauty of practicality--and millennialism, namely the social, moral, and Christian efficacy of environmental perfectionism. Little wonder that city planners created perfectionist plans for the comprehensive implementation of beauty in the city. City planning emphasised parks, parkways, artfully designed roadways, and "street furnishing" to create cities that abated congestion and exuded probity in what planners saw as over-populated and immoral modern cities.

In Toronto, parks and even asphalt pavement were conveyors of municipal beauty, dignity, and art, and could lend moral influence to a city under the weight of size, density, and heterogeneity. The creation of parks and diagonal roadways in both the *Plan of 1909* and the *Plan of 1929* were intended to add not only beauty through decorative design, but also practicality, by relieving the city of population and traffic pressures. The bicycle, too, was seen by Torontonians as means of beautifying the city; the creation of noiseless, clean, and smooth pavements would entice handsome bourgeois riders into the streets and effect the beautification of the human space of the city. Ultimately, this manifestation of "social environmentalism" signifies the organisational proclivity of reformers' geographic imaginations.

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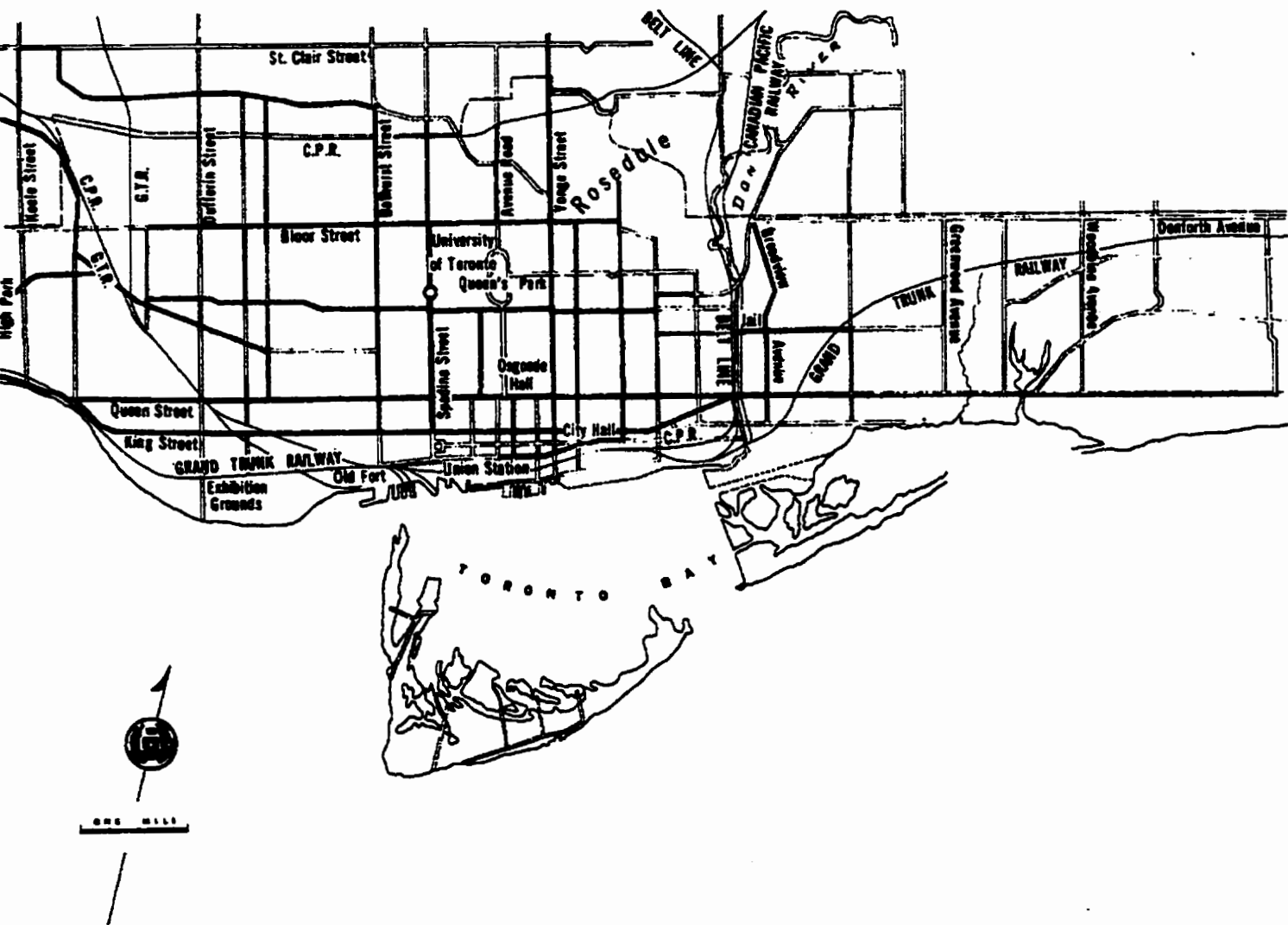
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0.1 Map of Toronto, 1899 (from Goheen 1970: 91)

To Ray,

who is the reader for whom I always write

Introduction

The demands of beauty are in large measure identical with those of efficiency and economy, and differ mainly in acquiring a closer approach to perfection in the adaptation of means to ends than is required to meet the merely economic standard. So far as the demands of beauty can be distinguished from those of economy, the kind of beauty most to be sought in the planning of cities is that which results from seizing instinctively, with a keen and sensitive appreciation, the limitless opportunities which present themselves in the course of the most rigorously practical solution of any problem, for a choice between decisions of substantially equal economic merit, but of widely differing aesthetic quality (sic)...Regard for beauty must neither follow after regard for the practical ends to be obtained nor precede it, but must inseparably accompany it.

Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., 1916¹

It also appears, in review, that a dozen other practical motives than religious enthusiasm may give strength to the desire for city beauty.

Charles Mulford Robinson (1901: 288)

¹Olmsted, Frederick Law, Jr., "Introduction", in John Nolen, ed., *City Planning: A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan*, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1916: 1-118; in Reps (n.d).

This dissertation illustrates the urban geographic imagination in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Toronto, through an exploration of liberal evangelical Protestant environmental reform. It contends that urban reform and city planning emerged from a Domestic Protestant milieu fomented by bourgeois evangelical women and men who morally and aesthetically reconceived the built environment, domestic and urban, of the modern city. Domestic concern for the welfare of the home and the preciousness of children motivated women and men to order and beautify the city, in the belief that positive social consequences accrued from environmental probity. Decoration, both the melding of beauty and utility and a primary element of the era's environmentalism, became a Domestic necessity.

Further, this Domestic environmentalism transcended sex and gender. The bourgeois male interest in decorative art, whose powerful influence resulted in the city beautification movement and the comprehensive plan, connects persuasively to the Domestic insistence on decoration. As the thesis demonstrates, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art and Toronto's Advisory City Planning Commission, the former an all-male proto-planning league the latter its urban planning offspring, committed to the Decorative Arts: first, through their rigid implementation of the first principles of the decorative in both their comprehensive park and parkway plan of 1909; and second, in their CBD reconstruction plan of 1929. Even the susceptibility of Toronto's city engineers to the suasion of decoration resulted in the laying of miles of asphalt pavement in the city, asphalt considered in the 1890's beautiful and hygienic. Yet this was, the thesis contends, a beauty-spurred irresponsibility, given the ubiquitous nature of Toronto's animal-powered traffic, and contemporaneous engineering practise. Granted, Toronto's engineers

intentionally abetted the cycling impulse that gripped the city. The dissertation, however, shows that this too linked to Domesticity. The bicycle was, it seems, a providentially modern machine that liberal evangelical Protestant women sought to Domesticate, to make responsibly modern through decoration, or beauty and use. Ultimately, the urban geographic imagination combined responsible modernism and urban civility, environmental and social, as part of a substantial but under-estimated reform milieu working to perfect the built environment of the city in preparation for the second coming of the Christian messiah.

I

In 1897, a group of wealthy artists and art patrons in Toronto, mimicking a trend in many northern North American cities, formed a city beautifying guild. It brought together members from extant art societies in the city, artisans and “laymen of taste and influence,” to create a type of “Art Commission, having specified authority” to monitor Toronto’s soon-to-come aesthetic improvements of the urban environment.² Comprised of Torontonians of significant stature, then and now, Edmund Walker, Henry Pellat, James Mavor, George Reid, and Lucius O’Brien among them, this was no ethereal gathering of masculine idealists. Calling themselves the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (TGCA), they would direct Toronto in matters of visual propriety and environmental decorum: “many is the time and city which in consequence of bad judgement has had year after year to tolerate monstrosities of defective art, because there was nobody at hand when a particular work was decided upon to whom the matter could be confidently referred.”³ The TGCA would obviate art-calamities in the city, pontificating

²*Mail and Empire*, March 20, 1897: 4.

³*ibid.*

on murals, architecture, or otherwise in Toronto. Consultants of aestheticism, the TGCA offered its services to the City Council, which officially accepted to the general approbation of the city's elite, those who saw "ample room in this utilitarian age for an organization of this kind, aiming not so much at luxury as the abolishing of ugliness," the nemesis of beautifiers.⁴

In twelve years the TGCA would submit to the Toronto City Council its *Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Civic Improvements in Toronto 1909 (Plan of 1909)*. Under the direction of British architect and planner, Aston Webb, the TGCA presented Toronto a plan for a City Beautiful. A parkway plan, the *Plan of 1909* established a system of green spaces that completely encircled the city, using the Humber River valley to the west, the Don River valley to the east and Lake Ontario to the south as natural boundaries. Incorporating existing parks, ravines, and woodlots, the plan then connected all with a corresponding system of boulevards and pleasure drives, or parkways. Though the TGCA had begun as an art commission of sorts, whose mandate was policing aesthetics in Toronto, the production of the *Plan of 1909* fitted their mandate entirely. Parks and nature generally at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century gathered under the parasol of Municipal Art, whose primary concern lay in the decoration of the city, something at which city councils of the era cringed. The *Plan of 1909* had little impact on the Toronto City Council who, while appreciating the artful splendour, nevertheless rejected it.

Project ahead, again, twenty years: Toronto's Advisory City Planning Commission (ACPC), as a direct descendent of the TGCA, tabled a comprehensive city plan for the renovation of the central business district:

⁴*Mail and Empire*, April 23, 1897: 4.

The Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission, with Recommendations for the Improvement of the Central Business Section of the City of Toronto, 1929 (Plan of 1929). The ACPC was the latest incarnation of Toronto city beautifiers stretching from Toronto's first league of civic beautifiers, the Society of Mural Decorators (1894), the TGCA (1897-1912), and the more city planning-bent Toronto Civic Guild (CG) from 1912 until the ACPC became *the* planning body in Toronto in the early twenties. Having acquired experiential wisdom in its beautification dealings with the Toronto City Council, by 1929, the ACPC had learned to reject the idea of advancing plans that artfully attempted to beautify the entire city, expensively reconfiguring every jot and tittle within the municipal boundaries. Instead, the ACPC would focus on the smaller more manageable task of reforming the CBD, in its mind the single most important geographic element in the city; this was the era that equated social success with commercial success.⁵ As the CG had once declared syllogistically: "Civilization is in the hands of its cities. Responsibility of no mean order rests then upon Toronto."⁶ A comprehensive plan for the reclamation of the central business district had as much or more to do with engineering civilisation as it did reorganizing the urban geography of the city according to principles of beauty and order.

Although the ACPC, through the *Plan of 1929*, asseverated the innate correctness of the comprehensive plan, Toronto's reformers had also

⁵This is a point made with force in Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* (1921; see especially chapter 16) and a prominent idea of the era. Baptist preacher and founder of Temple University, Russell H. Conwell (1843-1925), affirming the connection between financial and social success, replied to a query as to why he preached about riches instead of preaching the gospel. Conwell responded: "Because to make money honestly is to preach the gospel" (Conwell in Marsden 1990: 110). Commerce was part of the Protestant social programme (*ibid.*).

⁶*Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, May 1, 1911, Vol. 1, No. 1: Forward.

learned from years of experience the difficulty of carrying out any projects of an expensive nature and we have consequently been obliged to confine ourselves to advocating those improvements which we feel assured will command the approval of the citizens at large, and not be subjected to hostile criticism of any importance and have left to the now numerous ratepayers and improvement associations the advocacy of improvements of a more or less local nature.⁷

The CG's advocacy, as late as 1914, of a totalising view of comprehensive reform in the city of Toronto collapsed before Council reticence. "Since 1901," a letter from the CG to the Young People's Society suggested, "the Guild has experienced its periods of depression...the city officials were wont to ignore the Guild and look upon its recommendations as fads and extravagances."⁸ Indeed, a CG "Minutes" entry in 1914, on the "Post Office Square" proposal, best explained Toronto City Council's response to all the CG's grander ideas, in this case, their attempt to plan for Toronto at least "one monumental building with a proper setting":

It was felt the chief reason for the opposition to Post Office Square in Council was the city's poor financial condition; that while the Council recognised great civic improvements to be necessary, the square was regarded somewhat as an extravagance, and as such could be voted down with the least harm to the citizens...the members [of the CG] found a great measure of satisfaction in the fact that at the same meeting that the Council

⁷*Civic Guild of Toronto Minutes of the Executive*, April 20, 1914; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁸"Letter to the Chairman and Members of the Young People's Society", *Letters*, 1913: 1, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

defeated the Square project, the Yonge street widening by-law received its third reading.⁹

Such was the Guild's lot regarding its philosophy of comprehensiveness. Less extravagance and greater practicality held the day with the Council. In conceiving the *Plan of 1929* city beautifiers would have to think smaller and practically, "and advocate measures of improvement that would not necessitate heavy expenditures."¹⁰

But then the ACPC should have known this. Arguably the city beautifiers' most cogent learning regarding comprehensiveness and beautification came in the first decade of the new century, before the massive disappointment of the dismissal of the *Plan of 1909*. Emerson Coatsworth, mayor of Toronto, 1906-1907, a society man who appreciated the need for beauty in the city and who commended the TGCA for its good efforts, told the Guild, even as it prepared the *Plan of 1909*, that "practical things [we]re needed before the beautiful."¹¹ If Torontonians were ever to incline to the invasiveness and expense of comprehensive planning, the Guild would have to de-emphasise the beautiful and promote the practical. In the era of City Practical, practicality was everything.

⁹*Minutes of the Executive*, August 7, 1913, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL. City Beautifiers in Toronto smarted for years after the City Council's ratepayer-motivated rejection of "Victoria Square," the proposed square that was included in the plans for the New City Hall. The *Mail and Empire* (May 3, 1898: 10; May 5, 1898: 3) in its weekly reporting on the city council minutes noted that "[t]he proposal to make a public park opposite the new City hall was...warmly debated, but the consensus of opinion was that it was an ill-advised project." A delegation from the Ratepayers' Association protested to Board of Control, while both Eaton's and Simpson's complained that there were too many tax-exempt properties on the street. A public park on Queen street would divert attention from Yonge street. See also the news clipping from *Globe*, *Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, May 22, 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

¹⁰*Minutes of the Executive*, April 10, 1913, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

¹¹News clipping from *Mail and Empire*, *Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, January 17, 1906, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

If in the Council's eyes the TGCA wavered on practicality, the TGCA should have had a firmer grip on moderation. The beautifiers broached this principle in 1904. After four years of attempts to get the City Council to acquiesce to the era's concern with urban parks, the Council accepted a modest proposal for the hiring of an "expert to assist in laying out the Garrison Park Common" at Fort York.¹² Accompanying the Council's accession to the Guild's request was some clarion advice that the TGCA could not have misunderstood, should have taken to heart. The Board thought this piecemeal, non-comprehensive approach at Garrison Park a step-in-the-right-direction, and urged "the Committee to continue their action on the same lines."¹³ In other words, the Council would sanction inexpensive, singular improvements to the city. Economic efficiency and comprehensiveness, at least for the Council, were *non sequiturs*.

Which brings us back to the *Plan of 1929*. With all this previous experience, and knowing precisely how City Council felt about moderation, practicality, and expense, did the ACPC produce a document of conformity? The ostensible aim of the *Plan of 1929* "was to find the best possible solution to Toronto's traffic problems, and particularly to answer the question of how University Avenue should be extended south from Queen to Front, through the built up areas between York and Simcoe Streets" (Dendy 1993: 191). Undeniably, the *Plan of 1929* made congestion-abatement its first priority. The Guild learned through of years of Haussmannian planning attempts that city beautification "became practicable through the realization that

¹²*Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, February 21, 1904, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

¹³*ibid.*

transportation is the great essential."¹⁴ The *Plan of 1929* used transportation as its guiding principle. However, and notwithstanding the pretended practicality, at first glance everyone saw—or sees—not a City Practical but a City Beautiful. Astonished critics regarded the *Plan of 1929* immediately as an elitist attempt to hijack city political processes for the prosperity of big business through beautification and public works.

The *Plan of 1929* was after all the fruit of a scheme planted by Toronto's Downtown Association (DA) days before Christmas in December of 1921. The DA had organised a business luncheon at the King Edward Hotel around two speakers: R. Home Smith, the Harbour Commission chair, and a soon-to-be Advisory City Planning Commissioner, and E. R. Wood of the CG, both requested to speak on the question of central business section improvements. The room was packed. When upwards of six hundred, as the *Globe* reported, "men and women citizens of Toronto gather together to listen to addresses on the subject of civic improvement, it speaks volumes for their civic welfare of the city, and augurs well for its future development."¹⁵ No doubt city beautifiers took the warm DA reception as a sign; one clipping saved by the CG fully explains the situation:

If there had been any doubt as to the attitude of Toronto business and professional men and women towards any move for civic improvement and beautification, yesterday's enthusiastic luncheon of the Downtown Association at the King Edward Hotel was proof positive of the desire of leaders and the rank and file of the local business world to co-operate with municipal

¹⁴*Minutes of the Executive*, May 22, 1913, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

¹⁵News clipping, *Globe* December 21, 1921, in Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

government, and to take the lead, if necessary, in carrying on an extensive campaign to put this city in the front rank of the cities of this continent, so far as public utilities, town planning, and waterfront development are concerned.”¹⁶

Such developments in cities were excellent for business, as all the leading architecture and civic management magazines and journals had been touting for decades, and as the speakers themselves had asserted. Again, were they practical?

The *Plan of 1929* called for extensive expropriations and the demolition of acres of existing property. But the inclusion of one small detail surely sent opponents into fits of rage. The ACPC in pondering the issue, examined a number of options—over 25 studies of CBD improvements had been prepared since 1900—proposed previously for University Avenue, and painstakingly analysed each. The ACPC would “unhesitatingly” recommend study #18, if it were in the city’s best interest. Study #18 extended University Avenue to Richmond Street, then diagonally across York Street to Adelaide Street, then due south to Union Station, at an estimated cost for expropriations of \$10,730,772, and with resales of \$11,645,238. ¹⁷ “[B]ut...time is ripe,” the ACPC insisted, “to adopt a [more] progressive plan...a fifteen year programme of street improvements under the deferred widening provision of the Municipal Act and the University Extension Act, amended if necessary.”¹⁸ This progressive plan comprehensively considered all of the CBD’s “traffic difficulties” stemming from its numerous “narrow and

¹⁶News clippings from *Globe*; and *Mail and Empire*, December 21, 1921, in Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

¹⁷*Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission, with Recommendations for the Improvement of the Central Business Section of the City of Toronto, 1929: 12*; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL. Hereafter RACP C 1929.

¹⁸*ibid.*

disconnected streets," and "skyscraper" development, which the CG had earlier pinpointed as the chief cause of congestion in Toronto.¹⁹ The ACPC determined that the work could "be accomplished using a revolving fund of \$13m allocated...free of interest or other annual charges. Such could be accomplished by an increase of not more than one mill at maximum on present city assessment."²⁰

A one mill increase in a property assessment amounts to a tidy sum of money in any era. That this tax increase should be shouldered by the ratepayers of Toronto to benefit Toronto business was too much for critics to bear. Indeed, the critics' perception the *Plan of 1929* was that the comprehensive redesign of the central business district served solely the interest of big business and not the citizenry of Toronto. Were they right? Undoubtedly, the ACPC and their supporters believed the social benefits of the plan to the citizens of Toronto far exceeded the cost.²¹

Further, because the plan pivoted on the era's penchant for diagonal roadways, a specific City Beautiful theme to which I will return in a later chapter, it was dubbed, as were other plans that deviated from or attempted to defeat the gridiron of the city, the "crooked street" scheme; certain opponents saw something more crooked in the *Plan of 1929* than just its throughways. A vocal Toronto Councilman, Controller Hacker, alleged that all the members

¹⁹*ibid.*; "Street Congestion", *Civic Guild Bulletin*, February 1913, Vol. 2, No. 5: 2.

²⁰RACPC 1929: 12.

²¹One proponent of the *Report* put it this way: Toronto by 1950 must exhibit a "[b]eauty and dignity that cannot be exceeded by any city on the American continent" because it is the part of the stewardship of the present generation to provide for its children: "The responsibility is...ours. If ever the [city] had to bring up its children with care and foresight, it is now. We are doing our best to [make] over a fine big city. We should do more than our best to see that it is handed over to a capable and substantial generation" (George Wright in the *Toronto Star Weekly*, Magazine section: 1; News Clippings n.d.-June 1923; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL). Toronto needed a comprehensive plan, not merely for physical reasons, but primarily because without one, the city could not do justly by its children, an idea to which I will return.

of the ACPC but one were in conflict of interest, or had through recent actions put themselves in conflict.²² J. H. Gundy, and ACPC vice chair, Thomas Bradshaw, were respectively president and vice president of North American Life (NAL), whose premises stood opposite the Toronto Star—another staunch proponent of the plan—on King street; both firms would directly benefit from the street improvement. Further, NAL had begun to purchase other properties on one of the proposed deviations from University Avenue and Richmond Street to Front and York Streets. R. Home Smith, now an ACPC commissioner, also owned property on University Avenue.²³

The result of the municipal elections of 1929 well explains how Torontonians felt about the *Plan of 1929*. The *Globe* concluded that ratepayers had routed Controller Cameron, whom they from the start saw dangling from the back pocket of business, from the Board of Control. Voters, alternatively, elected Controllers Summerville, Wemp, and Hacker for their condemnation of the ACPC report and proposal.²⁴ The *Globe* put it succinctly: Cameron's fate should be a lesson to "any other individual on Council who essays to submerge the rights of the ratepayers in order to favour a selected few."²⁵ *The Globe* editor triumphed:

[W]hen will those who measure success by something more materialistic than service awaken to an understanding that men and women—big and little—are not ready to mortgage their homes and hamper their children to provide boulevards for

²²*Globe*, December 28, 1928: 4.

²³*Globe*, December 27, 1928: 4.

²⁴Cameron was known throughout 1928 for his "outspoken defense of the University Avenue diversion project" and for the personal backing of the two King street papers that boosted and would profit from the plan: the *Mail and Empire* and the *Toronto Star* (*Globe*, January 2, 1929: 4).

²⁵*Globe*, February 25, 1929: 4.

Montreal magnates or twisted thoroughfares to serve the desires of stately and costly newspaper mausoleums.

Indeed, Mayor McBride, the ex-officio commissioner of the ACPC, needed to heed the voter's treatment of Cameron: "He knows now—or ought to know—how people regard the 'crooked street' and what they are prepared to do to anyone who sponsors it." The ACPC dream of a comprehensively planned beautiful city suffocated ignominiously in the ballot box.

II

The refusal of Toronto's City Council to endorse the *Plan of 1929*, while no big surprise, should nevertheless prompt a few questions. For example, why, knowing as it did for at least twenty years that an overt beautification scheme would fail, did the ACPC propose one anyway? Did city beautifiers interpret the core idea of comprehensiveness differently from its detractors, who saw it merely as expensive, impractical, self-serving elitism? If so, in what ways did they differ? Even more curiously, how did the ACPC manage to propose a City Beautiful—approximately 1893-1915—scheme in the centre of a time frame that planning historians have traditionally called City Practical—1916-1939—and implicitly, City Not-Very-Inspired?²⁶ If City Beautiful, "that fateful euphemism which, like Helen of Troy, has brought such tribulation upon those who would possess themselves of beauty," was reputed to be impractical to the point of inanity for many city planners in the era of City Practical, how did critics misunderstand the overt practicality of the *Plan of 1929*?²⁷

²⁶Peter Hall (1989: 278) suggests of City Practical that it showed a remarkable lack of vision.

²⁷Grosvenor Atterbury, "Model Towns in America", *Scribner's Magazine* 52, July 1912: 20-35; in Reps (n.d). This point is debatable. The extent of the expropriations and demolition of existing property in a fully functional city of half a million people alone makes the plan unfeasible, if not preposterous. Still, the basic idea of practicality, i.e, the desire to plan for congestion relief, is strong in the plan.

It strikes me that this talk about the influence of big business and ratepayer oppression belies a very significant and overlooked fact: the *Plan of 1929* was as practical as it was beautiful, perhaps more so. There was nothing to guarantee that the buildings that were expected be built would actually meet the standard in the sketches, drawn by the very competent and inspired architectural renderer, Earle Sheppard.²⁸ Despite the rejection of the *Plan of 1929* which is not insignificant, the actual document and its renderings reveal something that illuminates the early practise of planning with an unusual light. The *Plan of 1929* is a two-dimensional testimony to the decorative art ideals of beauty and use.

It is at this juncture of comprehensive planning and decorative art that the *Plan of 1929* did to me what the massacre of French cats did to cultural historian, Robert Darnton. His thought readily, albeit oddly, applies to the ACPC's comprehensive planning document: "When we cannot get a proverb, or a joke, or a ritual, or a poem, we know we are on to something. By picking at the document where it is most opaque, we may be able to unravel an alien system of meaning. The thread might even lead into a strange and wonderful world view" (Darnton 1984: 5). Examination of this septuagenarian planning document discloses what will seem to many involved in urban studies as an "alien system of meaning." Even more exciting, at least for urban geographers, this strangely anachronistic plan leads us directly into the geographic imagination. And not just superficially; by the end of this dissertation, I hope to convince the skeptical reader not only of the existence of the geographical imagination, but of its potency as a force for change in the

²⁸Dendy (1993: 191) notes that, indeed, only the Canada Life building meets the ACPC expectations for the University Avenue scheme, and it was being built even as the ACPC was devising its report.

urban geography of the modern city, especially through the examples offered here in a study of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Toronto.

William Dendy includes the *Plan of 1929*, in part, in his book *Lost Toronto: Images from the City's Past* (Dendy 1993: 188-191). It is important to the idea of the geographical imagination in this work that Dendy be seen to have erred in doing this. The *Plan of 1929* is not a lost Toronto. The Toronto in the *Plan of 1929*, and in the other sundry plans and schemes that forerunners to the ACPC failed to implement, only ever existed in the mind, its tangibility only as ripe as the imaginations of the urban reformers themselves. Their geographical imaginations made it possible for them to conceive of a city, to know precisely its urban geography, to order and to beautify its precincts according to moral-aesthetic principles, and even to anticipate its sociological predisposition, without ever actually building it. The *Plan of 1929* is not a lost Toronto, but a gateway to a type of thinking about environment that we have forgotten. In that forgetting, an important aspect of North American memory vanished with it: something I call Protestant social environmentalism.

What gave bourgeois urban reformers of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries such fertile geographic imaginations? What compelled their obsession with environment? Why did the urban environment attract not only the reconstructive but moral-aesthetic interest of the urban reformers? Why beauty? If urban reform was simply a matter of practicality, why did urban reformers secure such a fecund moral understanding to the geographic revivification of the modern industrial city?

Until very recently questions of morality in North America were--and still are in many religious communities--moderated largely by religious belief

and church affiliation. With the invocation of morality in the issue of urban reform at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, it would be unreasonable not to pursue the role of religious belief in the creation of the urban geography of the modern city. We know already that zealous social Christians transformed the teachings of their founder from a dusty theology into a social scientific method to be applied directly to the problems of urban modernity (Allen 1972; McLoughlin 1978; Smith 1980; Lears 1981; Cook 1985; Westfall 1989; Valverdi 1991). This resulted in numerous types of socialist activity that included not only the struggle for workmen's compensation laws, factory sanitation legislation, abolition of child labour, the eight-hour day, assistance for women in factories, but also parks and playgrounds, forest conservation, slum renovation, organised poor relief, public health clinics, mutual savings banks, old age insurance, health insurance, public employment offices, and public works programmes (McLoughlin 1978: 171). There is every reason to assume that this social Christian impulse to reform urban life subsumes city planning and particularly the urge to beautify and to order, spatially or socially, the modern industrial city; as social historian Colin Howell (1993: 155) notes, most reformers "believed that religion and science acted inexorably to ensure social improvement." One of the aims of this dissertation is to illustrate how both contemporary critics and present day students of city planning have misapprehended the sociology of city planning's spatiality, or the intended social promise of its conception of environment.

Reformers concerned to Christianise, another word for "civilise" one hundred years ago (Marsden 1990: 117), or harmonise modern city life with the reformist social goals of the Jesus Christ of the New Testament, had a great affiliation with liberal evangelical Protestantism. It is this group of

bourgeois city dwellers, liberal Protestants—“journalists, ministers, medical doctors, businessmen, lawyers, feminists, social justice advocates, labour leaders, politicians...and ordinary people” (Howell 1993: 156), as well as sociologists, city engineers, city planners and architects, artists and their patrons—who possessed both the inclination and the ability to conceive and to attempt to implement environmental reforms that cleaved to their own environmental social agenda. Environmental perfectionism was central to their liberal evangelical Protestantism; it melded solidly with their Domestic family and child-rearing ideals. Ideological Domesticity was part of the middle class liberal evangelical Protestant social structure (Sklar 1976; Cott 1977; Douglas 1977; Jefferey 1979; Roberts 1979; Ryan 1981; Bederman 1989; Carnes 1989; Kimmel 1996). Environmental perfectionism also meshed equally well with millennialist religious belief, or millennialism, the expectation of the imminent advent of Jesus Christ, and was an important cultural motivator of progressives at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century (Lears 1981; Westfall 1989; Marsden 1990). Urban reform, especially as it pertains to the environment, in this context balances on the twin pillars of Domesticity and millennialism (see Appendix 1: Definitions, “Reform” and “Domesticity”: 424, 425).

Implicated in this liberal evangelical Protestant environmentalism is Art. Cultural historian, Jackson Lears (1981: 183-215), suggests that the turn-of-the-twentieth-century reveals a “religion of beauty,” where “personal regeneration and cultural authority” attach to the rise of art appreciation and the “*embourgeoisment*” of liberal Protestantism. Lears refers primarily to the use of art and ritual in churches to provide city dwellers an aesthetic oasis from the chaos of the city (Lears 1981: 194). Historian of religion, William Westfall (1989: 126-158; 127), likewise adopts this view, affixing to Protestant

religious architecture the power of ritual and public symbolism, “that [which] define[d] the meaning of place for society as a whole.” This proclivity to combine art—and not simply church architecture—and religion, I argue, however, spills into the everyday lives of liberal evangelicals who came to see art as integral to the social and spatial organisation of the city. The Decorative Arts specifically, after William Morris and John Ruskin who saw in the environmental efficacy of art the power of social regeneration (Gombrich 1951, 1978; Lears 1981; Pepal 1993; Silver 1993), provide the aesthetic first principles, I contend, by which bourgeois reformers conceived their urban environmental reforms.

If, as Lears (1981: 218) suggests, the practical represented the masculine and beauty the feminine, then the Decorative Arts symbolised the feminisation of use, even the feminisation of the masculine as I suggest in a later chapter; art historians connect feminisation and the Decorative Arts (Schor 1987; Anger 1996; Tiersten 1996; Troy 1996). Beauty and use denote the symbiotic bases of Decorative Art, decorative *objets d’art* at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century conforming to utility as much as aesthetics. The point of the decorative was the aestheticisation of the masculine, the industrial, the useful, to beautify the mundane through the artful design and production of the objects of everyday life (Lochnan 1993): household necessities, such as furniture, wallpaper, rugs, drapery, glass, ceramics, etc., but also manufactured items, everything from street furnishings to wood stoves, golf lockers to pipe fittings.²⁹

²⁹The recently re-published *Boulton and Paul, Ltd. 1898 Catalogue* (Classic Reprint Series, Ottawa, Algrove Publishing, 1998) from the Rose Lane Works, Norwich, demonstrates how beauty was designed into the very stuff of utility. Whether prefabricated “Winter Gardens,” “Propagating Glasses and Cast Iron Handlights,” “Improved Valves for Hot-Water Apparatuses” or even “Cast Iron Supply Cisterns,” beauty not simply embellishes the object but

To understand that environmental urban reform, the rectification of the modern industrial city according to first principles of aestheticism, encompassed the spatial and the social is to recognise how this dissertation will deviate from others' considerations of the city. The proposed reform of the city, as it was constituted in artful, beautiful, comprehensive plans, had direct social benefit; it was for more than convenience. Reformers' plans provided for continuous urban parkways, diagonal roads leading to and around central squares and plazas, the laying of pavement, sewer pipes, and sidewalks and curbs, the building of boulevards and greenswards, the elevation of railway tracks, the planting of trees, the establishment of neighbourhood parks and supervised playgrounds, the erection of ornamental lamp standards and street furniture, the installation of sober street signage, the burying of cables and removal of poles, the placing of waste receptacles, and the mobilisation of street sweepers. North Americans a century ago believed in the moral efficacy of the environment.

This is nothing new to geographers, familiar with the discipline's own engagement with environmental determinism and neo-Lamarckism, propounded by Geography's preeminent late-Victorian stentor, Halford Mackinder (Livingston 1992: 190-192). What is new is the consideration that urban environmental reform relates to the desire to equate environment with human behaviour. Urban modernity undeniably obtained to crisis. Everybody wanted and needed solutions to the modern city's population density and congestion. City people required an environment that accommodated salubrity, mobility, and individuality (see especially Sennett 1994: 317-354). We may reasonably expect North American city-dwellers,

informs it. Alan Bernstein (1999) notes this same emphasis on building beauty into utility in the manufacture of bicycles at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century.

especially those with wealth and influence, the predominant condition of reformers, to respond aggressively to the life-sapping squalor of the *fin de siècle* modern city without ever having to account for religion or belief. Such city people would simply refer to self-preservation and class-prompted self-interest as a motive, as Michael Katz (1983: 196) has suggested in his discussion of poverty and policy in late-Victorian America. However, we cannot expect responsive practicality to explain the degree of moralisation that attached to the proposal of the reforms. That many reformers insisted on the emplacement of reforms not in aid of a requisite functionalism, but because spatial reform civilised and moralised the populace, suggests that practicality does not fully account for urban reform. The moment reformers invoke morality they step from the seemingly neutral plane of urban restructuring. The next footfall, I argue, can be upheld by liberal evangelical Protestant environmentalism and its concern for the probity and propriety of public and private space.

Historians have traditionally averred that city beautification has emphasised parks and parkways, boulevards, squares and plazas, and of course neo-Classical architecture (Wilson 1964; Reps 1965; Lubove 1967; Kantor 1973; Hines 1974; Peterson 1976). Urban historian John Peterson (1976), in his suggestion that city beautification involved smaller, less aggrandised and almost insignificant street reforms, revised such a view, though it has been little heeded. Even more recent discussions of City Beautiful see it primarily as a large-scale architectural movement (Hodge 1991). City Beautiful's chief spokesperson, Charles Mulford Robinson, however, corroborates Peterson: as Robinson (1901: 243) suggests "we have seen how important a part in the problem of city beauty is that played by ordinary

engineering problems. The street cleaning, moreover, is a *sine qua non*." City beautification to its leading propounder was as dependent on clean and hygienic pavements as on tree-lined pleasure drives and neo-Classical piles.

It is the former, largely ignored aspect of city beautification that this dissertation wants to disclose. This is not to say that the reader will be denied a discussion on parks in this dissertation, or any suggestion that parks were other than central to city decoration. However, as a multi-faceted issue, any investigation into city beautification, if we are to trust Robinson's assessment about street reform as the *sine qua non* of city beautification, should also include explorations in the more prosaic realms of pavement laying, expectation by-laws, postering, waste receptacle placement, and the like. I claim a double need for doing so: firstly, city beautification as social reform relied on the physical reconstruction of roadways and the new conception of street furnishing. Secondly, it is in these not overtly spectacular beauty reforms that we discover the basis of reform moralising: liberal evangelical Protestantism and its poignant concern for the sociological influence of environment.

Thus, it is necessary to note that while this dissertation heartily concurs with, and leans upon, reform historian William Wilson (1989, especially Chapter 4, "The Ideology and Aesthetics of the City Beautiful Movement:" 75-95), whose magisterial identification of the major philosophical and social issues of City Beautiful inspired this study, it nevertheless disagrees fundamentally with Wilson's explanation of the cultural and ideational motives of beauty reformers. Wilson sees the beautification of the city as a secularised Darwinian rejection of God and religion by humans made remote

from God in a powerfully conditioning environment (Wilson 1989: 80).³⁰ Alternatively, and taking Wilson's throw-away reference to city beautifiers' "evangelical confidence" (Wilson 1989: 85) literally, this study contends that bourgeois liberal evangelical Protestants, infused with millennialist fervour, moral-aesthetic zeal, and an effervescently Providential view of modernism and progress, approached the perfection of the urban environment as an expression of Protestant religious inclination; they simply desired to hasten the second coming through moral uplift by environmental means. Postmillennialist optimism not Darwinian doubt, about which much has been said in regard to late-Victorian Darwinism-sponsored "moral angst" (Himmelfarb 1968: 300-313; Carter 1970; Cook 1985; Turner 1985; Marsden 1990) spurred beautifiers. Many reformers thought they were building "'a city of God on earth'" (Williams, in Robinson 1899: 529), a city for a returned Jesus Christ. Hence W.T. Stead's urban reform manual, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* (1894). And they used the dominant mode of aesthetic environmental utterance at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century as their regenerating tool: decorative art.

Lastly, but importantly, it is necessary to say a few words about the *Plan of 1909* and the *Plan of 1929*. It will undoubtedly occur to geographers, who study measurable and tangible geographies as they intersect with human action and culture, that there is something methodologically unusual about a discussion of city plans that never made it past the proposal stage. And it is fair to think of them as merely proposals that Toronto rejected out-of-hand. Just as the *Plan of 1929* was summarily dismissed, as we have already seen, so

³⁰Urban historian, Oscar Handlin (1963: 19) makes a similar statement about reformers in general: "Social scientists influenced by [a] Darwinian conception of survival of the fittest readily assumed that the city was the new environment within which a new, superior man would develop."

too was the *Plan of 1909*; the Civic Guild would continually denounce “the lack of general interest and responsibility” that suborned the 1909 park plan in the years following its proposition.³¹ So what is the relevance of these plans? What can geographers learn from poorly received proposals of “possible” cities?

These only “imagined” plans represent thinking about the city that cannot be separated from the city itself. The condition of the modern city and the city-guided cognition of its would-be regenerators spawned the *Plan of 1909* and the *Plan of 1929*. That many Torontonians at the time had difficulty recognising the goodness that the plans’ fabricators believed was intrinsic to the plans is not as important as the geographic imagining that conceived them. It is in this bourgeois mind and its confidence in its powers of conception that we discover an integral aspect of the modern city: that our imaginings about the city are not only as real as the physical city but fundamental to our ability to understand it (on this point see Raban 1988: 9-38; Donald 1999: 1-24).³² The *Plan of 1909* and the *Plan of 1929* expose late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century reformers’ urban imaginings. It is through this disclosure of the reformers’ urban geographical imagination that we can affix the modern city to the broader cultural influences that impinge on it in ways not yet considered by geographers. The imagined Toronto in the two plans is necessarily ephemeral; the thinking that produced them was generated by an imaginative perception of the actual happenings in the actual the city.

³¹*Minutes of the Executive*, October 10, 1912, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Balwin Room, MTRL.

³²James Donald (1999: 13) says this nicely in a contemporary context: The city “provides the texture of our experience and the fabric of our liberty. The city is the way we moderns live and act, as much as where.” It was the same for early modern city people.

III

Why draw the reader's attention to fleeting planning events in the geography of Toronto: the inception of the TGCA, the *Plan of 1909*, and the *Plan of 1929*. Firstly, because anyone who knows Toronto knows it, ironically and despite its well-known cleanliness, as a not particularly noteworthy example of City Beautiful in the northern North American system of cities. As a local historian of Toronto once wrote: "Toronto has never adopted the noble (and expensive) Chicago plan of linking all the mainland parks by a system of ornamental park-boulevards, although when the population has doubled that will be a question for consideration" (Middleton 1934: 53). We do not find Toronto listed in the historical record with cities such as Washington, Chicago, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Baltimore, or even Detroit, commended for their beautifying efforts.³³ Yet, reformers in Toronto made significant steps toward the establishment of a City Beautiful ideal in their city, of which the *Plan of 1929* was only the last attempt, an important earlier one being the parkway *Plan of 1909*; the latter is considered the first comprehensive city plan of the Canadian planning era (Hodge 1986: 53), and about which I write in a later chapter.³⁴

Secondly, I want to suggest how easy it would be, and has been, to see City Beautiful as something entirely masculine, an endeavour of men:

³³This is not exactly true. Charles Mulford Robinson mentions Toronto's interest in street reform, in "Street Plan of a City's Business District", *Architectural Record* 13, March 1903: 233-247; in Reps (n.d.). We also find the TGCA's attempt to forward a comprehensive parks scheme, in Robinson's "The Remaking of Our Cities: A Summing Up of the Movement for Making Cities Beautiful while They Become Busy and Big--A Chain of Great Civic Improvements which Mark a New Era of Urban Development", *The World's Work* 12, October 1906: 8046-8050; in Reps (n.d.). Again, he mentions Toronto as one of a number of North American cities planning for beautification; "Planning for City Beauty", *Municipal Journal and Engineer* 21, September 1906:230-231; in Reps (n.d.). None of these, however, laud the beauty of the city, only the attempt to forward it.

³⁴Should, however, Toronto's Olympic bid be accepted the proposed reconception of Toronto's waterfront will indeed count as yet another City Beautiful plan.

arguably, its two giants are Daniel Burnham and Charles Mulford Robinson, the former its architect, the latter its philosopher, though the founder is unquestionably Frederick Law Olmsted (Wilson 1989: 9-34; see Appendix 1: Definitions, "Men:" 430). In Toronto, the TGCA, CG, and the ACPC were, to their last members, male. Beautification in the penultimate Canadian city in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries—Montreal was the most populous—without the feminist qualifications this dissertation seeks to impose, might well be seen as an entirely masculine endeavour, given the prominence of TGCA and its members.

Thirdly, the presence of art—beauty and use—in urban reform represents the era's desire to transcend the late-Victorian proclivity to "erect a structure to suit the natural requirements of [a] building," and then "paste on to the facade" "a bit of 'Art'," "in the form of ornament taken from one of the pattern-books on 'historical style'" (Gombrich 1951: 403); Toronto's architecture of the period has been roundly condemned (Arthur and Otto 1986: 210). *City Beautiful* and its central philosophy of art and moral order, impelled city planning in Toronto. Art, as I will show, is implicated in the broader movement to imbue the environment with moral-aestheticism, the incorporation of the appreciation of beauty and order, material and immaterial, into morality. Just as city planning cannot be separated from *City Beautiful*, so *City Beautiful* cannot be dissociated from the moral-aestheticism of art, specifically the Decorative Arts.

Primarily, however, I want to use this not abundantly beautiful city to show how the beauty ideal, looming large in the geographical imaginations of bourgeois Torontonians, connected to something bigger than the extravagant *Beaux Arts* tastes of bourgeois city dwellers, whether the painting of a mural,

or the erection of a monumental building. We have to look hard for City Beautiful in Toronto, for its manifestations are not as overt, not nearly as “beautiful”—they may not seem like beautifications at all—as those in some cities. It is in the seemingly unspectacular improvement of Toronto we find an all-important cultural motivator in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century North America. This particular impetus, I argue, provides an explanation for the specific moral-aesthetic nature of beauty-driven urban reform: evangelical Protestantism. City Beautiful in Toronto, though considerably less grand than in other cities, nevertheless reveals a measurable evangelical Protestant influence in and over the urban environment. And to imply evangelical Protestantism is necessarily to invoke feminism and Domesticity. These three *fin de siècle* realities, Domesticity, evangelical Protestantism, and environmentalism powerfully interconnect, in Toronto, and are primary informants of the reform impulse.

What so rankled reformers in Toronto that they committed to the regeneration of the urban environment? Peter Goheen (1970: 1) argues that Victorian Toronto fitted the model of modernity posited by the Chicago School.³⁵ And while sociologists, such as Ferdinand Tönnies (1957[1887]), Georg Simmel (1995[1903]), Robert Park *et. al* (1927), and Louis Wirth (1938), recklessly overstated the anomic, impersonal, superficial, anti-communitarian effects of the modern city, a point made with force in such celebrated works as William Whyte (1943), Jane Jacobs (1961) and Herbert Gans (1962, 1969), they still have something important to offer.³⁶ Wirth’s

³⁵David Ley (1991: 317) reiterates this for Canadian cities in general.

³⁶Consider that the geographically invasive and socially devastating reforms of Robert Moses (see for example Caro 1974; Berman 1981: 290-312;) and the later promulgators of urban renewal could be undertaken guiltlessly in an anti-social city, not so in an urban village.

(1995[1938]) famous urbanism argument, that size, population density, and social heterogeneity were ineluctable elements of the modern city, applies well, as Goheen avers, to nineteenth–or early-twentieth-century–Toronto.

Toronto's reformers, by the end of the first decade of the new century, had watched the population quadruple its 1880 numbers: 77,000 to 341,000. Yet, commensurate infrastructural increases awaited undertaking.³⁷ The physical city simply buckled under the demography of modernity. What was true for northern North American cities in general was true for 'Toronto the Good.' City in-migration, whether by scores of non-Canadian immigrants or those in Toronto's hinterland who abandoned the countryside for the city, overflowed the streets and played havoc with the emotions of old-stock Toronto, in whom "the distinctions of birth and achievement...ran deep and were persistent" (Goheen 1970: 54). In this context, Gunther Barth's (1980: 15) description of the streets of the modern city applies equally well to Toronto:

Most of the older inhabitants of the modern city, unfamiliar with the ways of all the new immigrants, saw only a sea of strange faces, babbling in alien tongues, and framed by freakish clothing, flooding their streets. Walking through these multitudes now was really 'like a voyage round the globe.'

Such a comment is particularly apt in Toronto where immigrants were looked upon with disdain and contempt, as we will see. The streets of Toronto changed and, from a reformer's point of view, not for the better.

Social critics throughout the nineteenth-century warned of the viciousness of the street because of its crowds and heterogeneity (a particularly harrowing account of "street-vice" is found in Stansell (1987: 193-

³⁷"Population of the City of Toronto", *Letters, etc.*, 1911, Civic Guild of Toronto, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

194)). A speaker at a Town Planning Conference in Britain said it as well as any: "The mean street produces the mean men, the lean and tired women, and the unclean children."³⁸ Reformers thought they saw Toronto's streets teeming with unemployed men, single women, and "street arabs," creating a heterogeneous population that baffled old stock residents. Toronto's upscale dailies and magazines regularly worried of "congested" "crowded" "muddy, evil-smelling streets" rampant with incivility and a general lack of safety.³⁹ Ragged boys, unemployed men, and homeless vagrants loitered and caroused on street corners, dicing, swearing, fighting, drinking, verbally abusing women, and resisting arrest when confronted by police. So dire was the perception of Toronto's streets that the summer of 1895 saw a hand-wringing debate over the imposition of a curfew to get the numerous children and teenage "toughs" off the street at night.⁴⁰ But then Jacob Riis (1892) had shown that "the children of the poor" did everything poor adults did: gamble, drink, go to the theatre, sleep in the street, and engage in sex (on the latter see Addams (1930)).

Toronto's streets crawled with labouring children in the age of child labour (Nasaw 1985; Zelizer 1985; Bullen 1992), swarming the stores, offices, and factories of the city, and crowding pedestrians from the sidewalk as they laboured under heavy bundles. One paper threw its hands up at the sheer numbers of "morally misdirected" street youth: "what will be their revenge upon society?"⁴¹ Among these "unwashed" children and adults roamed

³⁸Burns, in Thomas Adams, "The British Point of View", *Proceedings of the Third National Conference on City Planning*, Boston, National Conference on City Planning, 1911: 27-37; in Repp (n.d).

³⁹*Saturday Night*, June 1, 1895: 1.

⁴⁰*Mail and Empire*, August 28, 1895: 5; Aug 30, 1895: 4; September 5, 1895: 9.

⁴¹*Saturday Night*, August 14, 1897: 1. Historian of children, Viviana Zelizer (1985: 33) notes that in 1912 the Juvenile Protection Association estimated that approximately six thousand children could be found roaming Chicago streets, within eighteen or so blocks, on any given

scores of single working girls and women; as a recent study suggests (Strange 1995), the capitalist concern for improved profit-margins impelled the hire of low-wage female labour.⁴² As social historian, Carolyn Strange (1995) shows, young women's search for work, housing, and entertainment, in the scant few hours of leisure their qualified independence afforded, created a "girl problem" in Toronto, to the great consternation of the promulgators of "maternal feminism" (Roberts 1979) and the family.

Squalid neighbourhoods and streets in Toronto, especially St. John's Ward, or as it was known, "the Ward," housed dense populations of the poor, labouring, and immigrant classes (Zucchi 1981).⁴³ The main problem for reformers in Toronto was not tenements but the prevalence of "rear cottages" "between rows of houses which front on public highways." Considered by the *Mail and Empire* as "a Menace to the Public and a Grave Source of Danger," such cottages existed, it was believed, in the thousands. They had a notorious reputation as nurseries for criminals since, like tenement apartments, a single dwelling housed multiple families.⁴⁴

These "overcrowded" rear cottages served as family dwellings. Reformers took special care to monitor the children who lived in them, believing such children had little chance in life: "A child who has lived the most of his life in a building hidden from the public gaze and fronting on his neighbour's back premises is not likely to grow up with his morals improved, or with very healthy ideas of citizenship." To reformers, the marginal, sweaty,

afternoon. Moreover, many children often could not use the city's new playgrounds because they had errands and chores.

⁴²This is a simplification of the complex dialectical relationship between the labourer and the manufacturer in Canada that labour scholars have disclosed (Palmer 1979; Kealey 1980; Kealey and Palmer 1982; Bradbury 1993).

⁴³"The Ward" lay between Yonge Street and University Avenue, the east and west boundaries, and College Street and Queen Street, the north and south boundaries.

⁴⁴*Mail and Empire*, September 18 1897, Part Two: 7.

and shoulder-rubbing existence in places such as “the Ward” could only mean one thing: “the more overcrowding the more crime is as inevitable as it is logical, for there is hardly a species of evil which will not be helped along where numbers are found to aid it.”⁴⁵ Never mind that more critical reformers, such as Jane Addams (1898: 17), refuted such statements, suggesting that the poor of city wax kindly and thoughtful, and tend toward over-generosity.⁴⁶ The poor in Toronto, whether noble, vicious, or somewhere in-between, lived in circumstances that appalled reformers.

It goes without saying that many of the residents of such housing in Toronto were immigrants. Complaints emerged that “foreigners” comprised thirty-five percent of Toronto’s population. They exhibited “a decided tendency to group themselves in small colonies,” refused to learn the language of their hosts and had as their “prime object in life” only “the eking out of a mere existence,” “taking no part in the distinctive civic life of the city in which they live.” Immigrants thus proved “anything but good citizens, and it is by the standard of good citizenship that their value to any community ought to be judged.”⁴⁷ The Methodist minister, Reverend S.D. Chown, decried immigrant citizenship at the national level as well:

⁴⁵*ibid.*

⁴⁶Addams (1898: 17) wrote that “[a]nyone who has lived among the poorer people cannot fail to be impressed with their constant kindness to each other; that unfailing response to the needs and distresses of their neighbours, even when in danger of bankruptcy themselves. This is their reward for living in the midst of poverty. They have constant opportunities for self-sacrifice and generosity, to which as a rule, they respond.”

⁴⁷*Mail and Empire*, September 25, 1897, Part Two: 7. A week later (October 2, 1897, Part Two: 10), the *Mail and Empire* attempts to recant this position, insisting “that the city is fortunate in having secured on the whole such a thrifty, honest, and industrious class as those to which the majority [of foreigners] belong.” Further, “the city magistrate and the police without exception agree in saying that the foreigners in Toronto cause them little or no trouble” By far it is the Canadians themselves who are the troublemakers, followed by the English and the Irish.

The immigration question is the most vital one in Canada today, as it has to do with the purity of our national life blood.... It is foolish to dribble away the vitality of our own country in a vain endeavour to assimilate the world's non-adjustable, profligate, and social parasites....It is most vital to our nation's life that we should ever remember that quality is of greater value than quantity and that character lies at the basis of national stability and progress.

Chown did not stop there:

While many of our non-Anglosaxon population are amongst the best of the people from their native lands...it is lamentable that such large numbers have come to Canada during the last decade bringing a laxity of morals, an ignorance, a superstition, and an absense of high ideals of personal character or of national life...[They] may constitute a danger to themselves and a menace to our national life" (Chown, in Valverdi 1991: 106; 53).

As a Torontonian and social purity activist, Chown would have seen the immigrants up close and been personally alarmed by them and their condition. But then, as Goheen (1970: 57) suggests of the mid-century in Toronto, immigrants had no status in the city of old families.

If the squalor of the under-privileged humanity on the streets attracted their attention, Toronto's reformers never missed the physical condition of the streets, especially the pavements. The actual surfaces upon which Torontonians moved, and in which reformers saw the status of the poor and the city in general reflected, mattered. Good pavements such as asphalt, brick, macadam, bitulithic, scoria, and a combination of concrete surfaced with

wooden bricks of cedar or pine treated with a bituminous preserver, lay like patchwork on too few of the downtown streets. Most streets were surfaced with inexpensive and inefficient cedar blocks, cedar logs cut six inches and stood on end, or gravel. Reformers hated them.

The expansion of industry and the transportation of goods and people in the city increased the pressure, literally, on the street surface. City Engineers complained that heavy traffic decreased the life of cedar block pavements, reducing them to pulp. Board sidewalks broke underfoot, the resulting gaps creating danger for those who walked on them at night on unlighted streets (miles of concrete sidewalks would be poured by the end of the first decade of the new century). Unsightly streets that resisted pedestrian and vehicular traffic throughout the year resulted. The near-universal disrepair of all the city's pavements groomed an eloquent ire in reformers that bespeaks absolute frustration with the too frequent seasons of mud, something Marshall Berman (1981: 155) reminds us of in his discussion of "the mire of the macadam." Toronto suffered horribly from mud, and when not mud, dust. The latter incurred rising maintenance costs for street watering, and drove mad the merchants, shoppers, pedestrians, streetcar users, and all other denizens of the streets.

Environmental reform attentions in Toronto focused not singularly on pavements. They emphasised parks, squares, and playgrounds, but then all pavements led to or culminated in a park or, more accurately, ought to (Schmitt 1969; Schuyler 1986; Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992).⁴⁸ And because

⁴⁸It would be a ponderous task indeed to cite all the primary city planning sources that call for the construction of parks and lots of them. However, a representative sampling is: Charles Lamb, "City Plan", *The Craftsman* 6, April, 1904: 2-13; in Reps (n.d.); Richard Schermerhorn, Jr., "City Planning", *Brooklyn Engineers' Club, Proceedings* 16, 1912: 102-143; in Reps (n.d.); and Robinson (1901, 1918). It was also a phenomenon of the late-nineteenth-century modern city to

of their necessity as moments of salubrious nature in an environment whose very form posed the antithesis of nature, the more parks the merrier. Reformers in general clamoured for parks and Toronto's reformers were no exception. The ability of High Park to provide a natural and restful once-weekly sanctuary to the modernity-weary inhabitants of Toronto became the basis for reform arguments against the city's conservative Ministerial Association's sabbatarian resistance to Sunday streetcars and cycling (Armstrong and Nelles 1977).⁴⁹ The Queen's Park, on the other hand, the largest park near the heart of the city and nakedly within the judgemental gaze of visitors to the city, attracted the contumely of reformers for its lack of orderly decorum. The Queen's Park emulated not the values and tastes of bourgeois reformers but the disorderly streets it was both to counter and to inspire.

The point of relating Toronto's troubles as the reformer saw them is to illustrate what they saw as the negative social and environmental conditions –to reformers it was all the same–of the city. It also presents the social context of an environmental reform approach that encompassed the practical and the moral. This is important because Toronto's problems fastened to reformers' self-perception as city dwellers and Torontonians. Reformers in Toronto seemed to identify themselves through Toronto. I hesitate to call this boosterism, which inclines toward the promotion of cities purely for economic benefit as it related to settlement and investment (Artibise 1981; Hamer 1990; Cronon 1991). Although reformers in Toronto certainly cared

situate a park at the end of a trolley line, the "trolley park" the predecessor of the amusement park (Hall 1977).

⁴⁹E.E. Sheppard, editor of *Saturday Night* in the 1890's, repeated the park argument vociferously in the months and weeks leading up to the Sunday streetcar vote of May 1897. See for example *Saturday Night*, July 4, 1896: 1-2.

about the economic advantages of reform--reformed and beautified cities and streets attracted the best people and the best industry as one reformer claimed --reform cannot be parted from aesthetic aspects of environmental refurbishing and its ability to increase and improve the self-identity of reformers.⁵⁰ Toronto's woes were their's. If Toronto looked bad, they looked bad. Many other important cities in the northern North American system had well-begun the process of improving. Reformers in Toronto envied these efforts and sought to imitate them. Reform was, in a sense, an articulation of cosmopolitanism, as I define it here, the cultural and spatial expression of grand heterogeneous though decidedly Western bourgeois values, e.g., the production of neo-classical space, the implementation of modern technology, the lauding of commerce, the embracing of *haut couture* and the Arts. And no city desired to present a moralised cosmopolitan face to the world more profoundly than Toronto. Why? A cosmopolitan city was a perfected city, or at least one polished brightly according to the standards of the day. Why reformers would care so much for the "perfection" of the city is the purpose of this dissertation.

IV

How does one make the argument that urban environmental reform in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-centuries attaches to the Domestic influence of the Decorative Arts, as they were marshalled by bourgeois liberal evangelical Protestants? Or argue that city beautification is not simply adorned with beauty but informed by it, essentially? Chapter One contends

⁵⁰George Wright, in *Toronto Star Weekly*, Magazine section: 1; Newspaper Clippings n.d.-June 1923, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL. One J.W. Howard wrote in *Municipal Engineering* in 1900 that "cities with disagreeable, repelling, improperly paved, noisy, poorly cleaned streets cannot become nor remain successful cities. They cause men who are successful financially to go to more attractive places" (Howard, in McShane 1994: 54).

that liberal evangelical Protestantism is an environmentalist ethos deriving from its core belief in the postmillennial advent of Jesus Christ: the Christian messiah will not appear until a moralised, civilised, and unified humanity perfects the imperfections of the world. The chapter shows how environmental urban reformers specifically embraced postmillennialism, demonstrating this proclivity in the primary source material. Urban reformers and city planners and social critics use the language of postmillennialism in their writings on reform.

Chapter Two illustrates how bourgeois Domestic liberal evangelical women conceived of the home as the standard for all environmental reform. It argues that Domesticity was an environmentalism driven by liberal evangelical women's compulsion to protect their children by securing safe nurturing spaces for them. Domestic women sue for the creation and maintenance of the "homelike" world. This homelike world is an emulation of the moral-aesthetics of the parlour, the site in the home where families learned moral and civil behaviour. Homelikeness pandered to bourgeois materialism as it expressed itself in home decoration, the principal symbol of the Domestication of art at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century. The chapter demonstrates from primary sources how the middle-class home and its decoration became the foundation for a moral environmentalism dependent upon a geography of beautified things for the improvement of human behaviour. Through this Domestic concern to improve all urban environments, not simply the house in the city, Domestic women become public actors, engaged in what they deem their "public work": protecting the four walls of the city as well as the those of the home, in defense of their children and families.

The chapter, in two parts, then shows how organised women set up to scrutinise the city for travesties against the Domestic ideal. It uses predominantly the papers of the Toronto Local Council of Women, the Toronto published *The Ladies Journal*, a bourgeois liberal evangelical publication dedicated to the "Home and Public Work" of Canadian women, to disclose women's keen involvement in urban rectification, as it involved street reform, housing, institutional reform, and moral policing in the city. The chapter, finally, reveals the use of Art as an environmental necessity for the moral and civil reclamation of school children. It demonstrates through an examination of the school art league in Toronto how environmental reformers believed that the proliferation of Art in the geography of school children, from art hanging on the walls of the school to the actual architectural redesign of schools, morally and aesthetically influenced the lives of school children. The school should be made to reflect the influence of the bourgeois domestic home.

Chapter Three delves into relevant aspects of the life of arguably the most important propounder of Domesticity in northern North America in the nineteenth century, Women's Christian Temperance Union president, Frances Willard. In Willard, we find a presumably Domestic—she is one of the North American gate-keepers of the idea—woman who eschews privacy for publicity, fawns over a Providential modernism, and loves the bicycle. The chapter argues that Willard's fondness for modernism, as a manifestation of God's immanence in the world, is symbolised by her espousal of the bicycle. This is a qualified acceptance: Willard sees modernism as useful but in need of Domestication, a process of both ordering and beautifying. Deeming Willard's agenda *responsible modernism*, the chapter examines her best

selling book, *Wheel Within a Wheel: How I Learned to Ride the Bike* (1895), and reveals how Willard teaches her followers that a bicycle, a symbol of masculine modernism and male recklessness, when Domesticated is not only an agreeable machine for women, but necessary as a means of introducing Domestic decorum to the public world. The Domesticated bicycle, a form of feminised modernism, contributes to the perfection of the city, which as a devout postmillennialist, Willard is keen to promote.

Chapter Four examines what it calls “the decoration of everyday life,” the attempt by Domestic women and men to implement in the city the first principles of decorative art, specifically beauty and use. It examines Toronto’s and Canada’s premier decorative painter, and City Beautiful proponent, George Agnew Reid. In Reid, we see how his painterly commitment to decoration utterly informed his desire to make the environment reflect decorative ideals. Using Reid’s and his contemporaries’ own words, we are able to discern a broad attraction of bourgeois male reformers to what art historians have described as a feminist art impulse: decoration and beautification. Reid and his ilk would redesign and reconstruct the city from what I define as the first principles of decorative art: right placement, nobility of subject, beauty, and use. The second part of the chapter then explores the decorative principles as they inform City Beautiful and its traditional offspring, City Practical. I argue that they are one and the same; city planners adhered to the first principles of decorative art in their conception of both. I explore the writing of early city planners to support this contention and then return to the *Plan of 1929*. In doing so, we can see the *Plan of 1929* as an existing witness to the dissertation’s belief that comprehensive planning was an exercise in Domestically grounded decorative art.

The Chapter Five takes the reader onto the very pavements of Toronto in the 1890s. It argues that, in the city that deflected overt architectural beautification, the next best thing was beautified human space and infrastructure. Positing that Toronto opted for the beautification of people as a means to make a city beautiful, the city espoused the bicycle as a method of enticing bourgeois riders into the “unlovely” downtown streets. To do this, Toronto urgently needed clean, noiseless, rider-friendly pavements, surfaces that would soil neither cycling costumes nor riders’ reputations. Asphalt at this time had a reputation for cleanliness and hygiene. It also reified in infrastructure the first principles of decorative art: the beautification of utility. A reconstructed road paved with asphalt demonstrates the informant nature of decoration to city beautification: the city begins not with buildings but the roadway.

The chapter uses an number of sources: the Toronto’s city engineers reports; a curious attack on the city engineering department by a knowledgeable letter writer to the *Mail and Empire*; the local newspapers; and road engineering manuals of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century. I argue that Toronto’s city engineers waged a campaign to apply asphalt to the streets of the city despite: firstly, the decided inefficiency of asphalt alone in certain applications identified by road engineering manuals, specifically streets with streetcars and streetcar tracks, which means the CBD; and secondly, the existence of clearly less modern and less comely but cheaper and more efficient alternatives to asphalt. The Toronto city engineers’ bias for the modernism of asphalt abetted the city’s desire to lure bourgeois cyclists into the streets, even though Toronto suffered an asphalt monopoly that exacted

as much as a dollar more per yard of asphalt than that paid by other nearby municipalities.

Finally, Chapter Six turns to Toronto's first attempt to alter the urban environment according to principles of decoration: the TGCA's *Plan of 1909*. The *Plan's* emphasis on parks and parkways makes it a typical blue print for City Beautiful. In wanting nature as the predominant aesthetic attribute of the city, the TGCA merely discloses its subscription to the park ethos. While declaring parks salubrious, restful, crucial for children, and economic, the park ethos also maintained that parks were important symbols of municipal art. This being the case, the chapter also looks at the *Plan of 1909* as an instance of decorative art. Not only were parks decorative, but the TGCA's plan to build a continuous chain of parkways through the inner and outer city conforms completely to the decorative principle of right placement. The TGCA's comprehensive *Plan of 1909* is a testimony to the profound efficacy of the decorative in urban planning.

**Chapter 1 Evangelical Protestantism, millennialism, and the urban
reformation of built space**

Was not the most Christian thing they could do to act as citizens in the matter, fight the saloon at the polls, elect good men to the city offices, and clean the municipality...would not Jesus do this?

Charles M. Sheldon (1896)⁵¹

The argument of this dissertation is a protracted one; it draws on many strands to make its point. To suggest that evangelical Protestant Domesticity, susceptible to an environmental ideal that emphasised decoration, created the ideational milieu out which urban beautification sprung requires that we first consider the relationship between evangelicalism and the city. If evangelicalism influenced the city and its reformation, then that influence should be apparent.

This chapter illustrates the liberal evangelical Protestant basis for urban reform. It discloses the geographic imagination of reformers, suggesting that at its centre lies religious motivation. Urban reformers succumbed to a milieu grounded to a religious theology that prompted its adherents to perfect the environment in order to facilitate the millennial advent of Jesus Christ. Using primary urban reform sources, the chapter suggests that reformers even used the language of evangelical Protestant millennialism in their writings and exhortations about perfecting the city.

⁵¹Charles M. Sheldon, (1896) *In His Steps*, New Canaan, CT.
<http://www.ukrans.edu.carrie/kancoll/books/sheldon/shchap10htm>.

Introduction

Only rarely do urbanists interested in urban reform consider the part Protestant religion played in the rectification of the urban environment at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century.⁵² Explanations for change in the built and human space of the city tend traditionally to derive from an economic and technologic paradigm. Urban reform within such a framework resulted from the geometric increase in technology that began with the industrial revolution: a globalising market-based economic condition that relied on technological innovation to improve manufacturing, transportation, and communications methods that influenced directly the physical growth of cities. The chief responsibility of city governments was to facilitate both social order and increases in industry around whose prosperity urban populations could rally successfully (see especially Monkonnen 1988: 108). I concur with this, but think it necessary to add another overtly cultural layer to the palimpsest of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century urban studies.

Mona Domosh's (1996) recent suggestion that built space in the Victorian era must be understood from the point of view of those privileged classes who had the cultural and economic clout to affect it enables this study to move further afield: to consider the religious belief of these same people.⁵³ As Domosh (1996: 1-6) suggests, it is the bourgeois classes predominately that

⁵² Donald Krueckeberg's (1994) edited volume of planning biographies (see Thomas Schlereth (1994), Susan Wirka (1994), and Laurence Gerkins (1994)), and Christine Stansell's (1987) work on early-nineteenth-century New York City, are recent volumes that explicitly cite the Protestant motivation of urban reformers. Thomas Hines (1974) in his biography of Daniel Burnham notes Burnham's relationship to Swedenborgian Christianity, but neglects to inform us whether the Swedenborgian affinity for bourgeois lifestyle had any affect on the design proclivity of the celebrated architect.

⁵³This is not to deny that heterogeneous and divergent non-bourgeois populations of city dwellers could not and did not contribute to the urban geography of the city in myriad other ways as social scientists and social historians alike have shown (Sennett 1970; Barth 1980; Zucchi 1981; Harney 1985; Stansell 1987; Jackson 1989; Ryan 1990; Anderson 1991; Walkowitz 1992; Bradbury 1993; Chauncey 1994; Strange 1995; Harris 1998).

were capable of expressions of wealth- and class-sponsored power and who had most of the decision-making influence over the actual construction of space in modern cities.

They also possessed the means of expressing their religious beliefs spatially. This is not to allude simply to the building of churches; the construction of "epics in stone," the magnificent and costly churches that intimated evangelical faith in progress and millennialism, became a ritualised and symbolic activity of evangelical Protestants in the late Victorian era (Westfall 1989: 126-128). Churches aside, we must consider that the ideas that governed Protestant religious demeanor could not help but emerge in the conceptualisation of urban space. We must expect that Protestant belief forms a part the ideational basis of the re-evaluation of space, and the judgement-making process itself. Since Glacken (1967), Harvey (1973) Tuan (1974), and Meinig (1979; 1979a), we have known that the geographic imagination attaches to our inclinations and preferences. Alan Baker (1992: 7-8) has suggested that our conception and perception of geography is inseparable from our understanding of reason and philosophy. Given the evangelical Protestant propensities of the bourgeoisie, it should prove useful to consider how Protestant religious belief informed bourgeois conceptions of the geography of the city.

This belief incorporated the environment. Protestant theology in the nineteenth-century partly consisted of two competing views of millennialism and how the end of secular time should unfold (Tuveson 1968; Sandeen 1970; Carter 1971; Marsden 1980, 1990; Weber 1987; Westfall 1989). For one group of Protestants the end would strike malevolently with an unstoppable, predestined, firey cataclysm. For another, it would unfold benevolently after

great and glorious preparations rendered the world fit to receive its God. This latter teleological and eschatological, or consideration of the theological end of time, view of both the physically temporal and metaphysically eternal nature of human affairs on earth is geographic to the core. Called *postmillennialism*, this geographic or environmental millennialism, requires a particularly elevated conception of environment. The fulfilment of the messianic promise under the banner of postmillennialism depends on proper alterations to the environment to effect the moral advancement of society. Postmillennialists believed that practical and aesthetic improvements, usually synonymous, to physical space would improve society and hasten the long-anticipated event. And at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century no place demanded more pressing improvements than the city.

We may now begin to ask questions: evangelical Protestant belief urged an interest in religious urban geography as it pertained to churches. Does it reach farther than churches? If evangelical Protestants have theological interest in urban space, can we find that interest beyond the usual sites, the churches and mission homes that dot urban landscapes? Because bourgeois North Americans generally comprised the liberal evangelical Protestant demographic—there were of course secular liberal reformers, too (Valverdi 1991; Howell 1993; McKay 1993)—and were largely responsible for reforming the urban environment, is it possible that their proclivity for the spatial reorganisation of the city stems from their evangelical Protestantism? How did evangelical Protestants insinuate their eschatological beliefs into the physical space of the modern city? What evidence is there of this Protestant religious belief as reform motivation?

This chapter argues that urban reform assumes the part of mediator between evangelical Protestantism and built space. In northern North America, urban reform is a manifestation of liberal evangelical Protestant eschatological awareness, but also the method by which liberal evangelical Protestantism became substantiated spatially in the modern city. Further, the chapter contends that millennialism, specifically postmillennialism, is the primary element of evangelical Protestantism as it relates to urban reform. Indeed, evangelical Protestantism drives the postmillennialist environmentalism of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries; it must be seen as a theoretical foundation of urban reform. Lastly, the chapter shows students of the city that postmillennialist Protestantism was a concern for urban reformers. Most importantly, millennialist concerns and interests emerge in primary reform sources.

Millennialism

Historians of nineteenth-century North American culture assert the era's overwhelming inclination to Protestant Christianity, positing that we will only comprehend the turbulent period when we include its evangelical Protestant, and millennialist impulse (Cross 1950; Miller 1965; Tuveson 1968; Marty 1970; Sandeen 1970; Carter 1971; Allen 1972; McLeod 1974; Johnson 1978; McLouglin 1978; Walters 1978; Parr 1979; Marsden 1980; Smith 1980; Ryan 1981; Cook 1985; Turner 1985; Balmer 1988; Van Die 1989; Westfall 1989; Rawlyk 1990; Gauvreau 1991; Johnson and Wilentz 1994; Bullock 1996).⁵⁴ This millennialism, as I have suggested, split into two forms of adventism, about which more will be said below: a conservative understanding, which

⁵⁴As the late scholar of evangelical Protestantism, George Rawlyk, implied, there is an important connection between "evangelical religion and Canadian culture" (Rawlyk, in Van Die 1989: 8). I hope to show a further connection between the "profound and enduring" (Van Die 1989: 9) effects of evangelical religion and environmental reform in general.

anticipated Jesus Christ's initiation of an apocalyptic end of the world upon his return; and a liberal understanding, which foresaw Christ's return as the final stage of an era of environmental and social reform, where all people worked harmoniously to make heaven-on-earth.

This latter liberal evangelical adventism insists on reformations to physical space to manifest morality and decorum—the answer to why specifically morality and decorum is the focus of chapters that follow. This is not to deny that other adherents of non-evangelical religions in northern North America participated in reform. For example, city planner, Alfred Bettman, learned his interventionist and politicised environmentalism from Rabbi Wise, a leading practitioner of what was known as reform Judaism in Cincinnati, the centre of the movement in North America (Krueckeberg 1994: 19).⁵⁵ Indeed, Planning Historian Laurence Gerkins (1994: 185) suggests that Wise was one of the founders of the American social gospel movement. White City architect, Daniel Burnham, was a follower of the quasi-kabalist cum Christian teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg (Hines 1974), an eighteenth century spiritualist who affirmed not only the material nature of the afterlife and spiritual bodies but the importance of good works in the process of salvation (Wilson 1971: 277-278, ftn.).⁵⁶ It is, however, liberal evangelical Protestantism and its commitment to the actuality of an imminent millennium, that assumes the greater part of the reform impulse. To understand urban reform, its obsession with orderly and beautiful environments, its moral-aestheticisation of the city and its inhabitants, and

⁵⁵Gerkins (1994: 211, note 5) implies a connection between Wise and prominent social gospeller, Washington Gladden, also from Ohio, and the author of the essential social gospel texts, *Social Salvation* (1902) and *Where does the sky begin?* (1904).

⁵⁶Swedenborg's interest in the spiritually arcane was noted by eighteenth-century European freemasons who subsequently devised a "Rite of Swedenborg" (see Mackey 1860: 332).

even its expressly stated penchant for “Building the Holy City” (Valverdi 1991: 131), we must understand the relationship between evangelical Protestantism and millennialism.

What does millennialism have to do with the conceptual reformation of the city? Why should the physical appearance of the built and human space of the city hold so much suasion over the minds of reformers? Why would they care so deeply about what others, especially visitors, thought about them and the physical condition of their homes and cities, their central buildings and parks, and the people that inhabited them? The answer, in part, lies in the era’s preoccupation with the millennial advent of Jesus Christ.

In slighting the efficacy, and even the existence, of millennialism in the production of space, or at least its imagining, urban geography and the social sciences generally have ignored an important cultural motivator of the urban middle-class in the nineteenth-century (Tuveson 1968; Sandeen 1970; Carter 1971; Marsden 1980, 1990; Weber 1987; Balmer 1988; Westfall 1989). To be Protestant in the nineteenth-century meant, among other things, that you maintained an opinion of the much-celebrated millennial manifestation, or second-coming, of Jesus Christ. Although an allegorical millennialism has occupied Christianity since the death of its namesake, as historian of religion Ernest Lee Tuveson argues, it was not until the sixteenth-century that a largely new apocalyptic tradition embodying a belief in a literal millennialism arose through a fresh study of the bible.⁵⁷ “By the end of the seventeenth-century,” Tuveson (1968: 17) writes, “the novel idea that history was moving toward a millennial regeneration of mankind became not only respectable but almost canonical.” Millennialism fired the Protestant teleological view of

⁵⁷Cultural historian, Francis Yates (1972: 35) implies even that the Rosicrucian Enlightenment pivoted on the second advent of Jesus Christ, slated for 1623.

history as the history of progress, a steady, improvement-driven march toward a messianic end wherein errant humanity is finally redeemed. Tuveson (1968: 213) argues that this millennial progressivism “might be called the dominant motive in American history.” Perhaps. It certainly deserves attention by geographers curious about the cultural bases of geographic ideas.

The millennialism of *fin de siècle* evangelical Protestants attaches to urban geography palpably in the form of a best selling book by Congregationalist minister and former editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, W.T. Stead. A fervent social Christian, Stead “preached civic and social reform at rallies in [Chicago’s] Central Music Hall in the wake of the World’s Columbian Exposition” (Schlereth 1994: 152).⁵⁸ *If Christ Came to Chicago!* (1894) urged Chicagoans to consider the millennial advent of Christ in all municipal matters and especially from the viewpoint of the City Council, whose job it was to help revitalise an increasingly squalid urban humanity:

When once this idea is clearly and firmly grasped, when the condition of our fellow citizens is recognized as the test of the measure of our faith in Christ, the religious aspect of civic politics acquires a new and supreme importance. For the improvement of the least of these, Christ’s brethren, the assistance of municipal authority is indispensable. The law must be invoked, if only as the schoolmaster, to bring men to Christ. Before we can make men divine, we must cast out the devils who are brutalizing them out of human semblance. But this

⁵⁸For a more scandal-oriented discussion of Stead and his involvement in the reform of child prostitution in London, see Walkowitz (1992: 81-120), Chapter three, “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon.”

cannot be accomplished excepting by the use of means, which can only be wielded by the City Council (Stead 1894: 22).

This was especially important in Chicago's poor neighbourhoods, "where the policy of the public authorities of never taking an initiative, and always waiting to be urged to do their duty...was fatal" (Addams 1912: 98). More than this, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* attempted to illustrate, as Jane Addams put it, "how a faith in the Citizen Christ would lead directly to the civic and social regeneration of Chicago" (Addams 1912: 98).⁵⁹

Stead's book presented Jesus Christ as the quintessential reformer, a peerless example for all reformers committed to the salvation of society through complete involvement and hard work. Just as the Christian namesake trudged streets of old in the name of good works, so too should privileged Christian denizens of Chicago take to the streets of their city. From the louse-infested Harrison Street Police station cells to the general squalor of the tenement districts, Chicago needed the perusing eyes and beneficent hands of Christ-motivated reformers to assuage the "dirt...danger and inconvenience of the streets" (Stead 1894: 188).

Such conditions resulted not only from poverty and overcrowding, but also from the inconsiderateness of the city's physical design. Stead notes particularly the thoroughfares,

as they are filled with railway tracks and trains which
mow down unoffending citizens at the crossings, and those
legless, armless men and women whom you meet on the streets

⁵⁹Addams (1912: 124) was quite sure that Chicago was a locus for social Christianity: "I believe that this turning, this renaissance of early Christian humanism, is going on in America, in Chicago if you please, without leaders who write or philosophize, without much speaking, but with a bent to express in social service and in terms of the action of the spirit of Christ."

are merely the mangled remnant of the massacre that is constantly going on year in and year out (Stead 1894: 189).

His contempt for the circumstance that created "the multitude of mutilated people...on crutches" (Stead 1894: 189) typifies his overarching concern with environmental reform as a means to social order. As Stead put it, unseverably connecting his brand of millennialism with urban reform: "it is bad to rob your fellowmen on the street, but it is worse to rob your fellow men of a whole street" (Stead 1894: 111), the street being the place where community and civility begin (Stead 1894: 408). Hence, the need for City Council to use its powers for good in the physical city to alleviate the ills in the social city.

Planning historian, Thomas Schlereth (1994: 151-154), implicitly connects the urban reform interest of Walter Moody, the promoter hired by the Commercial Club of Chicago to market the *Plan of Chicago* (1909) to Chicagoans, to the evangelical postmillennial impulse. As Schlereth (1994: 153) shows, Moody composed a pamphlet, *Seed Thoughts for Sermons*, "a seven-page appeal to the city's clergymen to recognize the humanitarian and social value of the *Plan*." Moody recommended to the Chicago's clergy that they teach their congregations the social merits of comprehensive planning. The result, on January 19, 1919, was "Nehemiah Sunday," so-called because so many ministers had used Nehemiah's rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple as their text; many congregations also displayed the Chicago flag on their churches while others sang hymns such as, 'Work, for the night is coming!' W.T. Stead would have loved it (Schlereth 1994: 153).

The coming “night,” of course, was the impending millennial return of the Jesus Christ, for whose speed and approbation, theoretically at least, reforms were undertaken.

Premillennialism⁶⁰

To speak of a “brand” of millennialism, as in the case of W.T. Stead above, necessitates a discussion of millennialism: firstly, because it was a bifurcated proposition; and secondly, such a rehearsal of the polar split between millennialists will clarify the ideational relationship between the city, evangelical Protestantism, urban reform, and reformers’ motivations. Thus we must differentiate nineteenth-century millenarian belief, and speak of premillennialists and postmillennialists.

In the nineteenth century, premillennialists, as this dissertation defines them, were that group of people who: favoured religion that organised around male authority; clung to rigid and literalist interpretations of the bible, opposing the new higher and liberal criticism of the bible (Cook 1985; Gauvreau 1991); tended to belong to, though by no means were always of, the non-intellectual or the struggling classes (see Sandeen 1970 and Weber 1987); and, most importantly, believed that the second coming of Christ precipitated an apocalypse.⁶¹ Indeed, they spent their days watching the world

⁶⁰I am well aware of the generalisations I am making here. Premillennialists and postmillennialists and their beliefs do not come in nicely wrapped packages ready for the scholars immediate application. Dwight L. Moody and Joseph Smith, two men to whom I refer here, are cases in point. Moody with some selective argumentation could easily be construed as a postmillennialist, his inclination for certain reform—education—an indicator. Yet he is very much a premillennialist as we will see. Smith, on the other hand, as historians Grant Underwood (1981) and Philip Barlow (1991) argue, typifies anti-evangelical conservative dissent in antebellum America; he is a contemporary in every way of the rabidly conservative and anti-evangelical, Robert Matthews (Johnson and Wilentz 1994). He is also known for his utopian city of Nauvoo, Illinois, based on his reformist conception of a revived urban environment in his *Plan of Nauvoo*, 1839. My black-and-white categorisation is simply in aid of differentiation.

⁶¹Premillennialists would become the “fundamentalists” of the early-twentieth-century. The term “Fundamentalism” applies only to those conservatives who adhered to *The*

for “signs-of-the-times,” the unmistakable signals that the world had slipped to such deplorably sinful depths that Christ could no longer allow humanity’s autonomy. No doubt the modern industrial city admirably whetted the premillennialist eschatological appetite.

Granted, both postmillennialist and premillennialist could agree that modernity was degenerative. Their approach to the problem of degeneracy is what separated them. Premillennialists taught that the misery of urban modernity was irreparable. One look outside at the modern industrial city would corroborate their suspicions (see Weber 1987, chapter four, “The Perfect Solution”). The world was, as the late-Victorian lay minister Dwight L. Moody put it, a sinking vessel, its course not forward but downward.

I look upon the world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a life-boat, and said to me, “Moody, save all you can.” God will come in judgment and burn up this world, but the children of God don’t belong to this world; they are in it, but not of it, like a ship in the water. This world is getting darker; its ruin is coming nearer and nearer. If you have any friends on this wreck unsaved, you had better lose no time in getting them off
(Moody, in Weber 1987: 53).

Moody here articulates the premillennialist pessimism about the physical world as well as any. The earth lists on a stormy sea, precariously beyond saving. Only individual attempts to save one’s self and others will prevail. On the wreck of the world, no human ingression for good in the environment, no recasting of society according to idyllic principles, no grand

Fundamentals, a written statement of conservative, premillennialist, Protestant belief. Sponsored by Lyman Stewart, edited by A.C. Dixon, and published between 1910 and 1915, *The Fundamentals* are regarded as “the epitome of Fundamentalist belief, and the commencement of a vigorous campaign to discredit Modernism” (Sandeen 1970: 189; see Chapter 8).

social consciousness, no technology, and no proliferating moral-aesthetic will stop the foundering. This is not to say that premillennialists were careless about what was happening in the society and environment around them. They were horrified that the world had collapsed into chaos, but they could take solace in their belief that all was going according to God's plan (Weber 1987: 88-89).

Central to the premillennialist and postmillennialist disagreement, for this argument, is their conception of the purpose of environment. Premillennialists believed it was part of God's eternal plan to destroy the earth. Christ would return not in glory, but anger, and on his heels an apocalypse, a "melting fire" that would cause "the mountains [to] flow down" on "the day of his vengeance" (Smith 1986: 276-277). As convention has it, on that day, the returned Christ sweeps up the "saved" from the surface of the earth and takes them to his capacious bosom before purging the earth with an apocalyptic conflagration, a process commonly referred to as "the Rapture." We can surmise, given this kind of belief, that the environment would hold little interest to a premillennialist, except perhaps its collapse as an indicator of the signs-of-the-times, since the physical world is destined for annihilation. With the earth on the brink of doom, salvation, for premillennialists, lay in individual conversion to Christ, one soul at a time.

Importantly, the world and the environment to the premillennialist stood only as an impediment to the individual's heavenly glory. A premillennialist bromide put it best: "be in the world, not of it." The physical world would pass as the eternal world came into view. As Moody wrote in the late 1870's: "the moment a man takes hold of the truth that Jesus Christ is coming back again...this world loses its hold upon him; gas-stocks and water-

stocks, and stocks in banks and horse-railroads, are of very much less consequence then. His heart is free and he looks for the blessed appearance of his Lord, who at his coming will take him into His blessed kingdom" (Moody, in Weber 1987: 44). Being in the world but not of it turned the premillennialist's attentions to the metaphysical, that beyond the physical world of environment.

Ultimately, premillennialism eschewed all considerations of environment. For the premillennialist founder of the Mormon church, Joseph Smith, the earth and its environs as we know them, simply provided the backdrop for God's examination of human behaviour. Environment had no real value outside human utility and God's testing. As Smith (1986: 241; 121.32) writes: "this world...should be reserved unto the finishing and end [of time]...when every man shall enter into his eternal presense and into his immortal rest." Whereupon it would be destroyed, and then "renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory" (Smith 1978[1842]: 541). The earth, once having fulfilled its utilitarian service, lapses first into chaos and conflagration, and then into a glorified "transfiguration" (Smith 1978[1842: 116; 63.20-23), all the prerogative of Smith's God.

So the premillennial opinion holds the world unsalvagable; only people and their souls have a chance. Nothing and no one, especially no human, can revive the modern world from the corruption of cities and governments, only God in the form of Jesus Christ. The second advent of the messiah and the final wrath of God will be precipitated by nothing but the incremental passage of prophesied events signalling the end of time.

Postmillennialism

Postmillennialism, on the other hand, looked favourably, almost giddily, upon the prospects of the world under the aegis of modernism and its possibilities for regeneration. Postmillennialists scrutinised the environment for social and spatial travesties, turning liberal evangelicalism literally into the Social Sciences as historians Timothy Smith (1980), Ramsay Cook (1985), and sociologist Mariana Valverdi (1991) suggest.⁶² Postmillennialists had a constitutional ability to see the good in the world, because the second coming would follow closely on the heels of their preparations to accommodate its so deemed master; Airhart (1990: 99) suggests that Canadian evangelicals saw Canada as "His Dominion," equating the Kingdom of God with the new nation. The return of the son of God would occur only, as historian of religion, George Marsden (1990: 157), writes, "*after* a golden age that would grow out of current cultural and social progress," which assumed a decidedly providential form.

The postmillennialists differed from the premillennialists in their basic understanding of the human relationship to God. The premillennialist spoke of individual souls in need of saving individually. The postmillennialist spoke of a "social gospel," where the reclamation of the whole society facilitated individual salvation. Postmillennialists recognised that "men must come to God not as discrete, atomistic individuals, pure only in and of themselves, but as parts of the brotherhood of man, in which each is spiritually and ethically united to his neighbor" (McLoughlin 1978: 171-172).

⁶²Smith (1980: 16) writes that "[i]nstead of the church evangelising the world, the world would secularise the church." Social Christianity's scrutiny of the problems of society in a secular context result in the modern concern for social scientific inquiry, statistical analysis, micro-management, and all activities related to reducing the world to its minutae for the purposes of improving it.

Indeed, "the entire human race was linked together by a natural law "of race responsibility," where "every man under it becomes his brother's keeper" (Van Die 1989: 37). The postmillennialists therefore enlisted for their salvational ends all things that would lead to social salvation. This included believing that the comprehensive perfection of the environment would instigate the universal redemption of society, by exposing the individual members of society to moral and righteous environmental millennialist ideals.

Postmillennialists, unlike their counterparts, thought optimistically about both environment and their heightened ability to alter it according to the will of their Creator; Lears (1981: 195) calls postmillennialism the deification of human purpose. Indeed, postmillennialists manufacture the millennium through their humanist interventions in the environment. Westfall (1989: 187) suggests that the advent of Christ would come about not after a singular and sudden cataclysmic event, but through a gradual evolution of applied social Christianity. The millennium, which was really the fruition of liberal evangelical environmental improvement efforts, "would occur not through a divine power acting alone, but with the active participation of an ever increasing number of Christians, whose moral lives would shape the course of human history and help fulfil God's plan for the world" (Westfall 1989: 187). This shaping required human manipulation of the physical environment according to evangelical Protestant morals and principles. The improvement of society and environment needed the active intercession of well-trained, well-bred, faithful, and, as W.T. Stead (1894: 408) urged, perspicacious, people to make a proverbial silk purse out of the porcine extremity that was the modern industrial city. This is why, for example, the

social settlement movement propelled forward on the labour of college-trained social Christians, as we will see. And social settlement houses were both social and environmental necessities, a noble example of human intervention in the disordered environment.

The chaos of modernity, which has much to do with the disorder of the city, holds the key to understanding the postmillennialist concern for reform, for which we could use a synonym: perfectionism. Urban reform extruded from the postmillennialist need to perfect the world to impel the return of Christ. Because “postmillennial progressivism assumed that God was immanent in Nature, and that men could discern and implement his will” (Lears 1981: 194), postmillennialists promoted activities and ideals they believed would improve the moral character of society. Anything that contributed to a geography of perfectionism in the city became part of the postmillennialist reform agenda. Art, decoration and design, beauty, taste, parks, fashion, flowers, all held particular charms for bourgeois liberal evangelicals who equated morality with impeccable appearance. In this light, the moral-aesthetic perfectionism of City Beautiful and its reliance on principles of the Decorative Arts deserves scholarly reappraisal by urban geographers.

Postmillennialists held much hope for the future because they believed God himself was overseeing its unfolding. Ellen Richards, a leading turn-of-the-twentieth-century American euthenicist was of the same mind. Her book, *Euthenics: The Science of Controllable Environment* (1911) was an implicitly postmillennialist treatise. It extolled the merits of perfected living environments, both inside the home and the city, for the purpose of white race regeneration and the nurturing of Protestant middle-class values, in

which hygiene was paramount. "The world is going to the bad," she writes, "only if one believes that material progress is bad. If we can see the new heaven and the new earth in it, then we may have faith in the future" (Richards 1977[1911]: 154). The phrase "a new heaven and a new earth" comes directly from the millennialist lexicon, based on a passage from the Old Testament Book of Isaiah (65: 17) that deals with the second coming.

Postmillennial Modernism

God's oversight of the world involved his providential bestowal of technological modernism, which attaches to the postmillennialist desire to perfect—*engineer* is an appropriate word—the urban environment for the millennium (see Appendix 1: Definitions, "Modernism and Modernity" : 423). (In a later chapter on WCTU president, Frances Willard, I discuss the idea of "responsible modernism" or the feminisation of modernism as an implicit part of Willard's Domestic postmillennialist reform impulse; technology may be providential, but for it to be useful in the aid of progress it needed to be domesticated, responsible. Irresponsible technology could hardly be classified as progressive). Urban historians, Stanley Shultz and Clay McShane (1978: 389), directly link technology and social engineering in an essay on sanitation and sewer reform. Postmillennialists, such as Willard, saw modernism, especially its technology, as a direct gift from God for the engineering of a millennial world, which was socially, as well as environmentally, perfected. As Westfall (1989: 186) suggests, "[t]echnological change was...a divine reward for moral improvement." As society continued to improve through adherence to liberal evangelical Protestant religious ideals, God would shower the people, as it were, with technological rewards: "By this means," a late Victorian minister, Rev. James Douglas, declared,

the human mind will delight to understand God's works and ways; and God will teach him to know how to regain that dominion over all creatures, of which satan (sic) deprived him, by seducing him to sin into bondage to himself. We see that much has already been regained by man in this way; of which his power over water, air, steam, electricity, and light may be specified as examples. And who can tell how far this newly acquired power may ultimately be carried (in Westfall 1989: 186)?

Frances Willard knew. Her diary reveals her thralldom to modern technology and the providence of its bestowal:

I woke thinking: Is it possible that I am to be living on the planet Earth not only when the sources of the Nile, the heart of Africa and the secrets of the poles are hunted out, but when electricity is harnessed, printing is done by steam, the flying machine is invented (as a sequel to the bicycle where we well nigh take our leave of Earth) and that by the phonograph or telephone or cathode ray or spectroscope we are to hear the sounds & see the sights that make the Life Immortal sure?⁶³

Such optimistic musings are surely the words of "a woman who had imbibed, deeply," as social historian, Ian McKay (1993: 202), notes of another similarly enthusiastic woman reformer of the era, "from the well of progressive optimism." For Willard, as for the Rev. Douglas, technology acted

⁶³ Frances Willard, Journal entry, November 18, 1893 (in De Swarte Gifford 1995: 398). Canadian novelist Lucy Maud Montgomery, had a similar thought about this technological manifestation, but was a little more hesitant about implications: "Truly the epic of human genius in this century is its colossal mechanical contrivances. Two and three thousand years ago men wrote immortal poems. To-day they create marvellous inventions and bend the erstwhile undreamed-of forces of nature to their will. Which is better, oh, ye gods of the Golden Age?" (Montgomery, in Bell 1990: 120).

as not only a proof for the existence of God, but as a sure means to a practical end: the regeneration of the modern world and its urban problems.

Technological modernism in the eyes of those eager to find solutions was the basis for postmillennialist hope not premillennialist harrowing. As the evangelical Canadian cleric, polymath, and principal of Queen's University, George Munro Grant, said:

[W]herever there are human beings, they are living now under more benign heavens than any previous age, and better still, there is a striving upward to the light everywhere. All the influences and inventions of modern times tend to multiply opportunities for men and women to live a higher life, and just as sure as day follows night, there is a good time coming (Grant in Cook 1985: 39).

Remember this idea of the "higher life;" we will encounter it again. Grant's coming good time, however, undoubtedly refers to the millennial advent of the Christian God, whose arrival most assuredly quickened through the beneficence of modern invention and influence.⁶⁴

It is not a conceit to connect the postmillennialist goal of human perfection to modernism and its technological manifestations, especially city planning. The highly influential early- and mid-century planner and historian of the city, Lewis Mumford (1944: 34), in his introduction to a republication of Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1902) states the linkage explicitly:

⁶⁴Michael Gauvreau (1991: 155) suggests that Grant in his time was far from modern, being considered an intellectual and economic conservative, "traditional and antiquated" as Queen's philosopher John Watson called him. Perhaps, but Gauvreau ignores that Grant's post-millennialism makes him a modernist by default. He is certainly no Billy Sunday, a pretty good benchmark for cultural conservatism, especially as it pertains to religion and gender, at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century.

For if man is to live a balanced life, capable of calling out all his faculties and bringing them to perfection, he must live in a community that fully sustains them. What was needed, Howard saw--as Kropotkin at the same time proclaimed--was a marriage of town and country, of rustic health and sanity and activity and urban knowledge, urban technical facility, urban political co-

operation. The instrument of that marriage was the Garden City. Unless I am mistaken here, Mumford's idea of social perfectionism hinges on the application of modernism, especially "urban technical facility," which is the only method by which humans can suppress the debilitating effects of size, density, and heterogeneity on a geographically delimited landscape, to the communal environment of the city.

Importantly, the perfection of the city dweller also needs modern urban political co-operation; in this Mumford, in a way, has much in common with Stead. This is not to say that Mumford was a postmillennialist, but he does recapitulate Stead's postmillennialist reform assertions, a half century later. The social perfection of the Chicago's impoverished masses required the intercession of both modern street and municipal political reforms, *and* an informed City Council. The Garden City city council, conveniently, would harbour a unity of purpose, creating a common ground for both "Tory and Anarchist, single-taxer and socialist (Mumford 1944: 37). Chicago as a utopic Garden City would have slaked Stead's aspirations for a perfected society quite nicely.

Evangelicals and urban reform

It is one thing to suggest that urban reform--specifically City Beautiful and its seemingly exclusively masculine affiliation--attaches to the Domestic

liberal evangelical millennialist and environmentalist milieu in the turn-of-the-twentieth-century city. It is quite another to illustrate it. Still, once the researcher knows what to look for, the flags fly everywhere. The thing to remember is that reformers acquired their reform urge at the hands of their liberal Protestant beliefs. Their belief shows in their opinions (see Appendix 3: "A mnemonic for reform": 435).

Evangelical reformers idealised Christianity and its founder. For them, Jesus Christ stood not as a martyr but as a socialist, a street-wise reformer, a trench-walker, and sleeve-roller who cared more about ordering disorder than the aestheticisation of his own suffering (Cook 1985; Howell 1993; see also Stead 1894). Many reformers sought to emulate their hero and make his religion and example the basis of their sociological imagination. Their social Christianity and Christ-based fellow-feeling formed the philosophical and motivational basis of their reforms. For example, the settlement house movement, the establishment of a type of Christian urban mission home in the heart of tenement districts came directly from Jane Addams' compassionate response to the Christian call to serve her fellows of lesser fortune:

The impulse to share the lives of the poor and desire to make social service, irrespective of propaganda, express the spirit of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself. That Christianity has to be revealed and embodied in the line of social progress is a corollary to the simple proposition that man's action is found in his social relationships in the way in which he connects with his fellows; that his motives for action are his zeal and affection

with which he regards his fellows" (Addams 1912: 122, in Stead 1894: 414).⁶⁵

For Addams, her love of Christ impels her desire to reform the city, which is simply the dwelling place of her fellow beings.

This social Christian affinity for her fellows informed Addams' urban geographic sense. We can take her at her word when she says that "unlike [Robert] Woods," director of Boston's South End House, and the Reverend Graham Taylor, a Chicago settlement leader, "I do not believe in geographical salvation" (Addams, in Silver 1985: 162).⁶⁶ It is eminently probable that Addams' use of the phrase "geographical salvation" here refers to her preference for the reclamation of the individual homes, neighbourhoods, and districts, rather than the comprehensive reform of the whole city (Hull House existed concurrently in Chicago with the White City phenomenon and the comprehensive planning ideas of Daniel Burnham (Burnham 1902; Lubove 1972)).⁶⁷ This environmental social concern is especially apparent in her unwavering faith in neighbourhood reform and city reclamation (see for example, Addams 1907: 180-207, 1912: 297; Kraditor 1965).⁶⁸ Indeed, the charter

⁶⁵It is true that "historians of women have tended to agree that Jane Addams was a secular figure" as women's historian Kathryn Sklar (n.d.) writes. But Sklar continues, suggesting that though Addams and others may not have been affiliated with any particular religious institution, "Addams described her motivation as a new form of Christianity that was expanding the sacred to include the commonplace" (*ibid.*). I would argue that making the commonplace sacred is the equivalent to geographical salvation.

⁶⁶I am thankful to historian of American religion, Clyde Forsberg, for this point. Taylor was the author of a series of articles in *Survey* (1912), entitled "Religion in Social Action."

⁶⁷As Burnham (1902: 619) said, the White City taught "millions" "that the beauty of the whole is superior to that of each of the several parts of the composition exploited separately."

⁶⁸Addams (1912: 297) held deep concerns for shifting women's focus from the individual home to the neighbourhood and the wider city. She relates an anecdote about a woman acquaintance who was vigilant about her home but not the neighbourhood. "Although Italian immigrants were closing in all around her, she was not willing to sell her property and move away until she had finished the education of her children," Addams wrote. The woman, a fine housekeeper, mother, and widow, ignored the rise of tuberculosis in her neighbourhood, which also struck her. "One June," her two daughters returned home from an "eastern college" to visit "the spotless house and their self sacrificing mother." Unfortunately, the visit corresponded with a

of Hull House supports this point: "To Provide a center of higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions of the industrial districts of Chicago" (Addams 1912: 112). This was the practical mandate for Addams' basic proposition that "the subjective necessity for Social Settlements is therefore identical with...social and individual salvation" (Addams 1912: 127).

Others held this Protestant Christian affection and concern for city people and their environments. As Addams (1899: 164) suggests, the typical social settlement worker was "a young college woman, well-bred and open-minded," though not always women.⁶⁹ They were however almost exclusively liberal evangelical Protestants, women such as Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch.⁷⁰ Planning historian, Susan Marie Wirka (1994), notes that Simkhovitch belonged to the Church of the Carpenter, led by one Rev. William D. P. Bliss, a Fabian social reformer. Uniting workers, labor leaders, reformers, and academics, Bliss fomented social Christian reform through a

typhus outbreak in the neighbourhood. Both daughters "fell ill with typhoid fever and the one daughter died because the mother's utmost efforts could not keep the infection out of her own house." Addams insisted that had the woman applied her skills to the problems of the neighbourhood and city, instead of "isolate [her] family" she might have averted the tragedy.⁶⁹ Sklar (1998: n/a) suggests that "[b]y 1910 over four hundred settlements had been established in American cities," most drawing on private sources for financial support, some on organizations like the YWCA, some on churches. About three quarters were founded by women, and in another third, the majority of residents were women. This accords with cultural historian, Wayne Roberts (1979: 33), suggestion that "women volunteered for settlement services out of all proportion to men": "Any girl can teach sewing, cooking and the art of having a good time in a safe and wise way" but men could only teach English, politics, gymnastics and baseball."

⁷⁰Lears (1981: 209-215) suggests that social critic and aesthete, Vida Dutton Scudder—*Social Ideals in English Letters* (1898) and *Socialism and Character* (1912) among other works—allowed her social Christianity to carry her into the social settlement house movement. She helped organise the College Settlement Association and Denison House in Boston in the 1890s and must surely have interacted with Simkhovitch. And importantly, as Lears (*ibid*: 211) writes, Scudder "spoke frequently to religious and academic groups on 'The Relation of College Women to the Social Need,'" or put another way, the obligation of young bourgeois female evangelical Protestants to Christianise the city.

series of Sunday supper meetings where “practical labor problems of the day” and other social issues were discussed. Through Simkhovitch’s association with Bliss and the Church of the Carpenter, she met several of the residents at Denison House, a pioneer Boston settlement house (Wirka 1994: 87). Regular visits to Denison house piqued her interest in the settlement house movement, and she became one of the Denison house residents. She moved to New York’s infamous Lower East Side to work at the College Settlement House and Greenwich House, an experience that taught her the linkage between settlement work and planning. We must not, however, lose sight of Simkhovitch’s singular motivation in the promotion of “housing to neighbourhood planning,” as she writes in her 1949 autobiography, *Here is God’s Plenty*: “Our burning interest was the life of families, parents and children” (Simkhovitch 1994: 98). Home and family protection is an abiding liberal evangelical Protestant concern (Strong-Boag 1976; Kealey 1979; Bordin 1981; Bacchi 1986), as I will demonstrate in the next chapter.⁷¹

Ramsay Cook (1985: 199-200) sketches the Protestant reformism of one of Toronto’s and Canada’s foremost reformers and eventual Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, and his idolising Jesus Christ. Seeking to emulate Christ in word and deed, King wrote:

⁷¹Although Simkhovitch writes that “most settlement workers had ‘no creed but that of common humanity’” (in Silver 1985: 163), she is probably referring to her “denominationalism,” the social gospel rejection of Christian sectarianism for a universal religious tolerance and ecumenicalism, the point of the Parliament of Religions at the Columbian Exposition of 1893 (see Barrows 1893, 1897). Historian of religion, Phyllis Airhart (1990: 100-101), writes of the liberal evangelical Protestant union of churches, Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian, that created the United Church in Canada. Airhart suggests that the union “was made possible in part by the downplaying of creeds,” Christian unity more important than creedal difference. This creedal rejection is probably what Addams means by her use of the phrase “irrespective of propaganda” when writing of her desire for social service. Addams too had liberal Protestant “dreams of universal fellowship” (1912: 79) and even designated Hull House a “Cathedral of Humanity...the description...low and widespread as to include all men in fellowship and mutual responsibility even as the older pinacles and spires indicated communion with God” (Addams 1912: 149).

I admire Christ more than any man in history & my aim is to become like him...The work I hope to give my life is very great. The solving of social & industrial & political problems and the spreading of the light of truth upon these & the voice of right concerning them. I know I have exceptional power given me for this service if I can train myself to it (King, in Cook 1985: 199-200).

King's "zeal for building the kingdom of God on earth" (Cook 1985: 199-200) involved urban reform, as his series of articles in Toronto's *Mail and Empire* in September of 1897 illustrates.⁷² It is also highly pertinent that King worked with Jane Addams at Hull House (Davis 1972: 18); he "loved" her and thought her "Christ-like" (Cook 1985: 203). Needless to say, King read *If Christ Came to Chicago!* and thought it "contained 'much valuable information'" (Cook 1985: 202).

This Christian reform zeal, as Cook suggests, echoed in others, including the Reverends Dwight Chown, S. S. Craig, and education reformer, James Hughes. These three Christian postmillennialists worked for "'the realization of the Kingdom of God on Earth'" by "'making Christianity a vital force in the social and industrial organization of humanity and an essential element of a progressive civilization,'" "'a perfect sociology...perfectly applied'" (Craig; Hughes; Chown, in Cook 1985: 194-195). Hughes, appropriately, was a prominent Toronto reformer, Chief Inspector of Schools and a member of Advisory Board of the School Art League; we will encounter him again.

⁷²"Crowded Housing, Its Evil Effects", *Mail and Empire*, September 18, 1897, Part Two: 7; "Foreigners who live in Toronto", September 25, 1897, Part Two: 7; "The Foreigners who live in Toronto", October 2, 1897, Part Two: 10.

Jane Wetherald, Toronto reformer and editor of *The Ladies' Journal*, and whose reform activities I discuss in detail in the next chapter, claimed "Christ as [her] great example...and greatest gift of all."⁷³ Wetherald was a postmillennialist whose scrutinisation of the street led her to the discovery of a "crass" depiction of the birth of Christ in a Christmas display window: "a horrible monstrosity in the shape of an attempted representation of the birth of Christ." Wetherald piously urged her readers to boycott the store and its owner, "a Methodist in good standing."⁷⁴ But then women such as Wetherald, or members of the Toronto Local Council of Women, scoured the city for just such perceived immoralities, as I will show, as they worked for the cause of street reform. It is hardly speculation to suggest that evangelical reformers, such as King, Hughes, Wetherald, and others operated according to a millennial visitation agenda. Hence the expediency to clean and beautify cities and their inhabitants.

This connection between social Christianity and urban reform, and specifically city planning, is reinforced by, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. The son of his famous father, Olmsted, Jr., was "arguably the intellectual leader in the American city planning movement in the early twentieth century," as urban historian John Reps writes.⁷⁵ Olmsted, Jr., flatly maintained that "the first national conference on city planning in Washington, in 1909," was called "mainly due" to the strong influence of "our own housing reformers and social workers" in the direction of city planning.⁷⁶ This would have been no surprise to Simkhovitch, who insisted that "virtually all leaders in housing

⁷³"Inappropriate Giving" *The Ladies' Journal*, February 1895, Vol. XVII, No. 2: 12.

⁷⁴*ibid.*

⁷⁵John Reps, "Biographical Note for Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., *The City Beautiful*", in Reps (n.d.).

⁷⁶Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "The Town Planning Movement in America", *Housing and Town Planning . The Annals*, 51, January 1914: 172-181; in Reps (n.d.).

reform in the 1890's were persons with a settlement background" (Simkhovitch, in Wirka 1994: 91). We simply do not encounter enough of these kinds of primary source attributions to evangelical Protestants and their weighty influence on urban planning in the secondary literature. Yet Olmsted, Jr., continues, implying the Domestic nature of this urban reform. Housing and social reformers, Olmsted avers,

are absolutely right in their contention that town planning should first regard the total influence of what is proposed upon the character of dwelling in which the ordinary citizen will live and upon the immediate surroundings of that dwelling, and only second the economy and perfection of the facilities for those public functions that affect the citizen less intimately.⁷⁷

Urban planning, for Olmsted, Jr., attaches solidly to the liberal evangelical Protestant reform impulse that produced the social settlement movement.

Within the postmillennialist paradigm, reform efforts hasten the start of Christ's reign on earth. This can only occur when reformers have made adequate preparations on earth to receive the heavenly visitor. Can we read primary documents for instances of evangelical and millennialist belief? If so, such manifestations bode well for a between-the-lines implication of this dissertation: urban planning is a postmillennialist endeavour, and that contemporary urban planners unwittingly engage in preparations for the advent of the Christian messiah.

Charles Zueblin in his famous essay on the lasting effects of the White City at the Columbian Exposition of 1893, makes this altogether revealing

⁷⁷*ibid.*

statement: "The White City came in the fullness of times."⁷⁸ The idea of a White City, with its perfected urbanism, as the feature attraction at the World's Fair at the height of millennialist fervour in northern North America, itself urges investigation—it is no coincidence that the World Exposition hosted a denominationalist World Congress of Religions, or "Parliament of Religions" in the hope of unifying global belief (see Barrow 1893; Carter 1970). But Zueblin, in an unequivocal reference to the millennium, places the White City within the millennialist evangelicalism of the day. The fullness of times refers to the "dispensation of the fullness of times," the culmination period at the end of the world when a returned Jesus Christ will "gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth; even in him (*New Testament*, Ephesians 1. 10). Zueblin's contention that the White City "came in the fullness of times" means that it was given to humans by God as a sign of the imminence of Jesus Christ. Undoubtly the White City was the providential template for engineering perfect cities.

Zueblin, rehearsing the social Christianity of his day, continues:

The White City was unique in being an epitome of the best we had done, and a prophecy of what we could do, if we were content with nothing but the best, and added to individual excellence a common purpose. The White city was the most socialistic achievement of history, the result of many minds inspired by a common aim working for the common good.

⁷⁸Charles Zueblin, "The White City and After", *A Decade of Civic Development*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1905: 59-82; in Reys (n.d.).

There was no loss of individuality, no place for individualism.

The individual was great, but the collectivity was greater.⁷⁹

Recall the postmillennialist and social gospel rejection of the individual good for the social good. The second coming would only occur when humans united in a single purpose to overcome environmental and social ills. The White City demonstrates, for Zueblin, precisely the efficacy of Christian socialism when turned on the problem of the modern city.

Elizabeth Fitch Perkins concurs with Zueblin in an openly bourgeois essay on the need for art and beauty within the precincts of municipalities. Perkins frankly states that “[w]hile there have been in the past sporadic cases of [civic improvement]...a new spirit seems to be manifesting itself in these millennial days, and cities all over the country, are arousing themselves to the necessity for beauty.”⁸⁰ Perkins here plainly attaches the increase of reform and beautification efforts to the adventism of her time.

A glaring example of the attachment of reform to liberal evangelical belief in the advent of Christ appeared in Toronto’s *Saturday Night*, in an editorial praising the progress of the one of the city’s few monuments to neo-Classical beautification: New City Hall. The editor, while musing about a stone carver high on the facade of the building, reveals an undeniable attachment to both environmental reform and postmillennialist hope and expectation:

He has been pecking away at stone window facings...and is no doubt carving something deucedly pretty. Thousands going past on the street cars have seen him, an atom of life on the vast face

⁷⁹*ibid.*

⁸⁰Lucy Fitch Perkins, “Municipal Art”, *The Chautauquan* 36, February 1903: 516-527; in Repts (n.d.).

of the stone edifice, and have felt a strange thrill of delight. High up and far away as he is, it may be perceived from the street that he is working at the building, and although it is impossible to estimate how long it will take him to finish it, yet we know that the work is progressing. I do not know the name of the man who is building the court house, but I call him the Rainbow because he is a sign vouch-safed unto us and a promise. It is the privilege of every citizen to see him, and it is every man's duty to applaud him. His task is a great one, and we should cheer him on lest he become discouraged.⁸¹

The rainbow symbolises both God's Old Testament promise to humans that he would never again flood the earth (Genesis 9: 13-17), and a New Testament suggestion that a rainbow will accompany the second coming (Revelations 10: 1). It is not mere speculation to suggest that "Rainbow" here, in those "millennial days," represents for the writer the promise of Christ's return, if and when reformers make Toronto a suitable place for the son of God within "His Dominion." Possibly, "Rainbow" represents for the writer the ability of humans to engineer an environment fitting for the Christian messiah. If so, Rainbow's "great" task is more than mere carving; he is helping to engineer the kingdom of God.

Perhaps the most striking articulation of evangelicalism in urban reform comes from the foremost proponent of city beautification, Charles Mulford Robinson. Concluding his treatise on city beauty, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities* (1901: 288), Robinson wafts on the thermals of his elevated religious "belief in the holiness of beauty:"

⁸¹*Saturday Night*, April 4, 1896: 1.

Looking out upon the world, let it note that if sunrise and sunset, if summer sky and winter night, if bending heaven and upreaching earth have beauty, nature giving constant example of its coupling with utility, we may accept beauty of environment as part of the divine plan and fear to shut it out from the crowded life of cities. For can we say there is no holiness of beauty, that it has no essentialness to creation's scheme, when we find it shaping the field flower, the fern in the densest forest, or the spray cap of a wave in trackless seas, lest in aeons of time these be seen. Consider how the grasses bend in broken beauty at our feet in virgin country, how the sky lavishes its wealth of glory before careless eyes, how the great trees sway and call, put forth tender leaves at spring or flaunt an autumn splendour; how the birds translate rapture into music; and the constant, changeless stars soothe weary hours with measureless majesty. When God does this for a lonely child, shall we relax our vigilance to bring beauty to the homes of huddled thousands? Dare we say that a city must be ugly?

For Robinson it is human responsibility--and a postmillennialist attitude--to interfere for good in the environment, to assist God in the fabrication of beauty in cities. What more can be said, but to admonish the reader to remember Robinson's rapt and religious coupling of beauty and utility as part of the divine scheme? It has great significance in a later chapter..

Conclusion

Liberal evangelical Protestantism, and specifically postmillennialism as a legitimate ideational impetus in the creation the modern city, offers its

unique take on environmental reform to urban geographers interested in urban processes. Postmillennialists act geographically according to their religious beliefs, desires, and expectations. This being so, liberal evangelical Protestantism possesses all the earmarks of a geographic discourse, its basis the outward perfection of the environment in the aid of the inward moral regeneration of society.

Postmillennialist environmentalism fixed to a perfectionist idea that saw technological modernism as providential and affiliated with the notion that humans can engineer an environment suitable for a millennial messiah. Alternatively, premillennialists held a distinctively anti-environmentalist position, construing the earth as a temporary testing ground for eternity-bound humans; the purpose of the earth is apocalyptic destruction and paradisiacal renewal by none but the hand of God. Upon the return of Christ, which could happen at any moment, all interest in environment stopped, its purpose fulfilled.

These two approaches to the environment, as we may anticipate, had profound implications for urban reform; city beautification obtained to the paramountcy of human intervention in the regeneration of both the city and its people. Reformers unhesitatingly linked their liberal evangelical Protestant beliefs with their Christian reform goals and environmental expectations which marched to the drum of this perfectionism. That reformers engaged in reform as an expression of these beliefs should suggest to urban geographers that we need to scrape much harder if we are to reveal every detail of the historical geographical city.

Establishing liberal evangelical Protestantism as an impetus in city reform, we can move to the issue of urban reform as an expression of liberal

evangelical Domestic women concerned to protect their children and families from the evils of industrial modernity. To talk of liberal evangelical Protestantism in the nineteenth-century is to invoke feminism, the former being the religion of middle-class women with the city on their minds.

**Chapter 2 The Domestic Foundations of Urban Reform:
Making the "Homelike" City**

Everything that touches the woman touches the home.

Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, president of the
Woman's Club of Chicago (Stead 1894: 154)

All the problems of environment which we have been
considering would be solved in half the time, yes, in one quarter,
if all the housewives would combine in carrying out the
knowledge which some of them have and which all may have.

Ellen Richards (1977[1911]: 149-150)

The world has paid every woman a charming compliment. It
has credited all of us with the ability to make our surroundings
beautiful... When she has been there the room seemed to show
an extra daintiness, the place wore an added charm, an air of
comfort and coziness it did not possess before.⁸²

[W]e were all so absorbed in the desire for clean and tidy streets
that we were wholly oblivious to the incongruity of thus
selecting "the queen of love and beauty."

Jane Addams (1912: 292)

⁸²"Arranging Flowers for the House", in *The Book of Knowledge* (Mee 1926: 620).

It is the layman, the 'crank,' the unsatisfied one, the golden-hearted woman seeking to see a bit of the heavenly city in advance, who move communities.

J. Horace McFarland (1908)⁸³

This chapter takes the previous chapter's discussion of evangelical Protestantism and the city and demonstrates exactly how Domesticity connects to the reform of the modern city. Illustrating the geographic importance of home, its attributes, and its purpose, it suggests that the Domestic ideational construction of home became a template for the reformation of the industrial city. In doing so, it not only places Domestic ideals but women at the centre of the reform movement and the improvement of the public city. Women considered themselves the premier "housekeepers" in society; they construed the city boundaries as the exterior walls of the larger home of the citizens of the municipality. The job of "municipal housekeeping," women argued, suited women more than it did men. Consequently, certain bourgeois Protestant women instituted an agenda to maintain the city according to standards of "home-likeness." The home was, after all, the nursery of children, the next generation, the future of the "race." Domestic incursions into urban reform had as much to do with women's attempts to preserve and protect children as it did practical urban reconstruction.

Such an assertion challenges traditional scholarly beliefs about not only the publicity of women in the modern city, but the implicit masculinity of urban reform. Municipal housekeeping was not performed in private, but

⁸³J. Horace McFarland, "The Growth of City Planning in America", *Charities and the Commons* 19, February 2, 1908: 1522-1528; in Reys (n.d.).

publicly, by organised women in concert with their Domestic beliefs, moral maternity, and maternal feminism. The chapter urges a reconsideration of the public and private gender dichotomy within the context of the urban reform of public space.

Introduction

This dissertation contends in part that urban reform was not only Protestant, but that women engaged openly, actively, and publicly in the reform of the city. It further suggests that men regarded women's involvement in the reform process as pivotal. This should immediately indicate a difficulty, since it has been a working assumption in the Social Sciences that the public and private spheres were separate and immovable in theory and practice. Indeed, as cultural historian, Amanda Vickery (1993: 393; 401), notes in her masterful historiographical essay on separate spheres, scholars are convinced of this. As Vickery suggests, scholars have taken Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's (1987) conclusion that separate spheres were an historical reality "as the last word on the subject," even granting its assertions the "unwarranted status of holy writ" (on this split in opinion, see also Goheen 1998). Certainly, the general acceptance of the idea that nineteenth-century women were quarantined and partitioned in a carceral and patriarchally ordained private sphere should make us wary of any claim that makes women the heralds of urban environmentalism (by this I mean not concern for Nature but the built world) (see Appendix 1: Definitions, "Women": 428).

The convention avers that "many patriarchal discourses were incapable of being broadened or extended to include women without major transformations or upheavals. There was no space within the confines of

these discourses to accommodate women's inclusion and equal participation" (Gross 1987: 191; see also Pateman 1989).⁸⁴ Such a generalised and rigid statement not only guarantees a compartmentalisation of the spheres but infuses the whole issue with gender determinacy: gender itself determines the existence of these spheres. Importantly, the exclusion argument averts its eyes from our growing awareness of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century women's understanding and manipulation of informal channels of power, something that some scholars of women have addressed (Baker 1984; Ryan 1992; Vickery 1993).⁸⁵

⁸⁴Some women argued vociferously that middle class women did in fact enjoy much economic power. Toronto's *Globe* (May 15, 1912: 5) reported on "Women who do not want the vote," reprinting the views of one Ann Watkins from the *New York Outlook*. "If she has the ballot, she will not be permitted to waste her husband's property, run him into debt, neglect her home and children, get a divorce whenever she feels like it, and do a hundred other things inimical to society and to him that she now can do with legal impunity." Further on, Watkins declared: "I believe that twenty-two million women feel, as I do, that our greatest strength lies in the accepted fiction of our weakness." Watkins then highlighted some existing laws in New York State that, with suffrage, would change:

- 1 Women have one-third prospective claim on a man's property. He may not dispose of it without her permission
- 2 A woman has a right to all or any money she can earn; a man is compelled to maintain "properly" both his wife and children.
- 3 A man is responsible for all debts contracted by his wife; a woman is not liable for any debts contracted save her own.
- 4 Provided she secures a divorce, a woman may compell her husband to pay her alimony. The man has no claim whatsoever on her property or purse under such conditions.
- 5 A woman is eligible for any and every profession compatible with her physical make up of which she is almost in every instance permitted to be the judge.

The article concluded by suggesting that "these are probably not very different from conditions in Ontario and Mrs Watkins goes on to point out these laws by which men have delivered themselves into the hands of women would not be fair should women have the ballot by which to protect her own interests." On the divisions among women on the issue of suffrage, see Bacchi (1979), Blocker (1985), and Buechler (1987).

⁸⁵This formal power versus informal power debate reaches back to the antagonism between suffragists and temperance crusaders, as cultural historian, Jack Blocker (1985: 466), shows. New England suffragist Elizabeth K. Churchill thought this use of informal power "placed women in an ignoble position. To see women on their knees before men pleading with them to abandon their business, she said, was pitiful; use of this degrading approach was a result of women having been taught that their influence was indirect, that it involved wheedling and cajoling."

It has also been generally assumed that Domesticity, the nineteenth-century cultural phenomenon that revered womanhood, motherhood, bourgeois women's moral and religious instincts, and women's authoritative stewardship over the family and the home, made women cloistered gatekeepers of privacy and unwelcome in public. Because proponents of Domesticity, such as Catherine Beecher, Francis Willard, and their ilk, made lofty formal pronouncements about women's responsibility in the creation of the home and their inimical position as steward, mother, teacher, and moralist within it, we presuppose that all Domestic women were physically immured in their homes; women stood as indentured servants to their families. Yet, the defiant Willard, an aggressive propounder of Domesticity and the "evolution of the home idea" (Willard 1889: 610), exclaims in her autobiography that she never cared to "know house-work," and that "a needle and a dishcloth [she] could not abide—chiefly because ... [she] was bound to live out-of doors" (Willard 1889: 25). That Willard could implore women to take up the bicycle, in a book published near both the end of her tenure as president of the WCTU and her life, says much about her commitment to public womanhood and Domestication.

The presumption that all women languished in their homes in a socially divided city of segregated men's and women's spaces (Wekerle *et. al.* 1980; Mackenzie 1989), neatly within a wrinkle-free system of structural patriarchy, urges important questions: Do we really mean all women? How do we account for the legions of organised women throughout North America at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century who dedicated their lives to the reform of both the public and private city? Why did such women regard the city as the other home over which they were responsible?

Such ideas about, and actions by, women necessarily point to Domesticity and publicity, and challenge received generalities about women and privacy. One accepted generalisation about the role of women in a liberal democratic society favouring organisational patriarchy comes from philosopher, Carol Pateman (1989). She reiterates Grosz's idea that women found no room for public growth in a male-dominated public sphere. Instead, Pateman (1989: 130) suggests that women, who have privacy prescribed for and imposed on them in a patriarchal social order, simply garnered no opportunities to develop a sense of publicness. Another general idea, forwarded by philosopher, Nancy Fraser (1992), is a more nuanced and less determinate view of women and publicity. Fraser (1992: 115-116) suggests, after Ryan (1992), that women were able to participate creatively in an informal counterpublic. Nevertheless, women of all classes and ethnicities were excluded from the formal public sphere, where masculine "protocols of style and decorum...functioned to marginalise women" (Fraser 1992: 119).

Pateman and Fraser together perpetuate four negative ideas that this chapter attempts, implicitly, to dismiss. The first is the presupposition of a seamless patriarchal and/or masculine principle existing through and across time and space; the second, that all women, despite class and race, are equal; the third, that ultimately the only noteworthy and substantial public participation is participation in the formal public sphere;⁸⁶ and the fourth that women did not have an urban geographic imagination, that their moral conception of environment could have no formal public influence on the modern city.

⁸⁶Despite Fraser's (1992: 116) assertion—one that refutes Pateman—that "the view that women were excluded from the public sphere turns out to be ideological," she is ultimately too willing to see bourgeois women as incapable of participating as peers in the formal public because of the informal nature of their action.

Regarding the predominance of a patriarchal and masculine culture in North America, cultural historians of the nineteenth century's assert something quite different. They demonstrate a cultural penchant of the middle-class for feminism: for example, Ann Douglas's (1977) work on the rise of feminist religion and culture in North America, especially through the feminist affect on the popular press; Nancy Hardesty's (1984) discussion of the influential role women played in nineteenth-century evangelicalism; Gail Bederman's (1989) discussion of the masculine religious backlash against the cultural authority of women in the church (on this point, see also Carnes 1989). Mary Ryan's (1990, 1992) masterly discussions of women in public simply put to rest any notions that all women can be generalised as one thing or another. To this add Christine Stansell's (1987) remarkable demonstration of working and under class women and their open affiliation with the streets –there was also an affinity for the streets (Strange 1995).

Other critics have shown that equalitarian presuppositions applied to race and class are unwisely made when regarded historically. Women of colour were eminently less equal than white women (Blee 1991; Gilmore 1996). Women of colour even attempted to construct themselves according to an evangelical ethos of "usefulness" (Gilmore 1996: 36); such an approach posited not ladylike gentility for African-American women but value, strength, initiative, and practicality as a method of negotiating public space without the aid of chivalry. And as Robert Bieder's (1989) study of WASP anthropological conceptions of aboriginal North American's implies, if there were a great chain of racialised being, aboriginal women would dwell at the bottom in the nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries; aboriginals were classification-resistant in nineteenth- century anthropology.

As for class, again Stansell's (1987) impressive study of lower class white women in New York City in the nineteenth-century New York illustrates the stout barrier of class that separated them from their middle-class, evangelical Domestic counterparts. As Stansell (1987: 70) shows, liberal evangelical women used their Domestic certitude as a standard of economic differentiation between themselves and working, underclass, and immigrant women. Only when the urban poor could demonstrate "worthiness" against this standard, e.g., a marriage certificate, references, an example of moral probity, etc., would reform women consider their applications for charity. Bourgeois Domestic women guarded closely the doors of admission into their morally upright and materialistic world.

Finally, the third assumption ignores what we are increasingly learning about women at the-turn-of-the-twentieth-century: their influence in public matters that pertained to the urban environment is substantial. Planning historian, Eugenie Birch (1994a), demonstrates women's role in the evolution of informal civic work to formal city planning. Another planning historian, Susan Marie Wirka (1994), shows specifically how Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch moved from social settlement worker in the 1890s to housing planner in the 1910s. And as I will show in this chapter, women and their Domestic ideas about family and social engineering were involved in the environmental reform of the North American modern city. To claim that the idea of a public woman is oxymoronic is to dismiss the massive influence of Domestic liberal evangelical women in the city.

This chapter offers another perspective on women and publicity. It urges us to consider the Domestic woman, who felt "buried alive if she has to

spend two days running at home without any calls or excitement.”⁸⁷ Recent historiographical revisions of the doctrine of separate spheres urge us to reconsider the history and, even more importantly, the geography of women in the historical modern city. This chapter draws the reader’s attention to northern urban North America at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century and suggests that its middle-class urban women resist the three assumptions above, especially when we account: firstly, for the cultural influence of liberal evangelical Protestant religion and its informant relationship with Domesticity; and secondly, the ability of northern bourgeois women to effect environmental change in the modern city, through Domestication and feminisation. As Nancy Hardesty (1984: 9) avers, such feminisation was anchored to liberal evangelical Protestantism, “its theology and practice motivat[ing] and equip[ing] women and men to adopt a feminist ideology, to reject stereotyped sex roles, and to work for positive changes in marriage, church, society, and politics” (see also Marsh 1990; Kimmel 1996). These positive changes have much to do with reformation of the urban environment, whose influence had the power, as so many reformers believed, to enliven or enervate city dwellers.

It is through women’s interest in urban reform that we can revisit the separate spheres argument using the idea from which the latter sprung: Domesticity, whose primary meaning in the age of reform was the preparation of a fitting environment for the rearing of children. Domesticity, as the principal ideology governing the proper behaviour of women as mothers and homemakers, urged mothers to attend the every need of their children. From providing a hygienic and aesthetic environment in which to

⁸⁷“Ellen Key Gives Warning to Modern Married Women”, *Toronto Star Weekly* September 28, 1912: 11.

raise children, to teaching them the basic principles of moral and civil existence in an increasingly urban and public world, Domestic thought attempted to circumscribe the life of the child. Domestic women devised two slogans under whose banners they marched: "home-protection" and "child-protection." Both necessitated that women scrutinise the environments of children, whether home, school, or the city-at-large. The city, as a container of homes and children, was seen not as public space but a Domestic place. The house- and home-management abilities of women were especially appropriate in an era that regarded urban reform as a type of housekeeping, about which I will say more below. Domestic women knew all about housekeeping and believed, consequently, that the reform of the city fell under its rubric and their jurisdiction.

More than attempting to implement a housekeeping agenda in the city, Domestic women, always mindful of the home, strove to make the city reflect the ideals of the home. "Homelike" became an adjective applied to the ends of reform endeavours. To achieve homelikeness, women had to scrutinise the city, scrutiny the principle action of Domestic reformers. Through the scrutiny and investigation of the urban environment, women reformers initiated and/or boosted the incremental but sweeping changes that have become the standard for reformed modern urban environments in North America: single family housing, universal sanitation and hygiene, clean, paved streets, and "green" cities.

Because Domesticity and homelikeness link, the chapter divides into two parts: part one an exploration of the children-centred and material bases for the Domestication of urban reform and the erection of a Domesticated urban environment suited to children; part two offers an examination of how

homelikeness operated in the city as the method of reform. Part one, after a brief discussion of the influence of evangelical Protestantism on Domesticity, argues that turn-of-the-twentieth-century environmentalism hitches to the reason-for-being of the Domestic woman: her children. It connects child-rearing to urban reform. The improvement of the urban environment of the child necessitated the progress of the next generation—this concern for children arises, predictably, in city planning thought, as we will see in later chapters. It then illustrates how this concern for a decorative urban environment erodes the separate spheres argument by showing how women in performance of their Domestic duties act unabashedly publicly, and are applauded for doing so.

Part two examines the domestic geography of the homelike city, illustrating Torontonians women's domestic influence in spaces outside the obvious geographic location of domesticity. It argues that the liberal evangelical Domestic conception of "home" provides a template for environmental reforms. Domestic women in Toronto took to both the clubroom and the streets to effect the implementation of "homelikeness" in the city. Women's magazines and organisations in Toronto engaged specifically in urban reform according to this model; Domestic norms and mores informed their environmental action. Toronto women used their Domestically trained eyes to scrutinise the urban environment for problems, scrutiny an integral part of the Domestic agenda to expose environmental problems and correct them.

Evangelicalism, Domesticity, and the City

Domesticity, the nineteenth-century feminist ideology that promoted home-protection as it gathered around the nurture of children, the safety of women, the cultural advancement of the family, the moralisation of society, the aestheticisation of environment, and the moral authority of women, emerged simultaneously with liberal evangelicalism, industrialism, and the city. This should not be surprising. Industrialisation and urbanisation transformed North American landscapes, physical and cultural, altering towns and their norms, renegotiating work and in the process social relations, as cultural historians have shown (Cott 1977; Douglas 1977; Johnson 1978; Ronald 1978; Ryan 1981; Johnson 1989; Sellers 1991; Wood 1991; Johnson and Wilentz 1994; Bullock 1996). Domesticity's rise undoubtedly recognised that industrialism and urbanism had affected the conditions of the home as well as that of the public. But it was also a barometer of its relationship with evangelical Protestantism. The former rose with the popularity of the latter.

Evangelicalism's appearance in the early 1800s introduced a Protestant religious belief that differed in two major respects to the Calvinist Puritanism that preceded it for centuries: firstly, it seemed tailored to an urbanising industrial society that advanced individualism, self-motivation, and instrumental rationality, as opposed to communitarianism and conformity (Boyer 1978; Johnson 1978; McLoughlin 1978) as its primary social norms.⁸⁸ Because the densely populous and socially diverse city was geographically large and unwieldy, the usual communitarian methods for controlling public morals and behaviour in the much smaller village, e.g., the church, peer

⁸⁸Since instrumental rationality is the reliance upon the self for moral, intuitive, and rational guidance, the evangelical insistence upon the Holy Ghost for personal direction makes perfect sense.

pressure, nosiness, etc., failed in the increasingly anomic urban environment (see Strong 1889; Park 1925; Wirth 1938; Boyer 1978). Evangelicalism, alternatively, emphasised a modern religiosity. People self-regulated their moral and social behaviour through intimate, individual, and self-sustaining appeals to God and the holy spirit, i.e., the use of prayer to govern their personal lives and actions. Evangelicals could go directly to God via the holy spirit for moral tuition, instead of the older, pre-modern, and communitarian sources, such as elders, clergymen, and lodge masters.⁸⁹

Secondly, and importantly for this dissertation, the Protestantism of the “second great awakening,” the nativity of Protestant hegemony in northern North American (McLoughlin 1978: 1-22), subscribed to feminism, and specifically the feminization of the church (see Douglas 1977: 94-139; chapter 3, “Ministers and Mothers: Changing and Exchanging Roles”; Shiels 1981).⁹⁰ Puritanism had established the male as the moral centre of the home at a time when men worked at home, home production the source of the family livelihood. Liberal evangelical Protestantism, alternatively, elevated women to the primary position, after men and production vacated the home for the factory. Kinship atomised and the master/apprentice relationship that typified much of premodern business practice slipped into the characteristic owner/labourer pairing that we know.

Liberal evangelicalism’s shifting of the moral centre of the home from masculine to feminine urged a reconsideration of women’s roles. Women,

⁸⁹Cultural historian, Richard Shiels (1981: 57) writes: “Social as well as religious change marked the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Communitarianism gave way to individualism, deference to egalitarianism, Puritanism to Jacksonian democracy.”

⁹⁰Historian of religion, Whitney Cross (1950: 84), has written, “[p]roperly, [women] should dominate a history of enthusiastic movements, for their influence is paramount.” Revivalism secured far more women than men, something Mary Ryan (1981: 75-83) and others suggest, evangelicalism a feminised religion in the nineteenth century (Welter 1974; Cott 1977; Douglas 1977; McLoughlin 1978; Sizer 1978; Epstein 1981; Shiels 1981; Bederman 1989; Carnes 1989).

rather than participate directly in the mercantilist production of goods in the home with their husbands and children, as in premodern times, became the protectors and stewards of the home, the tutors of religious feeling and moral behaviour. And the religion to which they subscribed and taught to their families was evangelical Protestantism. It was a peculiarly feminist religion, even dependent on women for its growth.⁹¹

Liberal evangelical women emphasised everyday decorum and mannerliness, as a foil for the growing rudeness of the industrialising town. As cultural historians, Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz (1994: 7), write, liberal evangelicals,

reassessed all aspects of everyday life. The reassessment began at home... businessmen whose fathers and grandfathers had assumed unquestioned control of their households began to pray with their wives and to give themselves over to a gentle, loving Jesus. Finneyite men worked honestly and hard, prayed for release from anger and passion, used their money for Christian purposes, and willingly delegated day-to-day authority over child-rearing and other household affairs to their wives. Evangelical women, for their part, taught their children (and very often their husbands) how to pray, how to develop an instinctive knowledge of right and wrong, and how to nurture the moral discipline that would prepare them for conversion

⁹¹Historian of religion, Whitney Cross (1950: 84), has famously written, “[p]roperly, [women] should dominate a history of enthusiastic movements, for their influence is paramount.” Carnes (1989: 77) suggests, Protestant women instigated Charles Grandison Finney’s revivals; Finney’s wife Lydia even converted him, something Finney excludes from his memoirs (Sweet 1983: 76–106). Importantly, women “organiz[ed] and publiciz[ed]” the celebrated Finney’s revivals in upstate New York, in order to introduce their husbands and friends to Finney’s feminised brand of Christianity (Carnes 1989: 77).

and lifelong Christian service. Reordered in these ways, [liberal evangelical] households became models for what would eventually emerge as American Victorian domesticity.⁹²

Such woman-centred homes became the basis of liberal evangelical feminism (Cott 1977; Bordin 1981; Ryan 1981; Goodman 1988). Women and mothers dedicated themselves to protecting the home from the socially and physically deteriorating Victorian city. Moral virtue, beauty, order, hygiene, and social and civic responsibility became the watchwords of home- and child-protectors in the city. From this commitment to guarding the home against the city and its people, arose powerful feminist reform organisations, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union with its motto, "For God, Home and Native Land" (Strong-Boag 1976; Mitchinson 1979; Bordin 1981; Blocker 1985).

Perhaps because of their familiarity with their own sense of paternalism and dominance so typical of the eighteenth-century patriarchal religious culture, men left home to become the owners and operators of business, aldermen of city corporations, etc.⁹³ One writer of men's history suggests an informal arrangement between men and women where men, with their conveniently assumed qualifications, undertook to moderate the formal world of politics and the burgeoning market economy. Women became "moral agents doing tasks the men could not perform," namely acting "to keep the taint of commerce from the doorstep" (Stearns 1979: 87, 86). The place of men ostensibly became the "public sphere."

⁹² Do not be misled by the exposition of this quotation which suits better Johnson and Wilentz's argument that male-oriented Puritan-based religion—anti-evangelicalism—forms the crux of the opposition to the mercurial rise of liberal evangelical Protestantism.

⁹³ Stearns (1979: 83) argues that men saw the public sphere of business as martial and even "the modern substitute for war." Exclaimed one writer in 1844, "Henceforward there will be business centuries, as in the past there have been military centuries."

Women remained in their urban homes. Empowered by their newly acquired religious and moral instincts, they were able to make it a moral and beautiful sanctuary in the deleterious industrial city whose insalubrity could defy description. They cooked and cleaned, but they also assumed the weighty role of being the “civilising agent in the new commercial wilderness” (Stearns 1979: 86). The place of women ostensibly became the “private sphere.” Domesticity, by definition a spatial idea—that which pertains to the house, in Latin *domus* and *domesticus*—fostered, then, the condition of women, who began to understand the world around them in relationship to their homes, constructed both spatially and ideationally.

As the governors of the home, women were urged to oversee its proper functioning as a nursery for the family, both morally and environmentally, as historian Kathryn Kish Sklar (1976) shows in her work on Catherine Beecher. “The family state,” as Beecher and her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote, “is the aptest earthly illustration of the heavenly kingdom and it is woman who is its chief minister (Beecher and Stowe 1869: 19). In such a religious circumstance, the family required suitable surroundings. The Domestic home, where families acquired “the refinements of high civilization” (Beecher and Stowe 1869: 441), was to be made a heavenly haven in the city. The home “benevolently” counterbalanced the chaos in the streets with a mother’s vigilant preparation of a suitable domestic environment, which “glorified the virtues of the single-family dwelling” (Clark 1986: 3).

Women learned the finer points of domestic geography from such home economics manuals as Beecher and Beecher Stowe’s *The American Woman’s Home* (1869). The sisters’ manual of home improvement

instructed women in their duty to the family as it related to the homely Christian environment. Appropriately, the book “embrac[ed] furnishing, decoration, ventilation, heating, and general housekeeping, as well as the original planning and arrangement of houses upon principles adapted to secure the most approved conveniences in the most economical way.”⁹⁴ Mid-century Victorian women may have been the arbiters of privacy, but they were also “homemakers,” which is to say they had a well-developed sense of environmental aesthetics. It requires not a great leap of thought to imagine that the gradually-going degeneracy of the modern industrial city would soon cause women to peruse the city with their domestic geographical gaze, the one they used to protect and nurture their children.

This included teaching men and children civic morality, civility in the modern city. As a new urban publicity arose, including both physical participation in public space and the influence of opinion within a public sphere (Habermas 1962; Sennett 1974, 1990; Calhoun 1992; Ethington 1994; Goheen 1994, 1998; Bullock 1996; Ryan 1997; Henkin 1999), moderating the emergent standard of civic duty and public morals became the purview of liberal evangelical Domestic women. Women’s homes evolved from places of material production in villages and the countryside to sites of moral and cultural suasion in cities.

Children and Environment

The city provided the geography of childhood for many children. Domestic women rightly worried about its influence on their children. The manufacture of civil citizens and moral children of God relied on the establishment of urban environmental standards that ensured the protection

⁹⁴“Literary, *The American Woman’s Home*. Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe”, *The Manufacturer and Builder: A Practical Journal of Industrial Progress* 1, January 1869: 214.

of the primary sites of nurture and training of children, especially home and school. These places, of course, resided within the boundaries of cities and so their protection demanded city-wide public vigilance on behalf of women. Euthenics, the science of controllable environment (Richards 1970[1911]), provided both a type of Domestic philosophy and a method by which women could make a city amenable to the rearing of the children who would, after all, be the adults who would in all likelihood usher in the new millennium.

Children

The right of the child is protection, and it is the responsibility of the adult—parent, teacher, or state officer—to secure this protection. (Richards 1978[1911]: 15)

The central interest of this dissertation is the relationship between urban reform and social thought as they combine to re-create the modern city. Exploring in a general way how women felt about children, and what women's expectations for children were, will illustrate both how a Domestic milieu privileging beauty and orderliness pervaded urban middle-class culture. It will also help explain why the environmental implementation of these ideals was undertaken. Urban geographers interested in the historical geography of the modern city simply cannot assess urban reform accurately without addressing the Domestic interest in the urban environment. Research on the modern city would do well to probe the Domestic desire to create an urban environment suitable for children and families.

To understand this environmentalism we begin with the child. Scholars note the relevance of children and childhood as they pertain to the construction of North American middle-class culture at the turn-of-the-

twentieth-century (Aries 1962; Wishy 1967; Platt 1969; Moll 1971; Cavallo 1981; Lears 1981; Nasaw 1985; Zelizer 1985; Cunningham 1995; Dong 1995; Clement 1997; Clapp 1998; McLeod 1998). Evangelical Protestant parents revered children and childhood (Richards 1978[1910]; Wishy 1967; Zelizer 1985; Baachi 1986; Clapp 1998). Cultural historian, Viviana Zelizer (1985: 11), discovers in the era what she calls the “sacralisation” of children, their “invest[ment] with sentimental or religious meaning.”⁹⁵ This sacralisation of children occurred through the culture’s social construction of the “sacred child:” “the new sacred child occupied a special and separate world, regulated by affection and education, not work or profit” (Zelizer 1985: 209).⁹⁶ Historian of religion, Marguerite Van Die (1989: 25; see also, “the Moral Status of the Methodist Child”: 26-34), notes the rise of regarding infants as ““sweet angels.”” Cultural historian, Bernard Wishy (1967: 110) writes of the ““reverence for the child,”” connecting it to a Protestant impulse desiring to create a “Religion of Childhood” (Wishy 1967: 161).⁹⁷ Children were to be cloistered in the home and the school, and influenced by the church, and most especially “kept off the streets...protected and supervised.” (Zelizer 1985: 210).

The streets were alive with poor immigrant children at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, as we have seen. It was primarily for the benefit of these non-middle-class children, whose ranks were perceived as disorderly and in consideration of which sociologists developed their pejorative theories of the

⁹⁵This was particularly measurable as it related to child mortality and mourning. In the nineteenth-century, people grieved the loss of children in a way they had not done in previous centuries (1985: 24-27). Zelizer even talks of the “romantic cult of the dead child” (1985: 27).

⁹⁶On the social construction of childhood, see Aries (1962), Wishy (1967), Hiner and Hawes (1985), Postman (1999).

⁹⁷Protestants were especially eager to encourage the spiritual growth of the child, to teach the ways of Christ to the child, “to get the child acquainted with Christ” (Wishy 1967: 162). As Van Die (1989: 34) writes about Canadian evangelicalism, despite “all romantic sensibility concerning infancy, the Canadian Methodist child, at least officially, entered the twentieth century, unequivocally depraved, morally responsible, and in need of new birth” .

modern city, that child reforms—playgrounds, schools, the Children’s Aid Society, foster care, etc.—were undertaken (Cavallo 1981: 6). As Wishy argues, the advancement of the child connected with “the glorious evolutionary future of the race” (1967: 109; 110); there could be no future if these street children were not both taken-in-hand and protected from the viciousness of their geography and social condition. The sacralisation of children guaranteed the future of the “race,” resulting in what cultural historian, David McLeod (1998), calls “The Age of the Child,” the years between 1890-1920.

This is not to say the culture reached a consensus on this view of children. Zelizer (1985) has shown that considerable ink was spilled over the economic construction of children. The notion of the “priceless” child was specifically economic and signified the psychological struggle of a society altering its conception of children from *useful* to *useless*: the former denoted the child’s ability to engage usefully in production, the latter its coddled sacralisation. To this end, cultural historian, Catherine Claxton Dong (1995) has recently explored the reform aim to sacralise childhood and preserve children under the cover of Domestic Protestantism. Dong notes that this reverential cocooning and economic devaluing of the child in a separate sphere of childhood (Aries 1962) did not stand wholly uncontested. William R. George and his “Junior Republic” movement rejected the underlying premises of child-saving and protection, believing that the child’s needs were no different from the adult’s (Dong 1995: 89-121, Chapter 4, The Junior Republic Movement and the Social Arena; see also Holl 1971). George believed that by preventing children from engaging in both the political system and the market, society seriously hampered children’s productivity as adults (George 1909, 1935). However, George declaimed the new child-

advancement from the margins; Domesticity made women “Mothers of all Children” (Clapp 1998) and child-saving and “maternal justice” reigned (see Platt 1969: 75-100).

The advancement of the child was everywhere. “If the child is not only in theory,” as reformer W.I. Thomas wrote, “but in practice recognised as the main interest in society, the family and society will more and more assist the mother in his nurture” (Thomas, in Richards 1978[1910]: 58). *The Dominion Educator*, an encyclopedia for young Canadian school children, put it bluntly: “the discovery of the child is one of the most significant events of the modern age” (Hughes and Foster 1919: 786). As if stating a truism, the influential psychologist and educator G. Stanley Hall wrote that “[c]hildhood is the paradise of the race from which all adult life is a fall” (Hall, in Lears 1981: 148). We find a similar sentiment in Willard’s (1889: xvii) autobiography: “Keep near to thy childhood, for in going from it thou art going from the gods.”

Such ideas and prescriptions concerning the “rights of the child” and “training children” and the “halcyon” quality of childhood abounded, almost insufferably. About this prominence of the idea of the child, one critic exclaimed in frustration:

The ubiquity of the child in contemporary fiction is symbolic of the overemphasis placed upon his every word and deed in daily life. Owing to the modern craze for the development of individualism – even in the immature – the child has become the father of man⁹⁸

The writer did not stop there, distraught by a state of affairs that exceeded, apparently, common sense: “The sight of parents in such complete subjection

⁹⁸“The Magazine Child, Contributor’s Club”, *Atlantic Monthly*, 1907, vol. XCIX: 286-287

[to their children] tempts us to become reactionary."⁹⁹ This was not a singular opinion. One, Mrs. C. P. Stetson, warned conference-goers in a session on the "Psychology of Childhood" at the International Congress of Women in 1899 that "[t]he intense interest in the child, the great admiration for the child, the great love for the child were rather against than for the best education of the child."¹⁰⁰ Cautionary advice to the contrary, however, publications such as *The Ladies' Journal*, considered it wise to pander to the culture's love for children, including as part of its monthly offering pages for Mothers, Girls, Boys, and the Home, each by and large devoted to revering childhood and to supporting mothers in their "holy" and inimical calling.

If women determined to protect the home, it had much to do with the children inside it. Child welfare was an integral facet of liberal evangelical Domestic women who organised themselves in various and interdependent groups dedicated to several issues, including temperance, child welfare, health reform, direct democracy, education, and municipal reform (Morrison 1970; Bacchi 1983: 5-7). All pivoted on the protection of the home.¹⁰¹ And because women were seen as the principle care-givers of children, women's groups easily promoted publicly the social and national benefit of children. The Montreal Women's Suffrage Association sponsored a Child Welfare Exhibition in 1912 and used as its motto what Bacchi (1986: 198) suggests

⁹⁹*ibid.*

¹⁰⁰Mrs. C. P. Stetson, "Discussion: Parental Responsibility" (in Aberdeen 1900: 12).

¹⁰¹Bacchi (1983: 1-12) notes that organisational interdependence does not necessarily mean that all women reformers belonged to all the reform organisations extant, though some prominent women belonged to more than one. Many reformers chose not to follow suffrage, which may have something to do with the basic premise of evangelical reform: the strengthening of the nuclear family. Some reformers regarded suffrage as a disruption to rather than a reinforcement of the family. See Blocker (1985) on the split between suffrage and evangelical reformers in general, although as sociologist, Steven Buechler (1987: 89), shows in the case of suffrage advocate, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, the delineations are not made easily.

“could well stand as the motto for the suffrage movement: ‘If we are to become a great nation, the well-being of our children must be our first care.’” A home economics exhibit in the Jamestown Exposition of 1907 put it succinctly and similarly: “The watchword of the future is the welfare and security of the child” (in Richards 1978[1911]: 87).¹⁰² *The Woman’s Century*, the monthly organ of the NCW, proclaimed that “the rights of the child are now so fully recognised and conceded that there should be a concerted effort made to develop efficiency and co-operation...in child-protection work.”¹⁰³ Even the president of the United States spoke on the subject: “No Christian and civilised community can afford to show a happy-go-lucky lack of concern for the youth of today; for, if so, the community will have to pay a terrible penalty of financial burden and social degradation in the tomorrow.”¹⁰⁴ *Saturday Night* echoed this cautionary sentiment as it observed a generation of Torontonians children that needed protection and preservation for the future:

As one goes about, it looks as if half the work of the city is performed by boys and girls. They swarm in the stores, offices, factories. They crowd you off the sidewalk with their heavy bundles. They rush up and down with you on the elevators, and at your home they deliver meat, milk, vegetables, and groceries – these children robbed of childhood. Haggling over prices straining at heavy lifts, up early and down late, cuffed for their

¹⁰² Home economics or the rationalisation of house work provided the scientific and technological means for middle class women to make time to organise and act publicly (Wright 1980; 1983, see especially chapter nine, “The Progressive Housewife and the Bungalow”).

¹⁰³ “Conservation of Child Life,” *The Woman’s Century*, April 1915, Vol. 2, No. 11: 6.

¹⁰⁴ President Theodore Roosevelt, “Message to Congress, December, 1904”, in Richards 1978[1910]: 90.

blunders, buffeted for their delays, cursed, crushed, dwarfed,
morally misdirected--what will be their revenge upon society?¹⁰⁵

Child protection tried to obviate that question. Before the uncertainties of the modern city, preserving children instilled hope for and confidence in the future.

Many urban reformers reformed the city on behalf of children. "The governing power," child saver, J.J. Kelso, wrote, "must come to regard the child as a future citizen...There are children on our streets at this moment who will almost surely be criminals." Kelso then proceeded to list precisely the responsibilities municipalities needed to assume to prevent the child's degeneration, including the creation of Boy's Clubs, Day Industrial Schools, Mission classes and entertainments, juvenile courts, etc.¹⁰⁶ In Toronto, much of the reform activity engaged in by the Toronto Local Council of Women (TLCW), as we will see below, pertained directly to children. For the TLCW, "the whole question of Housing and Town Planning" linked inseparably with "Child Welfare."¹⁰⁷ Reformer, Albert Kelsey, likewise thought that urban reform and child-welfare were the same. As he suggested, when the "savage city begins to wash itself," its "bodily" metamorphosis should "appeal to [children] unconsciously, and infuse in them the constant desire for the beautiful." This way the reform work "could be entrusted to the coming generation."¹⁰⁸ Toronto reformer and utilities man, George Wright, insisted that Toronto's revivification and planning must be undertaken for the sake

¹⁰⁵*Saturday Night*, August 14, 1897: 1.

¹⁰⁶J.J. Kelso, "Neglected and Friendless Children", *Canadian Magazine* II, January 1894: 213-216; in Rutherford (1974: 114; 116-117).

¹⁰⁷*Toronto Local Council of Women Thirty Second Annual Report*, 1925, Toronto, The Macomb Press: 31; F 805-10, PAO.

¹⁰⁸Albert E. Kelsey, "Modern City Making", *The Canadian Architect and Builder* April 1901, Vol. XI, No. 160. Planning historian Thomas Schlereth (1994) has shown that much of Walter Moody's reform work involved training children in the ways of urban reform.

of its children. Thus Toronto could be “handed over to a capable and substantial generation.”¹⁰⁹ Children not only engaged in urban and street reform (Robinson 1899: 774-775), but more importantly, were the direct recipients of the urban reforms.

In order for children to become the proper inheritors of the city that reformers were attempting to remake specifically for them, they had to be trained. Teaching children became an obsession, partly because evangelical reformers regarded education and religion as inseparable. As the popular Ishbel Aberdeen, the Countess of Aberdeen, president of the International Council of Women, notes in her summarisations of the conference proceedings regarding children and education at the International Congress of Women in 1899, it was “most striking that amid all the manifold views of the day [or conference session] there was an increasing sense all over the civilised world that education and religion could not be dissociated.”¹¹⁰ Indeed, Toronto Council of Women president, Harriet Boomer, in her address to the Congress, intimates that the formal education of the child occurs only in the realm of religion and God:

As we realise more and more our own many limitations, our proneness to do what we should not do, and to leave undone so much that we should do, we may be tempted to ask, “Who is sufficient for these things?” but (sic) “all God’s biddings are enablings,” and in committing into our charge the priceless treasure of a little child, we know that with it He Himself will bestow, if only we ask for it, all the necessary insight, wisdom

¹⁰⁹Newspaper Clippings n.d.-June 1923, *Toronto Star Weekly*, Magazine section: 1; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

¹¹⁰Countess of Aberdeen, “Discussion: Connection between Home and School Life” (in Aberdeen 1900: 24).

and judgment, whether in the home or in the school, for us the fulfilment of our trust. Our duty is crystal clear before us, as God-guided parents and teachers, to at least endeavour to train the God-given child into the fulness of the stature of a perfect manhood or womanhood, not only for time but for eternity.¹¹¹

After such a remark one might wonder whether this was an academic conference or a Sunday school, but then Boomer here illustrates the recurring contention of this thesis: Protestant religion spurred reform, whether street cleaning or the education of children.

Still another speaker, talking on the importance of establishing kindergartens as necessary element in the formal education of children, averred no one "can ever doubt" "[t]hat a religious spirit will never be absent from this play and work of children."¹¹² The expected results of kindergarten would confirm this affiliation of religion with the formal education of children: "A new and happier generation will then strive for the highest good, which alone can diffuse peace, freedom and happiness in God's beautiful world."¹¹³ Wisby (1967: 141) suggests that Kindergarten promised "everything from the prevention of juvenile delinquency to the salvation of man." The education of children, WASP or otherwise, was conceived within a framework of liberal evangelical Domesticity and the bounden duty of all mothers to oversee to its fruition.¹¹⁴ And this training was connected to the city, as we will see.

¹¹¹Mrs. H. A. Boomer, "Connection between Home and School Life" (in *Aberdeen 1900*: 22).

¹¹²Mme. du Portugall, "Frobel's Kindergarten founded in Philosophical Ideas" (in *Aberdeen 1900*: 28; 29).

¹¹³*The Ladies' Journal*, February, 1895, Vol. XVII, No. 2: 9.

¹¹⁴Such mothers made the best teachers, in school or home. *The Woman's Century* (March 1916, Vol. 3. No. 9: 23) reported that "'married women are better able to instruct and discipline ... pupils.'" We need not ask why.

Environment

Child-training was not separate from the geography of its inculcation. The environment of childhood played an equal part in the development of the child. To this end, eutherics, or the theory and method of and for the creation of hygienic and orderly environments, attempted to make the city into a world fit for a child (see Appendix 1: Definitions, "Environment": 427).

Eutherics is a difficult term and more arcane than its counterpart, eugenics.¹¹⁵ To risk an oversimplification, but one that seems to fit with a turn-of-the-twentieth-century popular understanding, eugenics intercedes biologically, eutherics environmentally, to change the biological and social patterns of human existence. Eugenics attempts to alter humans through the manipulation of the biological fundamentals of heredity (for a thorough discussion, see Angus McLaren (1990)). Eutherics, alternatively, emphasises the transforming effects of environment on the human condition. Eutherics comes to us, likely, through what Livingstone (1992: 187-189) calls "the neo-Lamarckian alternative"—Livingstone does not use the term eutherics—the nineteenth-century's interest in "the selective rejuvenation of...the evolutionary doctrines" of eighteenth-century French naturalist Jean Baptiste Lamarck (1744-1829). Lamarck's conception of the inheritance of acquired characteristics pivots on the constitutional efficacy of both habit and environment, and so he is arguably the first modern euthericist.

Ellen Richards (1978[1911]), who very consciously and freely uses the term, nicely elucidates what she sees as the differences between eutherics and

¹¹⁵ This discussion of eutherics uses the term only in the popular context of the time. Its use of Richards' profoundly child-centred interpretation of eutherics is simply to make a point about environment, childhood, and Domestic women's attempt to manipulate both.

eugenics, and in the process gives us a wonderful sense of the environmentalism of Domestic reform:

The betterment of living conditions, through conscious endeavour, for the purpose of securing efficient human beings, is what the author means by Euthenics.

Human vitality depends upon two primary conditions -- heredity and hygiene --or conditions preceding birth and conditions during life.

Eugenics deals with race improvement through heredity.

Euthenics deals with race improvement through environment.

Eugenics is hygiene for the future generations.

Euthenics is hygiene for the present generation.

Eugenics must await careful investigation.

Euthenics has immediate opportunity .

Euthenics precedes eugenics, developing better men now, and thus inevitably creating a better race of men in the future.

Euthenics for Richards, then, is a principle of immediate action for Domestic women: where eugenics requires laborious scientific investigations into the genetic workings of people, euthenics and its emphasis on environmental hygiene means that reformers can immediately roll up their sleeves and start cleaning and ordering the dirty dishevelled urban world, a process which, apparently unquestionably, creates better people.

Richards' plan for the implementation of a euthenic principle in North American society wholly depends on women. It is they who understand, as mothers and stewards and through their position in the home, that "keeping the house, the laundry work, the cleaning, the cooking, the daily oversight,

must have for its conscious end the welfare of the family" (Richards 1978[1911]: 151). Women know innately that order and hygiene are principles on which family and therefore society thrive:

Society is only just beginning to realize that it has at its command today for its own regeneration a great unused force in its army of housewives, teachers, mothers, conscious of power but uncertain how to use it. *Perhaps the most progressive movement of the times is one led by women who see that cleanliness is above charity....* Nothing can stop this most notable progress but a relapse into apathy and fatalism of the vast army of women now being enlisted to fight disease. The opportunity has come, the responsibility is woman's hereafter. No one can take it from her; she has knowledge. The door has opened, she has taken the weapons in hand, is learning to use them... In another hundred years, then, Euthenics may give place to Eugenics, and the better race of men become an actuality (Richards 1978[1911]: 150-151; emphasis added).¹¹⁶

Fairly or unfairly, women as the mothers of people have the astonishing responsibility of ensuring that humanity perpetuates itself purely, immaculately.

Carol Bacchi (1986), in a remarkable essay on the social thought of English-speaking suffragists in Canada at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, suggests that women inclined to environment because it abetted their on-going interventionism. Euthenics, as a kind of moral environmentalism,

¹¹⁶It is curious that after a hundred years of environmentalism as it embodied urban planning, housing, hygiene, food and water production, mass-education facilities, etc., we have indeed, through the mapping of the human genome, become involved in the genetic improvement of humanity.

allowed and encouraged women's environmental scrutiny. Eugenics, on the other hand, was entirely scientific and required more than informal probing and investigation; local women's councils would have a difficult time investigating heredity. A women's league could and did, however, as we will see below, examine the city streets for infractions against not only expectoration by-laws but hygienic commonsense in the era of tuberculosis and population congestion. Environment, especially the city, gave women reformers an immediate urgent cause that would submit to their study.

If women were best suited to environmental attentiveness because of their connection to the home, then environmentalism started in the home and expanded outwards.

Where to begin? Begin where life begins -- in the home. Make the home harmonious. There must be no undue self-assertion among the elders; no aggressiveness; each ready to yield personal preference; ready also to take advice, suggestions, even criticism, though never offence; eager to render service, to do little kindnesses; remembering always the home environment from which character is assimilated; and that, as in plant-culture, perfection in results depends on observance of the requisite conditions.¹¹⁷

The home was the place where women, and men, created the proper environmental conditions for moralisation and civilisation to occur. Richards (1978[1911]: 44) declares forthrightly that "[t]he next generation must be born with healthy bodies, must be nurtured in healthy physical and moral environments, and must be filled with ambition to give birth to a still

¹¹⁷*The Ladies' Journal*, August, 1895, Vol. XV, No. 8: 15.

healthier, still nobler generation." The foundation of this next generation lies in "the home," whose environmental office "must be to teach habits of right living and daily action and a joy and pride in life as well as responsibility for life" (Richards 1978[1911]: 82). Nothing else in this dissertation more adequately expresses the purpose of Domestic environmentalism. Only a moment's thought will be required to intuit the relevance of Richard's statement to the idea, below, that the home included the four walls of the city as well.

If environmental awareness begins with the home, then the centre of home eutherics is the parlour. As Gwendolyn Wright (1983: 109-110) shows, the parlour became the paramount Domestic space for the cultivation of a moral-aesthetic sensibility in family members. Its geography, from decoration and furnishings to the propriety of the activities, reading, sewing, painting, visiting, and the like, that took place within its precincts, established a standard for women's conceptions of what was environmentally sound. (It is no coincidence that city beautifiers referred to the more decorative elements of street infrastructure as furnishings (Robinson 1901; Schopfer 1903)). The following long, but useful, passage from Wright (1983: 109-110) nicely articulates the piquancy of the Domestic geography of the parlour as an exercise in instructive, even osmotic, environmentalism:

In the parlour, the housewife would show off the family's best possessions, striving to impress guests and to teach her children the universal principles of beauty and refinement. One popular symbol of domesticity was the fireplace. By the 1870's, although furnaces or room stoves had taken over as the task of heating most [middle-class] homes, fireplaces had become popular as

symbols of the family hearth. Elaborately carved mantels, some in marble but most in inexpensive and painted and incised wood, provided the [middle-class] home with its ritual center...Here too were the "artistic" pieces the wife had purchased: sculpture, vases, chinoiserie, and all manner of bric-a-brac. These objects she skillfully juxtaposed with her own handmade creations, or "household elegancies," which might include crocheted lambrequins, hand-painted cabinets, rustic furniture, shadow boxes, and Easter eggs, screens and easels bedecked with ribbons and flowers. The balance, however, was shifting toward items purchased from a store or catalogue, which captured the refinement and culture that the home was supposed to encourage. Taste, according to most decorating books, was a matter of "art groupings," arrangement of objects that had the stamp of universal beauty. When friends came by for an afternoon tea party, or a daughter's beau was received in the parlour, Japanese scrolls and casts of Greek statues would give the proper impression. Since the mother sought to teach her children values in and through the home, she spared no expense in acquiring beautiful works of art that were both "interesting and instructive."

In domestic thought, the home environment maintained specific aesthetic standards from which husbands and children learned lessons about beauty, order, and good conduct. Taste had a geographical component that imbued space and its occupier with decorum.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸The opening paragraph in a short story in *The Ladies' Journal* ("Was he Right, *The Ladies' Journal*, August, 1895, Vol. XV, No. 8: 14) (TLJ) illustrates this idea with as much clarity as

Decoration and the everyday

The environmental penchant for beauty and order led women to decoration and the Decorative Arts, about which I will have more to say in a later chapter. The home and especially the parlour were spaces of everyday decoration, home decoration simply practical eutherics for Domestic women. Contemporary critics contend that the beautification of the everyday through the use of decoration is “forever mapped onto the feminine” (Anger 1996: 130). As one critic argues, femininity attaches irrevocably to “the *ornamental*, with its traditional connotations of effeminacy and decadence...[and] the everyday, whose ‘prosiness’ is rooted in the domestic sphere of social life resided over by women” (Schor, in Anger 1996: 130). Art historian, Nancy Troy (1996: 116; 115), argues for the “feminization of the decorative arts,” beauty, decoration and femininity celebrating “woman’s ability to adorn both her own body and the interior spaces in which she naturally belonged.”¹¹⁹ Bourgeois Domestic women decorated. At the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, they were construed as those principally concerned with it.

Little wonder then that a writer in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* noted women’s household decorative impulse:

any: “In a daintily furnished parlor, every part of which from the modest carpet on the floor, to the well chosen pictures on the walls, the poetical works of the best English authors on the table, and the classical music on the piano, gave ample evidence of a refined, cultivated taste, sat a fair young girl, engaged with a piece of artistic needlework.” The young woman of course would mount the needlework on an easel in the parlour as a illustration of her commitment to the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Domestic interest in arts and crafts. Importantly, the description of the eutheric geography of the room told readers much about the moral probity and Domestic inclination of the woman long before the story undertook her characterisation. A home, to be a home, must attend to environmental principles of beauty and order.

¹¹⁹One Toronto commentator said this about women and beauty: “The intimate association of woman and beauty is no vain thing fondly imagined, but a fundamental interdependence that may be denied for a space, but can never be annihilated” (“Women and Beauty”, *The Ladies’ Journal*, September 1895, Vol. 15, No. 9: 30).

A sign of the times is the number of journals either devoted to, or giving space regularly to, household decoration. It is a sign that in this country and in the United States the habit of mind is moving on from absorption in the mere necessities of life to a desire of some of its amenities. This desire has arisen first with women, who in America are the nearest approach to a leisure class, and the journals which give attention to household adornment are, for the most part ladies' journals, or depend chiefly upon women for their subscription list. The ideals aimed at are defined usually by the feminine attributes "cosy" "dainty" etc., and the kind of work that is described is such as can be done at home and may be generally described as imitation architecture. All this may be welcomed as an indication there is creeping in some relief of the squalor of life devoted entirely to business....¹²⁰

This last line, the "relief of the squalor of life devoted entirely to business," signifies greatly here: eutherics, the science of controllable environment, seeks above all to palliate the effects of industrial modernity through environmental change.

It was no coincidence that the writer above saw women, decoration, and the relief of squalor as a whole. Art historian, Joyce Henri Robinson (1996: 102-103), has shown that the bourgeois woman was the "'mistress in the house in which she rules, and which she orders like a queen. Should it not be specially her business to add *beauty* to the *order* which she has created.'" Order, beauty, and even serenity, the goal of relief, were "the preeminently

¹²⁰"House Decoration", *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, March 1899, Vol. VII: 47.

desirable qualities in domestic decoration” in the second half of the nineteenth-century, and the responsibility of women. Such decoration securely attached to the aesthetic awareness women in the home:

We are all very susceptible to the influence of our surroundings, and perhaps we do not give them sometimes as much credit as is their due for the power they exert over our lives and characters. ‘Beauty,’ says one, ‘has been appointed by Deity to be one of the elements by which the human soul is constantly sustained.’ The furnishings of a home and their arrangement are always a subject of interest to refined natures, and much thought and time expended in accomplishing the best results in this direction. Ladies are constantly alive to the progress of art in house decoration.¹²¹

Thus, the practise of decoration—the decoration of the everyday—simply acknowledged women’s concern for the environmental probity of the home and its function as tutor for families.

Decoration at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, Troy (1996: 116-117) avers, “was gendered feminine not simply because it was produced by women and often associated with...the domestic environment but also, and perhaps more importantly, because it was tied up with the equally feminine realm of consumer culture.”¹²² Decoration gains its femininity through women’s desire to ornament their homes with artful adornments that they increasingly purchased. *Woman’s Century* offered its readers a monthly “Industrial Art Column” to teach middle-class women “what is artistic in

¹²¹*Saturday Night*, October 2, 1897: 9.

¹²²Scholars have demonstrated the nineteenth-century feminisation of consumer culture (Wendt and Kogan 1952; Twyman 1954; McBride 1978; Barth 1980; Miller 1981; Williams 1982; Leach 1984; Benson 1986; Abelson 1989; Domosh 1996).

domestic comfort and taste," usually that for which the woman must shop.¹²³ *TLJ* always mindful of Domestic decorum, recommended "Pretty Things for the Home," a catalogue of "beautiful articles...in the way of decoration."¹²⁴ The writer recommended, for example, a gilded wood cabinet with bevelled plate glass, delicate latticing, and lined with mirrors "so the beautiful things it contains are doubled by the reflection." "Mirrors framed in delicately tinted onyx; flagons in brass of the most exquisite design...English porcelain... cushions ...with Asiatic rope silks in yellow...a handsome and unique foot rest...of yellow kid...and a pretty fashion that calls for a curtain to hang back of certain pieces of furniture, the piano or divan, for instance," all met the aesthetic requirements of the middle-class home environmental standard. Ironwork designs, too, "recommend themselves to the modern decorator" as long as they are graceful, and not too heavy," like the "charming stand for umbrellas" or the "hatrack in iron" with "bevelled plate glass mirror." Taste in home furnishings was not simply wanton materialism, though it clearly is in part. We should, however, also see this concern for beautiful things in connection with the need for environmentalists to surround themselves with what they believed morally influential objects.

The Domestic home was as much an aesthetic experience as a sociological one. The two ideas went hand in hand. Civil people were socialised in a decorous, moral home environment, "the nursery of good citizens and of efficient men and women with a sense of responsibility to God and man" (Richards 1978[1911]: 162). In this light, cultural historian Kathryn Kish Sklar's (1976) assessment of the house of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the celebrated sister of evangelical promulgator of Domesticity, Catherine

¹²³*Woman's Century*, December 1915, Vol. 3, No. 6: 19.

¹²⁴"Pretty Things for the Home", *The Ladies' Journal*, Sept. 1895, Vol. 15, No. 9: 26.

Beecher, shows a home that precisely articulates the Domestic ideal, and well-ordered self-sufficiency. Stowe's home appropriately displayed everything from furnishings and artefacts to the flowing green of house plants. For Sklar, such a space facilitated the forging of middle-class identity around which families organized their social and political interaction. "More than a sanctuary," Sklar (1976: xi -xii) writes, "this domestic enclave provided a secure base from which men, women and children could venture into the world. It fostered a particular set of loyalties that were applicable outside as well as inside the home." These loyalties were not strictly emotional: the family learned to make moral-aesthetic geographical judgements about the external world from the lesson of the parlour, the environmental centre of the home. The decorated home teaches people not only decorous behaviour but, crucially for this thesis, what appropriate geography looks like.

Domestic settlements

If we have any doubt as to the tutorial quality of the environmental organisation of the middle-class home, we have only to see it in action as a means of acculturation in the social settlement house movement. Home and family values as they gathered around moral-aesthetic environmentalism were the keystone of social settlement thought and action. Settlement houses and workers laboured to improve the lives of tenement dwellers according to the standard established by liberal evangelical morality and environmentalism, and an aestheticised view of consumption and class. Governed by the evangelical belief that charity, or "the error of indiscriminate giving; with all its disasterous results" (Addams 1899: 178) was a social mistake, settlement thought offered, instead, uprighteous example to the

immigrant poor of modern cities.¹²⁵ So tangible was the refusal to provide material aid in settlement thought, as Mariana Valverdi notes (1991: 140), that settlement workers “were more likely to be found running evening social circles than giving out loaves of bread.”¹²⁶ The reform of tenement dwellers lay in their immediate imitation and espousal of Domestic environmentalism— “the prototype for future social order” (Valverdi 1991: 140)—as it grounded to consumerised materialism, which the parlour typified. The settlement house workers and the settlement house itself had to teach the immigrant poor Protestant middle-class values.

It makes sense that the citadel of material Domesticity, the middle-class home and its decoration, would be offered as a beacon of propriety to those perceived as scrabbling in the class levels below the middle-class.¹²⁷ Jacob Riis in his suggestion that “[t]he home, [and] the family, are the rallying points of

¹²⁵Reformer Owen Wister (“Where Charity Begins”, *Harper’s*, June to November, 1895, Vol. XCI: 272) suggested that “the street penny cuts at the root of no evil,” and urged the creation for charitable institutions, such as “homes” for vagrant boys. William Dean Howells, in his “East Side Ramble” (1896: 127-149), writes of his own error of giving a coin to a woman in a tenement house: “It was wrong, perhaps, to give her money but it was not very wrong, perhaps, for the money was not very much, and if it pauperized her it could not have been said that she was wholly unpauperized before she took it.” Giving money to the poor was a difficult thing, even for liberals. For Howells’ piece, and other primary documents about tenement life at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, see William Crozier *et. al.*, eds (n.d) *On the Lower East Side: Observations of Life in Lower Manhattan at the Turn of the Century* ; Online, <http://tenant.net/Community/LES/contents.html>.

For Howells’ “East Side Ramble” <http://tenant.net/Community/LES/howells1.html>.

¹²⁶Addams (1899: 165) noted the frustration induced in tenement dwellers by settlement workers and their refusal to give charity: “In moments of indignation they have been known to say, ‘What do you want, anyway? If you have nothing to give us, why not let us alone, and stop your questionings and investigations?’”

¹²⁷It would be unfair and irresponsible of me to suggest that the extremely self-scrutinizing settlement house activist, Jane Addams, subscribed wholesale to Domestic ideology. Though a devout social-Christian, she was highly suspicious of what she called industrialism, something I understand from her writings to mean Domesticated consumer capitalism. She does, nevertheless, affiliate the settlement house environment and its Domestic ideal with “the duties of good citizenship” and, ironically, to “the arousing of social energies which too largely lie dormant in every neighbourhood given over to industrialism” (Addams 1912: 126-127). I believe it is fair to say that Addams, as an affluent social-Christian, would have been powerless to prevent her own environmental biases from influencing her social work.

civilization" (Riis 1899: 761), affirmed the bourgeois reformer's faith in things domestic. Hence, Wright (1980: 115) notes that settlement thought involved "kindling the ideal of the middle-class home and community in the city's slum areas," known to many at the time as "the homeless city" (Riis 1899: 761), through the establishment of settlement houses as exemplars. As the Reverend Graham Taylor, director of the University of Chicago's Social Science Center for Practical Training in Philanthropic and Social Work, wrote, "the settlement house is really an addition to every little tenement home. Its books and pictures, the nursery and play spaces, the lobby and living room, the music and flowers, the cheery fireplaces and lamps, the auditorium for assemblies or social occasions and dancing, are an extension of all too scant home equipment [to] most of the neighbors" (in Wright 1980: 115). The moral-aesthetic efficacy of the family home lay in its proper decoration according to the Domestic standard of environmentalism. Indeed, the purpose of the settlement house was to demonstrate that standard to the tenement dweller. In part two of this chapter we will see how this elevated conception of home and parlour becomes the basis of making judgements about the homelikeness of the urban geography of Toronto.

Settlement houses not only taught the poor about home decoration, but schooled them in everything from literature to science. For the lower classes to be truly acceptable in middle-class society, they had to comport themselves with, as Frederick Law Olmsted (in Bender 1988: 241) averred confidently, "the refinement and taste and the mental and moral capital of gentlemen," which more than anything else is the consequence of liberal evangelical Domestic home-influence. To this end, Hull House offered the struggling poor, in the tenement district in Chicago, college-extension

courses. The poor could stave off their hunger- and hygiene-woes by immersing themselves in Elementary Latin, Drawing, History of Art, Gymnastics, English Poetry, Book Keeping, English Composition, Shakespeare, German Needlework, Biology, and Physics (Stead 1894: 414-415).¹²⁸ Here is a comprehensive education in middle-class thought at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century. Such courses were designed to raise the lower classes from the ranks of "the common herd," as Riis (1957[1890]: 119) described them, "ignorance...as well as poverty and bad hygienic surroundings" contributing to the plight of the tenement dweller. More than this, the greatest disadvantage the tenement poor experienced in a world of liberal Protestant Domestic values was an essential lack of WASP middle-class home-influence.

Separate spheres?

Thus far we have seen that Domesticity cares as much about the environment as it does the home, and that the home inscribes the standard by which the environment is measured. We are in a much better position to see: firstly, women as environmental reformers, and specifically as reform actors engaged in the public acts of urban reform; and secondly, urban reform as a Domestic idea, as a means of measuring the environment according to "homelike" principles, something discussed at length in part two of this chapter. In order for women to measure, to investigate, the city, they had to leave the home and start looking, everywhere. No place or institution in the city, public or private, resisted their gaze or investigative ingress. Rather than accepting Domosh's (1998: 211) strong assertion that "we know that the publicness of the early modern city was defined by and for middle and upper

¹²⁸See Valverdi (1991: 144-145) for her discussion of classes that taught girls and women domestic principles such as hygiene, food preparation and nutrition, etc.

class white men," we should think again. It is reform women and their activities that urge the reconsideration of the idea of separate spheres.

The idea that women and men occupied segregated spatial spheres is under review (see Goheen's 1998 discussion, especially 490-492).¹²⁹ Suggesting that many women actively participated in public, and propelled public issues, some cultural historians assert the overlapping nature of the public and private spheres, while others seriously question the idea of women's segregation (Douglas 1977; Ryan 1981, 1990, 1992; Baker 1984; Kerber 1988; Bederman 1989; Cott 1990; Vickery 1993). Gender historian, Nancy Cott (1990: 206-207), calls the idea of separate spheres a reductive historiographical move by writers of women's history who rendered the spheres geographical, transforming them from an ideological construction of propriety to geographical circumstance. (The point here is that scholars have tended to allow the construct of segregation to influence their scholarship: ensconced in the idea of separate spheres, scholars proceeded to find them (Kerber 1988)). The problem was further exacerbated by the allotment of the "public" to men and the "private" to women.¹³⁰ Linda Kerber (1997: 198; 196-197) asks pointedly why we even must "speak of worlds, realms and spheres at all," since "[t]o continue to use the language of separate spheres is to deny the

¹²⁹This is not to suggest that nineteenth century women and men did not speak in terms of separate spheres. But then this is Cott's (1990) point: because they intimated segregation in their writings does not mean they were geographically constrained.

¹³⁰Given Mary Ann Clawson's (1986) and Mark Carnes' (1989) work on fraternal organizations and the staggering numbers of middle class men that belonged to them—one student of fraternalism argues that according to the 1920 census, one of every two people in America is affiliated with a fraternal organisation, there being over 800 different fraternal organisations in the United States (Schmidt 1980: 3)—it is reasonable to posit that men have a claim on the private, especially since fraternalism involved a great deal of seclusion in lodge rooms. If Jackson Lears (1981) is right, and middle class men distrust modernism, think it flawed, the lodge and its ritual secrecy and privacy may, perhaps, be a way for them to hide themselves from a world of their own making. It may also be a way for them to assuage the guilt that Stearns (1979) and Kimmel (1995) insist they carry, since self-made manhood drives them to succeed at all costs.

reciprocity between gender and society, and to impose a static model on dynamic relationships." Kerber makes a reasonable observation here, especially given turn-of-the-twentieth-century social critic, Ellen Key's, chief complaint about middle-class women. As Key wrote: "At the present moment the greatest life-value to many women is their social [or public] work which they think has a superior claim upon them to that of their home," although Key deliberately ignores that women's public work was for the protection of their homes.¹³¹ Still, Key does reveal a publicity for women. Perhaps if this model of publicity had been used as an historiographical trope, as opposed to the segregation model, researchers might have written a different story about Domestic women.

We may well wonder if the idea of separate spheres only signifies a contemporary imposition on the past. Kerber, in a masterful historiographical essay on the hermeneutic use of the doctrine of separate spheres by historians of women, notes that historians' labelling of womanhood and, presumably, Domesticity, as a "cult" was pejorative "and became an essential part of the vocabulary of women's history" (Kerber 1997: 163; see Welter 1966). Kerber continues to argue that the linguistic and thus historiographic presuppositions of historians, or "tropic pressures" (Kerber 1997: 162), affected their professional apprehension of the issue of separate spheres. Certainly, as Stansell (1987) argues, the separate spheres idea has little

¹³¹"Ellen Key Gives Warning to Modern Married Women", *Toronto Star Weekly*, September 28 1912: 11. The perennial difficulty of bourgeois women to solve "the servant problem" has relevance here. The *Woman's Century* (The Servant Problem, *Woman's Century*, December 1915, Vol. 3 No. 6: 17) complained that "everywhere we hear the same story – thousands of families in the large cities who are leaving their homes to live in hotels and apartments, because of the inability to get and keep good servants." The servant, relieved bourgeois women of household responsibilities, so that they could in turn pursue their public work of reform. Servants enabled women "of this stamp [to] manage everything – meeting, lectures, committees, society, house, husband, and children...." ("Ellen Key Gives Warning": 11).

application in the city of street women, doctrinaire Domesticity reaching only into the lives of middle and upper class women. Cultural historian, Julie Roy Jeffrey (1979: 3-11), argues that for rural, and specifically "Frontier Women," Domesticity was simply too ideal in a world of daily travail; all available hands worked at whatever was required, irrespective of geography. The women we know to be trapped in their homes are the poor souls who performed outsourced labour on sewing machines, or those who rolled cigars, or other such nastinesses for only enough pay to break their hearts (see especially Bettina Bradbury (1993: 182-213) chapter six, "Without a spouse: women's inequality laid bare"). There are also those whose maternal commitment to family and children rendered them motherly drudges, laundry, cleaning, food preparation, and the care of numerous children the determinant of their geography. Even then, as Addams (1912: 284-285) suggests, these women would regularly abandon their hovels to inspect the tenement neighbourhoods and streets where they lived for travesties against the Domestic standard. Believing their "housewifely duties logically extended into the adjacent alleys and streets" such women sought "to prevent the breeding of so-called 'filth diseases'" (Addams 1912: 287-288). Ascriptions of privacy to these domestically hampered women, given their of public reform activities, should be made cautiously.

We should be even more skeptical of the idea of separate spheres when considering the lives and actions of forthright middle- and upper-class evangelical women. Such women believed they had the moral right to include within the boundaries of their movement and attention any place—public or private. A major goal of Domesticity was to have all women understand that "if the woman's home were...an island of purity in a sea of

moral danger, diligent women must attend those forces outside the home that threatened to subvert the moral purpose of domestic life" (Goodman 1988: 82). According to Goodman, Domesticity involved more than the geography of the home. The president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs declared that the club woman's mandate was the protection of "women and children, and the home, the latter meaning the four walls of the city as well as the four walls of brick and mortar" (in Wright 1983: 173). For women to adopt this overtly public position of protection, they could neither be house-bound, nor solipsistic. Jane Addams urged women to expand their vigil for the home beyond their doors, since attention only to one's private home and inattention to the immigrants in the neighbourhood could bring tragedy (Kraditor 1965: 66-71). Home-protection meant publicity.

It is important to remember that women's access to restricted public spaces is not the same issue as their influence over them. That women could neither obtain access to specific public spaces, e.g., the council chamber of the local municipal government as an elected official, nor claim such spaces as part of their personal geographies, is significant, and something women rightfully begrudged (Gorham 1979; Bacchi 1983; Blocker 1985; Buechler 1987). But, as geographers, we perhaps imbue physical access to these formal spaces of power with too much significance. Women's restriction from the council chamber has more to do with the peculiar inclination of men to act as the gate-keepers of their own privacy rather than the ideological dictates of a spheres doctrine that probably does not exist—this point about guarded privacy Mark Carnes (1989) makes with great success in his study of secrecy and the

fraternal world-view in the nineteenth century.¹³² We should instead turn to Paula Baker (1984: 627-628) who suggests that the formal structure of male politics contributed to the social construction of manhood.¹³³ The prevalence of a manhood ideal may have been able to shut women out of certain male-only spaces. It could not prevent women's influence over them. Thus, we cannot conclude syllogistically that because women were barred physically from the council chamber, or other chambers for that matter, that they were simultaneously silenced, having no influence over political or cultural matters.

Such organisations as the WCTU or the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) proceeded with their reform agendas *because they perceived the efficacy of their influence*. The NCWC boasted that woman's influence on the press forced editors to reconceive their approach to the dissemination of news, quoting an editorial manager of the United Press:

the paper of tomorrow—and the paper of today—must largely make its play to the women. There is a constant demand from editors for stories with women and children in them, and so it has come about that the press of today is carrying stories about child welfare and wages, illustrating conditions that a few years ago were discussed only from isolated platforms or in the columns controlled by a few editors.¹³⁴

¹³²Michael Kimmel (1995) similarly argues that certain middle class men acquired a hypersensitivity to the feminisation of culture by the late-nineteenth century, a feminisation process begun earlier in the century and about which Ann Douglas (1977) writes so eloquently.

¹³³Indeed, when we think of the stereotypic spaces of middle class Victorian men—the council chamber, the lodge, the club, the board room, “where men withdrew from women to create their own social space[s]” (Clawson 1986: 42), men betray a fondness for privacy as profoundly as that ascribed to women, although this too is a feminist stereotype (Lofland 1984).

¹³⁴“Women's Influence on the Press”, *The Woman's Century*, September 1915, Vol. 3, No. 3: 1.

Willard confidently adopted the phrase “do everything” believing that her—and women’s—influence was powerful enough to achieve it, from the abolition of drink to universal suffrage. The domestication of politics in North America enabled the tireless work of voluntary women’s associations in the nineteenth-century to become the basis of governmental social policy in the twentieth (Baker 1984), especially in the area of public health and housing (Ellis 1912; Wright 1983; Bacchi 1986; Wirka 1994; Birch 1994, 1994a).

Domesticity’s proponents were well-schooled in urban public affairs, if not through the formal channels. Veroncia Strong-Boag (1976: 3) states explicitly that part of the overt agenda of the NCWC was to “instruct members in the operations of their communities. Women would learn to identify and manipulate the institutions and individuals who directed the communities affairs.” There is no mystery here; the NCWC taught women how both to influence political matters and operate publically. Nor should we be under any delusions about who these women trained their manipulation-skills on: the men of the so-called public sphere. Mary Ryan’s (1992: 281) discussion of women reformers depicts a group of women determined to use their influence, incorporating “private techniques of lobbying legislatures and capitalizing on their personal contacts among public officials.”¹³⁵ Historian of the NCWC, Rosa Shaw (1957: 100) suggests that an important goal of council women was to “create public opinion” for the NCWC’s various causes. Baker (1984: 621) suggests that “from the time of the Revolution” women fashioned for themselves significant public roles and using and sometimes pioneering, “methods for influencing the government from outside electoral channels.”

¹³⁵Nor were these women beyond the application extreme influence. Ryan (1992: 281) tells us that “Susan B. Anthony reputedly blackmailed a New York state official by threatening to open the whole unseemly question of sexuality to public scrutiny, should New York legislators permit” the continuation of prostitution.

This is certainly Paul Goodman's (1988: 80-102) argument as it pertains to women's ability to launch a highly successful informal anti-Masonry campaign in the early nineteenth-century, to keep their husbands out of masonic lodges. If we limit ourselves to examining only formal politics for women's presence we lose sight of their broader informal suasion.

The point I cannot emphasise too strongly here is that women, in spite of a certain and often determined male resistance, maintained a palpable influence in public affairs that grounded to their Domestic moral pre-eminence.¹³⁶ Women's influence-as-politics must be defined as "any action, formal or informal, taken to affect the course or behaviour of government or the community" (Baker 1984: 622). Hardesty (1984: 35) notes that

as women began to speak out on behalf of others, they found the power and reason to speak out on their own behalf. They experimented with a total spectrum of strategies from religious conversion and moral suasion to petition and political party to job retraining and relocation to sociological investigation and government legislation.

Such definitions of women's political pursuits burst any geographical immurement feminist historiography places on undifferentiated nineteenth- and early-twentieth century women.

¹³⁶This is a nuanced suggestion that works on the idea that, rather than men being able to keep women out of places that were once males-only—Masonic Lodges, for example (see Carnes 1989)—women, no matter how marginally at first, had enough cultural clout to get into places and spaces once defined as masculine. Cultural historian, George Chauncey (1994: 112), puts it this way: "On every front, women seemed to be breaching the division between the sexes' proper spheres and to be claiming or challenging the prerogatives of men." Curiously, Carnes (1989: 81-90) sees both the Masonic acquiescence to women and their admission into the lodge as an overt deception to silence women on the issue of anti-masonry. It is equally plausible that Masons could not prevent women's ingress, in an increasingly feminist and middle class milieu.

Women not only influenced public activities, they knew they did. Willard's intentional use of the phrase, "wheel within a wheel," as the title of her openly Domestic best-selling book on cycling, intimates that the well-loved temperance leader aimed her influence and moral authority squarely at her formal male counterparts; city councils at the time of the book's publication vacillated about how to or even whether they should legislate the wheel.¹³⁷ Moreover, the wheel-within-the-wheel metaphor echoes in the observations of Toronto reformer Jane Wetherald, editor of Toronto's *TLJ*. In an editorial, "Women's influence," Wetherald reiterates the bold domestic notion that "[th]e mightiest influence which exists upon the earth, both for good and for evil, is concealed in the hand of a woman."¹³⁸ She continues:

Aye, in her hand rests the destiny of nations. We owe to this influence of woman, what we are as a nation as well as individuals. We trace this influence in the pulpit, in the press, in our civil and political institutions...So is woman's influence every where (sic) visible and invisible felt either for good or evil.

Wetherald, then concluded, after admonishing women to be "fully alive to the responsibility of their influence," that "[t]here is much truth in the trite assertion, 'a woman's at the bottom of it.'"¹³⁹ This is not simply rhetoric.

Wetherald perhaps knew of moments where the idea of a woman being at "the bottom of it" had real political and reform implications, as in the case of the sanitary engineer, Colonel George Waring, the powerful reform-

¹³⁷Willard, I would speculate, would have been all for cycling by-laws, although she simply makes no mention of them. I would argue her book is a timely plea for controlled and decorous cycling. (Detroit City Council passed a cycling by-law in July of 1895. Toronto City Council simply couldn't decide, eventually passing a relatively lenient legislation in summer of 1898 (*Mail and Empire* July 22, 1895: 4; July 6, 1898: 6).

¹³⁸*The Ladies Journal*, September 1895, vol 15, no. 9: 8.

¹³⁹*ibid.*

minded Street Commissioner of New York City. George Waring's fame came from his claim to the title of America's "most noted 'sanitary engineer,'" and also his taking "credit for the equally difficult tasks of saving Memphis from yellow fever epidemics and cleaning up New York's streets" (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992: 201). However, as Charles Mulford Robinson (1899: 774) wrote, lauding the street reform efforts of women, "[i]t [wa]s an open secret that Colonel Waring of New York, owed his appointment to the suggestion of a woman." But then, as Mr. Jadwin explains to Laura Dearborn in Frank Norris' *The Pit* (1903), a fictional account of industrial urbanity and the wheat market in Chicago, "the men have got all the get-up-and-get they want, but they need the women to point them straight" (Norris 1994[1903]: 112).

Planning advocate Horace McFarland provided an apt example of this:

I am reminded of a park board which began its service some five years ago, including a lawyer, a shoe manufacturer, an iron maker, a banker, and a miller, all excellent and honourable men, all completely unacquainted with modern service parks, and all just as completely certain that park making was, after all, a very simple matter. Parks meant to these good men certain spots of ground more or less adorned with trees and grass, having drives and walks and geometrical flower beds; and the only real essential of which they were completely certain was the plan for geometrical flower beds. They had, fortunately a body of earnest women backing them, forcing upon them a real park plan and a real park designer, whose services and which plan they

undertook to use most reluctantly, but with most happy eventual results.¹⁴⁰

McFarland was right to note here both women's influence in urban design and their particular interest in parks and playgrounds. The *Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Civic Improvements in Toronto 1909*, Toronto's parks and parkways plan, suggested that the parks and playground movement in Toronto "includes women; and I think," Guild executive and architect, W. A. Langton, wrote, "experience shows that this argues well for accomplishment in that work." The Wetheralds, Willards, Robinsons, McFarlands, and Langtons of the world recognised and acknowledged the efficacious influence of women, in spite of their inaccessibility to certain males-only spaces. Harper's editor, William Dean Howell's (1897: 204) probably said it best:

Shall I go a little further and say that this American world of thought and feeling shows the effect, beyond any other world, of honour paid to woman? It is not for nothing that we have privileged women socially and morally beyond any other people; if we have made them free, they have used their freedom to make the whole national life the purest and best of any that has ever been. Our women are in rare degree the keepers of our consciences; they influence men here as women influence men nowhere else on earth, and they qualify all our thinking, all our doing and being. If our literature at its best, and our art at its best, has a grace which is above all the American thing in literature and art, it is because the grace of the moral world where our

¹⁴⁰J. Horace McFarland, "The Growth of City Planning in America", *Charities and the Commons* 19, February 2, 1908: 1522-1528; in Repts (n.d.).

women rule has imparted itself to the intellectual world where men work. When it shall touch the material world to something of its own fineness, and redeem the gross business world from low ideals which govern it, then indeed we shall have the millennium in plain sight.

Women's influence had the power to bring about the return of Jesus Christ.

People of the time as well as women themselves understood the effect women had on municipal political matters. An entry in a popular Canadian encyclopedia noted that women

have brought about many reforms in school administration and municipal management. They have turned their attention systematically to promoting child welfare, improving the condition of working women, and awakening the public conscience generally to a realization of the need for reform. In many cities, owing to their influence, vacant property has been converted into playgrounds or into kitchen gardens for the poor. Prisons, asylums, charitable organizations, dance halls, and innumerable other institutions have felt their influence.

(Hughes and Foster 1919: 3906).

Such a description of women's involvement in public affairs supports what one local council of women noted of its influence: "it ha[d] reached a position in which the value of its sympathy and co-operation in all movements of a philanthropic or education[al] character is fully recognized, and its aid is eagerly sought by the municipal authorities and others interested in such questions."¹⁴¹ Women believed they had the right to intercede in public and

¹⁴¹"Report of the London Local Council", *NCWC Report*, 1904: xv (in Strong-Boag 1976: 231).

municipal affairs and did so, even though in Canada they would not acquire the right to vote until the third decade of the twentieth century.

One particularly notable instance of women's influence though on the surface negatively so, is the election defeat of Toronto school trustees, Clara Brett Martin "Toronto's one and only lady lawyer," and Mrs. McDonell, "who has already been a power for good on the board." As *TLJ* reports, the effectiveness of these two women has shown their male counterparts that "women can not (sic) be made cat's paws so readily as the men, hence the desire to leave them at home."¹⁴² In other words, these women board members were not as easily "licked" as their male colleagues. Torontonians and Canadian reformer and physician, Augusta Stowe Gullen, remained the only woman left on the board, but she too, because of "her convictions amidst the most determined opposition from...advocates of mushroom loyalty," would probably lose in the next election. "But 'tis better to have won and lost than never to have won at all." In spite of such resignation, the appointment of "Miss Dobson as postmistress of one of [Toronto's] leading post offices...goes to prove that true worth" can be "recognized, and also that all politicians are not 'machine made.'"¹⁴³ Women saw their influence and relished its effectiveness.

Finally, many women have no qualms about peddling the public and its affairs as women's rightful and needful place. As Willard (1889: 605) writes, "[i]f [men] sought less sedulously to found a home, it was because there were so many other things for [them] to do outside of that—even as for [women] there is now so much else to do and will be from this time forth." The unmistakably evangelical, Toronto-published, *TLJ* under the scrupulously

¹⁴²"What Our Sex is Doing", *The Ladies' Journal*, Feb. 1895, Vol. XVII, No. 2: 8.

¹⁴³*ibid.*

domestic editorial eye of Wetherald, announced in every issue that it was “[t]he only Paper in Canada devoted definitely to the interests of Canadian Women in all branches of their Home and Public Work.”¹⁴⁴ The unabashed certitude of women and organizations, such as Willard and her own WCTU, derive from the ability and willingness of strict and confident evangelical women, those who nurtured and promoted Domesticity, to adjudicate any issue as it pertained to the protection of the home and children, irrespective of its geography. In Part Two we will see precisely how such public Domestic women undertook to make the city like the home.

¹⁴⁴ This inscription appears in each issue of *The Ladies' Journal* in the publisher's information inset, usually on page 8, under the journal's name.

Part Two Making the “Homelike” World: Scrutiny and the Domestic Geography of the City

This is the true nature of a home—it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt and division. In so far as it is not this, it is not home; so far as the anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it, and the inconsistently-minded, unknown, unloved, or hostile society of the outer world is allowed by either husband or wife to cross the threshold, it ceases to be home. It is then only a part of that outer world which you have roofed over, and lighted fire in. But so far as it is a sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of hearth watched over by Household Gods, before whose faces none may come but those whom they can receive with love,—so far as it is this, and roof and fire are types only of a nobler shade and light,—shade as of rock in a weary land, and light as of the Pharos in stormy seas;—so far it vindicates the name, and fulfils the praise, of Home.

John Ruskin (1865)¹⁴⁵

Introduction

If Domesticity had such suasive environmental influence at the turn of the century, how do you measure it? Environments had to resemble home or the replication of home ideals in urban space. The easiest way to disclose this domestic environmentalism is to look for manifestations of “home.” Liberal evangelical Domestic reformers made their chief goal the re-creation of the “homelike” in the urban environment. They determined to establish a broad

¹⁴⁵ Ruskin, *op. cit.*

homelike environment within the four walls of the city, as the means to fulfill the domestic injunction to protect the individual home of bricks and mortar.

How does one go about Domesticating the often brutish and underserved industrial modern city? Methodically, bureaucratically. In turn-of-the-twentieth-century Toronto, women adopted the regimented and routinised techniques they used in the everyday management of the home, extrapolating them into a reform method. In the case of the Toronto Local Council of Women, numerous committees investigated various aspects of life in the city from street reform to social hygiene. At the heart of this method is scrutiny. Vigilant perspicacity allows women to observe and attempt to solve urban social injuries such as incivility, by-law infractions, tenement squalor, lack of infrastructure, each instance treated with the same poultice: liberal evangelical middle-class homelike values with their emphasis on moral-aesthetic probity.

This section studies Domestic reformers of Toronto, female and male, and their investigation of public and private places and institutions to ensure that they are run according to the homelike ideal. Specifically, it illustrates the reform impulse in not only Domestic magazines such as *TLJ*, and *Women's Century* (*WC*), the National Council of Women's official organ, but also in the Toronto women's organisation, the Toronto Local Council of Women (*TLCW*). The *TLJ* stated its mandate overtly, as I suggested above: it was dedicated to the home and public work of women. The *WC* on the other hand, was a magazine that represented and reported on the reform efforts of The W.C.T.U., The Canadian Nurse's Association, The Women's Art Association, The Housewives' League, The Business Women's Club, The

I.O.D.E., The King's Daughters, The National Union of Suffrage Societies, The Women's Canadian Club.¹⁴⁶ The TLCW was simply "desirous of realising a common good" in Toronto, and organised itself accordingly.¹⁴⁷

Importantly, both *TLJ* and the *WC*, and the TLCW examined institutions and the streets, comparing them to the standard of homelikeness. Where they found acquiescence they praised it. Where they discovered problems, they worked to correct them. Either way, their investigations disclosed the extent to which the places they investigated met women reformers' standards of acceptability. In the case of the lack of environmental decorum in Toronto's public schools, reform women urged the implementation of school art leagues, groups of feminist women and men who believed in the moral efficacy of an artful environment. Children taught in proper aesthetic environments would grow up to be civil and productive.

The "homelike" environment

The idea of a homelike world had great purchase on North Americans. For example, Frances Willard, whose ideas typified the mind of middle-class evangelical women, as her biographer claims (Bordin 1986: 13), made it her mission "to make the whole world Homelike" (Willard 1886: 54). In working toward a homelike environment, Willard reveals the Domestic inclination for environment, something illustrated in a sub-chapter in her autobiography, "Evolution of the Home Idea." "Our environments," she writes, "are so largely answerable for our virtues or defects, that the quality of

¹⁴⁶One English club woman, while commenting on the *WC*, suggested that apart from its general excellence, "the whole paper is so well set up, so cleverly and so clearly divided between the different organizations, while at the same time preserving unbroken unity of spirit, that it is quite a model" (Miss Harriet C. Newcombe, Hon.- Secretary B.D.W.S.U. London, England, *Women's Century*, March 1915, Vol. 2, No.10: Frontis.) That spirit was the spirit of women's reform work.

¹⁴⁷Toronto Local Council of Women, *Press Releases 1893-1901*, Globe -- Wed June 17, 1896 PAO F805-10.

character we would produce must have its promise and its potency in the recurring experiences of our daily lives" (Willard 1889: 610). This harmonises perfectly with the Domestic euthenicist Ellen Richards, as we have seen, who insisted that "the child's home environment is certainly a potent factor in his future efficiency" (Richards 1911: 73), efficiency an awful synonym for virtue. The establishment of homelikeness in the modern city merely rendered the latter amenable to children and families, and their efficient reproduction.

Who better, then, to reform the city according to principles of homelikeness than Domestic women? As Willard (1889: 591) saw it, women were especially suited to the cause of homelikeness, since women could "purify every place they enter." This purification of the world at the hands of women is its Domestication, or its being made homelike, which is another way of instigating the millennium.

Of course the idea of "homelike" also acted as a middle-class woman's passport to the city. In the necessary work of building a homelike public, women could rest safely in the notion that what they were doing was perfectly Domestic and womanly. "Womanly activities," explained Chicago reformer Louise De Kouven Bowen about the Women's City Club of Chicago, were "the keeping clean of the city, the consideration of public health, the welfare of children and the inspection of school and playgrounds."¹⁴⁸ The chapter "Man's Improvement of his Environment" in George W. Hunter's *A Civic Biology* (1914), opens by linking the improvement of the home with the improvement of the city. The chapter's purpose is "to show how we as individuals may better our home environments, and secondly how we may

¹⁴⁸Louise De Kouven Bowen quoted by Barbara Spackman, *The Woman's City Club of Chicago*, MA thesis, University of Chicago, 1930: 6 (in Wright 1980). It was Willard who exclaimed "Womanliness first—afterwards what you will" (Willard, in Bordin 1986: 9). Undoubtedly, Willard saw her own public reform activities as part of her construct of the womanly.

aid civic authorities in bettering the conditions in the city in which we live."¹⁴⁹ Hunter here aptly describes the feminist attempt to create a homelike world, which depended on both prodding and helping civic authorities to implement the principles of the home in the city.

Women could sue for a homelike environment with the public's approbation, especially when people genuinely believed in the sacrosanctity of home and its guarantee of social purity. "We've got to get back to headquarters—home," one Sam Jones trumpeted in *TLJ*, "the brightest, happiest, and cheeriest place under the sun, on the face of the earth," if society wanted to end its troubles.¹⁵⁰ "The strongest nation is one where the love of home is strongest. Every benevolent effort to purify and strengthen home-life is well directed" (C. D. Randall, in Platt 1969: 82). "Home" as a place and an ideal was the standard by which the world could be changed. Homes for the aged, homes for the poor, homes for the incurable, homes for the feeble-minded and insane, etc., all at least in name tried to meet the home's standard of environmental excellence. Reformers scoured such places, as I suggest below, to ensure that they were what they purported to be, and did not defile their name. To this end, an essay by social critic, Owen Wister, on a home for the poor in Philadelphia illustrates precisely this overweening faith in home.¹⁵¹

Wister visited the Evening Home, a settlement house-type home for "street arabs" at the corner Chestnut and Aspen Streets. The Evening Home

¹⁴⁹Hunter, in Frederick Ackerman, "The Architectural Side of City Planning", *Proceedings of the Seventh National Conference on City Planning*, Boston, National Conference on City Planning, 1915: 107-128; in Reys (n.d.).

¹⁵⁰*The Ladies' Journal*, September 1895, Vol. XV, No. 9: 30.

¹⁵¹Owen Wister, "Where charity Begins", *Harper's*, June to November, 1895, Vol. XCI: 268-272.

comported itself in every way as an upright middle-class environment, yet its occupants were

those whose need of help is the extremest, who in general do not even ply the simplest of street trades, but run unhoused and motherless, eating where they happen, sleeping where they can, vagabonding the alleys, making themselves ready for the reform school and the jail.¹⁵²

At the Evening Home, little street folk enjoyed the moral tuition and environmental comfort of a home and parlour, the latter a "room [where] they sat, kept out of the streets, in the presense at least of decency...home influence for those who have never known it."¹⁵³

The crux of the essay, however, lay in its contention that monetary charity, despite its kindness, was not the answer, but the inculcation of home-environmentalism:

To put hand in pocket for the passing beggar undoubtedly blesses him that gives, and I would not go a month without this self-indulgence; but the street penny cuts at the root of no evil, and the cure of one empty stomach seems a fleeting benefit to the race when you might be preventing a dozen from ever going hungry. You must reach the vagrant at the dawn of his day, before he has walked the streets too long, before they have taught him too much. ¹⁵⁴

Rather than shell out street pennies, which made the beggar dependent, lazy, and incorrigible, institutions such as the Evening Home could teach its

¹⁵²*ibid.*: 269.

¹⁵³*ibid.*

¹⁵⁴*ibid.*: 272.

inmates the value of a home. They could also show that a homelike environment could mould human behaviour according to acceptable social norms. (The old bromide, “give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach him how to fish and you feed him for a life time,” works on the same principle). By teaching these urchins the value of home and homelikeness they would become productive citizens. As Wister argued, if the city saw more Evening Homes with their home influence in the urban landscape, jails and prisons would receive fewer inmates from the streets. Indeed, evening homes allowed “more of the destitute...[to] start life with something like a home; and it is there, [he] think[s], that charity begins.”¹⁵⁵ Homelike, then, denotes a moral geographical ideal, constitutionally Domestic no matter who promotes it, with the power to alter behaviour.

Homelikeness also exhibited the geography of the home, a spatial manifestation of things Domestic. Whether decorative, such as furnishings and decor, or structural, such as parlours, kitchens, diningrooms, fireplaces etc., Domestic thought held that the spatial imitation of the home environment could shape the morals and behaviour of those inhabiting the space. Toronto’s Young Women’s Christian Guild (YWCG) used homelikeness for the preservation of the burgeoning womanhood of young single women. Like the YWCA, the YWCG was a charitable society for poor single young women, and a settlement house of sorts on McGill Street. It offered its occupants both ideational and geographical Domesticity in the form of “a handsome, four story structure” without, and everything necessary to train poor young women to be Domestic and middle-class within.¹⁵⁶ “A most beautiful room,” the guild parlour took up much of the second floor

¹⁵⁵*ibid.*

¹⁵⁶“The Young Women’s Christian Guild”, *The Ladies’ Journal*, May 1895, Vol XV, No. 5: 6.

and contained a well-stocked lending library. Classrooms for the teaching of elocution, music, book keeping, short hand, dress-making, "plain and fancy" sewing, writing, English literature, painting and drawing, "and in fact about everything necessary for a nineteenth-century girl to know." Everything necessary for a poor "girl," being groomed to be a middle-class Domestic woman, we could say. A lecture hall, gymnasium, painting studio, and kitchen for cooking classes all contributed to the success of the guild, run by one "Mrs. Harvie... the well-known philanthropist and temperance worker" whose "energy and foresight...indomitable perseverance...and Christian faithfulness" make her a typical evangelical reformer trying to instill homelike values in those who need them.

Historian Alyson King (1999: 43) notes this morally improving use of geographic homelikeness to coddle young women in the Domestic and moral-aesthetic trappings of the home-away-from-home, in the conception and construction of women's residences at the University of Toronto. Under the direction of prominent Methodist women, such as Margaret Proctor Burwash and the Barbara Heck Memorial Association, a Methodist women's group whose cause was the advancement of women's education within the Methodist Church, the University of Toronto's women's residences were built according to the Association's Domestic ideal: "to provide the guidance that [the Association] felt students were missing by living away from home" (King 1999: 41). As King writes of Victoria College's Annesley Hall, "a domestic-looking red brick and cut stone, Jacobean building [built in 1903],"and "aesthetically pleasing and comfortable" (King 1999: 43) it was planned to be more than simply a residence; it was to become a centre for all women students at Victoria college. Non-resident

women were encouraged to use Annesley Hall through, for example, lowered costs of meals. Every effort seems to have been made to make the students comfortable and to provide adequate facilities. On the north side of Annesley was a lawn and facilities for playing tennis croquet and basketball. The Victoria College Athletic Field lay to the east, and Victoria College and Queen's Park were to the south. Exposure to light and sun were (sic) maximized. Forty single rooms and eight doubles were provided on the second and third floors. The ground floor of Annesley Hall contained offices, sitting rooms, a library, and a kitchen, as well as rooms for receptions, assemblies, dining, and music. The students rooms were designed to be both a study and a bedroom. There were no suites of rooms. To compensate for the lack of adequate university facilities Annesley also had a small gymnasium in the basement and an infirmary on the second floor (KIng 1999: 43-44).

Most importantly, although the residence was intended "to provide a home away from home for the students, it is clear that the type of home being provided was intended to be of an upper middle-class standard" (King 1999: 45). The residences were intentionally "designed to emphasize the ideal of the middle-class, Christian family" (King 1999: 55). Moreover, Domestic women concerned about propriety and environment were themselves upper middle-class: "The women who came together to design and plan these buildings were often from prestigious Toronto families. They came with the intention of raising the standards of the women students, their denomination, and ultimately, Canadian society as a whole" (King 1999: 45). Such was the point

of homelike geography in Toronto: to elevate the morals of society through the environmental use of Domestic ideals.

Environmental scrutiny

Espousers of the Domestic in Toronto read what may seem to us a curious paragraph in *TLJ*, though to them it was but a statement of the obvious:

Many people labor under the delusion that they are close observers but if questioned only a few minutes after they have apparently been earnestly gazing at an object or window, they will not be able to give a consecutive account of the view.

Children should be early taught to observe closely and describe accurately.¹⁵⁷

What prompted *TLJ*, itself committed to the principles of scrutiny, to include an exhortation about training children to be observant? Observation, I argue, is an essential element in the process of reform. Reform only occurs when observant individuals perceive problems and act to change what they see.

In perhaps what we could call the era of nit-picking, Toronto's *Saturday Night* offered a suitable axiom for reform: "to see faults in others is often to change one's own behavior."¹⁵⁸ The editors of *Saturday Night* and reformers in general understood, often churlishly, what many current reform governments in North America do not: that the environmental and social conditions of the poorest populations of the city negatively affect the wealthiest. To improve these conditions, reformers had to peruse the streets in a visual act of discovery.

¹⁵⁷"The Habit of Observation", *The Ladies' Journal*, May, 1895, Vol. XV, No. 5: 7.

¹⁵⁸*Saturday Night*, August 8, 1896: 1.

Reform was a visual as much as a constructive practice. For example, Jacob Riis wrote and photographed *How the Other Half Lives* (1890: 226) to give wealthy New Yorkers a literary and, importantly, a pictorial representation of the life and faults of “a mighty population, held in galling fetters, heav[ing] uneasily in the tenements.” New York was in the “swell of resistless flood” that should “it rise once more, no human power may avail to check it.” Similarly, the TLCW put on a public slide show, after an outbreak of diphtheria in some of the lowly wards of the city. “How Some of the People in Toronto Live,” demonstrated that diphtheria, cholera and typhus were no respecters of class, neighbourhoods, or persons.¹⁵⁹ W.T. Stead (1894: 408) complained that

there are square miles in Chicago from which the cultured and the weathy and the well to do flee as if from the plague. Whole quarters are left to be crowded with the poor and the ignorant who become sodden together in houses where the only civilizing light is the bull’s eye of the policeman’s lantern.

Where there were no eyes to scrutinise there could be no transformation. (This certainly puts an evangelical spin on Jane Jacobs’ (1961) famous, if later, notion of “eyes on the street”). Jane Addams, that “deeply religious” “follow[er of] the footsteps of the founder of the Christian Religion” (Bowen 1926: 92), suggested with evangelical zeal: “Let us know the modern city in its weakness and wickedness, and then seek to rectify and purify it” (Addams 1930: 14). As one Torontonion member of the “‘Shrieking Sisterhood’, as [they were] so scornfully designate[d]” and who “endeavour[ed] to stamp out social vices,” remarked about women and their scrutiny: “Sneer at them, as you will

¹⁵⁹TCLW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, November 10, 1909, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

call them 'strong-minded,' I maintain they have a right to investigate these matters, and in so doing they are not stepping beyond the prerogative of their sex. Why? Because these things concern them personally, momentarily."¹⁶⁰ Reform, to this reformer, required precise, feminine observation, scrutiny, so that observed social and environmental mistakes could be properly corrected.

Voluntary women's organisations, to aid their ability to scrutinise, partitioned their clubs and leagues into committees and subcommittees responsible for examining whatever reform issue happened to catch their eyes at any particular moment. Such organization put many eyes on the street and allowed them to investigate with methodical efficiency. And they examined everything that concerned women and children, which meant just about everything. The TLCW determined that it was completely within its purview to "investigate the sanitary conditions [of the city]...agitate for the proper conducting of bakeries, milk depots and other places where food is kept...Keep authorities posted thereon, collect invaluable statistics and demand needed legislative reforms," though this was hardly the extent of their probing.¹⁶¹ The women of the TLCW, for example, would "form small parties" and investigate places such as "the Mercer Reformatory, the Children's Hospital, [or] Toronto University," and then retire for tea afterwards.¹⁶² Such scrutiny explains the general mania for statistical data collecting so prevalent at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century. Reformers had to reduce the city to the particular, to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the object of reform.

¹⁶⁰*Mail and Empire*, February 5, 1898, part two, "The Flaneur." 5.

¹⁶¹TLCW, *Press Releases, Globe*, Dec 20, 1897, F805-10, PAO.

¹⁶²TLCW, *Minutes 1903-1906*, May 18, 1903, F805-1-0-1, PAO.

We find numerous examples of evangelical Domestic scrutiny of Toronto for public and private environmental misdemeanors, its observation corresponding with the moral authority granted to women. Publications for women reported the findings of reformers who made it their business to scrutinise the city and its buildings, streets, factories, and institutions. *Woman's Century*, under the heading, "Service? Exactly!" disclosed its opinion on the functioning of, for example, places as varied as Toronto's City Dairy and Mercury Mills clothing mill in Hamilton.¹⁶³

The *WC's* observations, for example, of the city dairy revealed an economic and efficient factory, from which all milk products entered the home safely. A thorough examination of employees and production methods, from machinery to product handling, enabled the writer to understand the relationship between efficiency and retail price. After this came the determination that "in every department the greatest care is manifested to have everything turned out in the purest and best manner." Everything, even the workers' white suits which were cleaned daily, displayed a workplace that was "dainty and absolutely clean" ("dainty," as I have shown, was another keyword for Domestic comportment). Such a conclusion allowed the writer at last to relax at the end of her investigative day: "A cup of delicious tea served with their cream cheese sandwiches is the finishing touch to a visit to the City Dairy, Toronto."¹⁶⁴ It is no accident that the writer makes her visit sound like a social call. The City Dairy's homelikeness means that the home/factory distinction as it pertains to hygiene and decorum has blurred.

¹⁶³"Service? Exactly!", *Woman's Century*, April 1915, Vol. 2, No. 11: 5.

¹⁶⁴*ibid.*

A complete examination of Mercury Mills enabled the writer to report confidently that “[a]t last” she had “discovered a place where we women can be supplied with a new pair of stockings, that after three days of wear, we cannot almost see to read the newspaper through.” Probing revealed that “the garments made were finished beautifully” on quality “Wilcox and Gibbs” sewing machines, and the “atmosphere” of the factory engendered workers’ “pride in their work.”¹⁶⁵ All the “newest improvements are sought after” by the mill owners, even the “dying and drying in chemically pure water which keeps the wool soft.” Indeed, “one gets a great respect for manufactured goods when going through a factory.” Importantly, here is a mill run by men that meets the Domestic “standard” raised by “wise women” who refuse “to buy inferior articles” (a writer in *WC*, after later investigations into “The McLoughlin Motor Car,” boasted that “if we advertise the McLoughlin car for women, they will get satisfactory results”).¹⁶⁶ Obviously, scrutiny had consumerist perks as well as environmental benefits.

TLJ also published monthly investigations into the workings and activities of public and private institutions of Toronto. Wetherald’s analysis of a home for incurables illustrates definitively what scrutiny means in the context of domesticating the city: making it safe and homelike for all concerned. A place such as a home for incurables, when ill-managed, offered real threats to a city. Wetherald immediately sets the beneficent tone of “A Visit to the Home for Incurables:” “The choice of names is very often altogether foreign to the objects named, but this is not the case regarding the title of the Home for Incurables, for it is a home in very deed and truth.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵*ibid.*

¹⁶⁶“Service? Exactly!”, *Woman’s Century*, August 1915, Vol. 3, No. 2: 5.

¹⁶⁷“A Visit to the Home for Incurables”, *The Ladies’ Journal*, Feb. 1895, Vol. XVII, No. 2: 4.

Readers needed not to worry; this particular investigation found an institution of charity that was “veritably ‘homelike.’”

What then is Wetherald’s criteria for the designation of “homelike?” Although the day of the visit found a frosty temperature without that chilled Wetherald, “the change to the almost tropical condition of the home was very grateful. Warmth is the main factor in the comfort of the aged and infirm and without its genial influence food and shelter would be almost valueless.” She inspected the three huge furnaces, whose “daily (winter) capacity of about three tons of coal” were responsible for the efficient warming of the home’s inhabitants. As for the actual geography of the building, she found “[b]road halls, [a] sunny south aspect for sitting rooms, and enclosed verandahs for smokers;” “a large, well-lit, well-heated, nicely furnished” sitting room for men; “daintily furnished” rooms particularly in the private wards; “a dining room, which also does duty as a chapel, [that] is attractive and cheerful;” superintendents apartments that are “cosy and central;” an “exceptionally charming” boardroom, “with its old-time fireplace which lacks nothing but the andirons to complete it.” In short, Wetherald discloses a building that in everyway meets the Domestic standard, even down to the hearth, the centre of the family home.

A capacious laundry area more than adequately served the inmates, while the kitchen sported a “huge range” on which “appetizing meals” were prepared. The storerooms and cold storage “are well furnished with the latest and freshest articles of diet.” Indeed the food “is the best the city affords.” In an era of pure air, pure water, and pure food, “the age of light, soap, and water” as Marriana Valverdi (1991) describes it, a larder stocked with fresh ingredients had immediate significance.

As for the staff, the Superintendent, "Mrs. Craigie", is so personable that Wetherald promises "literally to take [her] knitting and stay all day with [her] and her charges in the Home for Incurables." The head nurse was "a graduate of a training school and an altogether capable personage." The "genial" housekeeper was "an analytical, painstaking, energetic woman," while a newly hired "boyish looking" physician was "not troubled with an over abundance of sympathy but clever withal, quick-witted and jolly." We get the impression that this doctor pales beside the memory of his predecessor, "a large hearted Christian gentlemen" of Wetherald's acquaintance, "whose words and deeds of sympathy are kept green in the hearts of the patients." Apart from this, Wetherald approved entirely of the attendants, the building, and its operation.

She concluded by quoting the Home's superintendent, who believed that the her facility "is kept comfortably warm (a rare thing in such institutions) and the home feeling, and home-like surroundings are remarked by every visitor." Such is the point about the scrutiny of evangelical reformers: to scour the environment for evidences of homelike standards of conduct, and whether present or absent, report about it. Scrutiny and vigilance are the watchwords of Domestic reformers, the recognition of "the importance of constant watchfulness."¹⁶⁸ In the case of not finding compliance with the homelike standard, reformers act to correct it, as in the case of the Toronto Local Council Women as we will see.

Wetherald's "Visit to the Grace Hospital" was yet another search for the home-away-from-home. The hospital at Huron and College Streets revealed an institution whose "principal characteristics...are size and

¹⁶⁸"What our Sex is Doing", *The Ladies' Journal*, Feb. 1895, Vol. XVII, No. 2: 8.

comfort.”¹⁶⁹ Not only these, however. Wetherald noted the modern quality of the homely hospital environment: Wetherald “found a full fledged school for nurses, a staff of physicians eminently well fitted for their positions, and a general air of up-to-dateness refreshing to behold.” Its “private and semi-private wards,” Wetherald wrote, “are models of beauty and elegance” having been furnished by wealthy patrons. In such a place “what patient could be so ungrateful as to remain sick for any length of time.”

It is here that Wetherald demonstrates *TLJ*’s insistence upon precise observation: she proceeded “to make for the readers a word picture of one of the wards that would give an idea of its restfulness and beauty.” It is unnecessary to rehearse again Wetherald’s ability to observe keenly and comprehensively. I will simply draw attention to Wetherald’s gladness at “the opportunity to make known the good work being done in th[e] luxurious home for the sick.” From its furnishings, wallcoverings and curtains, “choice engravings” on the walls, and richly stained floors and matching druggets, as well as its ability to provide excellent medical care to and nutrition and hygiene for its inmates, the Grace Hospital upheld the standard of homelikeness. And Wetherald hunted for such standards with a scrupulous eye, scrutiny and precision the basis of Domestic environmentalism.

Scrutiny and the streets

Women turned to street reform as a natural extension of home protection, displaying an eagerness and partiality for “civic” or “Municipal Housekeeping” (Addams 1907: 180-207; Chadsey 1915; Robinson 1899; Baxter 1912; Greeley 1912; Anon. 1914; Anon. 1916), where their counterparts seemed uninterested. As Addams (1907: 183) put it,

¹⁶⁹“A Visit to the Grace Hospital”, *The Ladies’ Journal*, August 1895, Vol. 15, No. 8: 5.

men have been carelessly indifferent to much of this civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household. They have totally disregarded a candidate's capacity to keep the streets clean, preferring to consider him in relation to the national tariff or to the necessity for increasing the national navy....

Women, however, were especially suited to the cleaning of the city and its streets, since housekeeping and home and child protection "have traditionally been in the hands of women" and "most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activity," as Addams opined candidly (Addams 1912: 183). It was simply part of the "club woman['s]" nature to take to the street despite her housekeeping responsibilities:

For the club woman, who had finished a long day's work of washing or ironing, followed by the cooking of a hot supper, it would have been much easier to sit on her doorstep during a summer evening than go up and down ill-kept alleys and get into trouble with her neighbours over the condition of their garbage boxes. It required both civic enterprise and moral conviction to be willing to do this three evenings a week during the hottest and most uncomfortable months of the year (Addams 1912: 284-285).¹⁷⁰

If women took to the streets in a way men did not, it had much to do with women's affiliation with the home.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰Addams is writing here about the Hull House Women's Club, and the "club women" to whom she is referring are tenement women. Nevertheless, the comment applies to all club women, bourgeois or otherwise.

¹⁷¹Roberts' (1979:32-34) discussion of maternal feminism in Toronto shows privileged women of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century making Addams' point about housekeeping. Such women argued further than Addams, however. One female University of Toronto undergrad advanced

Charles Mulford Robinson noted the role that women played in street reform in his series of essays on civic improvement in 1899.¹⁷² Robinson wrote:

In Hartford Connecticut, there is a club of women that is interesting as a type of clubs, singly and collectively, that illustrate...civic spirit. It is called the Civic Club, and at this writing, it has no printed report of its work...the club's policy has from the beginning been conservative, and it has maintained friendly relations with the municipal boards. As a result, its mere suggestions have accomplished much. Beginning with street cleaning, the club addressed letters to property holders, requesting cooperation; it induced the city to furnish cans for waste at corners of the streets and made it a punishable offense to scatter papers or refuse. A school league had been formed before the movement had generally been inaugurated; and Hartford was one of the first of the smaller cities to put its street cleaners in uniform. Extending its function to the promotion of 'a higher public spirit and better social order in the community,' the club has added other lines of work. If the Civic Club of Hartford, with its membership limited to 150, could do so much,

the housekeeping principle as a social virtue: "That ignorance of the principles of really good cooking and sanitary living is very general, especially among the labouring class, no one...will dispute with me...The strength of the forces of universal good cooking and cleanliness pitted against the combination of disease, intemperance and crime, has yet to be tried. The importance of good cooking and cleanliness in the development of a 'socially fit' race is incalculable" (Roberts 1979: 34).

¹⁷²Robinson's emphasis on women exemplifies an historiographical gender bias complained of bitterly by feminists over the years. Urban historians have been reading Robinson's essays for decades and still we are only now beginning to recognise the contribution of women in the reclamation of the modern city. Even Veronica Strong-Boag (1976: 32-33) sees women as having learned reform from men.

we may be sure that there has been important effort in other cities. It is a work which women have especially taken in hand.¹⁷³

Robinson also reported that “in Chicago, in 1897, a woman was appointed chief inspector of streets and alleys. She was the first to be appointed to such a position, but she filled it to better satisfaction than had been known before, having gained experience in similar duties for the Civic Federation.”¹⁷⁴

Addams (1912: 284) similarly suggested that as a result of women’s scouring of the tenements, and their incessant reporting to the city, “three city inspectors in succession were transferred from the ward because of unsatisfactory services.” The streets and their oversight simply mattered to women.

Women, it was believed by both men and women, trained themselves for positions of public influence by virtue of their ordering of the home, street protection the logical conclusion to protecting the home. Historian Martin Melosi (1973: 633), too, notes the importance of women as pioneers in street reform—especially waste management— noting that “[i]n Philadelphia, Mrs. Edith W. Pierce in 1916 became the first woman city inspector of street cleaning in the United States” though Melosi here seems at odds with Robinson in the ascription of “first.” Nevertheless, throughout the States, Melosi suggests, women were a “force in a phenomenon of the Progressive Era—the city clean-up (or beautification) campaign” (Melosi 1973: 634). Leagues of women scoured the city for messes, ugliness, and transgressions against moral environmentalism, leagues such as the TLCW.

¹⁷³Charles Mulford Robinson, *Improvement in City Life*, *Atlantic Monthly*, 1899, vol. LXXXIII: 774.

¹⁷⁴*ibid.*

Scrutiny and the TLCW

The TLCW demonstrates the ability of Domestic women to scrutinise the environment for threats against the safety of the city-home. And it did this despite putatively extant ideological and rhetorical Domestic prescriptions about women's place and role to the contrary. The Domestic and liberal evangelical Protestant TLCW agitated for changes in the city streets. And make no mistake; these are liberal evangelical women. The TLCW Minutes show that each meeting opened with a prayer and music, while the meeting room was decorated with flowers and dainties.

The president of the TLCW at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century was Harriet Boomer, whose pious and romanticised ideas about children, religion, and education we encountered above. Boomer, as her name humorously suggests, was anything but a reticent homemaker. The *Globe* considered Boomer one of the TLCW's "prime workers," "a woman of bright ideas and with the courage of her convictions," which by her address given at the International Congress of Women, 1899, were considerable. "Always a good drawing card" as a public speaker, "many new paths [were] due to her initiative."¹⁷⁵ An apostle of "the discipline of an orderly, well-regulated home" Boomer's TLCW operated perspicaciously, its eye on every threatening aspect of the city-home.¹⁷⁶

In this regard, the TLCW maintained standing committees to ensure the homelike operation of Toronto. They included: Committees for the Better care of the Aged and Infirm Poor; Objectionable Printed Matter; Immigration; Laws for the Better Protection of Women and Children; Custodial Care of Feeble-minded Women; Finance; Press; Domestic Science; Agriculture for

¹⁷⁵*Globe*, May 18, 1912: 13.

¹⁷⁶Boomer, "Connection between Home and School Life" (in Aberdeen 1900: 21).

Women; Women on School Boards; Vacation Schools and Supervised Playgrounds; Peace and Arbitration; White Slave Traffic; Circulation of Council Literature; Industrial Exhibition.¹⁷⁷ There were also special committees to oversee street reforms and traffic regulations: such committees were struck as circumstances arose. The TLCW affiliated itself with the Women's Art Association of Canada, and the Toronto Social Hygiene Club. By the 1920's, the TLCW operated a Committee on Housing and Town Planning.

The TLCW's committees searched out and proposing solutions to city problems. In January of 1908, after investigating Toronto's continuing problem with "pure water," owing to its problematic in-take pipe, the TLCW sent a deputation suing for the installation of a suitable filtration plant. The deputation was "cordially received by the City Council," and though we are not told what the outcome was, construction of the Island Slow Sand pumping Station began within the year, 1909—Victoria Park Pumping station would not appear on the Toronto landscape until 1933, now the R. C. Harris Filtration plant .¹⁷⁸

In its concern for Toronto's streets, the TLCW turned its attention to "the number of appalling accidents on our streets through vehicles, etc." ¹⁷⁹ Toronto, like many cities at the turn of the twentieth century suffered terrible streetcar and cart accidents which claimed the limbs and lives of

¹⁷⁷TLCW , *Minutes 1903-1906*, March 8, 1905, F805-1-0-1, PAO.

¹⁷⁸TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, Jan. 8, 1908, F805-1, PAO. A major water conduit accident occurred in September of 1895, when the pipe surfaced and broke. Torontonians complained that the reason the problem occurred was because City Council had failed to act sufficiently to repair the problem in 1892. For a full discussion see the *Mail and Empire* beginning September 6, 1895, and continuing for several weeks. The Island Drifting Sand pumping station was built in 1914-1917. The Slow Sand Plant pumped 180 megalitres per day, the Drifting Sand 250, the R. C. Harris 450 (www.city.toronto.on.ca/water/history.htm)

¹⁷⁹TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, Nov. 12, 1908, F805-1, PAO.

adults and children regularly. The TLCW struck a committee "to secure all necessary information as to the by-laws controlling traffic on the streets in Toronto...and bring it before the proper authorities to see what can be done to lessen the danger to pedestrians."¹⁸⁰ Less than one month later, the "Report of the Special Committee appointed to inquire as to the laws controlling traffic in our streets" was presented."¹⁸¹ "There are by-laws," the Minutes read

but they are not enforced. Much of the laxity was due to the fact that when accidents did occur[,] persons—particularly ladies [—] refused to enter action or even go to court to give evidence. A bylaw (sic) was now being prepared at City Hall to compel Bicyclists to carry lights and bells. A copy of the letter drafted by the com. (sic) to send to cities comparing in size with Toronto asking for information regarding the control of traffic in their streets was read.

The committee, now officially the "Committee on the Regulation of Street Traffic," then undertook a letter-writing campaign to various North American cities to learn what was being done elsewhere. Responses were received and the Committee compiled an extensive report, now vanished, and presented it to the TLCW. The latter resolved that twelve copies of the report should be made and one sent to the Mayor, one to each Controller, the City Solicitor, and the TLCW's convenor of the Press Committee.¹⁸² Unquestionably, the TLCW actively sought to influence the City Council in

¹⁸⁰*ibid.*

¹⁸¹TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, Dec. 9, 1908, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

¹⁸²TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, Feb. 10, 1909, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

these matters, not a voiceless or geographically constrained group of women, but a league of purposeful quasi-politicals.

Streets mattered to the TLCW, whether disorderly traffic or behaviour, the latter causing the striking of a committee in 1899 to wait upon the City Council to introduce a bill "prohibiting expectoration on the street, in public halls, and conveyances."¹⁸³ Domestic euthenics, among other things, warned of the public health "dangers of the transference of saliva and nose discharge" (Richards 1977[1911]: 112). The TLCW's agitations prompted the passing of a by-law, but by 1908 the by-law was not being enforced. The committee deputed the Medical Health Officer.¹⁸⁴ One month later, correspondence from the Mayor stated that he would put the matter before the Board of Control, asking that the by-law be strictly enforced. The Committee read "[a] clipping from one of the dailies show[ing] active operations had begun: 'on the motion of controller Harrison signs are being erected warning people against the infringement of the by-law.'"¹⁸⁵ Not only did the TLCW scrutinise the streets for environmental hazards, it occasionally possessed the power create public policy.

Aware of the politics of, and the various politicians in, Toronto, the TLCW extended its mind to the Civic Guild (CG). In a letter to the CG, the TLCW urged it

to take into [its] earnest consideration...the plan (which has been already advocated) of widening Yonge Street from Shuter St., South as far as Wellington by a system of collonades on both sides of the street thus relieving the extreme congestion and

¹⁸³TLCW, *Press Releases, Globe*, Jan 12, 1899, F805-10, PAO.

¹⁸⁴TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, Nov 12, 1908, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

¹⁸⁵TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, Dec. 9, 1908, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

danger of Toronto traffic in that vicinity which must continually increase with the development and expansion of the city.¹⁸⁶

It seemed to the TLCW that if a measure of practically applied "wisdom and forethought" were advanced "in the preparation for the expansion of this City, foreshadowed and encouraged by the great municipal works now projected" it "would be timely." The letter urged the CG, naively--the CG had been trying for years to have funds allocated for all kinds of projects--to convince the City Council to divert "some of the expenditure which the people are asked annually to authorize" "to the above purpose thereby placing the City in a better position to cope with the vast population and traffic of the future." The letter then concludes, undauntedly and even matter of factly, by requesting "that the above suggestion be reduced to a workable basis and that the Guild bring pressure to bear upon the Municipal Authorities that they submit a perfected plan along these lines to the people at the earliest possible date date."

The well-schooled CG, however, politely declined. Responding eleven days later, it suggested that the colonnade or arcade plan is not feasible or economical, preferring instead the "Homologated Line" system in this particular case, understanding that standardisation of roadways was key.¹⁸⁷ It thanked the TLCW for its "interest," philosophically adding that "with so much consideration being given to the subject of making our thoroughfares more convenient, some solution will suggest itself which will meet with general approval." Though the Guild's view, technically and politically was the correct one, it does not negate that the TLCW concern for population and

¹⁸⁶*Letters, etc., 1912-1914, December 11, 1913, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.*

¹⁸⁷*Letters, etc., 1912-1914, December 22, 1913, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.*

traffic, in a word congestion, is typical of street reformers. The TLCW is Domestic and it monitors the streets. There is no contradiction.

The ill-placement of advertisements and signage particularly vexed street reformers of the era. Robinson (1901: 76) even claimed the street reformer's "general assumption of the right to official censure of posters on moral grounds" and the universal "recognition that the will of the individual...may be curbed for the general good." One "Miss Mary Cayley" a particularly tenacious TLCW member, and whose name frequently adorns the Minutes, took this moral right to heart. Her especial talent lay in the issue of public morals as it concerned posted advertisements in the streets.

In 1897, dancer/actress Cissy Fitzgerald, was performing at the "Grand Opera House...in the brilliant comedy success 'The Foundling'...with George Edwards' original Gaiety Company." Cayley disapproved of Fitzgerald's image in the theatre's posters throughout the city. Apparently, Fitzgerald was a "young lady whose alluring wink...made her famous." One writer even thought her "a sumptuous feast to the eye, and the grace and poetry of her dancing mak[ing] her indeed a star attraction."¹⁸⁸ The poster, nevertheless, affronted Cayley who, in her office as secretary of the TLCW, contacted the Mayor, "asking him to call attention to the posters advertising Cissy Fitzgerald, which, she claim[ed we]re detrimental to the morals of the city."¹⁸⁹ What the mayor thought we must suppose was his own business, although Miss Cayley seems to have a clear understanding of what she considers hers and the TLCW's.

In 1905, Cayley now acting on behalf of the "Committee on Objectionable Printed Matter" averred that the "Committee had been

¹⁸⁸*Mail and Empire*, Saturday November 27, 1897, Part Two: 11.

¹⁸⁹*Mail and Empire*, December 3, 1897: 7.

instrumental in causing an objectionable [poster] in a Barber Shop window to be withdrawn." Further to this, the committee suggested that "theatrical posters should only be displayed on the doors of the theatres, as is done in Ottawa."¹⁹⁰ Later vigilance revealed a miscreant Queen Street east firm guilty of posting "objectionable advertising matter," although exposing the problem seems to have been as far as the TLCW was prepared to go—there is no further record.¹⁹¹ The TLCW knew what a homelike city should be and it did not include lewd or crass posters in shop windows.

Any disorder in the streets motivated the TLCW. When a "leading morning paper" discovered that the girls loitering in the streets around the Technical School resulted from "inadequate provision in the matter of playgrounds or recreation rooms," the TLCW reacted by doing what it did best: it struck a committee to wait on the School Board.¹⁹² Miss Cayley, the committee convenor, and her compatriots immediately approached the Chairman of the Management Committee of the School Board, urging "on him the necessity of providing suitable recreation rooms and grounds for the girls attending the Technical School" and "he promised to bring the matter before the Board."¹⁹³

The TLCW took the role of child-protector seriously. When "[a] clipping from one of the morning papers was read of the awful ravishes (sic) of diptheria (sic) on some of the streets in the city" the TLCW made "a strong plea" for medical inspection of Toronto schools. Typical of the presumed authority of the TLCW, "a novel suggestion was made that the Local

¹⁹⁰TLCW, *Minutes 1903-1906*, May 10, 1905, F805-1-0-1, PAO.

¹⁹¹TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, April 14, 1909, F805-1-0-2, PAO. It is quite possible that I missed a further entry on this issue. The handwriting in TLCW Minutes is often barely legible.

¹⁹²TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, December 8, 1909, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

¹⁹³TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, January 12, 1910, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

Government appoint a Minister of Health, to deal with just situations (sic) and epidemics as periodically break out in certain sections."¹⁹⁴ Toronto did have a chief Public Health Officer, but a male politician appointed on the recommendation of the TLCW would be, we might speculate, borrowing a phrase from women reformers, more easily made a "cat's paw."

A few months later, the TLCW would depute the School Board again, this time on the matter of clean drinking water in public schools. Schools were public buildings on city streets and because they housed children for a good part of the day, child protection demanded their homelikeness, as we will see below in a discussion on school art leagues. Upon discovery that too many schools had bad water in their pipes, the council resolved "that some provision be made to supply the children in the schools with...pure spring drinking water," or barring that, the securing of boiler equipment "at a possible cost of say \$5." The latter option required that the school "caretaker be entrusted to boil and cool sufficient drinking water daily for the use of the pupils."¹⁹⁵ The minutes do not report on the outcome of this investigation.

By the 1920's, the TLCW had become engaged in urban planning. We know already that housing concerned women enormously, and the housing aspect of town planning abetted their interest. The TLCW was affiliated with the Housing and Town Planning Association of Ontario, and had representation on the Association's Executive, and also on their deputations to the Provincial Government.¹⁹⁶

Town planning occupied a significant aspect of homelikeness. And because the homelikeness was child-protection, town planning became a

¹⁹⁴TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, November 10, 1909, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

¹⁹⁵TLCW, *Minutes 1906-1914*, February 25, 1910, F805-1-0-2, PAO.

¹⁹⁶*Toronto Local Council of Women Thirty Second Annual Report*, 1925, The Macomb Press: 31; F 805-10, PAO.

method for building the homelike world, an environment of Domestic propriety—something the CG also associated with planning—child-protection, and social service.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the TLCW saw planning precisely this way: “In regard to the whole question of Housing and Town Planning...Why does not this fundamental subject find a more prominent place on the programme of Social Service and Child Welfare conventions and conferences?”¹⁹⁸ City planning for women’s groups facilitated their Domestic liberal evangelical environmental aims.

Toronto City Council’s uninterest in comprehensive urban planning frustrated the TLCW who spoke aloud a question that exasperated the CG: “why it is so hard to interest and enthuse the majority of the citizens of Toronto on the importance of a definite town-planning policy?”¹⁹⁹ The women’s council had in the 1920s tried to compel the City Council to think with farsightedness: “In 1923 the Local Council of Women suggested to the mayor that he call a conference of interested men and women to get a consensus of opinion as to the importance of town planning,” with no success. And for the first five years of the third decade, the TLCW, “through the Provincial Council,” had “waited upon the Provincial Government, asking for a better and more adequate Town Planning Act for Ontario.”²⁰⁰ Still, of Toronto, the women’s council would ask bluntly:

Why are there not more houses built which in price would be within the reach of the working man?...When will someone promote a housing scheme for the lowest wage earner and the

¹⁹⁷“For Better Housing”, *Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, May 1, 1911, Vol. 1 No. 3.

¹⁹⁸*Toronto Local Council of Women Thirty Second Annual Report*, 1925, The Macomb Press: 31; F 805-10, PAO.

¹⁹⁹*ibid.*

²⁰⁰*ibid.*

Tubercular poor where they can be housed in pleasant cottages with bright surroundings and an attractive environment, where all the rooms get sunshine some time of the day, where the children have room to move about in work or play?²⁰¹

The town planning and housing concern of the TLCW is purely Domestic, a social Christian idea that relates to the raising of children according to the evangelical standard that had been flouted in Toronto by the city's "forefathers."²⁰²

Home and school art

Women as Domestic aesthetes assumed an entirely fathomable interest in art. Victorians, and especially Domestic women, raised the appreciation of art to a level of sociological and environmental necessity (Silver 1993; Reed 1996). Art for evangelical reformers meant more than pretty pictures. The Women's Art Association of Canada (WAAC) averred that "[a]rt is a human activity—it cannot be detached from life or placed where it cannot act on life or be re-acted upon by life."²⁰³ "Art," WC proclaimed, in the words of French sculptor, Auguste Rodin, "shows man his *raison d'être*; it reveals to him the meaning of life; it enlightens him upon his destiny, and consequently points him on his way."²⁰⁴ A society's claim on civility commensurated with its appreciation of art. If Christianity and civility were synonymous, then art acquired moral expediency. Why? Because evangelical Protestants determined that art's affiliation with beauty and order gave it powers of social regeneration, making art and art appreciation integral to the postmillennialist reform agenda.

²⁰¹*ibid.*: 30.

²⁰²*ibid.*

²⁰³"Women's Art Association of Canada", *Woman's Century*, March 1916, Vol. 3, No. 9: 6.

²⁰⁴"Women's Art Association of Canada", *Woman's Century*, April 1916, Vol. 3, No. 10: 6.

Art and reform have received attention from urbanists, especially as it pertained to artistic spatial order, and the artful ingressions of the city beautiful and civic art movements (Scott 1969; Lubove 1972; Kantor 1973; Hines 1974; Peterson 1976; Boyer 1979, 1994; Van Nus 1979; Olsen 1984; Girouard 1985; Relph 1985; Wilson 1989). Not often studied by urbanists, however, if at all, is the school art league. In the school art league we find a prominent eutenic desire to order and regulate aesthetically the spatial environment of the public school. Upon the public school was thrust the enormous responsibility of producing moral and civil children, on whom society lay its hope for the future. If any group of people believed religiously in the causal effects of environment, it was the Torontonians proponents of school art. They successfully proselyted this belief, converting the provincial and municipal governments to the support of art education and the artful decoration of schools.

Bourgeois Torontonians loved art and artists. Art nourished a nation, helped it grow in civil, moral-aesthetic, and economic stature. Two art "doctors," one Dr. Rand, and another Dr. Parkin, from Upper Canada College lectured the Women's Art Association of Toronto on the social need for art education. Parkin concluded that there could be no internal aesthetic development in "any country unless the great mass were educated in artistic tendencies and possessed the art instinct which impelled them to support art." This art instinct, Rand insisted, emerged from "training in graphic art" which provided "the best possible means of harmonizing the intellect and the emotions."²⁰⁵ Indeed, as another proponent wrote,

²⁰⁵*Mail and Empire*, March 9, 1898: 6.

[a]ll the deep thought and emotion that have been revealed to the most advanced men and women of the past have been recorded for the study and development of the race in the form of Literature, Music or Art. It is therefore one of the dearest duties of the schools to qualify all children for the correct interpretation of Literature, Music, and Art, that may be able to enrich and ennoble their lives..."²⁰⁶

Perhaps, but art promoters also understood the economic advantage of a nation's and its citizens' active commitment to art. "The [a]rtistic development of the race," crooned a school art league circular, has a most important influence on the practical life of people, and the material development of nations. A workman with artistic taste is able to earn one-third more wages in any department of artistic manufacture because he can give constructed articles a higher value. The man who adds most increase in value to raw material, of any kind, adds most to the wealth of his country.²⁰⁷

Art not only regenerated the environment but the society, culture, and economy that embraced it.

In order to establish the appreciation of art as a social principle, Toronto reformers looked once again to children and their training. *The Dominion Educator* (1919), edited by Toronto public school reformer, chief inspector of Toronto's schools, and chair of the Advisory Board of the Toronto School Art Leagues, James Hughes, taught grade school children that "[i]n nearly every civilised person there is a craving for beauty, though that

²⁰⁶"School Art Leagues", *Circular*, 1899: 4, RG2-42-0-322, MS 6511, PAO.

²⁰⁷*ibid.*

craving is often perverted" (Hughes and Foster 1919: 1325). Schools as they stood were insufficient for the artistic training of children or refining their appreciation of beauty, beauty and art being synonymous at the time.

Children needed to be taught the ability to appreciate art. It made them civil, Christian:

When a child has been taught to look with wonder and delight upon the ever-changing aspect of cloud and sky, to look with admiration upon the general architecture and delicate tracery of branch and twig of some fine old tree silhouetted against the winter sky, the perfected foliage, or to feel the charm of a choice bit of landscape, much has been done for him. The attention has been arrested, a habit of contemplation induced; the aesthetic and spiritual sense quickened, and a greater reverence for the mysteries of creation and the Creator will be his.²⁰⁸

This quickening of the senses not only imbued children with moral aesthetics, but beautifully decorated classrooms miraculously induced a child's reception to discipline and order:

It is being observed that children are more amenable to school discipline in the beautifully furnished and decorated rooms, supplied in some instances by the club women of the country, than in the bare and severely plain of other days. The American child is lacking the rich heritage of opportunity for association with the wealth of art which belongs to older countries, but that is no reason why he should not have an appreciation and love of beauty instilled his mind. Because none but the favoured of

²⁰⁸Mrs. Maria Purdy Peck. "Education as a Preparation for Life" (in Aberdeen 1900: 17).

fortune can cultivate their artistic sense by becoming acquainted with the grand cathedrals, classic marbles and great paintings of the Old World, the God-given aspirations towards the beautiful need not remain dormant. Invisible to all except the rarer spirits of earth, there is a world of beauty and interest outside the school room door.²⁰⁹

Art in the school would infuse school children with the values of the favoured of fortune--the refinement, taste, and mental and moral capital of gentle, as Olmsted put it--which apparently could only be a good thing for society.

The president of the WAAC, Mrs. Frederick Mercer, made the point about art, religion, civility, and education very plain. With the war raging, the WAAC realised

now more than ever the necessity of keeping alive our interest in the spiritual and aesthetic side of life. More and more, in years to come, shall we feel the need of well trained, well equipped and well poised citizens to conserve our national resources, develop our national industries, purify our social life, and preserve our liberties and ideals. And what a calamity it would be should the education of the youth of Canada be restricted in any way!²¹⁰

Art education connected not only to moral and civil comportment, but to civic and national well-being. City planner, Frederick Ackerman, insisted that society "make it clear to the child that there are things of interest for him to consider in our towns and in our cities which are of vital interest to his

²⁰⁹*ibid.*

²¹⁰"Women's Art Association of Canada", *Woman's Century*, January 1916, Vol. 3, No. 7: 14.

comfort and his well being and which incidentally have to do with architecture and art.”²¹¹ *Saturday Night’s* art critic, Jean Grant, made a similar point:

The little appreciation shown for public art galleries, museums, &c; the indifferent attitude towards measures for the beautifying of cities, public buildings, &c; the pursuit of gross sensual pleasures, the little esteem paid by many to social order and decency, may all be attributed to a greater or lesser degree to the same source (“’Till fares the land, to hastening ills a prey/ Where wealth accumulates and men decay”). We do not ignore home influence, and so we are not an artistic nation; not a nation of painters or sculptors or dramatists, and never will be as long as the artistic faculties receive so little attention in the education of the young.²¹²

Art built character and since schools were to provide children with “a general education to develop the mind, to encourage an appreciation of culture, and to ensure...good citizen[ship];” it was an obvious place to begin.²¹³

A *Mail and Empire* editorial prior to the advancement of school art leagues complained bitterly of the lack of refinement and decorum in

²¹¹Ackerman, “The Architectural Side of City Planning”, *op. cit.* While Ackerman lauded and encouraged efforts to teach children about the merits of art, architecture, and beauty he denied the uncritical advancement of art in schools. “Upon the walls of our schoolhouses we hang only the most noble examples of art and architecture of the past; we conjure up theories of how the elements of beauty therein contained will somehow elevate the taste of the child from the farm or the crowded spaces within our cities. I doubt whether they do anything of the kind. Under certain conditions, when used as Dr. Haney uses them in his art teaching in the public schools of New York, they become of value and an inspiration, but as used at present in most schools, they are almost as inert as the plaster walls on which they hang....”

²¹²*Saturday Night*, February 12, 1898: 9. Grant’s suggestion here about the home influence is not a contradiction to the argument I am making. Indeed, Grant is making the same point as Richards (1970[1911]); too many homes in North America were not privy to the moral-aesthetic influence of an environmentally aware parents, privileged or under-privileged.

²¹³*Mail and Empire*, March 21, 1898: 6.

Toronto school children, accusing the school board of not “giving the young people in our schools a certain amount of polish as well as a respectable amount of instruction in ‘the three Rs’ and cognate subjects.” Schools should produce learned and civil pupils. “There is no reason why we should not get rid of the brutal.”²¹⁴ School art league promoters believed an artistic environment could suppress precisely this kind of untutored incivility. “It is impossible,” the Advisory Board of the Toronto School Art Leagues opined, to over estimate the influence of the conditions of a child’s environment during the first few years of its life. It is therefore of the highest importance that his environment should be of the best possible character, so that his life may be filled with the centres of truest intellectual and spiritual growth at maturity.²¹⁵

Hughes was reported to have remarked that

it had become recognised that education should mean more than cramming the head of the pupils with arithmetic and such like subjects—that ability to appreciate beauty of form and color was even more important—and that schools should not only be structurally secure and planned to meet the requirements, but should also within and without be in good keeping with established canons of good taste.²¹⁶

The banning of the brutal and the revivification of character, for school art leagues, began with the reformation of the physical environment of the school.

²¹⁴*Mail and Empire*, September 2, 1895: 6.

²¹⁵“School Art Leagues”, *Circular*, 1899: 2, RG2-42-0-322, MS 6511, PAO.

²¹⁶“School Art Leagues Movement”, *The Canadian Architect and Builder* February 1900, Vol. VIII, No. 2: 24.

The rise of the school art league in Toronto began when evangelical women from the posh Toronto suburb of Rosedale initiated a successful art reform in the city in 1896. A group of women and mothers upon assimilating the opinions of Inspector Hughes, in a speech at the dedication of the Rosedale Public School, "immediately organised...the Ladies' League of School Art."²¹⁷ Its purpose was to inculcate an aesthetic principle in public schools, though the frustration of art promoters in Toronto extended beyond the school house. At this time, Toronto lay in the throes of a famine of art. The City Council had openly refused to take the Toronto Civic Guild's advice regarding mural art in the city, especially as it concerned the new city hall (Pepal 1983). Toronto's elite held art shows in rented spaces and the Normal School, remonstrating that they had "not even a public art gallery."²¹⁸ And as the "prospectus" for the Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design, under the principalship of George Reid, lamented a few years later: "In Toronto...there is an apparent lack of sympathy towards [the arts] and in the civic source of support there is an indifference, evidenced by the frequency with which succeeding governing bodies have to be reformed of [their] great importance."²¹⁹ This and the general malaise in the area of public art and architecture suggested a "need [for a school art league] so manifest that few arguments were required to recommend the movement."²²⁰ In the midst of a dearth of art, a group of Rosedale "ladies" brought art reform to an seemingly unlikely place: Toronto's schools.

²¹⁷"School Art Leagues", *Circular*, 1899: 5, RG2-42-0-322, MS 6511, PAO.

²¹⁸*Mail and Empire*, February 12, 1898, Part Two: 8.

²¹⁹"Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design", *Reports, Prospectus*, 1903-1910, MS 5612 RG 2420348, PAO.

²²⁰*ibid.*

A couple of years later, the Ladies' League of School Art "waited upon the Ontario Society of Artists to form a general organization with Advisory Board." By this time the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (TGCA) had been appointed as a civic art consulting body to the City Council and had been currying interest and favour in and from provincial politicians and the Toronto Chamber of Commerce. The TGCA's affiliation with the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) facilitated the quick institution of the new organization: the Advisory Board of the Toronto School Art Leagues. It consisted of among others: chairman, James Hughes; ex-officio members, namely the Ontario Minister of Education, the Mayor of Toronto, the chairman of the Public School Board, the Superintendent of School Buildings, and the Inspector of Public Schools; and finally as appointed representatives, members of the Women's Art Association of Canada, the TGCA, and the OSA, George Agnew Reid among them.

The Board immediately drafted a mandate, which not surprisingly, "promote[d] the movement for school decoration throughout the province."²²¹ The circular spelled out the aims and philosophy of the school art leagues and even provided an order form with a list of paintings, photographs and sculptures, all reproductions, which schools could purchase and hang on their interior walls. It also provided contacts on the Board to advise individual schools on the proper decoration of the school property. And with the presence of the provincial Minister of Education on the board as an ex-officio member, schools around the Province knew that this was something school boards and schools could get behind.

²²¹"School Art Leagues", *Circular*, 1899:1, RG2-42-0-322, MS 6511, PAO.

The aims of school art leagues were typically eutenic, meaning of course that they adopted a Domestic environmental principle; they sought to change school children surreptitiously through everyday geographic exposure to art.²²²

- 1 To improve architecture of schools by having buildings correctly designed with the fundamental laws of true architecture.
- 2 To have interiors of schoolrooms made artistic in proportion, in construction, and in coloring of walls and ceilings.
- 3 To provide good reproductions of the best art, the great masterpieces of the various schools of painting, architecture, and artistic design, to hang on the walls of school rooms.
- 4 To purchase a few small copies of the most beautiful statues, the finest vases, and other forms of beauty, *that pupils may see them regularly, day after day, and study them and draw from them when old enough to do so.*
- 5 To procure as large as possible supply of pictures for cabinets to be used in connection with the teaching of Geography and History.
- 6 *To stimulate as far as possible an interest in good art in the construction, the interior decoration, and the furnishing of all homes.*
- 7 *To encourage the Organization of Art Leagues among senior pupils for the study of Art as a means of culture and enjoyment.*

²²²The methodology of contemporary environmentalists seems to have borrowed heavily from turn-of-the-twentieth-century environmentalists by targeting children in the classroom and the schoolyard. The current movement toward “green” schoolgrounds is a case in point.

8 To take any steps that local conditions may render desirable to improve the artistic environment of children and awaken a wider interest in art. ²²³

I emphasise, in the School Art Leagues' mandate, what for this dissertation are key elements. Most notable in this list of aims are numbers six through eight, which deal with training children to appreciate and to revere art, and to express that appreciation and reverence in the decoration of their homes. Why there? Because this completes the cycle.

An ideal Domestic mother treated the home environment as if it were a classroom, wherein family members were tutored in the finer points of manners, beauty, and order. School art leagues simply continued the aesthetic education of children in the school. They would provide a tasteful, artistic, and hygienic educational environment complete with pictures and sculpture that "insensibly train [children's] eyes for the appreciation of what are universally acknowledged to be standard works of art."²²⁴ "Imitation," as Richards wrote, "is the first step in good habits" (Richards 1978[1910]: 73). (Imitation, as we will see in a later chapter, is one Olmsted's reasons for building parks: they provide sites for the poor to imitate the rich and to acquire their tastes and habits). Because children spent a good deal of time outside the influence of the home--or most often came from homes where no such aesthetic training was available, as Grant suggested--maintaining a domestic environment in the classroom and school, i.e., an environment or home-away-from-home devoted to moral edification, was paramount. When these school children reached adulthood, ostensibly they would make their own homes in imitation of the artistic and tasteful standard under whose

²²³School Art Leagues, *Circular*, 1899:1-2, RG2-42-0-322, MS 6511, PAO; emphasis added.

²²⁴School Art Leagues, *Circular*, 1899: 7, RG2-42-0-322, MS 6511, PAO.

tutelage they had learned and lived. This is what Ellen Richards meant when she wrote that eugenics “creat[ed] a better race of men in the future.” It worked on the utterly prosaic principle of maintaining a specific culture through day-to-day exposure to that culture’s specially conceived moral geography.

Conclusion

Domesticity resists simple explanation, which is really what Linda Kerber is saying when she suggests that the idea of separate spheres denies the dynamicism of human relationships and action. More than a cultish institution that pinioned women in male-dominated homes under an oppressive masculinist organising system, Domesticity allowed women to conceptualise the relevance of their church-given moral authority beyond the bounds of the home. At the turn of the century, the forthright and obedient Domestic evangelical woman looked to her unique position as mother of children and asserted with society’s blessing her right to protect them, the elevation of the social meaning of the child a modern sociological phenomenon.

Domesticity, reform, and women’s publicity come together through women’s concern for the environments in which children, the hope of the future, grew. Hyper-esteem for children resulted in the need for reform that emphasised homelikeness, the establishment of the values of the home and its geography in the urban environment. Urban reformers, as protectors of children, adopted a popular form of eugenics, a type of Domestic environmentalism, as a method for providing healthy, safe, decorous environments to facilitate the training of children to become responsible, efficient, and productive humans.

Women's investigation of factories and institutions for homelike values revealed places worthy or unworthy of the appellation--home--and therefore women's and mothers' support. Their voluntary organisations, such as the TLCW, scrutinised the streets bent on revelation. They: scoured institutions; monitored the posters in shop windows; observed the floors of streetcars and sidewalks--looking for signs of expectoration; checked the water in public school pipes and drinking fountains; walked the floors of factories that produced milk and food; examined hospitals and homes for the infirm and feeble minded; explored streets for bad design, and arranged for parks and playgrounds to be built; regularly petitioned neighbours and sent deputations to City Councils. There was very little that happened in the city that such organisations did not know or attempt to do something about.

Toronto's school art league strove for homelikeness by making children not only civil but artful. School art leagues sought to create art-filled environmental conditions that would acculturate school children, merely through contiguity with works of art and tastefully designed and decorated school rooms. School art league thought offers a fitting example of Domestic moral-aesthetic environmentalism and its relationship to behaviour modification.

It is the moral environmentalism of homelikeness that melds the reform impulse with postmillennialism. Bacchi (1986) does not use the term postmillennialism in conjunction with with her discussion of the environmental impetus of women-led reforms in English-speaking Canada. Yet as I have described it, postmillennialism is very much a homelike environmentalism. And if postmillennialism is as omnipresent in Protestant North America as scholars maintain, then we may perhaps think

of homelikeness and postmillennialism as synonymous. I contend that we can get a much better understanding of homelikeness if, as a mnemonic, we filter it through postmillennialism. Postmillennialists believed that the proliferation of civilised and moralised Christian children occurred in Christianised environments, which also helped them achieve their grand adventist aim: the creation of a perfected world to which Christ could confidently return.

Therefore, homelikeness was a metaphor for the postmillennial city, brought about by women and men hoping to see, as one of the inscriptions at the beginning of this chapter suggests, "the heavenly city." When we consider W.T. Stead's, *If Christ Came to Chicago!* (1894), in the light of homelikeness, we find a treatise on making the city into a home: a place where Christian civilisation and socialisation occurred amid decorous and pleasant surroundings. Hence Stead's interest in the social settlement movement. Moral-aesthetic, homelike, geography imposed civility on an uncivilised and uncivilising modern city.

**Chapter 3 Frances Willard, the Bicycle, and the Domestication of
Masculine Modernism²²⁵**

There's more taught by the bike than meets the eye & ear.²²⁶

'Men cannot be as a good as we are...I'm sure they are not so dear to God' (Willard 1889: 580).

The historical geography of bicycle should be the quintessential urban geographical topic, comprising as it does issues of transportation, physical infrastructure, public space, gender, economics, and leisure. Ironically, however, almost nothing has been done by geographers on the subject.²²⁷ This chapter—indeed this thesis—is an attempt, at least in part, to urge geographers to consider the position the bicycle occupies in the historical and cultural geography of the modern city.

The following chapter continues to examine the relationship between Domesticity and urban reform, by focusing on the reform proclivity of a single woman and her highly relevant espousal of cycling. If, through their affiliation, ironically, to Domesticity, women were the public beings I assert they were, then closer inspection of a singular Domestic woman should reveal this penchant for publicity. Who better to examine than Domesticity's champion and a committed and active reformer of-the-first-order in the 1890s, Frances Willard? Willard is a useful example for a number of reasons: first, Ruth Bordin (1986: 13) in her biography of Frances Willard suggests that

²²⁵A version of this chapter, Mackintosh (1999), appears in Norcliffe and Van der Plas (1999).

²²⁶Frances Willard, Journal entry, November 18, 1893 (in De Swarte Gifford 1995: 398).

²²⁷For geographers writing on the cultural and economic geography of the bicycle see Norcliffe (1997, 1998) and Mackintosh (1998).

Willard's success as a public figure attached to her ability "to use successfully the prevailing values of her time to advocate change and movement rather than further entrenchment of the status quo." Willard's goals and desires, as president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, reasonably represent the aspirations of the "ideal" Domestic woman. Moreover, her words and deeds derive from her liberal evangelical and Domestic creed; her concept of women and their publicity must therefore be part of this.

Second, Willard's attachment to and advocacy for progress and technology, specifically cycling and the bicycle, make her thoroughly modern. In Willard, modernism and Domesticity inhere perfectly. Third, as a Domestic woman and promoter of the moral pre-eminence of women, Willard harboured specific opinions about men that connect to her ideas about modernism. Men required tempering at the hands of women. Masculinity like Modernism required Domestication to make it useful. Fourth, Willard's influence had no geopolitical boundaries; she had an equally powerful effect on liberal evangelical Protestants in Toronto as she did in the United States. And fifth, Willard, loved the bicycle and went to great lengths to accommodate it. In examining Willard and her desire to Domesticate the bicycle, we gain a greater understanding of the Domestic agenda at the turn of the century. We can begin to see urban reform in a feminine context.

Introduction

The connection between the bicycle and Domesticity is less tenuous than it may first seem. That the president of the WCTU, the most powerful and organised evangelical reform organisation of the late nineteenth century, would write a book about cycling should suggest to the present day historical-

cultural geographer that the bicycle has more cultural meaning than geography or history has conceded. Frances Willard, the reformer and suffragist, regarded the bicycle as a technological wonder, and perhaps even a panacea for modernism's foibles; she was also an advocate of the tricycle (Willard 1895: 13-14). Cycling certainly played an important part within her own ideational framework of feminine moral preeminence and male revitalisation, both encompassed by Domestic thought. Willard's thralldom to the wheel manifests itself in a little work called *A Wheel Within a Wheel: How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*, which she published in 1895 at the height of what has been called the "cycle craze" (Harmond 1971-72) in late-Victorian society.²²⁸

To understand the bicycle and cycling as a symbols of Domesticity we must look to Willard's title, *A Wheel within a Wheel*, which cleverly hints at the merging of the public and private spheres. As I have already discussed, the spheres doctrine relegates men to the public sphere and women to the private but, in practice, women such as Willard refused to accept the doctrine's rigid boundary prescriptions. Women knew that since the private sphere of women and its precepts held the keys of moral governance in society, they obtained the moral right to rectify impropriety wherever it lay. Because much of the apparent moral failing in society occurred in public, women simply construed the happenings of the "masculine" public (Fraser 1992) of the modern industrial city as a Domestic concern, as the previous chapter demonstrated. The public, as the place of a masculinised, ungracious and altogether dangerous industrial and technologic modernity required responsible feminists, women and men, to correct it. (We may think of liberal

²²⁸Hereafter *Wheel*.

evangelical Protestant reformers, who as I have shown stand by modernism and are convinced of its providence, as attempting to insure modernism's success through responsibility). Frances Willard saw the bicycle as part and parcel of the implementation of responsible modernism in the modern city.

This chapter constitutes a reading of her book, and argues that Willard thought the bicycle had more than just powers of mobility. *Wheel* offers two significant insights to this dissertation. First, because the bicycle had, until the 1890s, obtained masculine meaning, Willard demonstrates that Domestic values redefine the bicycle's male symbolism. *Wheel* attempts to convince Domestic women that they may venture out of doors on a bicycle, engaged in a thoroughly appropriate pursuit. For Frances Willard, who wanted "to help women to a wider world" (Willard 1895: 73), cycling was both a public *and* a Domestic activity.

Second, Willard introduces us to an intrinsic element of Domestic environmentalism: responsibility. Through her scrutinisation of the bicycle--as I have shown, the Domestic reformer's approach to environmental regeneration depends entirely on scrutiny--Willard shows us exactly how a responsible modern person approaches both the environment and technology. *Wheel* I argue uses the bicycle as a metaphor for modernity. Willard's desire to Domesticate the bicycle gathers under a broader plan to create a homelike world. Domestication establishes homelikeness; the implementation of homelikeness inculcates responsibility. The bicycle as a modern technology, to people such as Willard, meant its *potential* was guaranteed by providence, but it required the moral tuition of women to forward that potency. A Domesticated bicycle represented responsible modernism, the proper use of technology.

This chapter explores responsible modernism within the framework of Domesticity. It shows Willard's commitment to the proper use of the bicycle as it resolved some of the problems of modern life, especially neuresthenia, a nervous condition brought on by the pressures of industrial modernity and bourgeois urbanism. Part of this pressure has to do with masculinity and both the social and environmental irresponsibility of men. Chaotic modernity was the result of male indiscretion and the suppression of home values, a problem whose correction fell to Domestic women and their moral superiority. Part of the male revitalisation solution became the Domestication of masculine symbols; throughout most of the Victorian era the bicycle was symbolically masculine. Domesticating the bicycle, through the softening of its use, created gentle rides and gentle riders, and detracted from the unruliness of the streets. Responsible modernism helped make the homelike world.

Responsible modernism

Frances Willard espoused modernism as devoutly as she did Christianity. Like many of the liberals of her age, she believed in the efficacy of modernism, of progress, and its symbolism. Not surprisingly, modernism for liberal evangelicals smartly blended "Christianity and Science, its handmaid" (Willard 1889: 614). A diary entry in 1896 expressed her near-transcendent conception of modernism and her excitement at being modern:

I woke thinking: Is it possible that I am to be living on the planet Earth not only when the sources of the Nile, the heart of Africa and the secrets of the poles are hunted out, but when electricity is harnessed, printing is done by steam, the flying machine is invented (as a sequel to the bicycle where we well nigh take our

leave of Earth) and that by the phonograph or telephone or cathode ray or spectroscope we are to hear the sounds & see the sights that 'make the Life Immortal sure?'²²⁹

This kind of commitment to modernism and technology allowed her to proclaim the bicycle to be "the most remarkable, ingenious, and inspiring motor ever yet devised upon the planet" (Willard 1895: 75). The bicycle was a modern machine, but even more a lesson in probity: the spirit of cycling "coincided with that which had given [Willard] everything [she] possessed of physical, mental, and moral success—that is skill, knowledge, and character" (Willard 1895: 53). For Willard, modernism as it providentially embodied technology, and especially the bicycle, moderated the lives of men and women in the nineteenth-century. And to help people respond to modernism, to help them master their lives as moderns, or people governed by God and science, was the aim of her Domesticating style of reform. To learn to master modernism was to conquer life.

To begin to understand Willard's approach to the bicycle we must think of the bicycle as a symbol of modernism. And modernism whether it is a bicycle, or some other manifestation of technological science, needed mastering, needed responsibility, or else it could be corrupted by modernity. And the process of responsibility could start with the bicycle. "In many curious particulars," she wrote, "the bicycle is like the world." Indeed, Willard suggested that she "began to feel that [her]self plus the bicycle equalled [her]self plus the world, upon whose spinning-wheel we must all learn to ride, or fall into the sluiceways of despair" (Willard 1895: 27). "She who

²²⁹Frances Willard, Journal entry, November 18, 1893 (in De Swarte Gifford 1995: 398).

succeeds in gaining mastery over" the bicycle, Willard (Willard 1895: 28) opined, and implicitly over modernism, will have mastered life .

One of Willard's strategies in the struggle for responsibility was to turn the bicycle into a salve for modern female enervation, which resulted from an irresponsible approach to the modern urban bourgeois lifestyle. Urbanism, for many in the late-nineteenth century, represented a collapsing of rural foundationalism into a malaise that turned good people from industrious farmers to listless city-dwellers. Critics at the time diagnosed this corporeal disaffection from land and life as "neurasthenia," a condition epitomised and exacerbated by the North American proclivity for flaccid, over-civilised, modern city-dwelling; physical decline mirrored moral fall. And both were directly proportional to a rise in nervous disorders (Lears 1981: 47-58). While it is probably fair to concede that neurasthenia as an actual ailment is hard to substantiate, its evidence being largely based on the impressions of observers, many people nevertheless "*believed* nervousness was on the rise, and treated its spread as a cultural problem" (Lears 1981: 51). The observation, too, of some commentators of the day that neurasthenia could be dismissed as a complaint primarily of leisured society women, "too coddled or too dissipated to shoulder their duties as wives and mothers" (Lears 1981: 51) may be somewhat justifiable, but it is also true that these women, because of their susceptibility to the prescriptions of Domesticity and their bourgeois lifestyle could be doubly prone to the ennui of modernity.²³⁰

Cumbersome Domestic fashions exacerbated the neurasthenic proclivity of women. Willard openly averred that the weight and outrageous discomfort of conventional women's dress should be enough to drive

²³⁰ On this point, see Ryan (1990, 1992) and Matthews (1992).

women mad and, she added, probably did (Willard 1895: 39-40). This argument, that the bulky unflattering dress of women was unhealthy, dress reformers made frequently (Marks 1990). And as we will see, Willard's conception of the bicycle involves cycling as an almost universal therapy for the neurasthenic effects of certain domestic requirements of affluent women. Indeed, it was at such women the arguments of *Wheel* were specifically aimed, especially as these arguments appeal to cycling's demand for logic in the conception of dress and cycling, discussed fully below.

The daily social activities of bourgeois domestic women, the luncheons, tea parties, and afternoon gatherings, shopping excursions, society and club meetings, and volunteer organisations, contributed to the rise in neurasthenia among women. Women's participation in such activities demanded fashions and dress that conformed to the dictates of the bourgeois compartment but not comfort, intellect but not physical endurance. Although, as Willard herself complains, such activities sometimes allowed the intellect to lie fallow: "How many women leave their minds untilled and bring no wit or brightness, no fresh thought or noble impulse into the evening's converse, because they are worn out with shopping, or a daily round of calls and other fashionable occupations" (Willard 1889: 605). Willard implies that Domesticity itself instigates neurasthenia.

Not surprising, Willard began *Wheel* by juxtaposing her inclination for cycling with her own susceptibility to neurasthenia. As a woman who suffered not only "the impedimenta that result from the unnatural style of dress," the long, weighty skirts and corsets so typical of the time, but also "the sedentary habits of a life-time" (Willard 1895: 19), she lamented of her youth:

I “ran wild” until my sixteenth birthday, when the hampering long skirts were brought, with their accompanying corset and high heels; my hair was clubbed up with pins, and I remember writing in my journal, in the first heartbreak of a young human colt taken from its pleasant pasture, ‘Altogether, I recognize that my occupation is gone’ (Willard 1895: 10).

And while not specifically using the word “neurasthenia,” Willard described her own deleterious modern habits that brought her to the wheel, climaxing with the death of her mother:

My work then changed from my beloved and breezy outdoor world to the indoor realm of study, teaching, writing, speaking and went on almost without a break or pain until my fifty-third year, when the loss of my mother accentuated the strain of this long period in which mental and physical life were out of balance, and I fell into a mild form of what is called nerve-wear by the patient and nervous prostration by onlookers (Willard 1895: 10-11).²³¹

Overwhelmed by an intellectual distraction and a physical distemper that she believed was mortally wounding her and, as she wrote, “ruthlessly thrown out of the usual lines of reaction on my environment, and sighing for new worlds to conquer, I decided that I would learn the bicycle” (Willard 1895: 11).²³² Willard, as we shall see, however, used the metaphor of conquering “new worlds” deliberately, and had in mind her favourite manifestation of modernism.

²³¹On the significant bond between nineteenth-century evangelical mothers and daughters see Ryan (1981; especially Chapter five, “The Home is not a Sphere”).

²³²She never mentions the prime reason for her cycling in *Wheel*: a “pernicious anemia” that would eventually kill her.

Recognising modernity's ability to render people listless and despondent, Willard believed the anodyne lay in the ability of the bicycle to return riders to good health. As she wrote:

Even so the world has seemed in hours of darkness and despondency; its iron mechanism, its pitiless grind, its swift, silent, on-rolling gait have oppressed to pathos, if not to melancholy. Good health and plenty of oxygenated air have promptly restored the equilibrium (Willard 1895: 24).

The bicycle, contrary to melancholic modernity and the helplessness and ennui one feels under its influence,

[t]akes one into the outdoor air; it is entirely under control; can be made [as] gentle or vigorous as one desires; is active not passive; takes the rider out of himself and the thoughts and cares of his daily work; develops his will, his attention, his courage and independence, and makes pleasant that which is otherwise irksome (Willard 1895: 55).

In a time of excellerated concern for public health and exercise as an abatement to the physical and psychological effects of industrial modernity, the bicycle was, at least according to Willard's physicians, just what the doctor ordered (Willard 1895: 54-57), despite some doctors concerns to the contrary (Vertinsky 1990).

Beyond this, the bicycle taught modern people how modernity worked, for as Willard implied, she came to understand life "in the wooing and winning of [her] bicycle" (Willard 1895: 25). Responsible modernism, the corrective for neurasthenic modernity, only comes with knowledge. As Willard put it, "the infelicities of which we see so much in life grow out of

the lack of time and patience" (Willard 1895: 25) necessary to get to know someone or something fully. The bicycle, Willard decided, deserved her every attention. As Addams would "know" the city, so Willard would scrutinise the bicycle. "Gradually, item by item," she wrote, "I learned the location of every screw and spring, spoke and tire, and every beam and bearing" (Willard 1895: 25). Not until she had learned the mechanical how and why of her wheel, "Gladys," could she feel confident to achieve "that equilibration of thought and action by which we conquer the universe in conquering ourselves" (Willard 1895: 26). This process of observing was no careless endeavour and would require "many days and weeks" before she would understand how the bicycle connected to one's desire to stay in the race of life:

[H]ow many a fine spirit, to finest issues touched, has been worn and shredded by the world's mill until in desperation it flung itself away. We can easily carp at those who quit the crowded race-course without so much say "By your leave"; but "let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." We owe it to nature, to nurture, to our environments, and most of all, to our faith in God, that we, too, do not cry, like so many gentle hearts less brave and sturdy, "Anywhere, anywhere, out of the world" (Willard 1895: 25).

People suffered psychologically under industrial modernity. Willard herself did. The social and urban reform movements of the late-century may be defined as women and men trying to understand and repair modernity with modernism. And the bicycle, for Willard, was one good modernist solution for neurasthenic modernity.

So, Willard pronounced the bicycle as a Domestic and ecumenical anodyne for modernity in the era of Christian unification:

... I found high moral uses in the bicycle and can commend it as a teacher without pulpit or creed... she who succeeds in gaining the mastery of such an animal as [the bicycle], will gain the mastery of life, and by exactly the same methods and characteristics (Willard 1895: 28).

Willard knew that the Domestic agenda at the turn of the century encompassed the mastery of urban life or, homologously, its Domestication. One mastered modernity by the same methods as one mastered cycling: scrutiny, vigilance, determination, and a commitment over time (remember TLCW secretary Mary Cayley, who monitored Toronto's streets for the posting of what were to her illicit and immoral theatre advertisements in at least two decades at the turn of the century).

Responsible modern men

Men know where their true interests lie, and women whom men love and trust and honor are always motherly at heart (Willard 1889: 597).

The quest for responsible modernism necessarily included the reform of men and masculinity. As the makers of the industrialised modern city (Olmsted 1894), as the persons who constituted its crooked political institutions (Strong 1885; Addams 1898, 1912; Holli 1969; Tarr 1971), and its corrupt services (Harring 1983; Monkkonen 1983, 1988), men had allowed the city to become a hell-on-earth even before the mid-nineteenth century (see for example Josiah Strong's (1885: 128-144) powerful description in *Our Country: Its Possible Future and and its Present Crisis*). To the dismay of all, it

worsened by the end of the century. The massive immigrations of the mid- and late-century severely inflated the populations of urban centres, that percolated with disease, mud, congestion, corruption, and pollution.²³³

In the meantime, bourgeois women had become the stewards and teachers of morality, appropriators of leisure, probity, and beauty, As their homes flourished with decorum, they turned their attentions to the geographic and sociologic mess their inattentive, if not bewildered, husbands and counterparts seemed unconcerned or perhaps powerless to straighten. Importantly, they held men directly responsible for environmental and social ills.²³⁴ One women reformer argued that

Every mother in the land has the right to demand that the man [to] whom she entrusts the physical health and social happiness of her daughter shall be sound in constitution and in morals; every wife has a right to demand that her children shall have a reasonable chance of bringing a healthy mind and a healthy body into the struggle for existence. Too long have the hot-beds of vice and disease been concealed. What is the result? A race of mental imbeciles and moral invalids... It is time the women bestirred themselves, and made a movement in self-defense, since their so-called natural protectors so often prove their destruction....²³⁵

²³³ Strong (1885: 128-129) suggested that in 1790 one-thirtieth of the population of the United States lived in cities of 8000 and over. By 1880, the percentage had risen to almost one-quarter of the population. In 1800, only six cities had populations of 8000 and over. In 1880, there were 286.

²³⁴ As Paul Goodman (1988: 86) has shown, the antimasonry movement of the early nineteenth century strove to rid society of male licentiousness, indecency, and intemperance especially as it aggregated, allegedly, in the secrecy and privacy of freemasonic lodges. The women in the home from the beginning were forced to move abroad to protect the interests of the home.

²³⁵ *Mail and Empire*, February 5, 1898, Part Two: 5.

Men were “carelessly indifferent” (Addams 1907: 183) to the affairs of the city. As Addams said trenchantly, running the city was not only not being done “very well by the men in most of the great American cities,” they were a “failure” (Addams 1907: 186). The problem was men in the city, whether its self-serving politicians, rapacious developers, or gangs of toughs and rowdies.

As I have suggested in an earlier chapter, Domesticity sought to prepare families, morally and civilly, for the new urban existence. Part of this training included teaching men how to behave. And you started shaping men when boys.

Michael Kimmel (1996: 60; see also Curtis 1994) argues that “[w]omen were not only domestic but domesticators, expected to turn their sons into Christian gentlemen, dutiful well-mannered, and feminized....it increasingly fell to women to teach their sons how to behave like men.”²³⁶ In Domesticating fashion, Canadian women were admonished that the discipline of “homely service, faithfully and cheerfully performed” rids a boy of unwanted qualities and prepares him for both humility and greatness; the “want of good manners has ruined many a man.”²³⁷ Advice in a “Mother’s Page” column urged women to coddle their “awkward boys:”

[B]ear with him as none but a mother can. His destiny is in your hands. Take the solemn trust by a brave comradeship. Show a steady interest in all his boyish affairs. Win his confidence and respect it. Go to his bedside with a kiss and a blessing. Don’t mind if the baby

²³⁶Van Die (1989: 25) connects the “Christian training provided by the mother in the home” to the perpetuation of both evangelical religion and family.

²³⁷“Our Boys” and “General Politeness”, *The Ladies’ Journal* September 1895 vol. 15, no. 9: 19; 28.

and younger children call lustily for 'mama,' your growing boy needs you most, even if eighteen...[and] he will never go astray in the years to come, because he cannot forget who's idol and pride he was....²³⁸

Here women have a precious opportunity to mould boys into Domestically-correct, feminised males before giving them up to crude male adulthood.

In the same issue, the "Our Boys" column desires that boys not make the mistake in thinking that they should look to smoking, card playing, and drinking as ideals of manhood: "Don't make that blunder. Many men do these things, but they would be nicer and better men if they did not, and they will nearly all, if they are honest with themselves, tell you so."²³⁹ Instead, the writer encourages every boy to "make the law of the Nazarene [Jesus Christ] the rule for the conduct of his own life."²⁴⁰ What would the world be like if the next generation of men could adopt such an ideal?

There would be no saloons; there would be no gamblers; there would be no thieves to break in and steal; there would be no corrupt politicians; there would be no hypocrites; there would be sweet content and happiness in every home. If there were any poor, they would not go hungry, and the burdens of their life would be lighted.

Boys, is it not worth a trial to pick out a splendid hero, and

²³⁸"Training an Awkward Boy", *The Ladies' Journal*, February 1895, Vol. 15, No 2: 13.

²³⁹*ibid.*: 19.

²⁴⁰*ibid.*

then live like him, and resolve never to bring the blush of shame to our faces by doing a wrong act.²⁴¹

Recall that William Lyon Mackenzie King lived according to this Domestic advice; his hero was Jesus Christ (Cook 1985; 196-212).²⁴² Moreover boys, by adopting such a hero, would give society a new face. So we must ask: is such a perfect and decidedly Domestic world, where men eschew all that is masculine and disorderly but embrace their mothers' teachings, and where all is sweetness, harmony, and light, one where the millennium has arrived?

Boys needed not only proper heroes but decent activities that tempered their boyishness. Willard believed a Domesticated bicycle was an excellent tamer of men-in-waiting:

I have always held that a boy's heart is not set in him to do evil any more than a girl's, and that the reason our young men fall into evil ways is largely because we have not had the wit and wisdom to provide them with amusements suited to their joyous youth, by means of which they could invest their superabundant animal spirits in ways that should harm no one and help themselves to the best development and the cleanliest ways of living (Willard 1895: 12).

Willard as temperance reformer had always felt a strong attraction to the bicycle because of the innate discipline it required to operate it, "oblig[ing] those who mount to keep clear heads and steady hands (Willard 1895: 13). The bicycle under the right conditions could reform boys' ways.

²⁴¹*ibid.*

²⁴²Cultural historian, Susan Curtis (1994: 72-74), notes that the social gossellers' emulation of Jesus Christ was not uncomplicated. He represented both a feminist and masculinist ideal. At once, he could be both soft, genteel, and effeminate in flowing robes, and a man's man who pursued his enemies.

As for reforming grown men, women had devised a number of methods. Temperance aimed squarely at preventing drunken louts from destroying the lives of their wives and children, who obtained no legal or political remedies for their circumstance (Bordin 1981: 162). Anti-prostitution tried to cleanse men of a promiscuity that reformers believed degraded both men and women, threatened WASP heredity and social hygiene by increasing the transmission of sexual diseases, and mocked Domestic evangelical morality (Bacchi 1986: 199-202). Suffrage, on the other hand, represented women's distrust of male leadership and a desire for the acquisition of formal political "power to determine the character of men who make the laws which affect [women] and under which [they] must live."²⁴³ Remember that Addams (1907: 183-187) firmly contended that men failed as the political keepers of the city. Ramsay Cook's use of a political cartoon from a volume of *Grip* captures visually this distrust of male leadership and evangelical women's urge to emend them (Figure 3.1). Modern men needed to be made responsible.

The trick however was to purge men of their incivilities while at the same time to retain an appropriate standard of manhood (Valverdi 1991: 31). In other words, Domestic women wanted Domesticated but not emasculated men. Kimmel (1995)—and others (Dubbart 1979, 1980; Pugh 1983; Filene 1986; Rotundo 1993; Chauncey 1994: 111-112)—argues that women may not have been successful in this; his engagement with the "masculinity crisis" thesis hinges on the late-Victorian perception of urban men as effeminate sons of Domestic mothers. Willard herself vacillates about men.²⁴⁴ Her

²⁴³"The Editor's Wooing", *The Ladies' Journal*, February 1895, Vol. XVII, No. 2: 1. On suffrage and its ramifications in Canada see Bacchi (1979, 1983, 1986).

²⁴⁴Historian of men, Clyde Griffen (1990: 184) challenges the "masculinity crisis" thesis on two fronts: its "turn of the century" periodisation—"it remains unclear when this crisis began, how

3.1 "Yonder are a couple of political babies that require looking after in the worst way..." (in Cook 1985: 136).



long it lasted, and when it resolved, if at all," and its construction of masculine defensiveness and male refuge which "loom larger than they should in our picture of the construction of gender in everyday experience." Griffen (1990: 185) insists that "styles of masculinity varied considerably" as a "blurring of boundaries and overlapping of gender spheres increased" throughout the antebellum and progressive eras.

simultaneous romanticisation and patronisation of men sees manhood as “noble”, with “masterly grace,” “physical courage,” and “intellectual hardiness.” “Courage” is a man’s “greatest virtue” enabling him to “smite the beast of the field and ride forth to the wars ... [and to] subdue the savage earth.” At the same time, he is morally inferior and must “lift his strong hand up toward woman, who stands above him on the hard won heights of purity that she may lead him upward” (Willard 1889: 603) so that he might achieve the “beatitude of man” (Willard 1889: 609). So, despite its masterly grace manhood, according to the Domestic belief, could use a little more attenuation at the hands of stewards of the home, man’s “special humanizer” (Willard 1889: 604).

A domesticated man is a manageable man, “a joint high priest of that holiest temple made with hands:” the home. “Man needs home, if possible, more than woman does” Willard demures;

he is more in danger without its anchorage than she, for the centripetal forces of her nature will always draw her strongly toward the light, even though its beacon shine from some happier woman’s fireside, while the centrifugal forces of his nature will drive him afar off into darkness (Willard 1889: 608).

“The manhood of strength and gentleness,” she assures her readers, “can only come as a result of the ministry of gentleness and strength and home will be its training school.” (Willard 1889: 610). The nearer man “approaches the cradle, and the more frequently, the happier for him and his home and the state.” His “habits of impurity will seem more loathsome” and his “malarious dream of wicked self indulgence shall slowly but surely give place to sacred self restraint” when his Domestication is complete (Willard 1889:

610-611). His “delicacy...brotherly considerateness [and] homelikeness of character and manner [will be] quite unmistakable” (Willard 1889: 606). As she says with postmillennial fervour, “[w]hen the hand that rules the world shall also rock the cradle, the millennium will no longer be far off” (Willard 1889: 610). Making the modern world responsible, for Willard it seems, begins with making men responsible by subjecting them to the moderating effects of Domesticity.

Domesticating a masculine symbol

There is nothing new or even interesting, per se, about suggesting that people used modernism to fix the problems of the industrial city. The issue changes, however when we gender it. When we say that women seized upon modernism we enter greener ground, though hardly uncharted (Wright 1980, 1983; Parr 1999). Willard’s Domesticating interest in the bicycle as a modern solution has more significance when we think of the bike as a modern masculine machine whose urban indiscretions, such as crowding the streets, hit and run accidents, running pedestrians off sidewalks, using the streets as race tracks, etc., needed remedying. It is notable that, at the same time Willard was writing *Wheel*, city councils throughout North America were still unsure about how or even whether to regulate the bicycle and cycling.²⁴⁵ Willard’s attempt to impose Domestic decorum on the new machine takes her right into the very streets of the modern urban world.

The bicycle up to the 1890’s had been construed as a kind of modern technological radicalism, and had a history of provoking contumely from everyone from editors to evangelists (Woodforde 1970; Harmond 1972; Alderson 1972; Smith 1972; Humber 1986; Marks 1990; Bjiker 1995; Norcliffe

²⁴⁵ For example, Detroit passed its bicycle by-law in 1895 while Toronto waited until 1898, the *Mail and Empire* reporting both respectively (*Mail and Empire*, July 22, 1895: 4; July 6, 1898: 6.

1998). Cyclists that raced about town without concern for the sanctity of the pedestrian, or civic propriety, convinced the bicycle's detractors that cycling could be catagorised with all things disorderly and indecorous. And importantly, the riders of bicycles were exclusively men.²⁴⁶

Even after the introduction of the safety bicycle in the 1890's, and men and women began to ride, Toronto suffered its share of "'hoodlums' [racing] up and down the asphalt streets in order to test their speed."²⁴⁷ "This class of persons," young men in fact, caused all manner of harm on the citizens of the city.²⁴⁸ The *Mail and Empire* fulminated against such riders as an unprecedented number of collisions involved

reckless cyclists, who either do not know how to manage their wheels properly or are indifferent to the injury they may inflict upon unsuspecting pedestrians. The police ought to receive strict instructions to arrest riders who move at dangerous speeds on the crowded thoroughfares. A few severe examples would prove salutary, and citizens could take to the crossings [without] the danger to which they are now exposed.²⁴⁹

More than one child received a broken collar bone at the reckless instigation of a scorching, or fast riding, cyclist. One "dastardly bicyclist," after knocking down a seven year old girl and breaking her collar bone and splitting her forehead, "with more regard for his own convenience and safety than for the ordinary demands of humanity, did not stop to see how badly he had hurt the

²⁴⁶Before the introduction of the "safety bike," a few women rode tricycles; Willard herself did. The tricycle was not seen as a promoter of recklessness; the "penny-farthing" was.

²⁴⁷*Mail and Empire*, April 3, 1895: 2.

²⁴⁸*ibid.*

²⁴⁹*Mail and Empire*, May 3, 1895: 6. Glen Norcliffe (personal communication) notes that these bikes had no brakes, only chains on fixed wheels.

little one, but rode rapidly away."²⁵⁰ What kind of world had it become when "it c[ame] to be a common thing for cyclists to knock people down and then ride away."²⁵¹

Scorching was the leading cause of collisions and adults too collided frequently with careless cyclists. A woman, seriously injured by a speeding cyclist, urged Toronto City Council to back Alderman Stratton's "Bill," which would seriously curtail the liberties that Toronto cyclists enjoyed, specifically in "[ma]tters of speed, of over-fast riding, [and] of using the streets as racing tracks."²⁵² Toronto Alderman and Mayor, and noted evangelical Protestant (Airhart 1990: 118), William Howland, noted in council that scorching cyclists ran down lawyers daily: "a bicycle cannot go astray in Toronto without meeting a lawyer," although he also glibly added that lawyers getting run down was not necessarily a bad thing--why regulate that?!²⁵³ The frequency of speeders hitting pedestrians impelled *Saturday Night's* Edmund Sheppard to write that

[s]peaking from the sidewalk and for the benefit of all scorchers, I am impelled to say that when a wheelman flies along and everyone pauses to look at him and after him, they do it not in admiration of his speed or his knee-action, as he fondly imagines, but they look to see if something won't kindly kill him.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰*Mail and Empire*, May 10, 1895: 6; *Mail and Empire*, May 9, 1895: 10. In one strange incident, a fifteen-year-old boy received a broken collar bone from a hit and run cyclist in the middle of blizzard (*Mail and Empire*, January 26, 1898: 6).

²⁵¹*Mail and Empire*, May 10, 1895: 6

²⁵²*Mail and Empire*, March 30, 1895: 7; March 26, 1895: 4.

²⁵³*Mail and Empire*, April 3, 1895: 2.

²⁵⁴*Saturday Night*, April 25, 1896: 1.

Bicycles sped up and down the city's streets and threatened the pedestrians who were still learning to cope with the idea of speed in the streets (Kern 1984: 111; Walden 1997: 5-6).

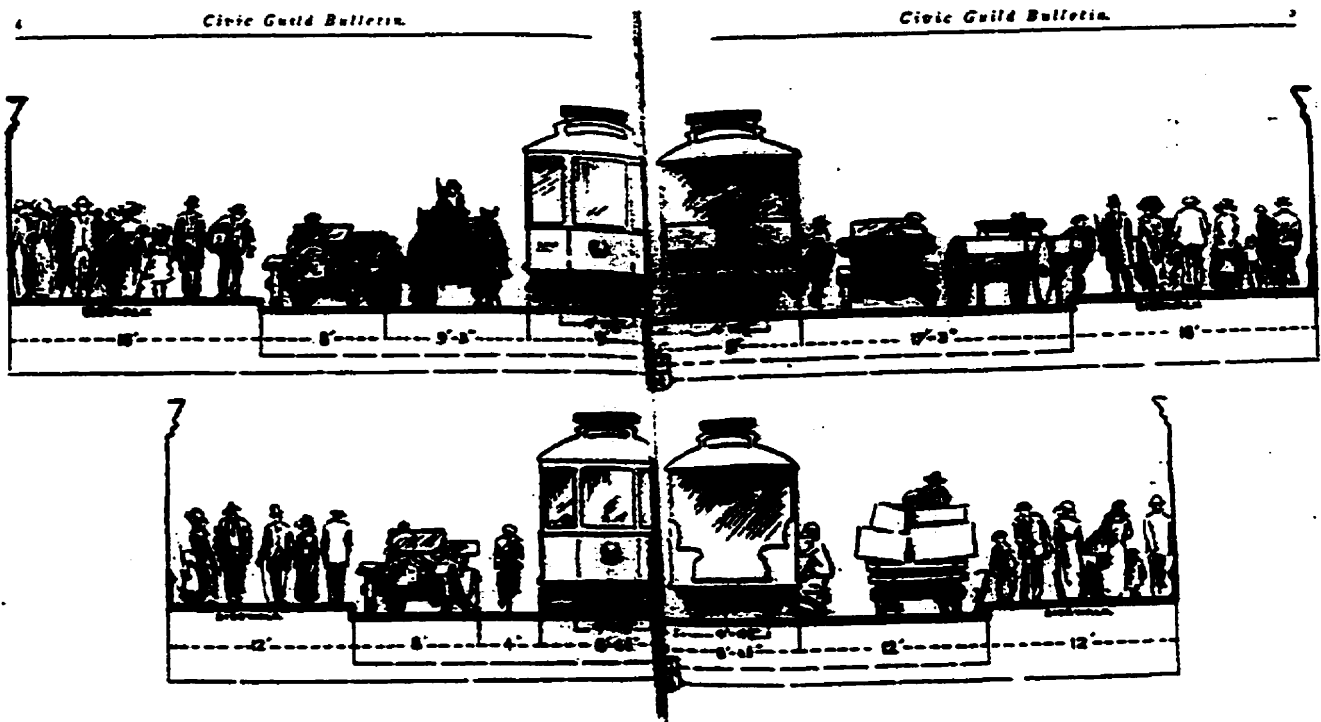
For Domesticators, here again was another male-advanced technology that seemed destined to contribute irresponsibly to the melee of the modern city, whose daily traffic invariably degenerated into what J. B. Jackson describes as "furious immobility" (Jackson 1972: 204). Indeed, as one *Mail and Empire* editor moaned in an editorial on Toronto's lack of "Safety in the Streets,"

The number of street cars in motion about the corner of Yonge and King streets, for example, are enough for most people to look after; and when to these are added the numerous carts and carriages, many of them driven by unskillful and reckless persons, crossing the street is very much like running the gauntlet. What then shall be said of the chances of escape when one finds sandwiched in between these the numerous and ever-increasing host of bicycles?²⁵⁵

The streets proffered a danger that only worsened with the presense of fast-ridden bicycles, which contributed to a rhetorical condition unique to both pedestrian and cyclist in 1890s: "Suicide by Bicycle."²⁵⁶ A letter writer to the

²⁵⁵*Mail and Empire*, May 16, 1898: 4. A few years later the TGCA would introduce a plan to put paved median strips as "waiting places" at intersections, to "obviate the present dangerous and inconvenient necessity of flying from one corner to the other" (A.W Bentham to Aston Webb, 1st Report on Toronto and the Proposed Improvements, July 4, 1907: 3; *Letters etc.*, 1907-1910; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL).

²⁵⁶*Mail and Empire*, December 11, 1897: 4.



3.2 Widening city streets not only relieved congestion, but was believed to make them safer (*Civic Guild Bulletin*, June 1912, Vol. 1: 10).

Mail in response to the "Safety in the Streets" editorial agreed that the streets were decidedly unsafe for

everyone, unless we are as careful as the two children who stood on the corner of a street looking long and vainly for a chance to cross. At last, the older of the two, grasping the hand of the youngest, said -- with a careful eye searching the street up and down -- 'No butcher cart, no trolley, no bicycle; run!'²⁵⁷

This was College street; imagine the conditions downtown, the writer declared. The letter ends by suggesting "it is for the mayor...to arrange for the safety of the citizens."²⁵⁸ The un-Domesticated bicycle it seems became just another impediment to decorum and civility in the city.

The Domestic bicycle and the cycling aesthetic

Willard's challenge then, as a proponent of the bicycle, was to persuade Domestic women that the bicycle, rather than adding to the mayhem of the city as an unruly masculine unsophisticate, could and should be Domesticated. A Domesticated bicycle capacitated cycling for women without disparaging their Domestic inclination. The *Mail and Empire's* position on Toronto's theatre scene could well apply to Willard's view of cycling: "It is important that our representative citizens, men and women, should use their influence to keep a species of amusement so generally resorted to instructive, elevating, and pure."²⁵⁹ But then, it is precisely these "representative citizens" on whom Willard is calling to make cycling an edifying and proper pasttime.

²⁵⁷*Mail and Empire*, May 17, 1898: 2.

²⁵⁸*ibid.*

²⁵⁹*Mail and Empire*, November 19, 1895: 4.

If any message leaps from the pages of *Wheel*, it is that cycling is a genteel and moral activity, to be precise, a womanly activity, with health benefits thrown in. Remember that Willard's own personal motto, indeed a key verse, according to her biographer, "in the gospel according to St. Frances" was: "Womanliness first – afterwards what you will" (Bordin 1986: 9). And given that Willard was one of the most popular women in North America, even equated in celebrity with Queen Victoria, her own beliefs were well known to domestic women (Bordin 1986: 5).²⁶⁰ (Her autobiography, and even *Wheel* were best sellers). Willard, knowing the import of her fame, counted on Domestic women knowing her and her teachings, and hoped that they would reason that if the bicycle suited Frances Willard, it of necessity promoted the Domestication of society and womanliness.²⁶¹

Women, in mastering the bicycle, tamed and softened its masculine symbolism. This Domestication process depended upon the bicycle's proper use. Women's Domestication of the wheel meant making it an instrument of morality, beauty, responsibility, gentility, in other words, a symbol of responsible modernism. This explains why in the 1890s we find telling events in Toronto, such as a bicycle gymkhana, a competition not of cycling athleticism but "of decorated wheels [where] original ideas [are] at a premium."²⁶² The *Mail and Empire* society page, "On Dit," fussed over an upscale ice cream garden for cyclists on Toronto's Jarvis Street: "what could be more delightful than a gentle wheel through the cool evening air with the objective point a pretty garden, lantern-lighted, with dainty maidens to serve

²⁶⁰Upon the first notice of her death on February 18, 1898, the *Mail and Empire* published articles about Willard and her accomplishments until March 7 1898; such was Toronto's interest in the WCTU president.

²⁶¹ Willard (1895: 73) wrote that because of the loyalty within the "white ribbon army," the nick-name of the WCTU, her cycling "action would be widely influential."

²⁶²*Mail and Empire*, July 28, 1898: 6.

ice cream and good refreshments."²⁶³ We learn that among the evening's patrons visiting the garden were cycling parties from Parkdale and Rosedale, at the time two of Toronto's elite suburbs. "Many a jolly group enjoyed the good refreshments, ice cream, or ginger ale" on the shaded lawn among trees and Chinese lanterns.²⁶⁴ Here we have the moral antithesis to the masculinised technological nightmare vehicular traffic made of city streets: a thoroughly Domestic and, you will note, temperate, cycling experience. On a Domesticated bicycle one may actually experience the aesthetic in the chaotic city.

Proper use of the bicycle for Willard, a former professor of aesthetics and Dean of Northwestern University, meant the promotion of the aesthetic experience. Aestheticism undergirds Willard's main argument: she shows the places, and specifically landscapes, that women most naturally belong as cyclists, and the kinds of things a woman on a bicycle should do. The bicycle and the beautiful experience lay at the heart of Willard's admiration for cycling; she called it the "poetry of motion," especially when that motion occurred in "landscapes breathing nature's inexhaustible charm and skyscapes lifting the heart from what it is to what shall be hereafter" (Willard 1895: 40). Domestic cycling is a moral-aesthetic and even spiritual experience.

The photos throughout the book show Willard in the various stages of learning-to-ride. All have a rural or garden setting, ivy and country lanes quite prominent. Willard juxtaposes the bicycle's extant progressivism with feminised and reformed cycling "amid the delightful surroundings of the great outdoors, and inspired by the bird-songs, the color and fragrance of an English posy-garden, in the company of devoted comrades and pleasant

²⁶³*Mail and Empire*, July 27, 1898: 6.

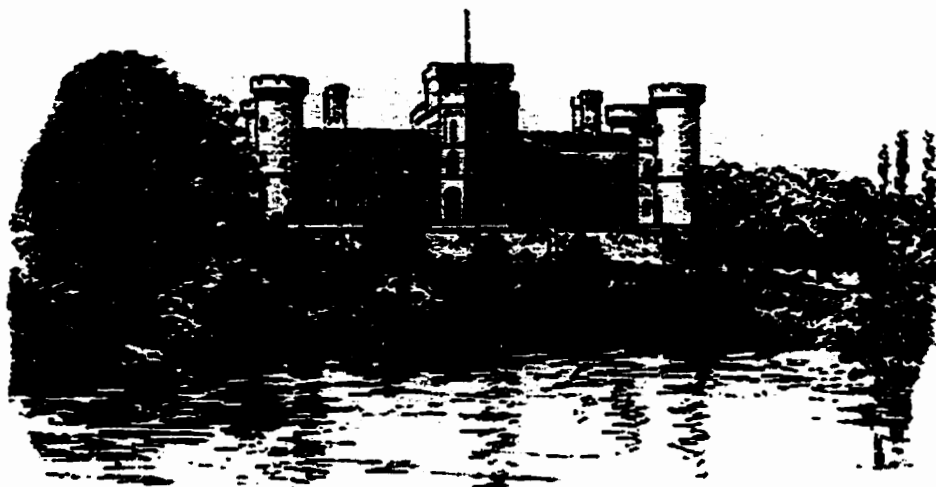
²⁶⁴*Mail and Empire*, July 28, 1898: 6.

companions" (Willard 1895: 75). The aesthetic cycling experience becomes even more pronounced with Willard's description of the magisterial and stately Eastnor Castle, in England, on whose comely terrace Willard and a companion first pedalled solo (Willard 1895: 28-29). An etching of the castle accompanies Willard's thoroughly aestheticised depiction of the occasion:

[T]he sky was a moist blue that only England knows, and the earth almost steamy in the mild sunshine, while the soft outline of the famous Malvern Hills was [as] restful as the little lake just at our feet, where swans were sailing or anchoring according to their fancy (Willard 1895: 30).

Willard here, perhaps, uses the terrace of Eastnor Castle as a metaphor for the modern urban park, which gained prominence in the late Victorian era for its capacity to provide moral tuition for its visitors (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992: 29-30), and as I have suggested repeatedly "the refinement and taste and mental and moral capital of gentlemen," as Olmsted suggested of Central Park (Bender 1988: 200; Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992: 241). The park especially as it "resemble[d] a charming bit of rural landscape" (Olmsted, in Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992: 240)—but also also tamed countryside itself—could provide the kind of Domesticated—beautiful and beautified—landscape that Willard deemed so necessary for proper cycling.

Willard was not the only cycling proponent advocating the bike and the park. Toronto's press in the 1890's urged the civic authorities to recognise that the bicycle afforded Torontonians the opportunity to escape to the city's "Muskoka-like" parks and surrounding countryside on a Sunday (the only day for such a reprieve, since Toronto did not run a Sunday street car until



EASTNOR CASTLE.

- 3.3 This etching of Eastnor Castle, in England, accompanied Willard's discussion of "the most delightful bicycle gallery" she had ever encountered (Willard 1895: 29).

the late spring of 1897).²⁶⁵ High Park and the bicycle went hand-in-glove, the celebrated space often the container for “two to three thousand” cyclists on a Sunday.²⁶⁶ Turn-of-the-twentieth-century North Americans believed that the beauty and salubrity of parks imparted universal social and moral benefits that most contemporaneous critics of the city extolled (Schmitt 1969; Jackson 1972; Bender 1974; Blodgett 1976; Miller 1976; Stewart 1977; Holt 1979; Jackson 1985; Schuyler 1986; Stilgoe 1988; Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992; Conway 1992). (I will explore this in depth in a later chapter). The general bourgeois attitude that parks could invest their patrons with gentility and uprightness supports Willard’s belief that moralised and aestheticised cycling landscapes inspired high-flown thought, as we will see.

As for appropriate behaviour on the bicycle, Willard would demonstrate it. As she and her companion cycled about Eastnor Castle, she wrote, it was just before Christmas and the two conversed about Willard’s New Year’s resolution. Willard stated that her resolve for 1894 was “to develop that cheerful [mental] atmosphere which helps to smooth the rough edge of life,” and a brief philosophical discussion about the good, the truth, criticism, and life-after-death followed (Willard 1895: 29-32). We need not wonder why Willard cared to be specific; this conversation was precisely the point of her book. Cycling is both a physical and intellectual experience. Womanhood was built on conversation and closeness, women, mothers and daughters working together, learning about and practicing moral probity (Welter 1966; Smith-Rosenberg 1975; Sklar 1976; Cott 1977; Ryan 1981; Norton

²⁶⁵For this Muskoka image see the special article “The Leafy Months of June: The Parks of Toronto”, *Saturday Night*, June 13, 1896: 8-9. The vote that allowed the Sunday streetcar in Toronto took place May 15, 1897.

²⁶⁶*Saturday Night*, July 20, 1896: 1-2.



3.4 Willard, centre, and her "teachers" (Willard 1895: 36).

1989). Willard conveyed to her readers that this very activity occurred on the wheel, elevated further, in this instance, by the beauty and grandeur of the terrace of Eastnor Castle, "the most delightful bicycle gallery [she had] found anywhere" (Willard 1895: 29-30).

And as the book progressed, Willard apprised the reader of other conversations that occurred on the bicycle, all with tones wholly worthy of the North America's moral pedagogues. For Willard, the opportunity for conversation while cycling forged close relationships among women cyclists. In a subsection entitled "My Teachers," Willard tells us of the women she encountered while cycling, and the things they taught her. Willard and her teachers mused of everything from the "'woman question'" and women's dress reform, to cause and effect in the cosmos (Willard 1895: 38-39; 43).²⁶⁷ The reader may only come away thinking of the bicycle as facilitator of lofty conversation and ideas, or even the bicycle as parlour:

We had no end of what we thought to be good talk of things in heaven and earth and waters under the earth; of the mystery that lies so closely round the cradle of this world and all the varied and ingenious ways of which the bicycle, so slow to give up its secret to a care-worn and inelastic pupil half a century old, was just then our whimsical and favorite symbol (Willard 1895: 37-38).

²⁶⁷Later-on in the book, she relates an incident, or "Ethereal Episode," she had when riding her tricycle. Having fallen off the trike and broken her arm, she was subjected to a application of a splint and the use of anaesthetics. While under the influence of ether, "there settled down upon [her] the most vivid and pervading sense of God [she ha[d] ever known" (Willard 1895: 67). She wished that she could "try ether again, just for the ethical and spiritual help that came to [her]" from it (Willard 1895: 68). Apparently, the moral of this story is that, had it not been for Willard's willingness to participate in extra-Domestic activities such as cycling, she would never have discovered in her drug-induced euphoria that humans are but "blood-drops floating in the great heart of our Heavenly Father" (Willard 1895: 68).

Willard and her companions even talked of reforming men, “and contended that whatever diminishes the sense of superiority in men makes them more mannerly, brotherly, and pleasant to have about” (Willard 1895: 41). “The bluff, the swagger, the bravado” of men would surely fade as women and men successfully conquered the “outdoor art” of the bicycle (Willard 1895: 41). The bicycle not only taught morality but eased decorous interlocution, forged bonds of womanhood, and tamed men, all integral to the Domestication of the bicycle.

Cycling also tempered conjugal bonds, an important social point in the modern city, where families and children were literally falling to pieces (Sennett 1970).²⁶⁸ Willard suggested that she learned to ride “as an act of grace, if not of actual religion” (Willard 1895: 72). As I have suggested so far, liberal evangelical Protestantism was the religion of the home. If the home, the place at which all Willard’s work was aimed and so much of her energy expended, was to become a better place, she believed the bicycle had the power to improve it.

Without equivocation, Domestic harmony is a chief reason Willard espoused the bicycle: “[she] h[e]ld that the more interests women and men...ha[d] in common, in thought, word and deed, the happier w[ould] it be for the home” (Willard 1895: 73). Because men until the 1890’s had been the riders of bicycles, Willard knew that many women perceived cycling as a males-only enterprise. By linking the bicycle with the home she changes the nature of the perception. Invoking home and religion also allows her to

²⁶⁸The Children’s Aid Society was formed in the mid-century by Charles Loring Brace as a means of coping with the scandalous numbers of unsupervised and orphaned children that roamed the streets of New York. This prompted a massive campaign to save children by transporting them by rail from the “evil” city to the “good” country. These trains became known as the “orphan trains” (see Holt 1992; also the documentary by film makers, Janet Graham and Edward Gray, “The Orphan Trains”, *The American Experience*, 1995).

assert the moral standard, which also happens to be the same standard that imbues women with their moral authority, by which Domestic women may interpret the bicycle.

This is no conceit of Willard's. *Saturday Night's* editors urged Toronto's sabbatarian clergy to accept the eminently Domestic respectability of cycling:

[P]astors who have spent Sundays in one way for years would be startled by a view of the Sunday life that has developed in this city, all unknown to them...their first surprise will be occasioned by the number of people who, having wheels, rush from the city to the Park. There they will be surprised to see fathers, mothers and children riding in family groups and to the unmistakable respectability of most of those who form the crowd. But their greatest surprise will come when they begin to recognize prominent members of their own churches."²⁶⁹

This is precisely what Willard means by cycling contributing to the happiness of home. And it was commonplace to see married couples relaxing a-wheel on the streets of the city:

In New York city there is no distinction of persons on the wheel, and for a woman to ride there attracts no more attention than for a man to ride a horse anywhere. There are no symptoms of a 'fad' about the use of the wheel; the riders have discovered that it is a very healthy and fascinating exercise and they ride because they enjoy it. Many a husband and wife take the wheel when they go out to make an evening call.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹*Saturday Night*, July 4, 1896: 1-2.

²⁷⁰The Flaneur, *Mail and Empire*, May 25, 1895, Supplement.

Here the *Mail and Empire's* "Flaneur" only echoes Willard's own feelings: "I always felt a strong attraction toward the bicycle because it is a vehicle of so much harmless pleasure" (Willard 1895: 13), especially as it promoted Domesticity, a good deal of which was harmony between the sexes. And what could be more aesthetically pleasing to a Domestic ideologue than a happy and handsome married couple a-wheel in the summer city twilight? Surely familial pleasure a-wheel was a tangible manifestation of the homelike world.

Beauty a-wheel

Domestic women on bicycles lend their individual bodies to the effort environmental reform. Their physical appearance, as respectable well-presented figures in the streets and parks of the city, reform the human space of the city. Clothing fashions formed a necessary part of respectability and aesthetic comportment at the turn-of-the-century and Willard does not neglect the dress requirement in her articulation of the proper use of the bicycle.²⁷¹ One also Domesticated the bicycle by beautifying the rider.

To this time in the nineteenth-century, women's clothing was wholly inappropriate for the wheel. As Willard writes:

A woman with bands hanging on her hips, and dress snug about her waist and chokingly tight at the throat, with heavily trimmed skirts dragging down the back and numerous folds

²⁷¹Social historian Lynn Marks (1996: 23-24) has shown that that fashion was integral to respectability in the evangelical churches in Ontario at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century. The parading of one's fashion aesthetic by the end of the century became a central reason for church attendance: Toronto reformer, C. S. Clark, complained that evangelical churches simply provided a venue for people "to go for enjoyment and [to] display millinery" (Clark 1898: 180, in Marks 1996: 23-24). But then as Sarah Jeanette Duncan suggests sceptically in her novel, *The Imperialist* (1904), "'the habit of church attendance was not only a basis of respectability, but practically the only one'" (in Marks 1996: 23). Because evangelical respectability grounded to physical appearance, to maintain it one needed a middle class income, stability, and especially comportment.

heating the lower part of the spine, and with tight shoes ought to be in agony. She ought to be miserable as a stalwart man would be in the same plight. And the fact that she can coolly and complacently assert that her clothing is perfectly easy, and that she does not want anything more comfortable or convenient, is conclusive proof that she is altogether abnormal bodily, and not a little so in mind (Willard 1895: 39-40).

However, as business urged women to patronise the wheel, and women started to ride, the inappropriateness of their mode of dress became apparent: "Reason will gain upon precedent, and ere long the comfortable, sensible, and artistic wardrobe of the rider will make the conventional style of women's dress absurd to the eye and unendurable to the understanding" (Willard 1895: 39-40). For Willard, the dress issue was a simple case of practical inevitable reason: "If women ride they must, when riding, dress more rationally than they have been wont to do. If they do this many prejudices as to what they may be allowed to wear will melt away" (Willard 1895: 40). The mere popularity of cycling and the need to dress according to its dictates will determine what women may or may not wear:

An ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory; the graceful and becoming costume of the woman on the bicycle will convince the world that has brushed aside the theories, no matter how well-constructed, and the arguments, no matter how logical, of the dress-reformers (Willard 1895: 40).

Willard would show just how sensible this dress could be.

Willard's own "bicycling costume" was one to which "no person of common sense could take exception" (Willard 1895: 74). "[A] simple modest



3.5 Frances Willard a-wheel on her "steed," Gladys (Willard 1895: 72).

suit," it consisted of a tweed skirt and blouse, the skirt three inches from the ground, a belt, a rolling collar, a loose cravat, a round straw hat and walking-shoes with gaiters" (Willard 1895: 74). Dress reform, as Willard hoped to demonstrate, was not dissent from the conventions of Domesticity; she never mentions, even in passing, the debate about bloomers, the wearing of which one Chicago Alderman declared to be unhealthy, un-American, and unladylike, and a menace to public morals.²⁷² Rather, Willard acknowledged that if cycling facilitated the extension Domesticity beyond the walls of the home, women riders would need to reconsider their style of dress.

Willard's opinions echoed other fashionable, but conservative, Domestic women. Although *TLJ* asserted that "there is no disgrace in riding a wheel," it also knew that the wheel lent itself to sartorial impropriety:

there are women in [Toronto] who are doing more harm to the cyclists' cause, by their abnormal dress, than can be imagined. On a recent lovely Sunday an article, clad in terra-cotta corduroy bloomers, fancy jacket and peaked cap, wheeled up and down Queen St. and caused pedestrians to blush with shame at the sight. Idiotic cyclists of Frenchy style are not all dead yet, but if looks could kill they certainly would be.²⁷³

Instead, *TLJ* offers the views of "a prominent Rhode Island lady" on the subject of wheeling attire.²⁷⁴ Like Willard, this woman inclines toward simple modesty and emphasises an appropriate choice of underwear; woven equestrian tights are the order of the day but petticoats entirely out of the question. The visible clothing must not interfere with with the necessary

²⁷²*Mail and Empire*, June 25, 1895: 8.

²⁷³*The Ladies Journal*, May 1895, Vol. XV, No. 5: 7.

²⁷⁴*ibid.*

motion of the limbs, but should not "make the outline of the figure too evident."²⁷⁵ As for corsets they should be left at home; an "hygenic waist and a clear conscience should be the cycle woman's only support."²⁷⁶ The woman from Rhode Island, too, seems concerned to give women the freest movement possible, while attending closely to modesty.

The *TLJ* writer then proceeds to specify an attire "distinctive, modest, and comfortable" for wheeling in Toronto:

beginning with the woven equestrian tights and a pair of easy-fitting tan shoes and stockings of the same shade, I would suggest a dress of any dark shade of cloth with a 'sweater' of fine ribbed wool, and a silk sash and a visor cap. This costume is comfortable and neat. ²⁷⁷

Neither we nor the contemporaneous reader of *TLJ* would make the mistake of misconstruing the artificial humility of the writer's "suggestion" here. There was nothing either humble or suggestive about this moral declaration. Women cyclists either conformed to the Domestic notion of beauty and propriety or succumbed to vitriol. And *TLJ* shows us just how uncharitable and disparaging its articulations of displeasure with non-conformity could be. Importantly, however, *TLJ* confirms what Willard averred: Domestic virtues of modesty and propriety in dress still held. As *TLJ* put it, the time will come when women cyclists will wear what they wish "providing always that educated, good taste has a reasonable chance to exert its influence."²⁷⁸ Willard sought only to incorporate comfort and practicality as it facilitated responsible

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*

²⁷⁸ *The Ladies Journal*, August 1895, Vol. XV, No. 8: 8.

modernism and suppressed the neurasthenic tendencies of domestic dress, especially as it impinged on women a-wheel.

Willard's notion of the proper, however, creaked under the weight of her approbation of the bicycle's advancement of progressivism. This was particularly obvious with her acknowledgement of her own engagement with speed which, given her constant battle with anemia, was undoubtedly not that speedy. But, as she wrote, she would not "permit [her]self to dread the swift motion round a bend" (Willard 1895: 50). We must understand how beguiling this was, speed being a seductive element of the late nineteenth century impulse to compress time and space (Kern 1983: 109-130). As one defense of scorching, or fast riding, put it, even "veterans used to pottering about the countryside...will occasionally be caught pounding away between two milestones" simply because "fast riding is contagious."²⁷⁹ The aging Willard too, in spite of the risk of a "contusion...or...a perforated knee cap," could only admit that "the swiftness of motion...is perhaps the most fascinating feature of material life" (Willard 1895: 19; 11). The book's concluding admonition to "Go thou and do likewise!," which was also a cloaked exhortation to go out and speed, must have surprised Domestic women who were at the same time counselled to Domesticate the modern machine. To venture into beautiful landscapes intrepidly on a bicycle, without fear of transgressing the Domestic moral code, was undoubtedly not difficult for Domestic women, but were they to scorch through these posy gardens?

²⁷⁹*Mail and Empire*, May 10, 1898: 8.

Conclusion

The modern city accommodated well an unruly masculinism. Domestic women, such as Willard, believed that in undertaking the Domestication of the environment they needed to Domesticate masculinity and men. Responsible modernism, as I have illustrated, affixes to the suppression of the masculine, and the privileging of the Domestic. Willard's desire to Domesticate the bicycle symbolised her grander aim of Domesticity to make the city homelike.

Jackson Lears (1981: 193) argues that the rise of aestheticism in liberal Protestantism reveals "a widespread, complex dissent from modern culture." I believe I have shown that Frances Willard, the first lady of liberal evangelical Protestantism, and her moral-aestheticisation of the bicycle, contradicts Lear's statement. Willard's attempt to Domesticate cycling suggests not dissent but qualified assent. Modernism, in the case of the bicycle, was made accountable after Domestication added responsibility to it. It is more than coincidence that the responsibility process included beautifying the useful, beauty embellishing the practicality of the bicycle and allowing it to conform to an aesthetic first principle. In a sense, the bicycle, especially within the Decorative Arts milieu of the time, and about which more will be said in the following chapter, was not complete until Domesticated. The bicycle was made civil through a beauty and decorum that Willard, and her sense of the womanly, was only to willing to lend it.

Women could understand easily Willard's articulation of Domestic ideas as they applied to the bicycle. Modernism and the invention of technology attached to the century's unquestioned belief in the rightness and providence of progress. Yet anyone with eyes could see that the immoderate

use of technology caused havoc in the city. A Domesticated bicycle symbolised responsible modernism, where Domestic influence and moral governance called for order and beauty, beauty and use. More importantly, it indicated the non-spherical nature of women's activities. The *Mail and Empire* put it well: "Woman saw in the bicycle an instrument convenient for her locomotion, and found to her great joy that she could master it and manage it as well as man could."²⁸⁰ Mastering the bicycle was not only a metaphor for women's publicity but also for mastering masculinity. As I have shown, Willard viewed men and masculinity as problematic. Both were, happily, eminently salvageable, manhood needing only a dose of home to make it right. The Domestication of the masculine was very much a part of Domestic reform efforts.

Willard's mastering of the bicycle equals the Domestication of cycling, making it responsibly modern, the accomplishment of which pivoting on geography and comportment. Willard easily corrected the masculine disparagement of cycling by carefully placing the bicycle only in the most attractive of landscapes and always in the company of elevated behaviour, thinking, and conversation suitable for the parlour. Domesticated cycling included sartorial sensibility; so Willard articulated a comely but conservative riding fashion. Willard's susceptibility to speed presented an inconsistency in her quest for Domestication, since scorching clearly contradicted her high-flown and hortatory Domestic applications of cycling. Even so, her love of speed illustrates her devotion to modernism.

The editors of the reprint of *Wheel* that I used here saw fit to remove from the book's cover the subtitle, *How I Learned to Ride the Bicycle*. In its

²⁸⁰*Mail and Empire*, June 25, 1895: 8.

stead they added: *A Woman's Quest for Freedom*. I think that I have shown that freedom is not even peripheral to Willard's agenda, but the Domestication of the modern. A better subtitle might play on the original: "How I Mastered the Masculine Machine," another way of fomenting responsible modernism and order in the streets.

[T]he definition of art is 'human labour regulated by human design,' and this design, or evidence of active intellect in choice and arrangement, is the essential part of the work; which, so long as you cannot perceive, you perceive no art whatsoever....

John Ruskin (1870: 172)

At first sight, giving this study the title city aesthetics, we seem to subordinate all to beauty, and practical souls will perhaps tell us that there are business considerations that should not be lost sight of by builders of cities. I do not question this; but I remember that in the studies on the aesthetics of the decorative arts, published in the *Revue Belgique*, I argued that industrial art workers would find in perfect harmony between the form and use of objects the most beautiful and picturesque ideas. This aesthetic principle is applicable to city plans or public monuments as well as objects of industrial art.

Charles Buls (1893)²⁸¹

Beauty will not repeat in America its history in Greece...It is in vain that we look for genius to reiterate its miracles in the old arts. It is its instinct to find beauty and holiness in new and necessary facts, in the field and roadside, in the shop and mill...It will raise to divine use the railroad, the insurance office, and the joint-stock company.

Ralph Waldo Emerson²⁸²

²⁸¹Charles Buls, "City Aesthetics", *Municipal Affairs* 3, December 1899: 732-741; translated from the author's *L'Esthetique des Villes*, Brussels, Bruylant-Cristophe, 1893; in Reps (n.d.).

²⁸²Emerson, in Lucy Fitch Perkins, *Municipal Art*, *The Chautauquan* 36, February 1903: 516-527; in Reps (n.d.).

We are working toward an understanding of how the modern city was perceived in the geographical imaginations of bourgeois women and men influenced by a Domestic environmentalism. The previous chapter showed how Frances Willard, in an effort to extend the aesthetic values of home to the urban environment, used the bicycle to introduce to the modern public world a programme I called "responsible modernism." In this chapter, responsible modernism appears again, albeit implicitly, as we consider city planning advocates and their susceptibility, over a thirty year period, to the beautification of utility that was so integral to the Decorative Arts.

This chapter examines the influence of the Decorative Arts on the city planning movement, specifically City Beautiful and City Practical. The Domestic proclivity for decoration, established in a previous chapter, informed the urban environmentalism of a bourgeois man who represents a certain kind of male urban reformer, one bent on using decoration to reclaim the modern city. Using the ideas of Toronto painter and city beautifier, George Agnew Reid, and his contemporaries, the chapter introduces what it deems the first principles of decorative art, the ideational foundation of decoration. These principles are, however, not merely tropes of art, but the basis of a "social environmentalism." Human behaviour in the city could be modified and even moderated, it was believed by urban reformers, by a decorated built environment. Beauty and utility were integral to this urban spatial perfection process, as we will see in the example of the Toronto *Plan of 1929*, in this chapter, and the Toronto *Plan of 1909* in the next.

The chapter, in making the argument for the influence of decoration on urban reform, advances another bold claim: that City Beautiful and City Practical, two traditionally segregated and antithetical planning movements,

have been misconstrued by urban historians unaware of the social implications of the turn-of-the-century push for municipal art. *City Practical*, the chapter suggests, is simply a responsibly modern version of *City Beautiful*. Neither, however, should be addressed without the other.

A central contention of this dissertation is that urban reform in the modern city was spurred by the liberal evangelical Protestantism promotion of moral-aesthetic environmentalism. Evangelical Protestantism had a substantial cultural influence: it was after all the religion of capitalism (Weber 1959) and an important aspect of urbanisation (Wiebe 1967; Smith-Rosenberg 1971; Boyer 1978; Johnson 1978; McLoughlin 1978). Ascribing Domestic ideas such as decoration to city planners is not to declare them evangelical or feminist *per se*; the evidence for the former would be difficult if not impossible to find anyway, and the latter anachronistic when applied to the turn-of-the-century. Rather, in the case of Reid, for example, his proclivity for homely beauty illustrates his overt Domestic environmentalism, disclosing his approbation for such liberal evangelical Protestant Domestic ideals as beauty and use, order, the preciousness of home, and the environmental efficacy of decoration.

Introduction

Toronto's Advisory City Planning Commission (ACPC) published a comprehensive plan for the improvement of Toronto's CBD in 1929. The plan, as suggested earlier, attempted to solve Toronto's traffic and congestion problems, the latter not simply vehicular traffic but crowded space in general. Toronto's practical concern for its built space is perfectly apprehensible: the *Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission with Recommendations for the Improvement of the Central Business Section of the City of Toronto*,

1929, came near the end of the City Practical era. And as planning history has suggested of the years between 1916 and 1939, utility reigned. Ostensibly, this was a time abundant with practicality. However, as planning historian Peter Hall (1989: 278) notes, it also rejected the ideals and the passions so typical of the Progressive era that preceded it. The *Plan of 1929* complicates this traditional view of things. Despite its late date, the ACPC's plan for Toronto is startlingly idealistic and breathtakingly beautiful.

How was it that the ACPC conception of utility in Toronto could incline so much toward the beautiful? Why did the ACPC's City Practical look so much like its so-called predecessor, City Beautiful? This chapter argues that the *Plan of 1929* mimicked City Beautiful because it relied upon the same principles that city beautifiers vaunted: beauty and use.

To invoke beauty and use necessarily raises the issue of decoration. In decoration, we find what can be called the first principles of the Decorative Arts, the foundational artistic and philosophical motives of decoration, of which beauty and use are essential elements. The Decorative Arts movement sought to aestheticise for the social good the utilitarian objects of everyday use. Decorative art, through the use of artistic principles in design, attempted to make everything from furniture to fire hydrants as beautiful as they were useful, to infuse everything with art. Decorative art affixed beauty to use, the one enabling and legitimating the other.

The city and the Decorative Arts are not new to each other. The accepted founder of the Arts and Crafts movement, William Morris, connecting decorative art with urban reform, wrote confidently that decoration

will make our streets as beautiful as the woods, as elevating as the mountain-sides; it will be a pleasure and a rest, and not a weight upon the spirit to come from the open country into the town; every man's house will be fair and decent, soothing to his mind and helpful to his work: all the works of man that we live amongst and handle will be in harmony with nature, will be reasonable and beautiful: yet all will be simple and inspiring (Morris, in Facos 1996: 82).²⁸³

Urban historian, Jon Peterson (1976: 416), has connected the zealous push for beauty in the city with the decorative arts. Wilson (1989: 29) argues that beauty and use were integral to the artistic philosophies and landscape designs of Frederick Law Olmsted, from whom later proponents of City Beautiful drew inspiration. What may be new is the suggestion that the artistic and social principles embedded in the Decorative Arts supercede the historiographical imposition of terms such as City Beautiful and City Practical. Under the decorative ideal, all late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban reform proceeded according to a general appeal to beauty and use.

This is an important twist since planning history tends to see City Practical as the rationalist successor to the emotional excesses of City Beautiful (see especially Kantor 1973). As planning historian Norman Johnston (1994: 218) put it, city planners did not dismiss out-of-hand the monumentalist civic art inclinations of City Beautiful, "but there was a discernible shift away"

²⁸³William Morris, "The Lesser Arts", *Hopes and Fears for Art*, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1917: 36. Planner and theorist, Kevin Lynch (1981: 58-59), connects Morris to the environmental utopia impulse that produced Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and others. Morris's *News From Nowhere, or, An Epoch of Rest* (1918[1890]) posits a utopian society where smiling happy middle class people engage in street-paving, house-building, and gardening, and children conjugate Latin verbs and speak several languages without schooling, simply because of the edifying nature of their perfectly reformed London environment (see especially Chapter Five, "Children on the Road").

from its elusive promises to a harder more utilitarian approach. “The primacy of the visual city was displaced” as Johnston suggests, “by a different set of priorities,” that were decidedly scientific, rational, and political; the City Practical is also known as “The City Scientific” (Ford 1913). Notable planning historian, Donald Krueckeberg (1994: 20), makes what is for this dissertation the quintessential statement about the City Beautiful/City Practical dichotomy:

The ideas of City Practical were fully in place by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. The professional vehicle was still the idea of a plan, but where beauty and health had been the chief concerns now were added engineering, economy, sociology, and law. “City planning is not tying pink ribbons to the lamp posts” was the epithet.

Taken literally, this statement suggests that City Beautiful harboured no social, engineering, economic, or legal cares, which I believe is not Krueckeberg’s intention. There is however the intimation that there was a frivolousness to City Beautiful that City Practical corrected.

This chapter argues that City Practical did not necessarily “add” anything that was not already integral to City Beautiful through the decorative arts. City Practical undoubtedly represents a later stage in the evolution of planning methods, tools, and technologies. However, social and cultural concern for the implementation of urban environmental change lies at the core of City Beautiful thinking.

Indeed, an impulse that I call “social environmentalism,” the manipulation of the environment for social and cultural ends, attaches to City Beautiful, and urban reform in general, via the first principles of the

Decorative Arts. To understand both *City Beautiful* and *City Practical* is to recognise the relationship between urban reform and the nature and purpose of decoration in the practise of beauty in the modern city in the early decades of the twentieth-century. Because the Toronto ACPC cared to make beauty central to the *Plan of 1929* , it is worthwhile to reconsider the role of beauty in urban reform. We should certainly be wary of any attempt to separate beauty from use in the era of decoration.

This chapter, then, brings together decorative art and urban reform to add yet another consideration to the historical urbanising processes of the modern city. Decorative art, like *City Beautiful*, was not merely “tying tidies on telegraph poles and putting doilies on the cross-walks” (Robinson (1970[1903]: 28) but “subordinating utility to beauty” (Robinson 1901: 16). It attempted to infuse the material world of the city with its first principles, right placement, nobility of subject, beauty, and use, to improve the moral and social conditions of the long-suffering inhabitants of the modern industrial city. This social environmentalism linked the merits of a decorative, orderly built environment with social improvement. It used as its basis decorative art, which was as much a moral environmental and spatial philosophy as it was an artistic expression.

The structure of the chapter is perhaps unconventional, but necessary, giving the reader the tools with which to explore Toronto’s *Plan of 1929* in the last section of the chapter. Thus, to suggest that decoration informed the urban reform efforts of the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century, the chapter undertakes the following: first, it entertains a brief discussion of *City Beautiful* and *City Practical*, to clarify terms and to insure readers know precisely which is which and what the major issues are and why. Such a

discussion is paramount to the contention that *City Beautiful* and *City Practical* blur beyond distinction when considered philosophically. Second, it delves into the relatively unknown ideas of Toronto's and Canada's premier decorative painter "without peer" at the turn of the century, George Agnew Reid.²⁸⁴ Reid matters here because of his founding affiliation with Toronto Guild of Civic Art, Toronto's league of city beautifiers who became the Toronto Civic Guild, a city planning body for nearly two decades in the early twentieth century. Only the scantiest scholarly or biographical attention has been paid to Reid, whose extant historical record is minimal. Nevertheless, his ideas about art and environment, and his participation in the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, connect decoration to urban reform in Toronto. The chapter derives its concept of the first principles of decorative art from the decorative proclivities of Reid and his contemporaries.

Third, the chapter defines what decoration was and what it meant more than a century ago. It identifies what I deem the four first principles of decorative art and why they impinge so weightily upon urban reform. The principles are explained in such a way as to allow readers to use them as a kind of gloss for the discussion of primary city planning sources that follow.

Fourth, the chapter explores how beauty and use informed city planners and theorists, advancing the idea that they believed beauty was more than a hollow aestheticism. Indeed, in reformers' attempted implementation of decorative first principles we find a profound social consciousness, a social environmental ethos that some scholars do not see

²⁸⁴Toronto Star Weekly September 28, 1912: 7. Reid also led the campaign to align the National Gallery of Canada with the RCA and to find a permanent home for its collection. Under Reid's presidency of the RCA, the academy persuaded the federal government to set up an Advisory Arts Council with a picture-purchasing budget that reached \$100,000 by the start of the World War One, when the grant was discontinued.

(Boyer 1983; Relph 1987; Hall 1989, 1996). It examines the specific reference made by reformers to the first principles of the decorative arts in their theorising about the unquestionable social benefits of a beautifully reformed and planned city. Beauty and use, for such urban reform thinkers, form the foundation of material and social success.

Finally, after having developed the ideational glass through which to view it, the chapter offers the *Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission with Recommendations for the Improvement of the Central Business Section of the City of Toronto, 1929--the Plan of 1929*--as an example of decorative social environmentalism. Not only does the *Report* disclose the ACPC's profound adherence to the first principles of decorative art, but argues that its use of specific planning elements such as the diagonal road are as much social and aesthetic as practical. The ACPC's attempt at *City Practical* reveals no rejection of art for utility, rather the opposite. The ACPC deliberately holds beauty intrinsic to use. Indeed, the separation of beauty and use flies in the face of the reform thinking behind the *Plan of 1929*. Urban reformers would not and did not isolate use from beauty in their quest for responsible modernism, environmental and social responsibility in the modern city.

City Beautiful and City Practical

City Beautiful and City Useful plans have traditionally had very specific criteria that separates them. A City Beautiful used nature or greenspace, through landscape architecture, as its primary source of art and aesthetics. For Reys (1965: 331-339) and Wilson (1964: 40-54; 1989: 22-29), a City Beautiful consisted of individual parks and parkways, a continuous network of parks and greenspace connected by boulevards and pleasure drives flanked

by impressive residential areas. Grand formal boulevards led to civic centres comprised of a central square and neo-Classical civic buildings with capacious plazas and concourses. Everywhere were public trees, flower gardens, greenswards, well-paved surfaces, and tastefully designed and arranged street furnishings, about which I will have more to say in a later chapter. This not to neglect the importance of public art, statuary, monuments, and murals; City Beautiful is equally well-known for its promotion Civic Art (Peterson 1976). It also sought to eliminate street-blight: gaudy, multi-coloured, oversized, and ubiquitous signage; hundreds of miles of sagging wires and poles; trolley lines; "barberous" strings of lights; unpaved roads, and plank sidewalks.

Beautifiers wanted to eliminate what cultural historian, David Henkin (1999), calls "urban texts;" posters and signs plastered to every flat vertical surface. Appropriately, Robinson's idea of City Beautiful (1903: 155-158) also included the removal of advertising and the subsequent use of beautified advertising kiosks; gold leaf lettering, with few words, on display windows; removal of poles and burial of cables; decorative streetlight standards and street name signs; suppression of dust, dirt, and noise through noiseless hygienic pavements and street cleaners; garbage removal and the universal placement of waste receptacles. Johnston's (1994: 218) idea of "the primacy of the visual" neatly captures the external persona of City Beautiful.

City Practical, or Useful, conversely, deemphasised the aesthetic and concentrated on the practical (Ford 1912; Lewis 1916; Robinson 1916; Adams 1935). As planner Nelson Lewis (1916: 1) put it: "the fundamental problems of city planning are, and from their very nature must be, engineering problems." City Practical attacked the problem of housing and the

development of neighbourhoods, platting streets and residential areas, scientifically reconfiguring transportation systems, standardising roadways and widths, ground planning for trunkline railroads, port development, and subway construction, and the implementation of water and sewage treatment, and drainage. But it also implemented city planning legislation, developing ideas such as centralised control, planning commissions, conceiving legal tools such as “excess condemnation”—expropriation of private property for public use and improvement—and zoning, the regulation and policing of private development in the city. It improved the financing and economic forecasting methods of city planning, assessment models, general taxation, and credit. It also reconsidered the valuation of property and land, land tenure, and the effect of taxation on land use and development.

Planning history tends to suggest that City Beautiful lapsed into City Practical, or “City Functional” (Hall 1988: 278), or even “City Efficient.”²⁸⁵ “Useful” city planning allegedly submerged concerns for beauty to privilege utility and efficiency, city planning’s “harder, more practical, and measurable objectives” (Johnston 1994: 218). Wilson (1989: 3) suggests that, in the race for supremacy, City Practical “beat” City Beautiful, and as winner “hung the labels aesthetics-obsessed, socially primitive, and inutilitarian, and made them stick.” City Practical we have been led to believe was the logical successor to City Beautiful.

Historians date these two putatively mutually exclusive reform movements: City Beautiful begins often with the Chicago Exposition in 1893–

²⁸⁵This is not to say that planners have not found City Beautiful in City Practical. Hodge (1986: 56) even refers, however briefly, to the Toronto *Plan of 1929* in his discussion of City Beautiful.

Charles Zueblin's (1903) early contention--through to the mid 1910s.²⁸⁶ With the explosion of interest in professional city and town planning, and the annual planning conferences that began in 1909, that thoroughly ensconced planning and utility in the psyche of reformers, we get *City Practical*, from about 1910 to the mid 1930s.

The chronological compartmentalisation of *City Beautiful* and *City Practical* implies that the latter planning movement is part of a democratic progressivism that split the latter from the former.²⁸⁷ Academics are quick to forward *City Beautiful*'s "overemphasis" of "aesthetic considerations" --Boyer (1983: 282) calls them "aesthetic abstractions"-- at the expense of "social concerns" (Kantor 1973: 170; Boyer 1983; Relph 1987; Hall 1989; Hancock 1994). The implied antisocialism of *City Beautiful* buttresses the idea that *City Practical* democratically progressed from an elitist, authoritarian, and decidedly Victorian impulse to build an "aristocratic city for merchant princes" (Scott, in Hall 1989: 278). The *City Practical* stands, instead, as a more clinical but inclusive push to provide housing, sanitation, transportation and municipal efficiency, which included the development of zoning regulations to "police" individual will in regard to municipal property ownership (see Adams 1935; Scott 1969; Logan 1976; Boyer 1983; Fluck 1986; Relph 1987; Leung 1989: 158).²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶Daniel Burnham (1902: 619) himself wrote that the interest in comprehensive city beauty began with the White City. For *City Beautiful*, Hall suggests 1901-1915 (1989: 277-78), while Peterson (1976: 429) puts its origins somewhere between 1897 and 1902. Hall dates *City Functional* 1916-1939.

²⁸⁷This is perfectly comprehensible given the disdain many had for planning in the 1950s and 1960s (see the classic denunciations: White 1943; Jacobs 1961; and Gans 1962, 1969). Planning historians scrambled to separate the burgeoning democratic profession of the 1970s from its authoritarian beginnings. Certainly, academic planners in the 1990s have laboured to array contemporary planning in the robes of socialist, democratic, gender, race, and environmentalist inclusivity (see, for example, Morrone 1992; Krumholz and Clavel 1994; Hendler 1995; Sandercock 1998).

²⁸⁸Boyer (1983: 168) suggests that, in fact, zoning did not protect municipal property holders and homeowners from the individual will of capital, which inundated them with industrial waste and pollution.

This is not to interpret City Practical as a socialist response to City Beautiful. Hall (1989: 278) puts it succinctly:

In practical terms, the City Functional was—and is—without doubt the dominant American contribution to the planning movement; but it is a curiously low-key, unidealistic one. It is driven hard by the demands of profit from land development. And it is almost totally bereft of vision.

Nevertheless, City Practical's compulsion for services, hygiene, and housing tends to be pitted against the bourgeois obsession with "aesthetics and architecture, vistas and landscapes, the quiver of a leaf and proper blendings of light and shade" (*New York Evening Express*, in Blodgett 1976: 882), taste and style in the city the prerogative of an authoritarian bourgeoisie (Boyer 1983: 43-55).

On the surface the differences between City Beautiful and City Practical seem substantial, the former completely absorbed into a type of environmental narcissism, the latter utility-bound and insensitive to a cosmetic sense of self. City Practical, however, did not reject the aesthetic. It simply made the modernism of City Beautiful planning more responsible, by considering more elements of the urban condition. This is certainly engineer and landscape architect, Richard Schermmerhorn's, opinion: "If the City Practical is realised there is no doubt that the City Beautiful will follow as a matter of course."²⁸⁹ Thomas Adams (1935: 23-24) emphasises the importance of aesthetics in city planning, insisting that planning be seen as an "art," underscoring the necessity of "creative design" and the aestheticisation

²⁸⁹Richard Schermmerhorn, Jr., "City Planning", *Brooklyn Engineer's Club, Proceedings* 16, 1912: 102-143; in Reys (n.d.).

of utility. In the imagination of the ACPC, as we will see below, City Useful is a more practical City Beautiful, a city beautified and responsibly modern.

This melding of City Beautiful and City Practical is something that Krueckeberg (1994: 7) anticipates. Making a necessary historiographical point in his wonderful edited volume, *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections*, Krueckeberg suggests that “simple categories” such as “‘City Beautiful’ or ‘City Practical’ usually do justice neither to those who are awarded the label nor to those excluded from it. Planning history, like life itself is complex; the motives and values of planners were almost never so single-minded as these or any labels imply.” Certainly the discrete categorization of the beautiful and the useful disserves the city planners and theorists who knew precisely their own minds, and that beauty and use were two sides of the same coin. Hence, Walter Moody, the promoter of the *Plan of Chicago* (1909), referred to the plan as “an instrument of ‘the City Practical’” (Schlereth 1994: 147), despite its archetypal celebrity as a City Beautiful.²⁹⁰ Moody would have known, like Burnham himself, that a “rational, unified, efficient, scientific, practical plan” (Schlereth 1994: 147), which the *Plan of Chicago* was, was necessarily artful and beautiful. Its co-creator was Daniel Burnham, the celebrated architect who “[l]et [his] watchword be order and [his] beacon beauty” (Burnham, in Hasbrouck 1970: v).

George Reid and the Decorative Arts

To argue for the unity of City Beautiful and City Practical requires some ideational ligature that binds them together by emphasising their commonalities. That fastener is decoration. Toronto is particularly useful for exploiting the idea of decoration; George Agnew Reid lived and worked there.

²⁹⁰Good discussions on the difference between the two are found in Reps (1965: 331-339) and Wilson (1964: 40-54).

Reid's work included among other things not only decorative painting, but redesigning Toronto according the aesthetic principles of his day. A short biographical detour will help us understand not only the importance of decoration to Reid but how it informed his geographical reformist imagination.

Only a certain class and calibre of person in turn-of-the-century Toronto obtained Reid's level of esteem. His name appears frequently in the papers, journals, and magazines, and on membership roles of various upscale clubs and societies—including Toronto's blue book—of the time. He affiliated with artists and art patrons, and was involved in the promulgation of art and high society in general.²⁹¹ He befriended such literati, businessmen, artists, and politicians as Goldwin Smith, James Mavor, Edmund Walker, Henry Pellatt, Saxon Shenstone, C.T. Currelly, Frederick Challener, Lucius O'Brien, Wiley Grier, J.W. Beatty, Mary Wrinch, and later Vincent Massey, among others. And he was married to Canadian flower painter, Mary Hiester Reid.

Painter, architect, urban designer, Reid was both president of the Royal Canadian Academy (RCA), the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA), and principal of the Central Ontario College of Art and Industrial Design. He was secretary of the Art Museum of Toronto (predecessor of the Art Gallery of Ontario). He was a founding member of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (TGCA), and its urban planning offspring, the Toronto Civic Guild (TCG), the Central School Art League, and the Society of Mural Decorators.

Reid attempted to reach into and manipulate every facet of visual art and art appreciation in Toronto. Part of this involvement lay in his interest in mural decoration, painting "high art" on the both the interior and exterior

²⁹¹*Society Blue Book: Toronto, 1910-1920*, New York, Davis Blue Books. As it states on the frontis, the blue book is a "reliable directory to over 3000 elite families."

walls of the city. For example, “[e]xecuted under the supervision of the [TGCA]”, Reid painted a panel series, for the newly erected Toronto City Hall, “depicting variously the history of Toronto, the achievements and ideals of its people.”²⁹² As President of the OSA he, along with several women’s and concerned interest groups, urged the establishment of a movement to institutionalise school art leagues. The purpose of these leagues, as we have seen, was to “to make school buildings, by attention to their design, a means of education in themselves.”²⁹³ Reid, as a member of the Central School Art League, sought to imbue the everyday geography of school children, the school rooms, corridors, and architecture, with art. He founded the Arts and Crafts Society of Canada in 1903, and acknowledged the cultural paramountcy of the decorative art and ideas of William Morris (Pepal 1993: 28). If ever there was a person guided by art, and driven to promote art as a moral guide for society, it was Reid.

Indeed, Fred Brigden, in the catalogue that accompanied *The George A. Reid Memorial Exhibition* in 1948, writes that “G. A. Reid was a profound believer in art and beauty as a practical element of everyday life.”²⁹⁴ Correctly blending art and beauty into a single element here, Brigden undoubtedly senses what Reid believed about himself and what others of his ilk knew: Art

²⁹²*Civic Guild Minutes, 1897-1914*, February 15, 1899; Extract of letter to City Clerk from Reid, *Civic Guild Minutes, 1897-1914*, January 14, 1898, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL. The TGCA intended to put “paintings and mural decorations in the Ontario Parliament Buildings, although it is unclear as to whether this happened (Letter to the Chairman and Members of the Young People’s Society, *Letters, 1913*: 1; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL). The TGCA called again for “some definite scheme of decoration” in the entrance to the Parliament Buildings in 1905 (*Civic Guild Minutes, 1897-1914*, November 29, 1905, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL).

²⁹³*Civic Guild Minutes, 1897-1914*, October 12, 1899, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

²⁹⁴Fred Brigden, *The George A Reid Memorial Exhibition, 1948*, Catalogue, Reid, G.A./ AGO Library Info Desk #1.

²⁹¹Margaret L. Fairbairn, “The Art of George Reid”, *The Canadian Magazine*, November, 1903, Vol. XXII, No.1: 9.

was the expression of the beautiful. Reid would say late in his life that he had “arrived at the belief that all representation in art must rest on some solid foundation...All that is named modernism is not necessarily modern, but only the old cry for something new at any cost” (Reid 1929). That foundation abandoned at any cost by moderns, explicitly rejecting Domesticated decorative art (Reed 1996), was beauty.

Reid’s devotion to decoration, to beauty, lay at the core of his artistic expression and his personal philosophy. A contemporary art critic, Margaret Fairbairn, suggested that “[i]n all his work, as in his own surroundings in studio and home, [Reid] expresses that sense of fitness of things for their use, of sincerity and solidity of build, and of simplicity in design, which taken together makes for truth and harmony in the outward life.”²⁹⁵ Fairbairn hit the target here. Reid’s decorative imagination equated the “fitness” of use and design with truth and harmony. Echoing the sentiment of the Emerson quotation above Reid himself once explained, in a public lecture on civic art entitled “Art and the City,” that “[t]he problem to be considered was the application of art to the purposes of life.”²⁹⁶ Through art, “life should be made to develop all its noblest possibilities” (Reid, in Boyanoski 1988: 27). For art historian, Rosalind Pepall (1993: 32), Reid and his kind sought “to cultivate a taste and appreciation for art and to make art a part of everyday life.” This aptly describes decorative art at the turn-of-the-century, decoration being not mere adornment for adornment’s sake but having a nobler social purpose. For middle-class reformers convinced of the social efficacy of decoration in the city, the problem was not so much how to develop these noble “possibilities,” but succeeding in their implementation.

²⁹⁶*Daily Mail and Empire*, February 14, 1898: 6.

Reid's marriage to decorative artist, Mary Hiester Reid, who like her husband was "versed in the finest of all fine arts—the beautifying of daily life," typifies his commitment to both beauty and domesticity.²⁹⁷ It is perfectly reasonable to speculate that their relationship was a vital source of Reid's decorative impulse. He was devoted to Mary and from the time they met as young art students at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art in the early 1880's they never parted (Miller 1987). They travelled the world together and made "Upland Cottage," in Toronto's Wychwood Park, their home until Mary's death in 1920.²⁹⁸ As one writer commented hyperbolically, so close were they that "their aims and their art became one in the touching harmonies and melodies of poetic art".²⁹⁹ They even resembled each other, the same writer commented with the same hyperbole, "strick[ing] everyone as being very much alike in personal appearance, the absense of pressing domestic trouble, and the similarity of tastes and pursuits mak[ing] for this."³⁰⁰ Journalistic affectation aside, Reid's biographer, Muriel Miller (1987), implies that the Reids lived a close, contented, childless life together, intensified by their mutual love of art, beauty, and travel. Importantly, like Reid, "the centre of [Mary Ried's] interest in art [was] the home and its surrounding beauty of the garden." "[N]o words can better describe the work and personality of Mary Hiester Reid," one commentator wrote, than "home-maker, and painter of flowers and gardens." ³⁰¹The Reids' were "Two clever

²⁹⁷Newspaper Clipping, "A Painter of Flowers", *George Reid Scrapbook*, G.A. Reid, AGO Library.

²⁹⁸*Toronto Star Weekly*, September 27, 1912: 7.

²⁹⁹*ibid.*

³⁰⁰*ibid.*

³⁰¹"A Painter of Flowers", G.A. Reid Scrapbook/AGO Library. Early twentieth century art critic Hector Charlesworth gushed, in a catalogue for the Mary Reid memorial exhibition in 1921, that her art "exhales fragrance, and is enveloped in an atmosphere of loveliness" (Hector

Toronto Artists whose Home breathe[d] kindness and amiability."³⁰² Reid's own proclivities for beauty could only be expanded with Mary as his soul mate.³⁰³

Fairbairn noted Reid's creation of fitness and design in the things with which he surrounded himself, in both his studio and his home. For Reid, decorating the environment began with the home. This is important for two reasons: firstly, the home, as we have seen in an earlier chapter was the principle site of the acquisition of civility in the city. Secondly, homes and houses make up a substantial part of the urban geography of the city; they are integral to any conception of the everyday in

Charlesworth, *Vast Memorial Display of Works by a Canadian Painter of Rare Gifts, Mary Heister Reid Memorial Exhibition, 1921* (G.A. Reid Scrapbook, AGO Library).

³⁰²*Toronto Star Weekly*, September 27, 1912: 7.

³⁰³Mary Reid's influence undoubtedly helped Reid maintain his aestheticism, much of it informed by a seemingly uncritical devotion to art and beauty—recall Fredrick Ackerman's criticism of the assumptions of beautifiers. A scrapbook in which Reid logged clippings of his accomplishments and moments of celebrity, contains the following poem, hand-pasted to the page; "Memories," by William Strong. Reid's admiration for Strong's poem allows a glimpse at what passes for an aesthetic standard in the judgement of the Torontonion painter:

Heaven help me just for once to dip my brush
 So I may catch the hue,
 And paint the picture that mine eyes beheld,
 That sweet spring-morn when the distilling dew
 Fell from the hawthorne blossom upon the primrose bed,
 When from the tree top, meadow and from briar
 bush
 Came the inimitable notes of linnet, leverock, and thrush.

No uninspired pen can possibly portray the beauty of the landscape scene –
 The pleasures of the hour, youth's joy, earth's charm
 As came ushering in the day.
 There is a colour that artists use
 To paint the water, earth and trees: but what can represent the song of birds
 Or the sweet humming of the bees?
 Tell me ye spirits, the enchantment that ye use
 Youths pleasures once again bring,
 The meek violet, sweet hawthorn blossom,
 And spring primrose perfume to diffuse.

The sentimentalism here that attracts Reid competes vigorously with a Romanticism that captures the essence of turn-of-the-century bourgeois aestheticism (Lears 1981: 60-65). In the modern city, sentimentality and the aestheticisation of nature provided a template for the bourgeois classes to construct a beautiful and artfully salubrious environment.

the city. Reid's desire to beautify the city entwines naturally with his need to decorate the home. In this he was only reiterating the ideas of art critic, philosopher, and ethicist, John Ruskin, who maintained that a "reassertion of domestic values was the road to reform" (Reed 1996: 12). Just as Ruskin urged the artful reconsideration of the interior of the home (Reed 1996: 12), so too did Reid.

Interior decoration especially suited Reid, an architect who possessed the ability to design and have built his own English-style arts and crafts cottage. Interior decoration, as Reid maintained, "lent its brightness to common things, adorning and cultivating the daily household life."³⁰⁴ "We are idealists" he wrote, and when it comes to building and decorating our homes, "whatever state of development we may be in we seek to beautify them even if they are barely habitable."³⁰⁵ His own Upland Cottage established the standard for applied decorative art in Toronto, from its inglenook and musicians' gallery, to its mural decorations (Pepall 1993: 29) and flower gardens, which he and his flower-painting spouse designed and cultivated.³⁰⁶ But then, as he stated openly, the decorative arts "made the home beautiful."³⁰⁷ To this end, Reid designed and decorated a common, plainly built, upright piano, adorning it with a bucolic mural of minstrals, dancers, and picnickers (Pepal 1993: 29, Fig. 4). Wychwood Cottage itself was bedight with paintings and sketches, "great and small," "[o]ld willow pattern plates, glazed terra-cotta dishes, silver cups, candelabras and bowls, and

³⁰⁴Fairbairn, "Art of George Reid": 9.

³⁰⁵George. A. Reid, "The Summer Cottage and Its Furnishings", *Canadian Architect and Builder*, Vol. XIV, No. 159: 75.

³⁰⁶See the article on George Reid and Mary Hiester Reid: "A Social Sunday in The Reid Studio", *Toronto Star Weekly*, September 27 1912: 7.

³⁰⁷Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design -- Reports, Prospectus 1903-1910, PAO MS5612, RG2420348.

souvenirs of rambles in Spain, Italy, France, and Belgium...panels and furniture in good design in Oak.”³⁰⁸ The artful re-creation of the home environment, for Reid, lent beauty to everyday life in the city.

Not surprisingly, Reid’s deeply held beliefs in the powers of decoration affected his interest in urban reform. If it was true that urban reformers considered the four walls of the city as the walls of the extended home—Reid’s interest in mural art, discussed below, implies this—Reid’s suggestion that “every man’s house should be an expression of himself” may be seen as his basis for taking the decorative beyond its typically domestic boundaries and into the city.³⁰⁹ Beauty, as not only a practical corrective but aesthetic decorative social ideal, enabled Reid, in his role of chairman of the TGCA’s “City Plan Ways and Means Committee,” to suggest that

the rapid and irregular growth of the cities of the new world has gradually developed the necessity of dealing, in a large way, not only with such problems as sanitation, transportation, etc., but also with the not less important problem of the preservation and increase of the beauty of cities.³¹⁰

Beauty was, for Reid and the TGCA, “[o]ne of the primary objects of the Guild,” “the general improvement of...Toronto from an artistic standpoint.”³¹¹

³⁰⁸*Toronto Star Weekly*, September 27, 1912: 7.

³⁰⁹Newspaper Clipping, *Farmers Advocate: Home Magazine*, Life, Literature, and Education Dept.; George Reid Scrapbook, Reid, G.A. Info Desk #1, AGO Library.

³¹⁰Bulletin No.1, The Toronto Guild of Civic Art, City Plan Ways and Means Committee, George Reid Scrapbook, G.A. Reid, Info Desk #1, AGO Library. Other members of the committee were also prominent Torontonians: R.Y. Ellis, James Mavor, J. P. Hynes, Henry M. Pellatt, and Edmund Walker.

³¹¹*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, May 6, 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

Reid actively participated in the TGCA and worked to secure a comprehensive plan for the beautification of Toronto in the first decade of the twentieth-century, a plan about which I write more in a later chapter. His commitment to decoration sustained him and the Guild, despite the City's determined opposition to the TGCA's comprehensive beauty attempts. For example, at a particularly low period for the Guild, Reid the beauty-optimist subtly criticised the Guild's tentativeness to promote aggressively the cause of beauty in Toronto: The "policy of the Guild has been...to exercise great care on whatever work was undertaken, in consequence of which few mistakes have been made but on account of infrequent action [on the City's part] it is difficult to keep up a sufficient interest in the work." And, as Reid continued, though "there is a danger in more [Guild] activity," given the seeming uninterest shown by the City Council and the public in the issue of beautification, "there must be greater energy shewn in the future if the spirit and life of the guild is to be maintained."³¹² The time when interest in beauty in Toronto was at its lowest was the time that Reid advocated renewed and energetic lobbying efforts on the part of the TGCA. He undoubtedly knew two things: firstly that the TGCA was the life-force of decoration in Toronto, "where the flower of wealth and culture...had not been seen...in bloom even in bud."³¹³ And secondly that the implementation of the principles of decorative art in Toronto was not an addendum to reform, but its foundation.

³¹²*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, November 24, 1904, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL. The Guild had to this point been stymied by the Board of Control in most of the former's efforts to persuade Council to consider comprehensive beauty in Toronto. This excluded a singular recommendation to improve Garrison Park Common which the City embraced because of the inexpensive and non-comprehensive nature of the proposal. The Guild settled into a funk that the Ways and Means Committee sought to remedy.

³¹³*Mail and Empire*, February 14, 1898: 6.

Decoration: urban reform through art

Reid's marriage of art, environment, and civility should suggest a connection between decorative art, beauty and use, and social improvement through spatial reform.³¹⁴ Decorative artists could effect social change through art specifically created for daily life. The lives of the working and under-privileged classes in cities could be elevated by exposure to the beautiful, to decoration, through an artfully beautified environment. Hence the decorative art interest in not only painting and drawing, but glass-blowing, stained glass, wallpaper, textiles, furniture, ceramics, jewelry, metalwork, prints, and books (Lochnan *et. al.* 1993). Decoration sought to aestheticise the everyday geography of people, to beautify the everyday objects encountered in the everyday activities of the home or the street.

Reid, as the centre of the Decorative Arts movement in Canada (Pepall 1993: 28), followed, uncritically I might add, two important men: John Ruskin and William Morris.³¹⁵ Ruskin was the great nineteenth-century touter of

³¹⁴Art historian Carole Silver (1993: 12-15) explains William Morris' sympathy for the plight of the working class, and his affinity to Marx's theory of the division of labour and commodity production. Mass production, he knew, drove local and foreign artisans out of the market. He saw at its heart British imperialism and the resulting "commercial war" that destroyed artisanal culture everywhere. As he wrote:

no country is safe from its ravages: the traditions of a thousand years fall before it in a month...the Indian or Javanese craftman may no longer ply his craft leisurely, working a few hours a day, in producing a maze of strange beauty on a piece of cloth: a seam engine is set a-going in Manchester and that victory over Nature...is used for the base work of producing a sort of plaster of china-clay and shoddy, and the Asiatic worker, if he is not starved to death outright...is driven himself into a factory to lower the wages of his Manchester brother worker and nothing of character is left him except...an accumulation of fear and hatred of...his English master (Morris, in Silver 1993: 12).

Morris was heartsick from the irony that his own borrowing from foreign artisans, for the purpose of advancing the decorative art movement, was destroying the very art and artists he both admired and wanted to use to improve the quality of life of working class people.

³¹⁵I make the point in the conclusion of this thesis that reformers, planners, and planning advocates never seem compelled to justify their beliefs, or published assertions, with evidence that supports them. Decorators following Ruskin and Morris did not question the latter's ideas—art historian E.H. Gombrich (1951: 404) calls them "propaganda"—about the relation between moral and social improvement and art. They were simply rehearsed in "art magazines and interior design journals around the world," and voraciously consumed by a bourgeois society mad

Art, whose famous Oxford *Lectures On Art* (1870) expounded art's ability to ennoble and dignify the human condition, cementing art, beauty and morality for the denizens of the late-Victorian era (Ruskin 1870, see especially Lecture 2).³¹⁶ William Morris conceived the idea of Arts and Crafts, synonymous with the Decorative Arts, in the belief that art could improve both the urban environment and the living conditions of the working class (Pepall 1993: 27; Silver 1993).

Since quotidian reality in the modern city, "continually violated" the artistic first principles and aesthetic truths that made noble living possible, Reid argued, the answer was decoration.³¹⁷ Only a concentrated and sincere commitment to decoration could provide a true method of aesthetic counteraction to the indiscretions of modernity. As Fairbairn put it, "[t]he more we desire this art quality, this harmony in our surroundings, a quality which implies less the presense of wealth than of good taste and a love of truth, the better shall we understand and appreciate the scope of such work as Mr. Reid has accomplished."³¹⁸ Only the love and promulgation of beauty in the form of decoration could produce change.

It is difficult to overstate the moralising exaggeration and uncritical faith of decorative artists and those who promoted decoration at the turn of the century. Art simply demonstrated civility for the uncivilised, especially important for the modernity stricken city. Elevated beyond mere artifice, as

for decoration (Reed 1996: 13; 12). Reid and his peers simply accept that art, beauty, and morality obtain sociological benefits, and proliferate that acceptance in their own work.
³¹⁶We can surmise that, for Ruskin, art was more moral than life, even more real than life. His "notoriously unconsummated" marriage to Effie Gray is traditionally explained by the fact that "he found her body unlike female bodies he had observed in art and statuary" (Thirlwell 1995: xii). Feeling somewhat like a "monster," the erstwhile Mrs. Ruskin had the marriage annulled (Thirlwell 1995: xii). It seems that in this case, at least, Ruskin believed his spouse to be artless in a very profound way. What of the rest of humanity?

³¹⁷Reid, "The Summer Cottage and its Furnishings": 75.

³¹⁸Fairbairn, *op. cit.*

decorators believed, decoration enabled “the attainment of character,”³¹⁹ art representing “the flower of wealth and culture” in the modern industrial city, with all its crimes against human refinement, dignity, and edification.³²⁰ The *Mail and Empire* advised its readers that “[a]ccording to Ruskin there is an intimate relation between good art, or the love of it, and a state of high moral development.”³²¹ Nothing had “done more to develop in man the love of beauty” (Hughes and Foster 1919: 2702) than the fine arts and especially painting. Ruskin himself averred that “the love of beauty [was] an essential part of human nature” (Ruskin 1870: 93). The *Mail and Empire* restated the proposition succinctly: “when the struggle for mere existence has passed away, the mind can and should give some time to the cultivation of higher tastes and ideals.”³²² Robinson would make a similar comment in a series of essays on city improvement in *Atlantic Monthly*: “An important point in the history of an American city is reached when its people have time to turn from its sewers, its protection and other fundamental necessities, to what is recognized as its ‘higher life’.”³²³ Art offered, and was a principle source of, “higher life” or “high moral development.” These were different ways of saying “moral life,” a condition absolutely requisite in modern city people ruled by *Gesellschaft*, impersonal relationships, superficiality, instrumental rationality, and anomie, as urban social theorists believed (Tonnies 1957[1887]; Simmel 1995[1903]; Park 1925; Wirth 1938; see Kasinitz 1995: 7-20). Art in the city had social and moral purposes, apart from visual and environmental ones.

³¹⁹“House Decoration”, *Canadian Architect and Builder*, vol. VII, no. 3, March 1899: 47.

³²⁰*Mail and Empire*, February 14, 1898: 6.

³²¹*Mail and Empire*, February 12, 1898, Part Two: 8.

³²²*ibid.*

³²³Charles Mulford Robinson, “Improvement in City Life”, *Atlantic Monthly*, 1899, vol. LXXXIII: 525.

The social environmental meaning of decoration extended from the latter's serendipitous meeting of art and design. Decoration epitomised Ruskin's (1870: 98) declaration that "the entire vitality of art depends upon its being full of truth, or full of use," art and truth the same for Ruskin. Morris, similarly, admonished people to "[h]ave nothing in [thei]r houses which [they] do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful" (Morris, in Silver 1993: 13). Such a philosophy of art-utility formed the basis of design, which was intrinsic to decoration. "No improvement," Morris declared, "can take place in the Art of the present generation until all classes, Artists, Manufacturers, and the Public, are better educated in Art...[and recognise the] existence of general principles' of good design" (Morris, in Silver 1993: 4-5). Blurring the distinction between "high art" and handicraft, design integrated the arts (Silver 1993: 5) imbuing all true works of art, art created by skilled *bona fide* artists, with moral-aestheticism. Design "shape[d] raw experience into poetry and...organize[d] the world of nature into patterns" (Silver 1993: 14). It stamped human skill on the produced artifact. "[E]very good piece of art," according to Ruskin (1870: 98), "to whichever of these ends it may be directed, involves first essentially the evidence of human skill, and the formation of an actually beautiful thing by it." Decorators, through design, constructed truth around skilful human intervention in the beautiful ornamentation of space.

Mural Decoration

Because decoration was design, and early city planning was city design, one of the first design measures of decorators was the painting of murals in the city. Mural decoration represented Reid's first foray into public beauty. Immediately following the World's Fair in Chicago, he began pushing for the

mural decoration of Toronto. In 1894, with the co-operation of other prominent Toronto artists including Frederick Challener, Reid founded the Society of Mural Decorators. Mural art in the late-Victorian era obtained great caché in modern cities and provided the impetus for the civic art movement (Kantor 1973; Peterson 1976; Pepall 1983).

Adopting a broad Western impulse that began in Paris with the mural painting of Parisian muralist, Puvis de Chavannes, mural decorators adorned the walled surfaces of the city with murals and frescoes.³²⁴ Mural decoration became Reid's watchword from the time he arrived in Paris in the late 1880's, a recent graduate of Thomas Eakins' Pennsylvania School of Fine Art. Reid aspirated the French civic art scene, redolent with the work of de Chavannes, and never turned back (Pepall 1986; Miller 1987). After a year in Paris, he returned to Toronto. Revivified by the city of Haussmann, and three years in Philadelphia in the 1880s, coincidentally during its push to build "a broad and noble avenue wider than the Champs Elysees to pass from Fairmount Park to Logan Square" (Boyer 1983: 55), Reid had great plans for the decoration of Toronto (see Pepall's (1983) detailed discussion of Reid's attempt to decorate the New City Hall in 1890s Toronto).³²⁵

³²⁴ It has been claimed that nineteenth-century France exhibited "the most widespread, comprehensive involvement with art of any state" (White and White 1965: 16-17).

³²⁵ There is little to no evidence available to tell us of the Mural Art Society's successes. Perhaps owing to the great economic downturn that North America experienced during the early 1890's, the Society made no advances in painting murals on the interior and exterior walls of the city. Certainly Reid, when a member of the TGCA, was turned down by the city after his initial offer to paint the panel series for the New City Hall. In spite of the Board of Control sending a "favourable report" to the Property Committee, the latter was "unable to approve of the expenditure." (*Civic Guild Minutes, 1897-1914*, January 14, 1898, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL). Again, perhaps the formation TGCA, of which Reid was a founding member, implies the Mural Art Society's failure. The TGCA subsumed the art goals and aims of the Mural Art Society, formed in 1894, but also broadened the mandate to include consultation for the city council in all its deliberations that involved art and aesthetics, "either presented, bought or otherwise...public buildings, fountains, arches, bridges, etc." (*Mail and Empire*, March 20, 1897: 4.)

Mural art, for Reid the pedagogue, had practical social purposes. In a public lecture, "Art and the City" he maintained that a municipal commitment to mural art could teach public spirit through the love of the beautiful and the actuation of idealism.³²⁶ His mural decorations, such as those he painted in the New City Hall, pivoted on both the beauty of art, and its depiction of human dignity. In a letter to Toronto architect, E. J. Lennox, Reid explained that "many American artists of distinction," working on the White City at the Chicago Exposition of 1893, "were employed to decorate the flat spaces with paintings treating of the achievements of the people, their ideals and ambition."³²⁷ Mural painting on public buildings inculcated, for people such as Reid, a love of beauty and the institutionalisation of art, "which must find its origins in a generous public spirit."³²⁸ Just as importantly, however, public art also taught city people "that the pursuit of ideals [is] the only life worth living."³²⁹ Such suggests that decorative art, at least for Reid, dwelt entirely in the realm of moral-aesthetics: art and beauty for the purpose of moral teaching.

Reid was not alone in this. American civic muralist Edwin Blashfield believed municipal decoration, the ubiquitous use of art in the city, to be the basis of public civility:

Public and municipal art is a public and municipal educator. The decoration of temples and cathedrals and town halls has naturally taught patriotism, morals, and aesthetics, in a far larger

³²⁶"Art and the City, G. A. Reid, R.C.A.", *Mail and Empire*, February 14, 1898: 6.

³²⁷Letter to E.J. Lennox, Reid, G.A./AGO Library Info Desk #2.

³²⁸"Art and the City, G. A. Reid, R.C.A.", *Mail and Empire*, February 14, 1898: 6.

³²⁹*ibid.*.

sense than has that of private palaces or houses, admirable as the latter has often been (Blashfield 1914: 24).

Saturday Night likewise suggested that

the cultivation of municipal art is by a long way the quickest, safest way to permeate society with art feeling and for teaching people generally and bringing up a self-respecting community, there is nothing compared to it except the pulpit, not even the newspapers.³³⁰

Saturday Night's equation of art with the pulpit should suggest that decoration attained rather lofty heights. It was used to promulgate, in the city, moral ideas for a higher life, ideas that were once the prerogative of religion.

Decorative first principles: placement, subject, beauty, and use ³³¹

To understand precisely why reformers used decoration for social environmental purposes in the city it is necessary to describe briefly what the first principles of decorative art were. The art of "higher life" operated according to specific principles. Men such as Reid, artists and "laymen of taste and influence," as the Society of Mural Decorators described its membership, believed they had a significant grasp of these principles.³³² Without

³³⁰*Saturday Night*, May 13, 1899: 9.

³³¹Placement, subject, beauty and use may have produced a perfect art for decorators such as Reid, but not for others. "Modern art" critics rebuffed decorative art and artists. Christopher Reed (1996: 15) suggests that early-twentieth-century art critic, Clement Greenberg, despised decoration and its staking of "everything on a happy placing," which with different words articulates Reid's first principle of art. Art critic, Harold Rosenberg, honed the point very finely: decorative "action paintings," such as the subject driven idealism of Reid's murals in the new City Hall, obtained to "apocalyptic wall paper." Instead, and well within the life time of Reid, the "mission" of the modernist painter would become the discovery of "ways of using the decorative against itself" (Rosenberg, in Reed 1996: 15). Resistance to decoration, such as the work of Frank Lloyd Wright and whose career "can be seen as the constant struggle of an ambitious and talented modernist against the label of the 'merely' domestic" (Reed (1996: 14), fomented on the margins at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century. To the chagrin of modernist artists, decoration became the form of ornamentation adopted by the middle class' Domesticators. (on modern art's rejection of decoration, see also Anger (1996)).

³³²Society of Mural Decorators, *George Reid Scrapbook*, Reid, G.A., Info Desk #2, AGO Library.

adherence to the laws on which art and aesthetics depended, no artist or art could ever hope to produce an artfully groomed environment with which to affect the moral behaviour of city people.

Right placement

If as the *Mail and Empire* wrote, “[t]he art of a thing is its first aim/and next its manner of accomplishment,” then the problem for decorators was that art was left out of the environmental equation of the city.³³³ The exigency of housing provision and consequent expediency of building speculation, as well as the sheer expense of aesthetic considerations, meant that art and manner remained hopelessly ignored in late-Victorian city design. The *Canadian Architect and Builder* lamented: “It is a melancholy fact that much that has been produced is either positively bad or absolutely uninteresting.”³³⁴ Reid accepted this philosophically but expressed his disappointment: “In the meantime, which is certainly while we live, we will have to work along with very poor makeshifts in the arts.”³³⁵ Urban aesthetes, as Reid put it, had to “endure” in the built space of the city “jealousies, imitations, falsities, and a lack of unity everywhere.”³³⁶

In the rare cases when someone did think to adorn built space, there was no thought given to how to do it properly. There existed such ill-consideration of design that it too often led to “the squalor of a false pretentiousness,” or ostentation, which rendered the situation “not so respectable and more repellent.”³³⁷ Nowhere in the general urban environment could decorators find strict adherence to artistic principles.

³³³*Mail and Empire*, May 7, 1898: 7.

³³⁴ “The advancement of Public Taste in Architecture”, *Canadian Architect and Builder*, February 1899: 28-29.

³³⁵ Reid, “The Summer Cottage and its Furnishings”: 75.

³³⁶*ibid.*

³³⁷ “House Decoration”, *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, Vol. VII, No. 3

The decorative artist or group, as in the case of the TGCA, could justifiably critique all excursions into the art world taken by individuals or the city because of an instinctual knowledge of right placement. Decorative artists obtained an innate aesthetic sense that told them what went where. Eighteenth-century German philosopher, Alexander Baumgarten, called it “a special beauty sense, or faculty of appreciation...not an intellectual gift, though dependent on the intellect” (Hughes and Foster 1919: 1256).³³⁸ Decoration resulted from the decorative artist’s intuition of what Reid called the “first principle of art[:] to put the right thing in the right place.”³³⁹ This infallible knowledge of what to put where is what some call, in the visual artistic sense, “harmony,” or “the ordering principles of art and aesthetic response” (Townsend 1995: 181).

Another word for harmony in the decorative art context would be “design,” the correct ordering of colour, line, and form for the purposes of beauty. Harmony and design were the prerogative of “artists, architects and public spirited men [and women] of taste and knowledge;”³⁴⁰ they simply knew what looked right. Such people apprehended and guaranteed that “every work of art...observe[d] fixed laws of beauty” and did not “depart too far from them” (Hughes and Foster 1919: 1256). For example, one critic described Reid’s painting as demonstrating “a boldness and truth, a thorough acquaintance with anatomy, the laws of perspective, and rules of composition, a great facility of execution and breadth of treatment” (in Boyanoski 1986: 19).

March 1899: 47.

³³⁸Art critic, Dabney Townsend suggests that contemporary aestheticism has become empiricised and subjectivised, as opposed to that of earlier periods, such as the decorative art era, where all appeals to aesthetics would have remained metaphysical (1995: 181), the aesthetic sense an *a priori* truth (on this see Terry Eagleton 1990, chapter two: “The Law of the Heart: Shaftesbury, Hume, And Burke”).

³³⁹Reid, “The Summer Cottage and its Furnishings”: 75.

³⁴⁰Society of Mural Decorators, *George Reid Scrapbook*, G.A. Reid / AGO Library Info Desk #1.

Knowing the laws of right placement, what went where and why, separated the artist and the aesthete from the rest.

The noble subject

Reid told the *Star Weekly* that he

first learned to draw and daub as a child in Wingham. My father scouted my effort, but when we removed to Toronto he allowed me to attend drawing lessons. Landscape first held me.... Figures and their compositions next engrossed me, then my landscape assumed the decorative manner, with ideal figures. Decorative painting I hold to be the highest expression of my art; it is poetry in paint.³⁴¹

Reid's description of his decorative painting as "poetry in paint" introduces another first principle of decoration, one which helps us understand Reid's vaunting of beauty. Harmony mattered, but it did not stand alone. Right placement had to fit with the subject of the design. Elevated subject matter was equally paramount.

In describing his painting as poetry, Reid made no clearer statement of his faith in the nobility of subject matter. For example, the subject he chose for the City Hall panels dealt with venerable moments in the history of Toronto. Decorative painting was also epic painting, the celebration of ideals and worthy deeds through great and serious subjects, reproduced "in an elevated style, and centred on a heroic or quasi-divine figure on whose actions depend the fate of a tribe, nation, or the human race" (Abrams 1988: 51).³⁴² The decorative painting style—art historian Christine Boyanoski (1986) calls it "Sympathetic Realism"—"manifested itself in large-scale genre pictures

³⁴¹*Toronto Star Weekly*, September 28, 1912: 7.

³⁴²Abrams definition here is of epic poetry.

imbued with moralistic overtones” (Boyanoski 1986: 9).³⁴³ Reid acquired his noteworthiness painting such pictures: grand depictions of pioneer life, loggers clearing the wilderness for the coming of modernism and progress, aboriginals beholding in mute awe the arrival of European square riggers, etc.

Reid’s use of the noble subject especially in his mural painting in the public places of the city would, theoretically, bring dignity, civility and taste to Torontonians beholders. The panels he painted and installed in the New City Hall in 1899, as the TGCA wrote,

illustrate the heroic life and work of pioneer settlers of this country, in the hope that while they add to the completeness of the building in which they are placed, they may also help in the creation and maintenance of a refined and artistic taste in those who from time to time look at them.³⁴⁴

Such influence was the prerogative of a noble art that obtained “permanent value” and could “bring order out of artistic chaos.”³⁴⁵ Nobility, dignity, refinement, these are words one often encounters in primary urban reform sources dealing with the noble subject of city revivification.

Beauty

If beauty were the result of right placement, it was also the aim. As already alluded, beauty obtained to *a priori* truth for decorators. Ruskin (1870: 91) explained: “You will find that the love of beauty is an essential part of all healthy human nature, and though it can long co-exist with states of life in

³⁴³Boyanoski (1988: 9) continues, and in doing so reveals another side to Reid’s embrace of decoration: “These pictures... enjoyed great popularity in the nineteenth-century, when an artist with an eye to personal success quickly learned what would hang in the salons of the annual exhibitions, and accordingly catered in an appropriate manner to contemporary taste.”

³⁴⁴Pamphlet prepared by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art, “May 16 1899, Toronto”, MTRL, BR, Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914, S48.

³⁴⁵Society of Mural Decorators, *George Reid Scrapbook*, G.A. Reid / AGO Library Info Desk #1.

many other respects unvirtuous, it is itself wholly good." Beauty had conventions, "traditional canons" that could be defiled (Boorstin 1992: 497; 507), suggesting that for decorators, Beauty, like Truth and Goodness, enjoyed a transcendent existence. If, as literary critic, Terry Eagleton (1990: 37), notes, we now view "the beautiful [a]s just political order lived out on the body, the way it strikes the eye and stirs the heart," turn-of-the-century decorators did not see it that way.

For them, beauty was not superficial but inherent. Beauty's innate goodness exceeded mere ornament and appearance. Rather, it could redeem the modern condition. Reid construed beauty as the anodyne for the sorrows of modernity. "When the artist" he said "sees that our vaunted progress not only suffers no adequate relief, but seems to aggravate sorrow and suffering, he must express himself for the sake of his devotion to the beautiful" (Reid, in Boyanoski 1986: 27). Such devotion allowed decorators to proffer edifying beauty as an alternative to "the exigencies of modern life [which] have driven us to great extremes in our mode of living," a veiled acknowledgement of the degenerative effects of rapid urbanisation.³⁴⁶ Modernity's, and urbanisation's, "thoughtless, tasteless jumbling of things" was a base rejection of the goodness of the beautiful.³⁴⁷ Only stout adherence to the vitality of the "harmonies of colour and line [that] are more than ever the necessity of modern decoration," could salvage the modern condition.³⁴⁸ Curiously, Reid's notion of a "vaunted progress" that needed the tempering of beauty corresponds with Willard's desire to make progress—modernism—responsible.

³⁴⁶Reid, "The Summer Cottage and its Furnishings": 75.

³⁴⁷George Reid, Letter to the president of the Toronto Arts and Letters Club, Vincent Massey, December 2, 1920: 320, Scrapbook A/ AGO Library.

³⁴⁸*ibid.*

Beauty was the logical consequence of order—this contextualises Schermmmerhorn’s idea, above, that the fruition of comprehensive City Practical efforts would result in City Beautiful. Order facilitated beauty. For the decorator, as Reid suggested to a colleague, beauty and design—or order for beautiful effect—established the “complete harmony of parts.”³⁴⁹ Beautification of a space, a room for example, considered the entire space comprehensively. Writing of the proper tonal conditions of the Council chamber to receive one of Reid’s murals, he explained:

The nature of decoration of this sort, requiring complete harmony of parts, a whole room must be undertaken at one time and designed throughout with a view to unity of effect in line and colour. This would require a harmonious colouring of walls between and around windows, of the gallery, with the spandrils of the arches, and of the ceiling as shown in the designs submitted. The decorating of the panels at the entrance of the Council Chamber is considered necessary as an introduction to the highly finished interior.³⁵⁰

Reid is not simply talking about adornment, *but the entire visual reconfiguration of the space*. The simple mounting of the mural panels were but an “introduction” to the chamber’s complete decoration. Such decoration would involve *the comprehensive decorative reconstruction of the room*. Were it in his power to do so, Reid would have redesigned the physical elements of the chamber as well, stripping it down to its skeleton and decorating anew (we will encounter this idea of the skeleton again). Thus, the beautification of a room, a house, or logically, a city, involved not simply

³⁴⁹“Proposition,” GA Reid to James Mavor, Mar 19 1897: 4.

³⁵⁰*ibid.*

making it beautiful with “pink ribbons,” or ornamentation, though this too mattered. It also required the comprehensive reconsideration, redesign, of the entire space.

Use

To understand how use is a first principle of the decorative arts, we need to reiterate some important ideas. Clearly the use of objects related not only to their classification as beautiful, but also to the quality of life they lend. The comment about Reid’s art, made by Fairbairn, suggests this: “[i]n all his work, as in his own surroundings in studio and home, [Reid] expresses that sense of fitness of things for their use, of sincerity and solidity of build, and of simplicity in design, which taken together makes for truth and harmony in the outward life.”³⁵¹ Ruskin affirmed that “the entire vitality of art,” which is its ability to improve the quality of human life,

depends upon its being full of truth, or full of use; and that however pleasant, wonderful, or impressive it may be in itself, it must yet be of inferior kind, and tend to deeper inferiority, unless it has clearly one these main objects, either to state a true thing or adorn a serviceable one (Ruskin (1870: 98).

Within Ruskin’s context, we begin to understand how Emerson could write of everyday beauty that “will raise to divine use the railroad, the insurance office, and the joint-stock company.” A thing’s utility profoundly contributed to its meaning as something artful, and truthful, in the decorative mind.

The use of an object was the connection between beauty and the everyday. Beautiful, but ultimately use-less, art, for example “high art,” “which in the tradition of Kant serves no function, or more specifically,

³⁵¹Fairbairn, *op. cit.*

appears 'purposeful without end'" (Anger 1996: 132), exemplified beauty serving no end. "High art" could not extend through precise utility any real beautification of the mundane, however pleasant or wonderful. A Morris design, transferred to wallpaper or curtains, had infinitely more decorative currency than a gallery painting. The direct appropriation of what decorators would consider high art by useful everyday objects gave the latter their moral potency.³⁵²

Through use, decoration brought art down to the level of the everyday, a process which can be seen as an attempt to introduce an aesthetic environmental principle into the quotidian world of industrial moderns. When decorators, such as the German aesthete, Karl Scheffler, spoke of the art of the people, or "Volkskunst" (Anger 1996: 137), he is really talking about reforming the lives of everyday people, the great non-bourgeois majority. As mentioned above, Morris sought to make working-class life better through decorative art. Use is how it was done: a middle-class family could not buy a painting from a Beaux-Art gallery. A family could, however, own curtains, wallpaper, rugs, etc., that possessed the same moral-aesthetic properties as a gallery painting, but made more accessible through mass-production and utility. Use conveyed art, and therefore high moral development, to the masses. It also heightened the aesthetic significance of utilitarian objects that had previously been construed as artless, uninspiring, and dull.

³⁵²Anger (1996: 132) notes the "apparent confusion" within the definition of decorative art which, while wanting to deride the uselessness of high art, desires also to incorporate its elevated aestheticism into the decorative impulse. No decorator, especially Reid, who made his living as a painter of high art, would ever denounce painting in such a way. Yet, the decorative arts erect the contradiction to make the differentiation.

Decoration and the urban reform imagination

Urban reformers did not construct the beauty and use conceit as a means of altering the aesthetics of built space in the city. They appropriated it. Decoration provided reformers with a modern aesthetic philosophy on which to base their spatial musings. And muse about its use they did.

Beauty and use

The telling word in the phrase City Beautiful is “beautiful.” It is possible that urban geographers and planning historians have underestimated the relevance of beauty at the turn-of-the-century, especially when beauty, art, and moral goodness stood interchangeably.³⁵³ The use of the phrases Civic Art, Municipal Art, City Beautiful, and City Practical meant the implementation of a decoration ideal in the city, which generally attached to moral and social goodness and, therefore, usefulness. Beauty, for bourgeois beautifiers, was tantamount to commonsense.

For one thing, “commonsensical” people turned toward beauty as a requisite part of the modern urbanity. Urban theorist, social critic, and playwright, Jean Schopfer, wrote:

People are beginning to recognize that it is almost as necessary for man to be surrounded by beautiful objects as that he have bread to eat. Once his daily bread is assured, he feels the need of a little art to brighten his life. He wants to have it in his house, and in the city where he dwells.³⁵⁴

³⁵³Schlereth's (1994: 147) beguiling essay on Walter Moody's promotion of the *Plan of Chicago* does not entertain beauty at all, but notes that the famous *Plan* was a City Practical confused for a City Beautiful.

³⁵⁴Jean Schopfer (1902) “Art in the City”, *Architectural Record* 12, November: 573-583; in Repts (n.d).

As the *Municipal Journal and Engineer* suggested, there was a general striving in North American cities “for the beautiful, the artistic, and the attractive.”³⁵⁵ And although the push for Municipal Art for the first couple of years did not mean planning as we know it, being somewhat of a laymen’s cause (Peterson 1976: 420-421), organised bodies of city planners soon worked to plan comprehensively for urban beauty.³⁵⁶

City planners and planning advocates especially discerned beauty’s value and usefulness to public space and the city and never hesitated to forward it. In an address to architects and planners at the Seventh National Conference on City Planning, Frederick Ackerman averred, speaking of his audience, that he

believe[d] most of us have developed beyond the point where it is first necessary that the economic value of beauty be established before its worth may be considered. I believe also that most of us recognize in art that there is a set of values quite apart from any measured by a monetary scale.³⁵⁷

Once again we find a reference to the moral life instilled by Art’s apparently transcendent values. A class of society that infused materialism with morality could not help but see the value of beauty beyond its economic ramifications, especially when affording beauty did not have to compete with other life-necessities.

³⁵⁵“Demands for the City Beautiful”, *Municipal Journal and Engineer* 21, September 5, 1906: 243; in Repts (n.d.).

³⁵⁶Though it formed in mid 1897, by early 1901, the TGCA had already “devised a plan of sorts” for “the general improvement of the city by means of Parks, Squares, well-designed buildings, etc.” (*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, April 29, 1901, May 6, 1901; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL).

³⁵⁷Frederick Ackerman, “The Architectural Side of City Planning”, *op. cit.*

Beauty in the city required the implementation of "Municipal Art," an idea that needed no justification to beautifiers. More than an aesthetic abstraction, art was "synonymous with beauty" and "intimately related to the conditions surrounding [the] bread and butter existence" as Ackerman explained.³⁵⁸ This bread and butter existence, the everyday life of the common person, required beauty to give it meaning and fulfillment, a sentiment we, by now, anticipate. Social critic, novelist, and one-time urban theorist, Lucy Fitch Perkins, implied the quotidian necessity of beauty, while making the connection between beauty, art, and urban reform obvious:

May not [municipal art] be used as synonymous with its civic beauty, and does it not mean the orderly fitting and appropriate manner of carrying out all civic enterprises? Is it not meeting our common problems in a way pleasing to the eye in addition to satisfying their practical demands? Is it not "solving the problem of utility in terms of beauty"? Is it not the art of doing necessary things in an effective way, yet never doing anything "for effect"? Is it not creating the City Beautiful by directly and beautifully meeting its real needs in a dignified and orderly manner?³⁵⁹

For Perkins, beauty, use and Civic Art were the same, all attempting to solve the "real needs" of the modern industrial city.

These real needs are exactly what we might take them to be: the building of infrastructure, the implementation of universal methods of sanitation and hygiene, the erection of transportation and communications systems, the development site preparation techniques and standards, etc.

³⁵⁸*ibid.*

³⁵⁹Lucy Fitch Perkins, "Municipal Art", *op. cit.*

Fredrick Law Olmsted, Jr., implicated beauty directly in the design and construction of every aspect of the city:

Every element in their physical environment affects the people in some degree both on the economic side, as determining their efficiency, and on the aesthetic side, as determining their enjoyment of life. Therefore in the design of everything which enters into the city, both of these aspects must be given weight.

Indeed, as Olmsted continued,

So far as the demands of beauty can be distinguished from those of economy, the kind of beauty most to be sought in the planning of cities is that which results from seizing instinctively, with a keen and sensitive appreciation, the limitless opportunities which present themselves in the course of the most rigorously practical solution of any problem....³⁶⁰

Olmsted affirmed unequivocally what both Perkins and Ackerman asserted: beauty obtained to utility, and *vice versa*, and should be part and parcel of even "the most rigorously practical solution of any problem."

Hence we comprehend immediately the injunctions of Robinson (1901), Schopfer (1902, 1902a, 1903), and Burnham and Bennett (1970[1909]). These urban reformers called for the implementation of decorous street reforms, especially as they pertained to infrastructure, pavements, and street furnishings. Robinson was particularly adamant about the need for beautified infrastructure, and especially pavement, about which I write in a later chapter (Robinson is a ripe source for "oughts" and "musts" when it comes to street

³⁶⁰Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "Introduction", in John Nolen, ed., *City Planning: A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan*, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1916: 1-18; in Reps (n.d.).

beauty). “[T]o say that city beauty requires good paving is almost axiomatic,” Robinson (1901: 39) wrote. Utility and beauty blended perfectly to create aesthetic, hygienic, and noiseless travelling surface. Certainly his view of pavement will strike any reader as something that has not been well considered in the city beautification issue: “The point is only that good paving is the *sine qua non* of city, and even of village, beauty, and that it is foolishness to-day to talk of statues and fountains and lovely vistas if the streets be poorly paved” (Robinson 1901: 42). Well-paved streets gave “all the advantages, financial, aesthetic, and in convenience of traffic” to the decorated city.

For Burnham and Bennett, infrastructural considerations epitomised beauty and use:

The first consideration of all thoroughfares is cleanliness, which is the result of a good roadbed kept in thorough repair, and unremitting care on the part of the city cleaning department...the pavement should be smooth and noiseless; there should be frequent islands of safety for the pedestrian crossing from side to side, and occasional subway crossings; and the lighting, the signs, and every accessory of the street should be arranged with regard to the dictates of good taste (Burnham and Bennett 1970[1909]: 82-83).

This use of the phrase “the dictates of good taste” here should reinforce Olmsted’s suggestion that the practical problems of street building transcend mere utilitarian response.

Schopfer wanted “the art of making a city beautiful...practiced down to its minutest detail,” from the ground up.³⁶¹ This meant necessarily broad and tree-lined streets with “roomy” sidewalks, ornamented according to the idea of “furnishing.” Schopfer’s notion of furnishing the street with decoratively designed lamp standards, poles, street name signs, letter boxes, benches, fences, kiosks and cab stands, etc., that observed the laws of utility and beauty, met the unspoken standard of the bourgeois Domestic parlour. For men such as Robinson, Burnham and Bennett, and Schopfer reform had to reconstitute beauty in the very design of the street. In Olmsted Jr.’s words, “[r]egard for beauty must neither follow after regard for practical ends to be obtained nor precede it, but must inseparably accompany it.”³⁶² Olmsted only stated what an adherent of the principles of decorative could say: beauty and use are the essence of each other, inviolable and inseparable.

Robinson said as much. In a chapter called *Making Utilities Beautiful*, he explained that municipal artists, in their attempt “to clothe in an artistic form that which civilisation has made useful in public life,” use as “their high precedent...nature’s unfailing investiture of utility with beauty” (Robinson 1901: 94-95). New York city engineer, Julius Harder, concurred. In an essay in *Municipal Affairs*, he stated plainly the connection between beauty and use in city planning:

Artistic consideration of all things which involve plan and construction means only common sense and economical consideration of them. Utility is economy, but artistic utility is even greater economy. The lines of Beauty are the lines of

³⁶¹Schopfer, “The Furnishing of a City”, *op. cit.*

³⁶²*ibid.* This is a lesson Olmsted, Jr., would have learned from his father, as Wilson (1989: 29) demonstrates.

Utility, and in a larger sense, in their effect upon surroundings and upon the human mind, giving due weight to all other points of view as well as that of first cost, they are far and away the truest economy. Let a problem such as this be solved from the point of view of Art, and all other requirements, such as utility, economy, sanitation, and convenience are solved also. When the intention proceeds upon correct principles and methods, whatever the cost, economical results are assured.³⁶³

This kind of thinking allowed Perkins to write that “beauty [wa]s an excellent investment, a wise commercial policy,” although in Toronto when it came to asphalt pavements, as I will show in a later chapter, this is simply not true.³⁶⁴

For city planner, William Crandall, a pivotal question in the issue of city beautification asked “how art may be combined with utility so as to make the city not only the most effective industrial, commercial, and social unit, but also the most attractive and the most beautiful.”³⁶⁵ Engineer, George Ford, a beauty-skeptic who saw city planning “as definite a science as pure engineering,” deferred to the “aesthetic consideration” when all was said and done. He insisted that “the best way to secure a city plan” is to enlist an “engineer...an architect, and...a social expert.”³⁶⁶ In other words, Ford’s City Scientific required a cadre of professionals that together accomplished decoration. Even Nelson Lewis, a New York city engineer, bureaucrat, and putative proponent of City Practical, “who breathed a sigh of relief over the declining use of the City Beautiful” (Wilson 1989: 298), sports a telling chapter

³⁶³Julius Harder, “The City’s Plan”, *Municipal Affairs* 2, March 1898: 25-45; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁶⁴Lucy Fitch Perkins, *Municipal Art*, *op. cit.*

³⁶⁵William Crandall, “The Model City: A Suggestion for the St. Louis Exposition”, *Municipal Affairs* 5, September 1901: 670-674; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁶⁶George Ford, “The City Scientific”, *Engineering Record* 67, May 17, 1913: 551-552; in Reps (n.d.)

in his notable tome on city planning: "Street Details: Utility and Adornment" (Lewis 1916: 220-246). Here, despite the seeming militant practicality of the whole book, Lewis (1916: 220) insisted that even when "the ground plan may be admirable as a whole," "much more remains to be done." He then rehearsed a litany of travesties to the aesthetic of the modern street that clearly bespoke the inharmony between beauty and utility. Beauty and use formed not simply an ornamental amendment to the city, but lay at its very core.

This point about beauty being built into a design is important. The constitutional or foundational requirement of beauty and use in design urged reformers to comprehensively reconstruct the city. Because, as Olmsted showed, beauty and use in the design of the city had to exist simultaneously, the city could not be made beautiful as an afterthought—again, it is not the tying of tidies or the placing of doilies. *Beauty and utility existed in the essence of the design.* This meant that the decorative approach redesigned the city from the site floor up. In *Engineering*, in an article on art and engineering, it was stated this way:

Painters tell us that a knowledge of anatomy is indispensable to good portraiture. The skeleton is not in itself a thing of beauty—save, perhaps, from a utilitarian standpoint—but is the all-essential basis of whatever comeliness may exist outside it. In the execution of public works, the engineer's part is to provide the fundamental skeleton, leaving to the architect the work of clothing it with a more or less prepossessing exterior. A defective skeleton is undoubtedly a much more serious matter than an external blemish, however unsightly. Nature, in framing the

skeleton, has apparently been guided entirely by utilitarian considerations, and the precedent may well be adopted by those concerned in the planning of towns.³⁶⁷

Thus design meant not simply reconfiguring the site superficially but changing its very structure. As Robinson put it: "We must have a *tabula rasa* for Civic Art" (1901: 73), which by now we realise was city planning itself.

That beauty started with the very bones of the city explains why early city planners fretted about the natural features of a site. Contemporary land-use planners still cite Kevin Lynch (1971), or perhaps his disciple, Hok Lin Leung (1989: 1), to suggest the utterly utilitarian need for site planning that both prepares the site for development, and matches human activity with the physical environment. Site considerations at the turn of the century ideally were the first stage in city decoration. Schopfer believed that the utilisation of "natural beauties of the spot" were paramount for securing city beauty.³⁶⁸ .
Indeed,

[a] knowledge of, and attention to, aesthetic laws are absolutely necessary in studying a design, for as the eye passes over the contoured plan of the proposed site, the artistic possibilities of every feature must array themselves before the consciousness of the designer, if his work is in any way to exhaust them.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷"Metropolitan Improvements", *Engineering* 90, December 23, 1910: 863-864; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁶⁸Schopfer, "Art in the City", *op. cit.*

³⁶⁹G. H. Knibbs, "The Theory of City Design", *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1901* 35, 1901: 62-112; in Reps (n.d.).

As surveyor, G.H. Knibbs, wrote, “the eminences and concave surfaces” of a site facilitate a site’s exploitation for “picturesque” effects.³⁷⁰ The natural advantages of the site determined city beauty.³⁷¹

Unfortunately, decoration usually came well after the urbanisation of the site had taken place. Robinson’s (1901: 1-17; 2) discussion of “The Site of the City” argued that the “primary consideration” for city beautification was making the most of an available site. “A well-planned city may attain to prettiness and even to splendor without [the] aid” of a natural advantages. And though he concedes that “no part of the discussion of civic aesthetics is more difficult than this fitting adjustment of cities to their sites” (Robinson 1901: 16), he cannot avoid a major difficulty in decorative planning thinking. Decoration in the city required massive reconstruction to accommodate the “fitting adjustment” of beauty and use to the existing site, such as that required by the *Plan of 1929*, as we will see. This is why, for example, the TGCA implored Toronto City Council to take great advantage of the disastrous fire of 1904, which conveniently demolished block-after-block of congested downtown, making a *tabula rasa* of the post-conflagration CBD.³⁷² The same demolition effected through normal processes made decorative design’s need for a clean slate exceedingly prohibitive.

The social promise of decoration

As the very skeleton of urban reform, beauty and use, for turn of the century city planners, were not only inseparable, but they also constituted the

³⁷⁰*ibid.*

³⁷¹Robinson (1901: 1) rejected this site-determinism argument, suggesting that the site “of itself...can neither secure or prohibit city beauty.” He then illustrates the point by noting cities such as Vienna, Brussels, which he believed had nothing in the way of natural site advantages, while Washington and London failed to make use of the advantageous natural features available to them.

³⁷²See John Ewan, *Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Civic Improvements in Toronto: 1909*, Forward; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

basis of its social agenda. The city beautification impulse was not devoid of social consciousness, as planning history has maintained. Indeed, City Beautiful's reliance upon decoration utterly belies the contention that "there was little concern for housing and social reform in city beautiful or master planning" (Relph 1987: 53).³⁷³ Decoration meant beautification, order, and use for the moral reclamation of everyday life. Beautification—decoration—was not a "static conception" of the city (Kantor 1973: 171). Urban sociologist Frederic Howe phrased it this way: "[C]ity planning is the first recognition of the unity of society. It involves the socializing of art and beauty and the control of the unrestrained licence of the individual."³⁷⁴ No mean goal, urban beautification required that municipal governments provide for city dwellers the wherewithal in the city for citizens to improve their future social efficiency, which began and ended with the erection of an artful, noble, urban environment.

Odd as it may seem to us, city beautifiers construed an aestheticised urban environment as the foundation for a moral and civil society.³⁷⁵ As *Saturday Night's* Jean Grant suggested, all actions that contributed to "the

³⁷³The CG promoted "better housing" as part of its decorative agenda ("For Better Housing", *Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, May 1, 1911, Vol. 1 No. 3.).

³⁷⁴Frederic Howe, "The Remaking of the American City", *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 127, July 1913: 186-197; in Reys (n.d.).

³⁷⁵It should not seem that odd. Mike Davis (1990: 231) uses a passage from *Urban Land*, in his discussion of city design that uses built space to exclude under-privileged city people and to reinforce the norms and mores of the privileged:

A downtown can be designed and developed to make visitors feel that it—or a significant portion of it—is attractive and the type of place that 'respectable people' like themselves tend to frequent...A core downtown area that is compact, densely developed and multifunctional will concentrate people, giving them more activities...The activities offered in this core area will determine what 'type' of people will be strolling its sidewalks; locating offices and housing for middle- and upper-income residents in or near the core area can assure a high percentage of respectable pedestrians.

This is clearly an ideational descendant of the social environmentalist view that reformed space can influence people.

sum total of a city's beauty" assisted "in the cultivation and development of those better feelings which tend to elevate and purify the character and raise the standards of public morals."³⁷⁶ Here is another implication of the higher life made possible through decorative efforts in the city. And so we arrive at an important and overlooked social aspect of city beautification: when we accept that decorators—city beautifiers—believed with profound sincerity that "more harm will be done in polluting the minds of the people" by exposing them to "undesigned" built spaces,³⁷⁷ when we acknowledge that decorators took as gospel that "a good and beautiful arrangement for a city...pa[id] not only in the current coin of commerce but in the refinement, the cheerfulness, the happiness, the outlook on life of the poorest citizen;"³⁷⁸ or that beautiful serviceable cities paid a dividend beyond money, "in the higher, finer terms of human lives;"³⁷⁹ that planning ideals resulted in a "healthful, cheerful, and moral community,"³⁸⁰ then we will be well on our way to comprehending the peculiar social environmental and moral aims of City Beautiful and City Practical. Engineer, J. T. Noble Anderson, spoke for many, averring as he did that beauty and dignity in the urban environment promoted "the moral and intellectual welfare" of a city's populous.^{381 382}

³⁷⁶*Saturday Night*, June 19, 1897: 9.

³⁷⁷Harder, *op. cit.*

³⁷⁸Robert Swain Peabody, "Notes for Three Lectures on Municipal Improvements", *The Architectural Quarterly of Harvard* 1, September 1912: 84-104; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁷⁹Horace MacFarland, "The Growth of City Planning in America", *Charities and the Commons* 19, February 2 1908: 1522-1528; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁸⁰George Ford, "The Technical Phases of City Planning", in Benjamin Clarke Marsh, ed., *An Introduction to City Planning: Democracy's Challenge to the American City*, New York, Privately Printed, 1909: Chapter VII; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁸¹J. T. Noble Anderson, "A Twentieth Century City", *Proceedings at the Congress of Engineers, Architects, Surveyors and Others Interested in the Building of the Federal Capital, Held in Melbourne, in May 1901*, Melbourne, J.C. Stephens, Printer, 1901: 14-17.

³⁸²Clement (1985: 136) makes an important historiographical point about children's history that applies here. She explains that many scholars explore the pejorative aspects of social control as it pertains to poor children. As Clement writes, the "social control thesis" assumes

City Planner, Arthur Stoughton, believed city planning could not fulfil its social mandate until the street was "given its proper natural and architectural setting or background." It had to be duly decorated and "furnished with the necessary fixtures conceived in an artistic spirit," or "enriched with objects of sentiment and beauty for the enjoyment of all."³⁸³ Hence, North American cities would do well to emulate the decoration in the streets of Europe,

the fountains and statues and columns, the commemorative tablets and monuments, which speak in various languages to the passers-by of patriotism and glory and history of science and art, of the things of the mind, of local pride, of aspirations and moral values, of humor and gaiety, of religious faith and of life and death, running the gamut of emotions, appealing to every sentiment and stirring thoughts in every cranny of the mind.³⁸⁴

Here was the epitome of urban dignity and nobility. For Stoughton, reforming the city "into a harmonious piece of decoration," "furnishing the streets with objects making a varied appeal--the gathered mementos of the past, the artistic heritage of local and race history and achievement-- gives a place a personality and an intimate character."³⁸⁵ Decoration in the streets of

"that the new child welfare practices of the nineteenth century served only to oppress indigent children. Few historians suggest that institutions for children and foster care agencies...may have served a necessary social function." I contend that is equally necessary to consider what reformers believed was the social necessity of decoration, that they may have had other than dark motives for their actions. Is it necessary or wise to arbitrarily regard all reformers' attempts at "socialization a[s] manipulative" and a sinister form of "social control" (Cavallo 1981: 8)?

³⁸³Arthur Stoughton, "The Architectural Side of Planning", *Proceedings of the Seventh National Conference on City planning, Boston, 1915*: 121-128; in Reys (n.d.).

³⁸⁴*ibid.*

³⁸⁵*ibid.*

the modern city lent it a nobility of character—a character decidedly white and of European descent—exemplary of the first principles of the Decorative Arts.

The visual nobility of European cities provided the decorative standard for city beautifier, and soon-to-be National Conference on City Planning (NCCP) president, John Nolen, who saw not only aestheticism, but social efficiency. Nolen was impressed that even “the poorest workingman in Europe has some advantages and opportunities which [in America] the wealthiest seldom command.” These advantages and opportunities lay in the labourer’s regular access to the beauty, splendour, and moral-aesthetic influence of the European city. But then the Decorative Arts were intended to bring the influence of art into the everyday round of activity of the labourer, as Morris stated above.

Sounding much like Reid, and especially Morris, Nolen suggested that working city people needed the opportunity

to enjoy the beauty and wonder of the nature (sic) world, and [to acquire] a more intimate knowledge of noble kinds of human life and beautiful products of human work. Fine city streets, orderly railroad approaches and surroundings, truly beautiful public buildings, open green squares and plazas, refreshing waterfronts, ennobling statuary, convenient and ample playgrounds, numerous parks, parkways, and boulevards, art museums, theaters, opera houses and concert halls...to relieve from the grind and fatigue of yesterday’s and today’s toil [and] make a definite and indispensable contribution towards tomorrow’s efficiency...[S]hould we not work for a wider democracy of recreation, for more opportunity to enjoy those

forms of beauty and pleasure which feed and refresh the soul as bread does the body?³⁸⁶

Nolen did not equivocate here. He directly linked the future social efficiency of North American labouring majority with city beautification, and the decoration of the everyday geography of people with the beautiful products of human work (recall that Richards linked this same social efficiency with an orderly Domesticated environment). This is as direct an invocation of the principles of beauty and use for the basis of City Beautiful as we can ask for. For Nolen, beauty and use impelled social efficiency. And what better application of beauty and use than a park, plaza, square or any other necessary on the list of city places he provides, especially as they upgrade the lives of “the poorest workingm[e]n?”³⁸⁷

Nolen is not the only city planner to link beauty and use with social efficiency. Frank Koester, in a series of articles on city planning in *American Architect* that continued to the end of 1912 and throughout 1913, articulated his belief that “city planning [wa]s not only a question of architecture and engineering,” since it had the power to inveigle its way deep “into the lives of the citizens.”³⁸⁸ This was because a city planned “in accordance to the highest principles of the art of city planning will be one of a remarkable betterment in the[citizens’] social, ethical, and physical condition.” The decorated physical city could improve social conditions, but Koester went further:

³⁸⁶John Nolen, “What is Needed in American City Planning”, in *City Planning. Hearing Before the Committee of the District of Columbia United States Senate on the Subject of City Planning*. 61 Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document No. 422, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1910: 74-75; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁸⁷*ibid.* See Benjamin Marsh’s critique of this point of view: “City Planning in Justice to the Working Population”, *Charities and the Commons* 19, February 1, 1908: 1514-1518; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁸⁸Frank Koester, “American City Planning”, *American Architect* 102, October 23, 1912:141-146; in Reps (n.d.).

The superior appearance, beauty and harmony of the city will develop artistic taste and will result in increased civic pride and patriotism. This in turn affects the character of the individual favorably, improving moral conditions. The better hygienic system of the well-planned city provides more light, pure air, and more healthful and less expensive living quarters, affecting favorably the whole lives of its citizens.

Koester had no doubt that a superior beautiful environment planned according to first principles increased the social efficiency of city dwellers.

I have alluded repeatedly to both the first principles of decoration, of which right placement, or harmony and design, is essential, and to the idea that beautification was not the tying of pink ribbons. These are important because a decorated and thus socially responsible city was not an ostentatious one, something the pink ribbon idea implies. "For dignity...proper decoration," not ostentation, was the "key."³⁸⁹ Indeed, as I implied earlier, ostentation was the nemesis of decoration. J. L. Harder explained the difference between decoration and ostentation, as it pertained to the built environment:

The consideration of every day (sic) things from the artistic point of view does not mean senseless extravagance and wastefulness nor the mere embellishment and enrichment of details, nor the clothing of constructions in this or that emasculated style of bygone centuries and outlived conditions. It means in the first instance the free recognition of all the Facts and the candid admission of the whole truth. It means that unconscious

³⁸⁹"House Decoration", *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, Vol. VII, March, 1899: 47.

simplicity which unites harmoniously utility and beauty; a whole composed of various parts, each in the balance of its just relationship with all the rest; and that peculiar domestic economy of suiting means to ends, and at the same time defeating every suggestion of vulgarity and offensiveness....³⁹⁰

As novelist, Anon Moore, at the turn-of-the-century noted of his utopic fictional city, Neuropolis: "The lack of ostentatious display among [planned neighbourhoods] was a noticeable feature. There were no poor ones; there were no costly ones. There were no unsightly houses, and no palatial abodes; all were comfortable, refined and picturesque in appearance."³⁹¹ Indeed, the point of this noticeable lack of ostentation, not to mention dereliction, in Moore's utopic city is that it assists the social goals of decoration.

The harmonisation of the whole, its comprehensive design, restricted the ostentatious use of line, form, and colour. It encouraged only its moderate use by decorative artists and trained professionals; the *Municipal Journal and Engineer* called them "municipal artists," while architect Charles Lamb called them men trained in "Artistic Municipal Construction."³⁹² As Moore wrote: "Harmony in color, architecture and design, was wonderfully maintained in the character of all the buildings; no edifice being constructed until its situation and detailed plans were considered and approved by a commission skilled in such work and acquainted with the general scheme for the extension and building up of the entire city."³⁹³ This emphasis on harmony—design—resulted in "fitness, variety, and taste...displayed not in any one

³⁹⁰Harder, *op. cit.*

³⁹¹Anon Moore (alias James Galloway), *John Harvey: A Tale of the Twentieth Century*, Chicago, Charles Kerr & Co., 1897; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁹²"Demands for the City Beautiful", *op. cit.*; Charles Lamb, "City Plan", *The Craftsman* 6, April 1904: 3-13; in Reps (n.d.).

³⁹³Moore, *op. cit.*

particular place, or locality, but everywhere; the evident intervention being to make no spot in the residence portion of the city conspicuous by unusual expenditure, but the whole a perfect picture."³⁹⁴ Decorative beauty for this fiction-writing beautifier springs not from conspicuous expense, though this too is necessary and unavoidable, but from adherence to and implementation of decorative first principles.

Such adherence to decorative principles in the city was necessary because decorative ideals, for their boosters, related directly to the contentment of citizens. The social lessons of decoration in Moore's Neuropolis were unmistakable. The narrator tells us:

I thought the city very beautiful, surpassing even the most enthusiastic descriptions given me of it. Its people seemed conten[t]ed and happy, I saw no drunkenness, observed no rudeness, heard no bad language among them, and looked upon fewer careworn faces than in any other place I had ever visited.³⁹⁵

Here is the rub. The decorated city, as a manifestation of the first principles of the Decorative Arts, has a sociological twist: the decorated urban environment creates moral, temperate, happy, orderly people, all the social qualities liberal evangelicals believe will facilitate the second coming (recall from the Willard chapter how the Domestication of masculinity would produce the same result).

The denizens of Morris' utopian City Beautiful--London--in *News From Nowhere , or, an Epoch of Rest* (1918[1890]) are similarly pleasant and decorous: "Almost everybody was gaily dressed, but especially the women"

³⁹⁴*ibid.*

³⁹⁵*ibid.*

and there was a “great nobility of expression, but none that had a glimmer of unhappiness, and the greater part (we came upon a good many people) were frankly and openly joyous” (See especially Chapter Four, “A Market by the Way”). Canadian literatus, Stephen Leacock, (1981[1922]: 161-162) wrote of actual London’s “clean streets and admirable sidewalks,” its “many handsome public buildings and offices,” and “the neatness of the shops, and the cleanliness and cheerfulness of the faces of the people,” intimating that “the distinct note of optimism in the air” correlates with an orderly built environment’s ability to produce a model citizenry. In the modern industrial city, where disorder, unloveliness, and careworn show on faces and places everywhere, the social promise of a decorated environment was too hard to resist. Adherence to decorative first principles in the redesign of the urban environment could remake the city not merely for the sake of aesthetics but social improvement.

*Toronto’s Plan of 1929*³⁹⁶

One of the aims of this chapter is to demonstrate how decoration, with its aesthetic and social agenda informed the urban reform imagination in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-centuries. The chapter claims that decoration blurs the traditional historiographical distinctions between City Practical and City Beautiful. It has required a detailed discussion of the aesthetic and social implications of decoration as a social environmental philosophy of urban reform. Having been tutored in the meanings of decoration, we now put the claim to the test by considering Toronto’s *Plan of*

³⁹⁶*Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission, with Recommendations for the Improvement of the Central Business Section of the City of Toronto, 1929*; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

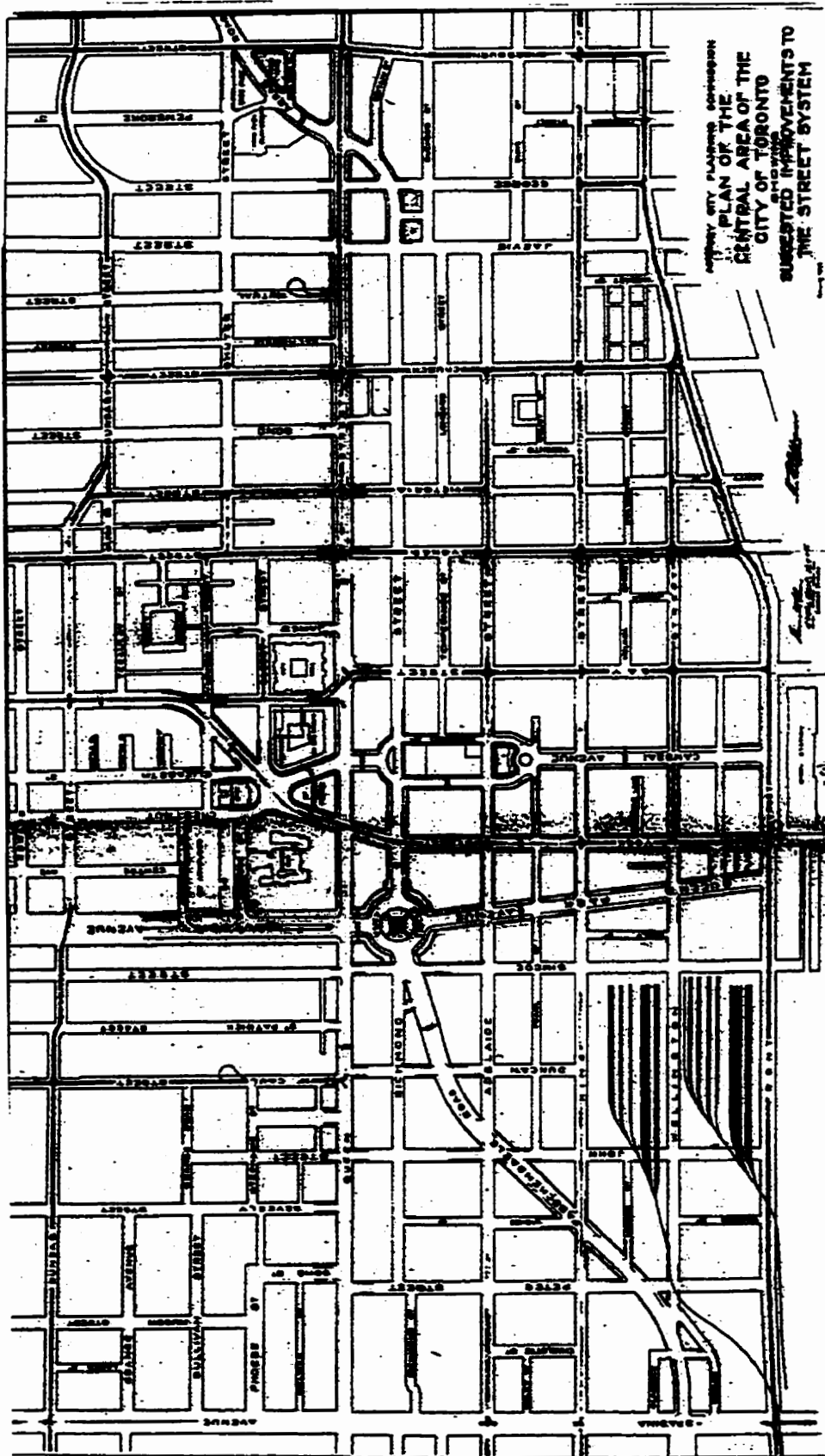
1929. Is it a decorative city planning document, one that fully accounts for the aestheticism and socialism of beauty and utility?

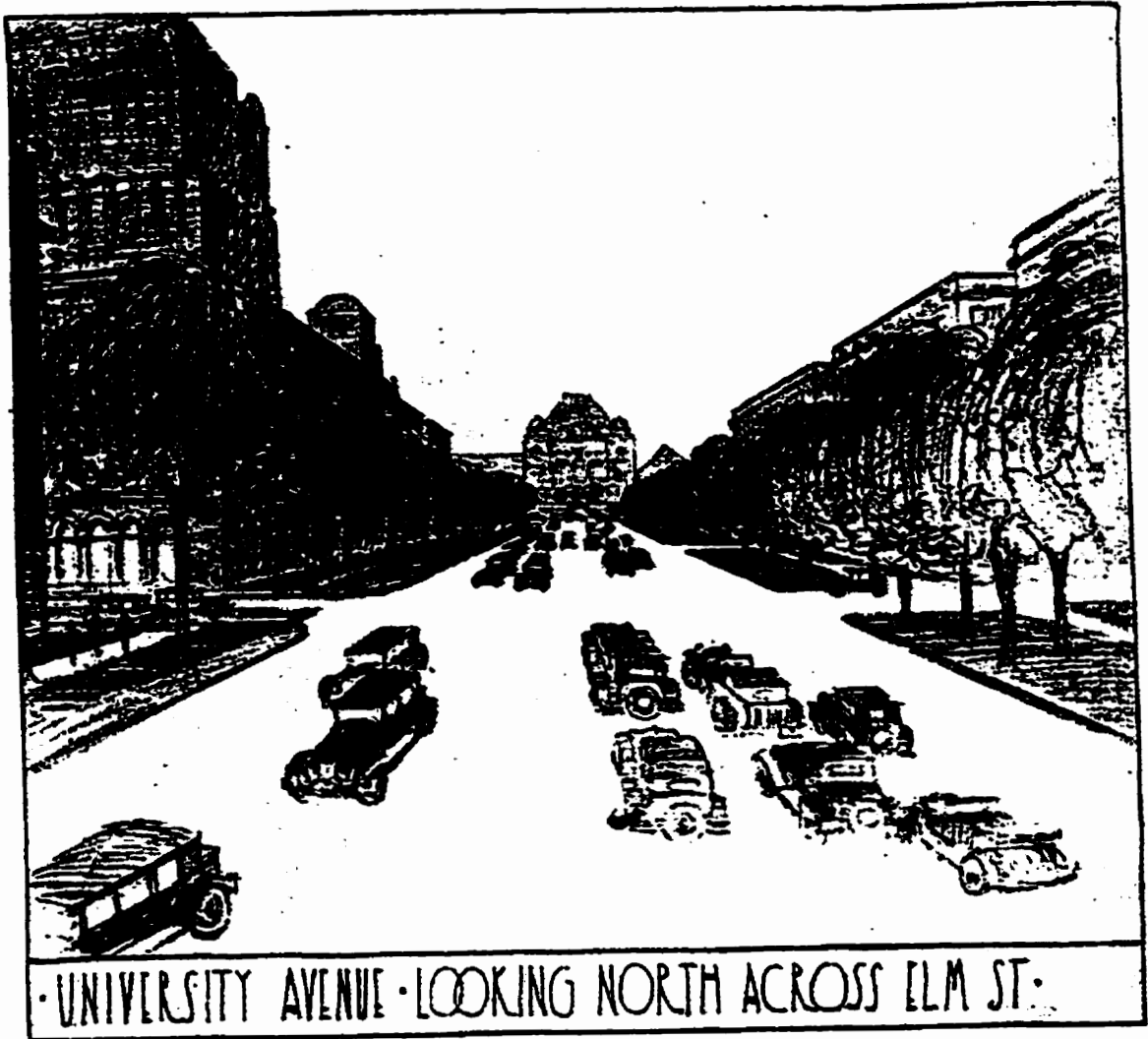
The simplest way to answer this question is to display and discuss Toronto's Advisory City Planning Commission's (ACPC) comprehensive *Plan of 1929*; coming in the latter half of the City Practical timeline, the *Plan of 1929* even pushes the 1935 boundary. (See Figures 4.1 to 4.11, the drawings that accompanied the *Plan of 1929*). Indeed, by 1929, the exuberant idealism of early city planning thought, circa the 1900s—writings by, or in, Robinson, McFarland, Zueblin, Perkins, or *Municipal Journal and Engineer* come instantly to mind—had ostensibly given way to a more mature understanding and methodology.³⁹⁷ If City Practical not only resists the mutual exclusivity of historiographical demands, but also can demonstrate the aestheticism and socialism of decoration, it should be manifest in a planning document that we have been led to believe will eschew idealist impracticalities.³⁹⁸

Few cities array themselves with the splendour that Toronto's *Plan of 1929* proposed for the Ontario capital. Its remarkable renderings by Earle C. Sheppard reveal a Toronto that, had the ACPC's ambitions ever achieved fruition, would stand as a brave testimony to the universal Western approbation of Haussmann's heroics in Paris. The plan's utter slavery to beauty and use is immediately striking. The ACPC conceived not a comprehensive plan for City Practical, but City Breathtaking, as architectural critic of Toronto, John Bentley Mays (1994: 203), implies. The plan was after all devised in part as an urban geographical memorial to the Canadians who

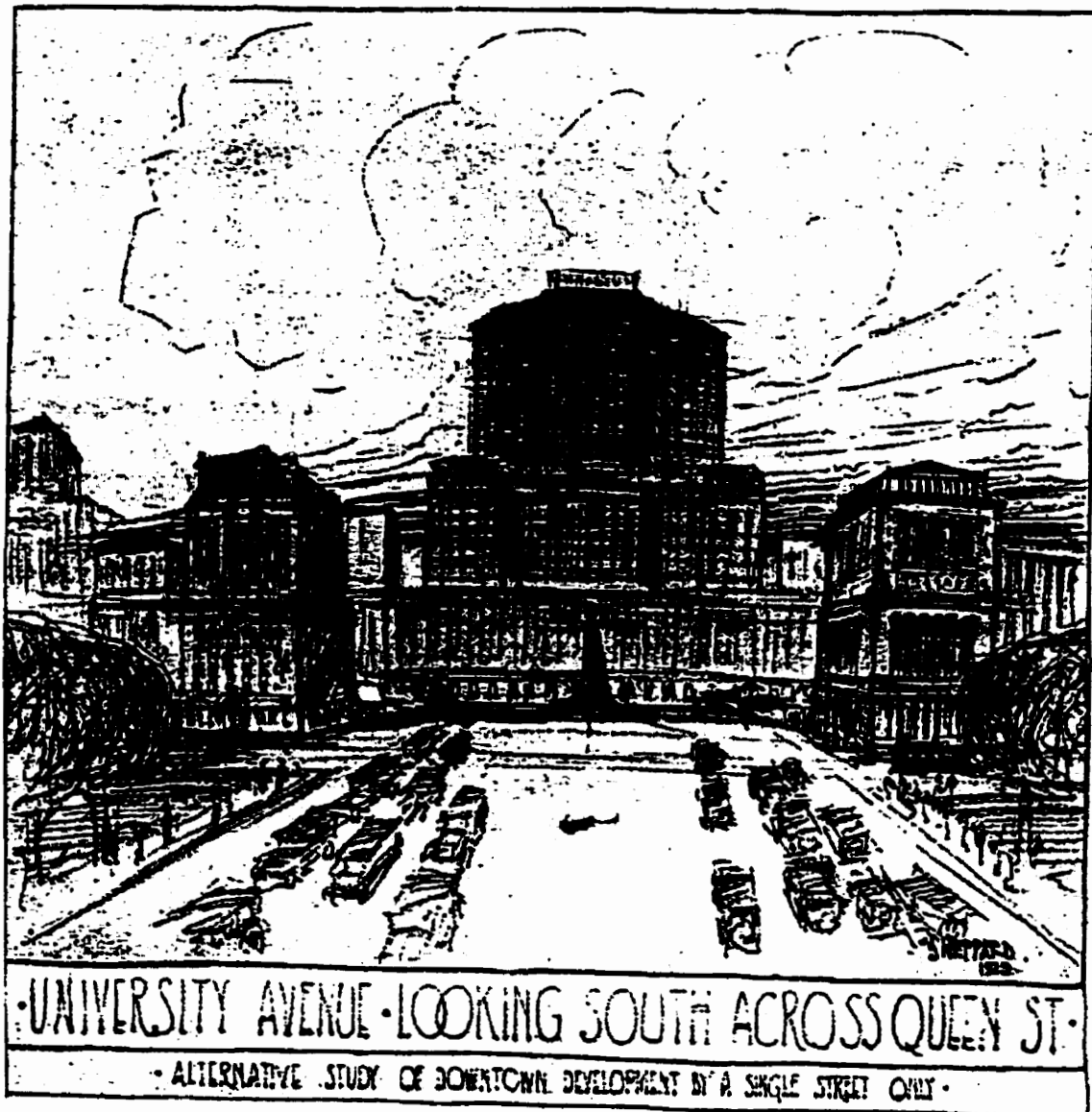
³⁹⁷By 1916, Robinson's (1916) idealism and rhetoric, so characteristic of his earlier works, were noticeably absent as he discussed the need for standardized and functional street platting and planning legislation.

³⁹⁸Toronto's *Globe* implied the *Plan* was a "City Beautiful" ("For a City Beautiful", *Globe*, December 27, 1928: 1).





4.2 University Avenue Looking North Across Elm St. (RACPC 1929: 22).



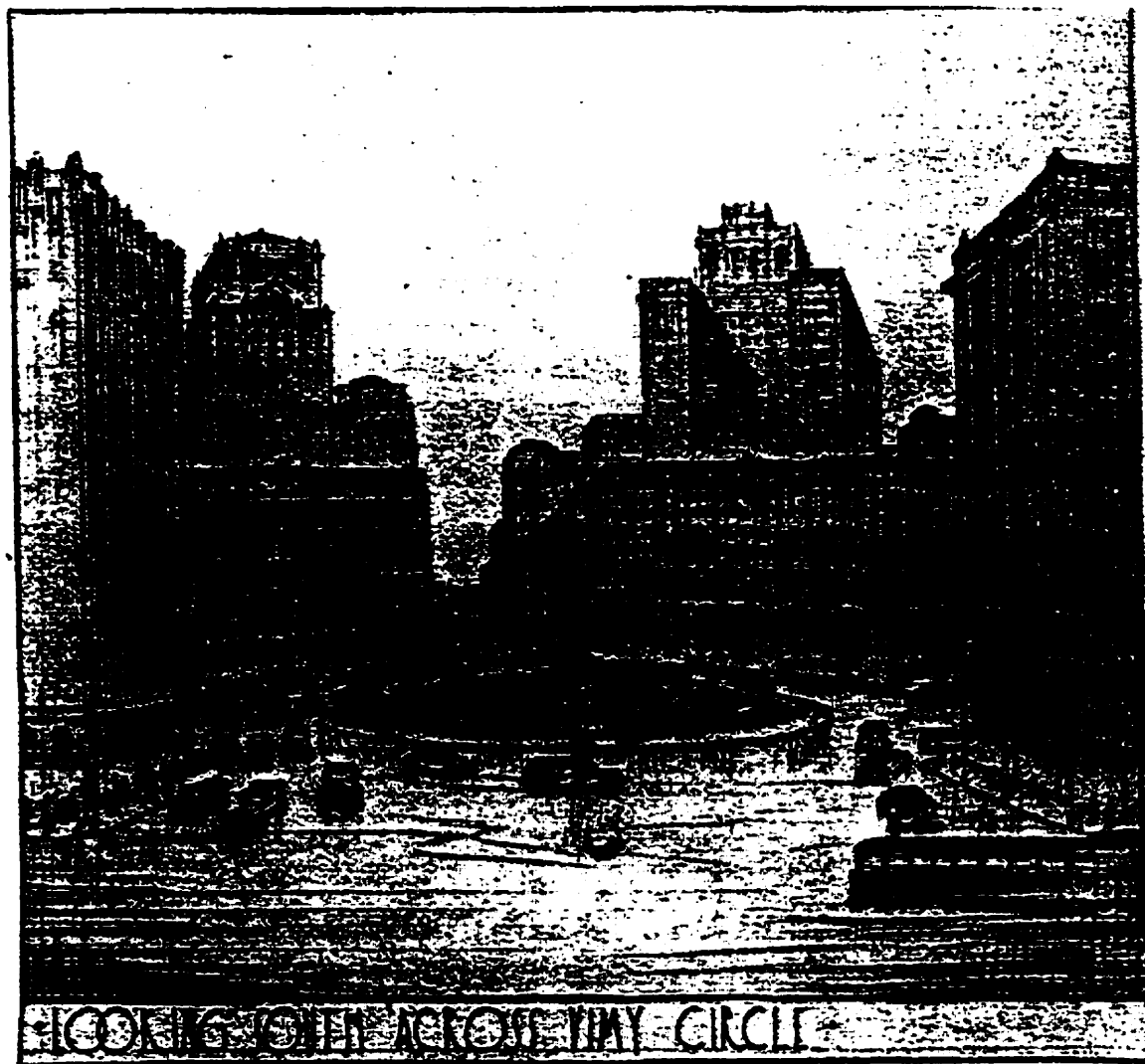
4.3 University Avenue Looking South Across Queen St. (RACPC 1929: 26).



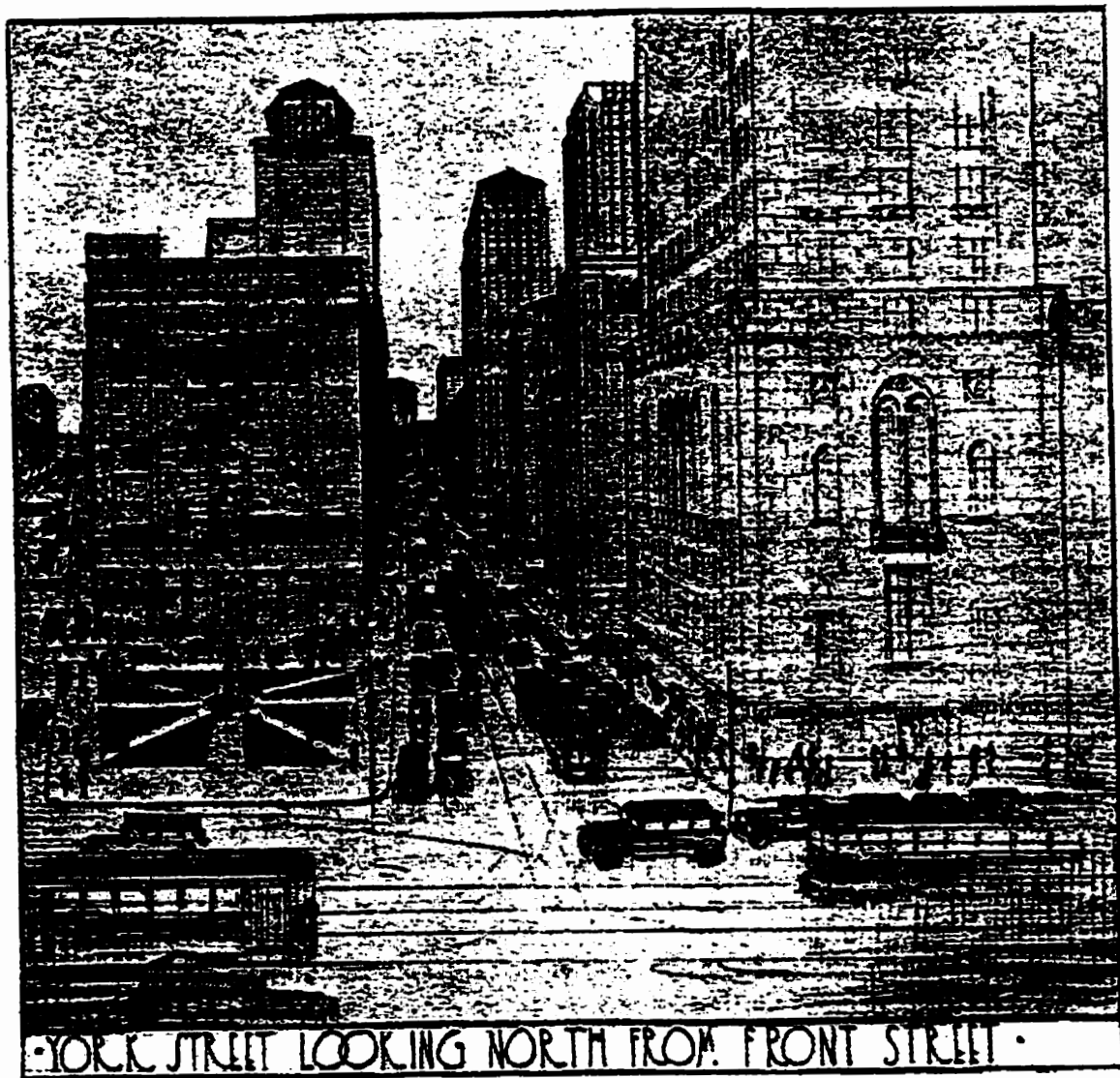
4.4 University Avenue Looking South Across Adelaide St.
(RACPC 1929: 27).



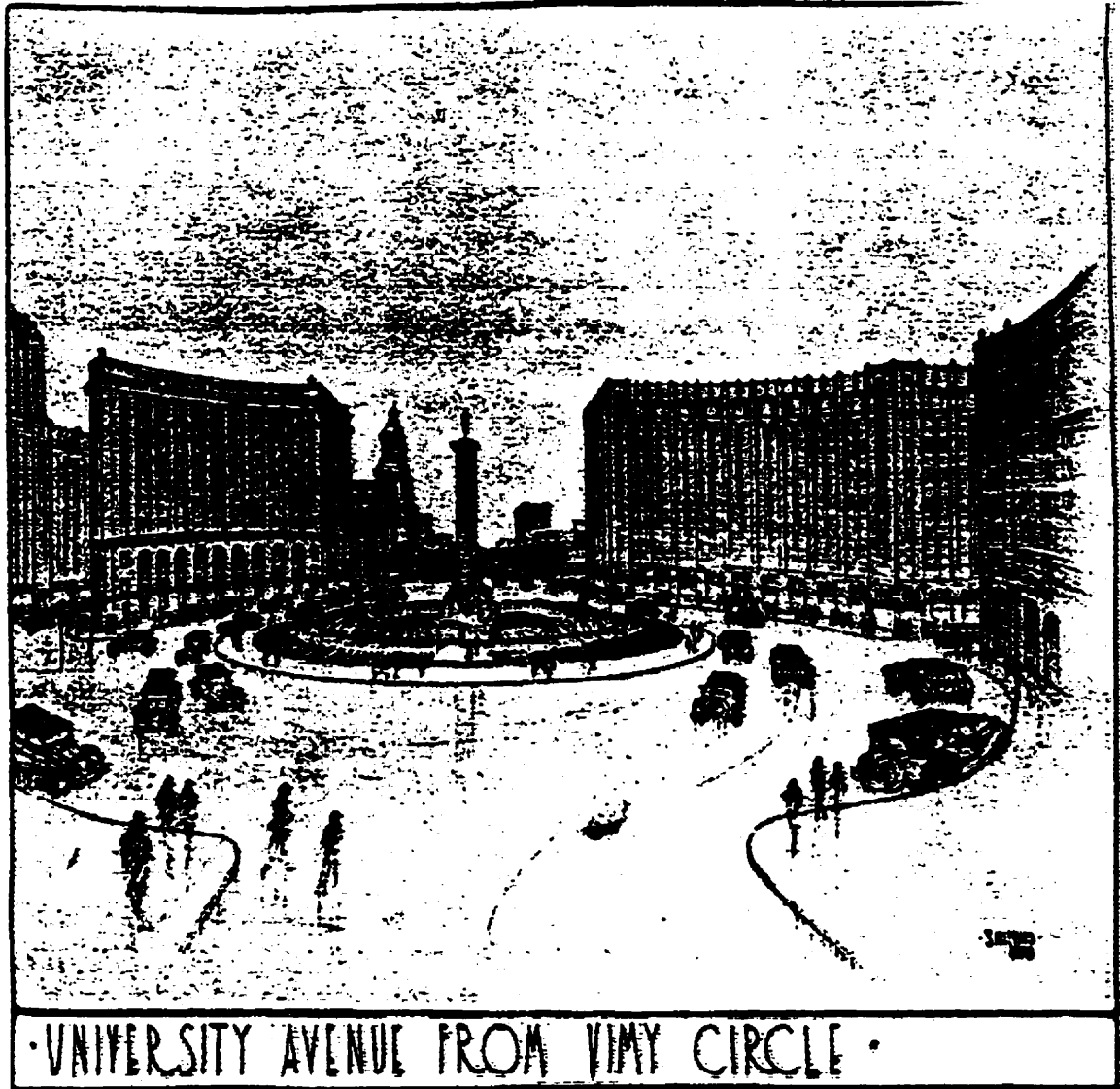
4.5 University Avenue Looking North West Across York Street
(RACPC 1929: 28).



4.6 Looking South Across Vimy Circle (RACPC 1929: 30).



4.7 York Street Looking North From Front Street (RACPC 1929: 32).



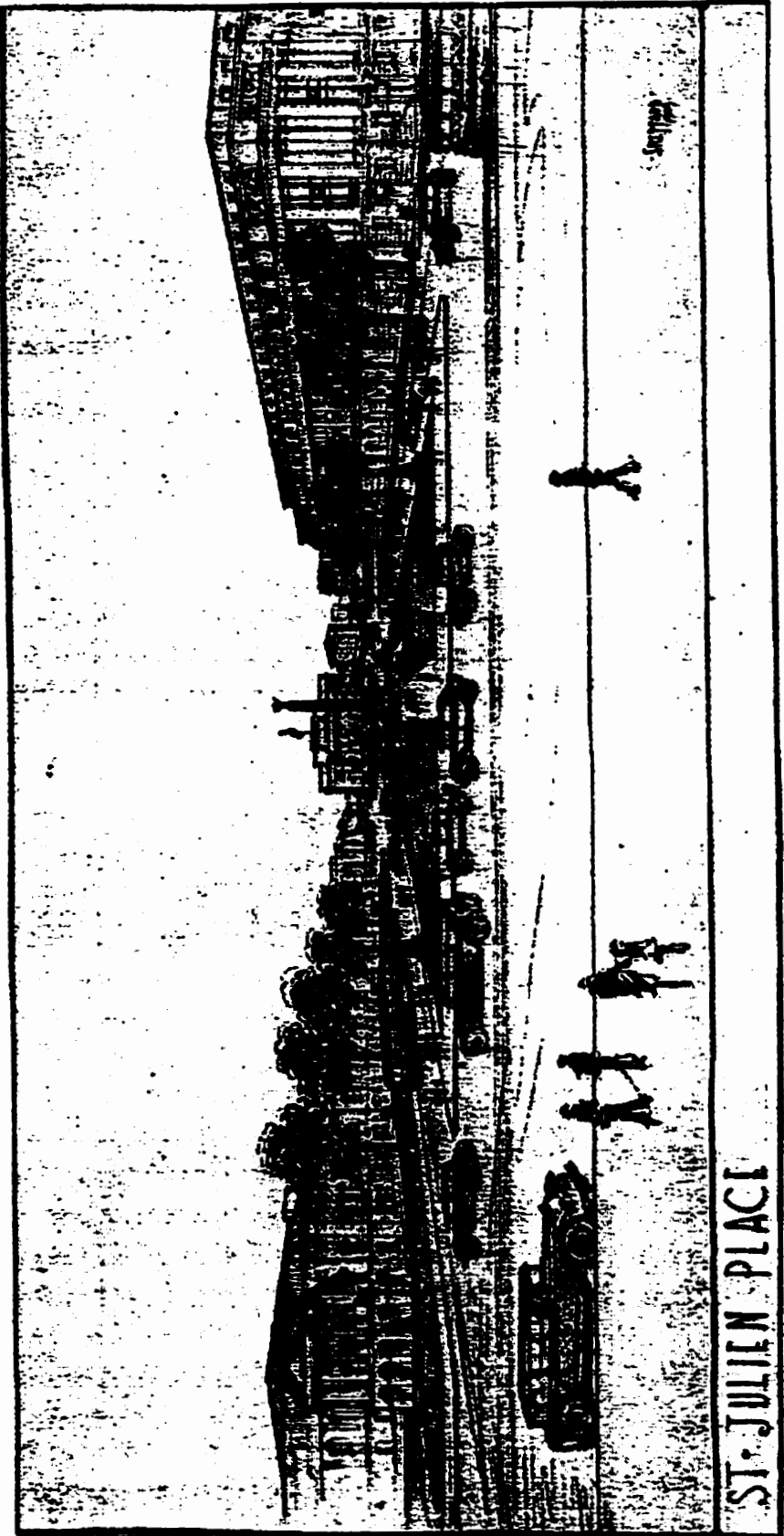
4.8 University Avenue from Vimy Circle (RACPC 1929: 36).



4.9 Cambrai Avenue Looking South From King Street (RACPC 1929: 38).



4.10 Cambrai Avenue Looking North from King Street (RACPC 1929: 40).



fought in “the Great War.”³⁹⁹ We might muse that those who compartmentalised the dates for early-twentieth-century planning movements overlooked Toronto’s *Plan of 1929* (hereafter, *Plan*).

The *Plan* is, theoretically, a timely infrastructural solution to the thoroughly practical problem of “street congestion” in Toronto’s CBD. S. G. Curry, a long-time member of the Civic Guild—his name appears in the Toronto *Plan of 1909*—and advocate of the *Plan*, complained of “Toronto’s Traffic Problem” and urged the city to accept the *Plan*’s proposals as an immediate solution.⁴⁰⁰ Congestion in Toronto, the *Plan* averred similarly, was a “great problem...occasioned by the ever-increasing use of the motor car. The inadequacy in both the number and width of through streets leading into and out of Toronto’s downtown is apparent to all.”⁴⁰¹ Relief lay only in a plan for the building of new streets and the widening of existing ones.

Reformers had for years lamented of congestion in the CBD. The *Civic Guild Bulletin* laid the blame squarely on the City Council. By allowing business to build “skyscrapers” on the district’s too narrow streets the city was “deliberately encouraging accident.”⁴⁰² Unquestionably, this congestion of crowded buildings on narrow streets, festooned with wires and poles, abetted the conflagration of Toronto in 1904 (Armstrong 1988: 297-300); sparks and flaming fire brands sailed across narrow streets. Congestion certainly assisted the fire of 1895 that destroyed the new Robert Simpson store at the corner of

³⁹⁹*ibid.*: 13. W. J. Gage first suggested that the University extension proposal offer a fitting memorial to Canada’s WWI heroes—“Hero Avenue” he called it. The central traffic circle of the entire proposal would be Vimy Circle, the proposed site of the provincial war memorial (Dendy 1993: 191).

⁴⁰⁰S.G. Curry, “Toronto’s Traffic Problem”, *Construction* 21, May 1928: 156-158. See also S.G. Curry, “Suggested Improvements in Toronto’s Downtown Section”, *Construction* 22, February 1929:62-68.

⁴⁰¹*ibid.*: 19. Toronto’s first traffic lights were installed at Yonge and Bloor Streets, August 8, 1925 (Historical Committee Public and Safety Information Branch 1984: 70).

⁴⁰²Street Congestion, *Civic Guild Bulletin*, February 1913, Vol. 2, No. 5: 2.

Yonge and Queen and burned all the buildings within 100 yards of the intersection, totally consuming fifteen buildings.⁴⁰³

The “congestion on Yonge Street [wa]s a matter of much concern,” the Civic Guild reported. “Are we facing this condition fairly when we deliberately propose to allow skyscrapers in the most congested part of the city?”⁴⁰⁴ The *Plan’s* proposal to widen, extend, and add roads, while necessarily upgrading hydro and telephone lines, given the considerable amount of traffic in a CBD that had received little attention in Toronto’s numerous planning debates, was perfectly reasonable. As the *Plan* noted, “[p]ublic opinion, while well advanced along many lines of civic improvement, has lagged behind as regards street improvements in the business district.”⁴⁰⁵

If the ACPC expressed real concern for the impediments of congestion, they also had another openly stated goal. The *Plan* would remedy the city’s inadequacy in “providing any open spaces in, or beautifying in any considered way of, the downtown business area, by which to express to the str[a]nger within our gates the self respect and civic pride of the community.”⁴⁰⁶ More than any other locale in the city, “[t]he central business area is the common interest of the whole city. It represents one-third of the city’s total revenue. Deeper than any other impression, the visitor carries away his impression of Toronto the appearance of the downtown area (sic).”⁴⁰⁷ Despite claims of

⁴⁰³For details see *Mail and Empire*, March 4, 1895: 1-2.

⁴⁰⁴*ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵*Report: 11.* Toronto’s Downtown Association had been lobbying for CBD upgrades since Christmas of 1921, when it held a civic improvement meeting, for the “carrying [out of] an extensive campaign to put [Toronto] in the front rank of the cities of this continent, so far as public utilities, town planning, and waterfront development are concerned” (*Mail and Empire*, December 21, 1921; Newspaper Clippings n.d.-June 1923, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.). Over five hundred business men and women attended.

⁴⁰⁶*Report: 19.*

⁴⁰⁷*Report: 13.*

utility, City Practical in Toronto worried about moral-aesthetic issues and the sought to address them in a comprehensive plan. Visual primacy would not take a back seat.

Aesthetic concerns, with their overtones of class, help explain why the *Plan* justifies its privileging of the western, more prosperous, portion of the CBD over the eastern. The trend to the northwest had human cultural significance, a booster of comprehensive planning in Toronto opined. A 1923 *Toronto Star Weekly* article on the future of Toronto, featured the "prophesies of George Wright, ?k?eper, transportation commissioner, Hydro commissioner, shrewd student of affairs, and of his fellow man."⁴⁰⁸ Wright was asked by the *Star Weekly* : "Where will Toronto be in 1950?" His "prediction," among other things, noted the current "west and northward movement of the population" and how "the business centre of the city [was] follow[ing] it."

Yonge street became the main street...In its vicinity are all...the stations, theatres, head offices of business and industry, and all the great merchandising plants. Within a little area seven blocks west, seven blocks north, seven east and two south of King and Yonge are jammed most of the warves, freightyards, wholesale, warehouse, retail, hotels, public buildings office buildings, head offices, to serve a city of more than half a million. It is absurd. The outcome is obvious. Retail merchandising will pick up and leave this district to big business. It will become a severe and sober financial region, exactly like its counterparts in other large

⁴⁰⁸Newspaper Clippings n.d.-June 1923, *Toronto Star Weekly*, June 1923, Magazine section: 1; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

cities. The Fifth Avenue of Toronto will be somewhere in the west.⁴⁰⁹

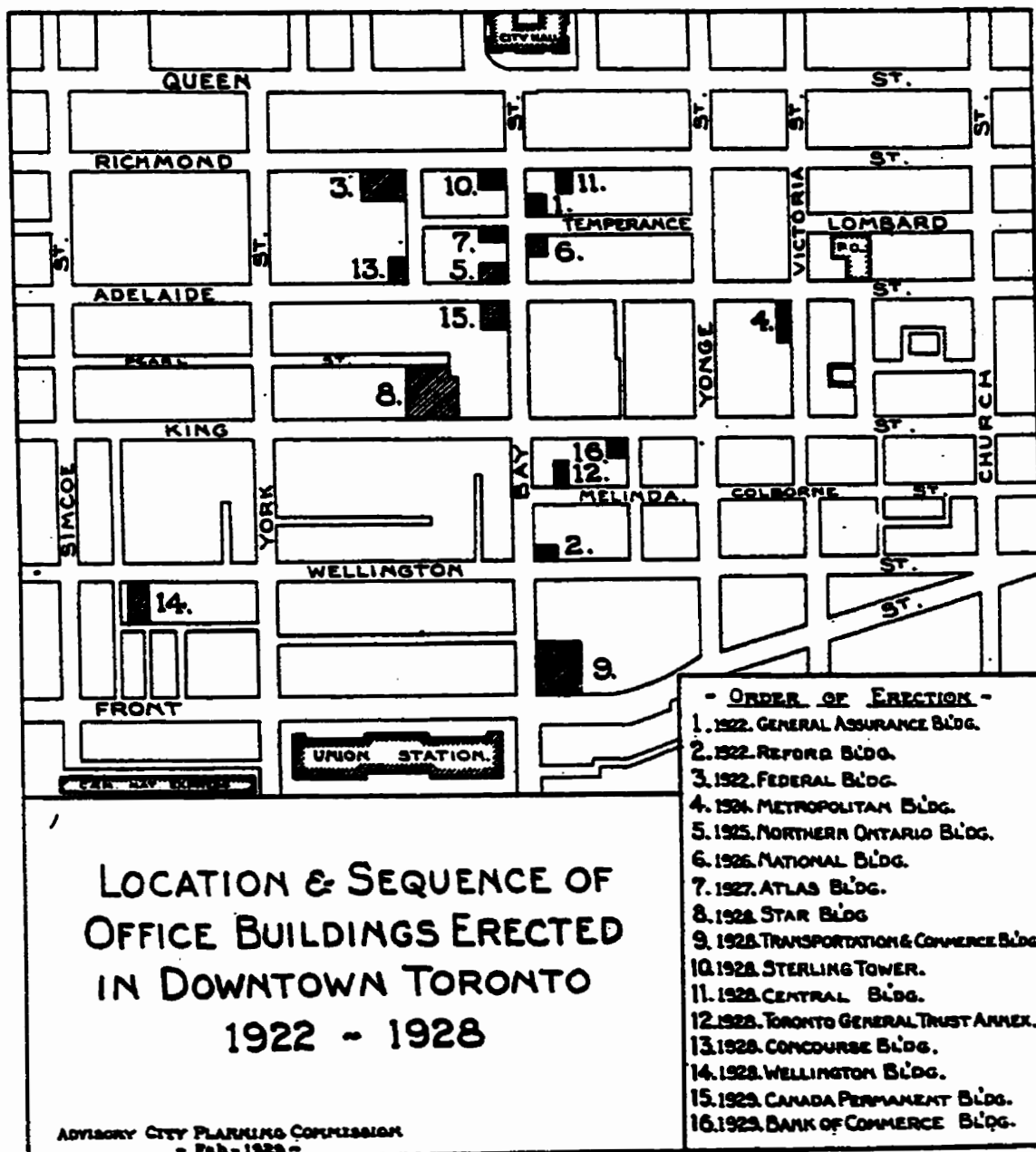
Granted, Wright also knew that west Toronto nurtured the geography of privilege: Parkdale, High Park, Parkside, Sunnyside, the Humber River, Humber Bay, etc., all the places about which Toronto's finest boasted. Even Toronto Island lay predominantly to the west. But then as Wright observed, grounding to a Turnerian conviction, "mankind goes west instinctively, as all nature does."⁴¹⁰ On the other hand, Eastern Toronto, like east London, New York, or Chicago was the place of immigrants and the labouring class.

The ACPC, concurring fully with Wright, argued in the *Plan* that half the population of both the city proper and metropolitan area lives west of University. It demonstrated this simple bifurcation of the city using the dollar amount of building permits issued for land south of Queen and east of Yonge since WWI: 2 million. For the area south of Queen and west of Yonge, the dollar amount rose substantially: 23 million. The *Plan* even showed a map of the "Location and Sequence of Office Buildings Erected in Downtown Toronto, 1922-1928," on which 15 of 16 new buildings went up west of Yonge (see Figure 2.12). The building trend in downtown Toronto, it could clearly be shown, was a steady northwestern movement.

Of course, it was no secret that Toronto's premier avenue, University Avenue, whose aspect was and had always been handsome, also lay west of Yonge street. Beautifiers had always held University Avenue like a slender thread connecting Toronto to City Beautiful. But by the 1920s it had slipped into disrepair. The Civic Guild's E. R. Wood pined for its improvement: Why can't University Avenue, he asked the Downtown Association, "be made as

⁴⁰⁹*ibid.*

⁴¹⁰*ibid.*



4.12 Location and Sequence of Office Buildings Erected in Downtown Toronto, 1922-1928 (RACPC 1929: 16).

attractive as that splendid main plaza of Rio." University avenue was "wide [but] that is about all you can say about it. The houses are broken down and some of the business places are no credit to the men who built them."⁴¹¹

This state of University Avenue contrasted starkly with with its nineteenth-century condition (see Dendy 1993: 182-183). From the 1830s to the 1890s it had been a popular chestnut tree-lined promenade leading to King's College, and was called College Avenue. In the 1890s, as beautifiers began to recognise the avenue's monumental possibilities, the Ontario Parliament Buildings, Osgoode Hall, the Armouries, and Toronto General Hospital were erected giving it, for a time, a visage of City Beautiful. It was also at this time widened and given north and south bound roadways. If Toronto were ever to boast a Champs Elysees of its own, University Avenue would anchor it. The ACPC was well aware of this, as we shall see.

One of the *Plan's* first determinations was that relief of congestion in Toronto's business district could be effected with a series of through streets.⁴¹² The CBD received on any given day two thirds of all the street car passenger traffic and a greater part of the vehicular traffic. This affixed to a reality that Wright noted: the CBD embraced the commercial, financial, wholesale, retail, theatre, and administrative centres of Toronto. Although the business district was one of the oldest portions of the city, it had seen virtually no street improvements, despite that "the traffic difficulties of its narrow and disconnected streets are appreciated by all who have to use them, which means almost the entire population."⁴¹³

⁴¹¹Newspaper Clippings n.d.-June 1923, *Toronto Telegram*, December 21, 1921; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

⁴¹²Report: 11.

⁴¹³Report: 12.

The ACPC proposed University Avenue as the fulcrum of the through-street scheme. There were three reasons: firstly, it was a major north-south artery that with the right traffic planning—specifically, a southern extension and a traffic circle at its intersection with Richmond Street—had all the makings of a congestion “safety-valv[e] to meet the increasing pressure in the commercial district” (Robinson 1970[1903]: 190). Secondly, the right improvements would produce a quintessential City Beautiful avenue: with Queen’s Park at its crown at College Street, a reasonably widened roadway, and the planned erection of Sproatt and Rolph’s neo-Classical Canada Life Building (1929), along with the other monumental buildings facing it, University Avenue had significant expectations, despite its decline over the years.

Thirdly, University Avenue had been the centre of at least 25 proposals and studies in thirty years of planning interest in Toronto, and even the passing of the University Avenue Extension Act, by the provincial parliament in 1928.⁴¹⁴ The City seemed prepared to do something with University by way of extension. However, the ACPC worried that the thoughtless extension of University, whether by a) extending University Avenue to Front Street to the West of York Street; b) incorporating York Street in its extension; or, c) crossing York and extending University to Front on the east side of York, failed to address the problem of visitors’ first impressions.⁴¹⁵ A plan for the CBD must necessarily involve the district around Union Station, as well as the refurbishing of University Avenue. All previous considerations of improvements that centred on University Avenue omitted Union Station.

⁴¹⁴*Report: 19.*

⁴¹⁵*Report: 11.*

Incorporating train stations into reforms was not new. John Nolen includes the need for orderly railway approaches in his above list of adornments that ennoble both city dweller and city.⁴¹⁶ Engineer and landscape architect, Richard Schermmmerhorn, Jr., shows the centrality of the railway station in planning efforts, in an essay cataloguing planning in major American cities.⁴¹⁷ Toronto Mayor Emerson Coatsworth, in 1906, “thought visitors on approaching the city should be attracted by its beauty, and not by clouds of smoke,” as they reached Union Station; the railway approach and station should thus play an integral part in city beautification and efficiency.⁴¹⁸ The TGCA had always believed that “the attractiveness of the city” necessarily led to “an influx” of visitors and business, that beautification “was a commercial as well as aesthetic question.”⁴¹⁹ Because visitors’ impressions attached to both the economic success of a city and the station and railway approach, a plan that involved Union Station was paramount.

Accordingly, to dignify Union Station and give visitors the thrill they ought to feel when stepping into the heart of Toronto, the ACPC proposed a new street—Cambrai Avenue—between the north and south running Bay and York Streets. It would open up what the *Report* called an “extremely long block;” a useful relict street in the heart of this business district already existed suitable to the purpose at hand.⁴²⁰ Cambrai Avenue would end in a beautiful square and civic centre on Queen Street—St. Julien Place, to commemorate the Battle of Ypres (Dendy 1993: 188)—the first magnificent sight to greet visitors as

⁴¹⁶Nolen, *op. cit.*

⁴¹⁷Schermmmerhorn, Jr., *op. cit.*

⁴¹⁸*Mail and Empire*, January 17, 1906; Clipping, *Minutes*

⁴¹⁹Clippings from *The Globe*, and *Mail and Empire*, *Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, April 24, 1902, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁴²⁰*ibid.*

they exited Union Station.⁴²¹ (It had become a well-used reform axiom that beautiful cities had commercial as well as aesthetic value. The *Mail and Empire* stated it bluntly: "If we make Toronto attractive, we shall get more visitors, and visitors spend money.")⁴²²

As the street that originated at Union Station, Cambrai Avenue guaranteed its early development with expensive buildings, as opposed to a street immediately adjacent freight yards, where an unplanned extension of University would end.⁴²³ The sole advantage the ACPC could infer from the unadorned extension of University was the lengthening of the long vista of the Parliament buildings, but even this would be lost with the slightest deflection from the straight line. A direct extension of University, however, was still too far removed from the business centre of city to expect early development. Worse, it could hardly act as a gateway to Toronto, not within view of the Union Station entrance.⁴²⁴ What would be the point of a gateway opening onto the freightyards? Such a move would defy the paramountcy of right placement, just as Cambrai Avenue, assuming the place of the relict street, affirms the logic of placement, and Union Station as a gateway to the city ennobles the CBD.

The *Plan* put further emphasis on York Street:

York street (sic) subway as the first crossing of the viaduct east of Spadina Ave is certain to be a very heavily travelled artery carrying miscellaneous traffic from Harbourfront, railway

⁴²¹Dendy (1993: 188) notes that the Cambrai Avenue portion of the *Plan* "is reminiscent of the the path of Park Avenue around Grand Central Station and the Grand Central Building in New York."

⁴²²*Mail and Empire*, July 29, 1895: 4.

⁴²³*Report*: 11.

⁴²⁴Clippings from *The Globe*, and *Mail and Empire*, *Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, April 24, 1902, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

station, express terminal, etc. It would be a mistake to anticipate that it could wholly satisfactorily serve as a connecting link between the waterfront boulevards and University avenue.⁴²⁵ Because York Street was "destined to be a heavy traffic artery to the North," University extension should be an independent street.

This independent street—Queen's Park Avenue— would run northwest from Front Street, as it does now, leading to what is the visual centre of the *Plan*: Vimy Circle. University Avenue to the north met Queen's Park. To the south, in the *Plan*, University culminated at Richmond Street in a European spectacle: a traffic circle with a terraced monument to Canada's now legendary victory at Vimy Ridge. The vastness of the circle and the width of the roadway was intended to absorb much the downtown traffic which could then be filtered north on University, south on Queens Park, east and west on Richmond and south west on a diagonal roadway. Passchendale Road defeated the grid, diverting southwest to Spadina Avenue at Wellington Street. Another diagonal road, Arras Road, would veer northeast from Jarvis Street, a block below Queen street, east of Yonge. Here was City Beautiful in all its glory. However, the practicality of the traffic consideration made the *Plan* highly practical.

The reference to diagonal roads in the *Plan* picked up on an earlier design-theme of the TGCA that called for gore roads, roads which made triangles in the grid, on both sides of Yonge street launching from Queen Street and University Avenue, and Queen Street and Church Street, feeding the northwest and the northeast respectively.⁴²⁶ The use of diagonal roads

⁴²⁵*Report*: 11-12.

⁴²⁶ A lovely but fragile water colour rendering of this scheme exists in the Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

was a specific reference to the beautification of use, when cities, in this case Toronto, were seen to be held hostage by the gridiron:

Toronto is held as in a straight-jacket by its gridiron system of streets unrelieved in the business centre by a single open space. The circulation of the blood is no more important to the living organism than is the free and untrammelled circulation of traffic to cities."⁴²⁷

It is this use of diagonal roads in the *Plan* that makes the argument most forcefully about the principle of beauty and use, and particularly right placement.⁴²⁸

The point of the diagonal road was both aesthetic and utilitarian. Firstly, it broke up the slavish monotony of the grid, providing opportunity for "the adequate display of architectural features."⁴²⁹ Not one of the new buildings in the Toronto's downtown, despite the investiture of "many millions in buildings of dignified and imposing architecture...is advantageously situated to give effect to its architectural features."⁴³⁰ A suitably widened and decorated diagonal road enhanced the dignity and nobility of architecture in the central business district, offering buildings "many...sites of prominence" (Robinson 1970[1903]: 191). Moreover, as Robinson (1916: 100-101) suggested, there was an old-world grandeur to curved and radial streets, a masterful solidity to the latter like that of ancient

⁴²⁷Diagonal Streets, *Civic Guild Bulletin*, February 1912, Vol. 1, No. 7: 1.

⁴²⁸The diagonal road also had sociological significance: "Some means of radial transportation must be devised to give the working class people of the city, (sic) access to outlying districts, and so preserve in Toronto the British ideal of a single home for a single family." Presumably the writer understood that suburbs provided affordable single family dwellings, and radial roads facilitated the direct running of street cars to and from the CBD ("Toronto Needs a Plan", *Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, June 1, 1911 vol. 1, no. 2).

⁴²⁹*ibid.*: 3.

⁴³⁰*ibid.*

Rome. Even Lewis (1916: 102-103) admitted the beauty and dignity of the diagonal roadway, especially in Washington, though he insisted it was an extravagance "beyond the reach of the ordinary city." A quote from English town planner, Raymond Unwin, in Lewis (1916: 102-103), both exposes Lewis' position on the effective use of the diagonal road and the decorative principle behind it:

In town planning it is essential to avoid being carried away by the mere pattern of lines on paper. Order, definiteness of design, there must be, but there must first be grasped an understanding of the points where order is important and will tell, and of those where it matters little.

Unwin, here, articulates right placement and the harmonious beauty of design as well as any. Lewis (1916: 101), in lauding Unwin's "general principles which should be regarded in the laying out of the street system," demonstrates the necessarily decorative nature of the diagonal road, even in a stridently practical approach to city planning.

Secondly, and more importantly for the modern industrial city's reliance on the transportation of produced goods and desperate need for the mobility of its populations, the diagonal road was inherently useful. Diagonal roads "form[ed] the most direct and shortest route to the centre of the city, for the largest number of people."⁴³¹ As the CG put it, using the case of Toronto:

Situated on the lake shore, Toronto must grow in a half circle. Eighty, possibly eighty-five, per cent. (sic) of the working population are employed south of College street, and the great

⁴³¹*ibid.*: 2-3

majority of this number close to or south of Queen street. During the early hours of the day, therefore, the heavy traffic is from the direction of the circumference of the semi-circle to the centre and base. In the evening the great rush of traffic is from the centre and base toward the circumference. At present the only direct lines of traffic from the business centre are Yonge street, Queen street east and west, and King street west. Everyone who cannot reach home by one of these streets—that is to say the great bulk of the city's population—must travel two sides of a triangle in order to get to work.⁴³²

Unless of course the traveller dog-legged through the grid with great difficulty. The diagonal roads running northwest and northeast would encourage “[t]he rapid movement of traffic...resulting in streets carrying a much greater volume of traffic, in proportion to their width, than the existing streets.”⁴³³ Hence the diagonal road conveyed “convenience of traffic and beauty” to gridlocked cities.⁴³⁴

The *Plan's* emphasis on traffic and congestion alleviation, which had become critical in Toronto's central business district, classifies it as plan for City Practical. Yet it is intrinsically beautiful, and offers an artful vision of utility and visual spectacle for a city that would become Canada's largest and most populous in the late-twentieth-century. The ACPC even intends that visitors should be suitably impressed by the city's grandeur and designs the *Plan* specifically for effect. Thus, in its combining the two goals, the *Plan*

⁴³²*ibid.*: 1-2.

⁴³³*ibid.*: 3.

⁴³⁴*ibid.*: 1.

epitomises the beautification of utility, a process that embraces first principles of the Decorative Arts as they promote simultaneously beauty and use.

Wright's view of a comprehensive plan for Toronto knits the overt beauty of the *Plan* and the social agenda of decoration neatly together: Toronto needed a plan that posited a "[b]eauty and dignity that c[ould] not be exceeded by any city on the American continent." Why? Because "the responsibility" was Toronto's. "If ever [Toronto] had to bring up its children with care and foresight, it is now. We are doing our best to [make] over fine big city. We should do more than our best to see that it is handed over to a capable and substantial generation."⁴³⁵ Wright simply reiterated Robinson (1970[1903]: 205):

For what higher call has civic art than to make beautiful the surroundings of the homes of men; to make refined, lovely, and truly lovable, that environment in which they have leisure for enjoyment or misery, and where are reared and taught by sense impressions the children who will be future citizens.

Just as the environmental decorum of built space in Moore's Neuropolis created a content and moral citizenry, so a comprehensive plan in Toronto that stressed dignity, beauty, and use could make a Toronto that produced of its children a capable and substantial generation. The ACPC draughted such a plan, perhaps following Schermerhorn's belief that concentrating on use would necessarily produce beauty, and thus social good.

But is it really practical?

All this is fine, but can the *Report* really be considered a practical plan for the city of Toronto? Knowing how important the site as *tabula rasa* was to

⁴³⁵Newspaper Clippings n.d.-June 1923, *Toronto Star Weekly*, Magazine section: 1; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

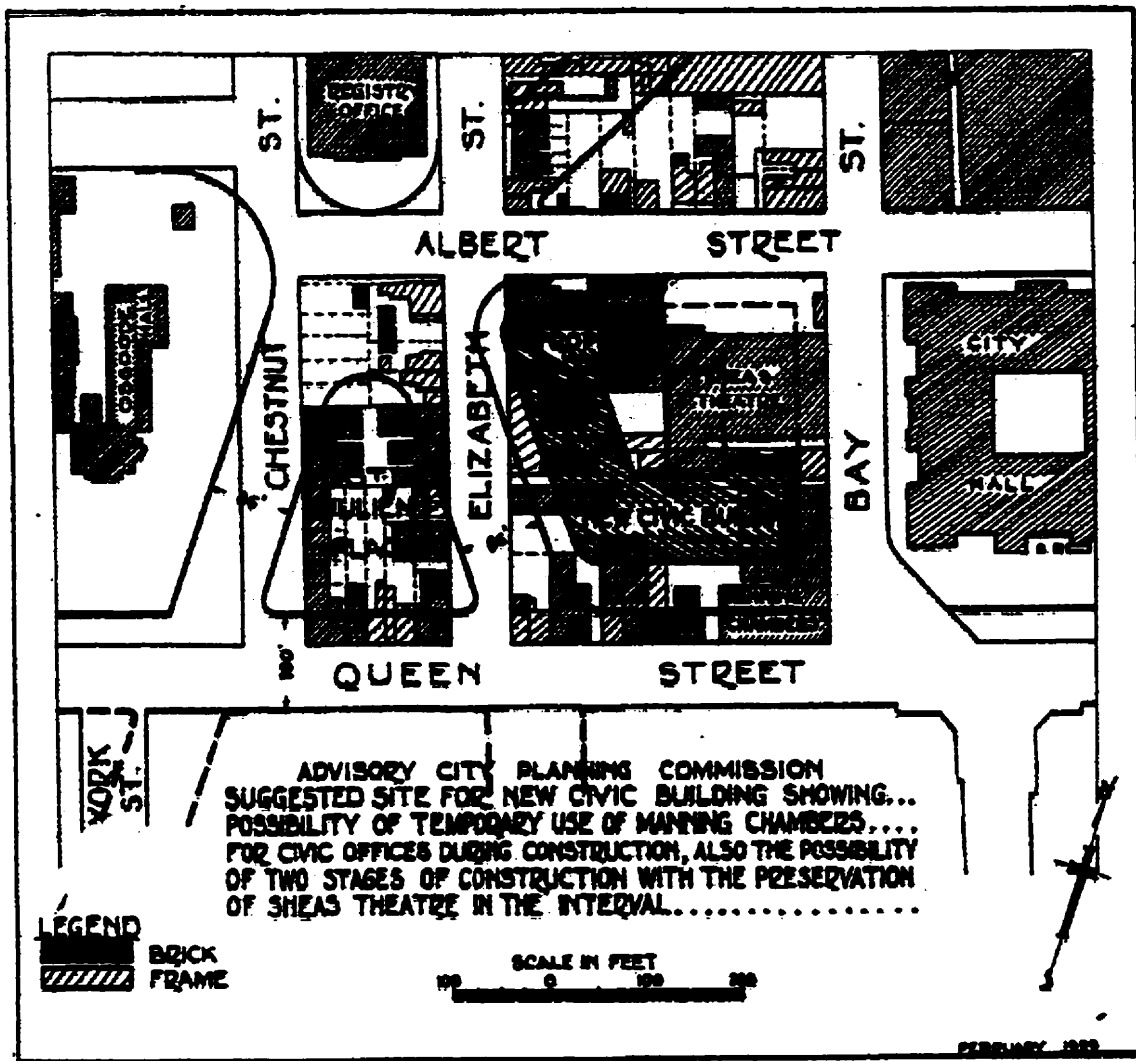
decorators—remember Reid’s need to start with an empty space, to decorate it properly—a fully functioning modern city posed a significant problem to decoration. Robinson noted the difficulty of building new streets in an existing grid. He suggests that “[i]n practice, on a rectangular street pattern... the cutting of new streets in the heart of the city would be enormously expensive” (Robinson 1916: 104), although, he seems to imply, not prohibitive (see for example Robinson 1970[1903]: 187-205). He certainly forwarded “the fitting adjustment of cities to their sites,” and the wide-spread demolition that such tailoring required. And only the briefest glance at the *Plan* shows the need for the demolition of block-after-block of existing downtown homes and businesses. Figure 2.13 shows, for example, that over sixty brick and frame buildings would be destroyed simply to accommodate St. Julien Place. Should this unavoidable consequence of decoration, massive demolition, have offered a hint of prohibition to the ACPC?

We find only a peripheral acknowledgement of the decorative problem of site preparation, in the *Plan*. The ACPC merely indicated that Toronto had to act quickly if it were ever to achieve the ACPC’s planning ideal; one modern building erected in the path of the proposed improvements would eliminate the hope of ever carrying out the *Plan*.⁴³⁶ It then notes the powers of expropriation available to the City, granted through the University Avenue Extension Act, and forecasts the profits that resale of the upgraded properties would make.⁴³⁷ But in Toronto in 1928, “City Beautiful” was considered by many an individual responsibility.⁴³⁸ The *Globe* seemed to suggest that the only inconvenience Torontonians were willing to stomach in

⁴³⁶*Report*: 13.

⁴³⁷*Report*: 48.

⁴³⁸*Globe*, May 14, 1928: 4.



4.13 Advisory City Planning Commission Suggested Site For New Civic Building... (RACPC 1929: 42).

the cause of beauty was keeping their “lawns clean and cut,” which “in the mass mean[t] added beauty for the city.”⁴³⁹ Little wonder the *Plan* was seen not only as an outrage to practical commonsense, but also the attempt of an authoritarian element of city to usurp individual democratic rights.⁴⁴⁰

Torontonians did not see the social environmental practicality of the *Plan*--recall the 1929 municipal election results--and were “not prepared to swallow hollus bollus any proposal for a crooked extension of University avenue,” decoration or not.⁴⁴¹

Conclusion

A movement to beautify the everyday life of modern people, fronted by the Decorative Arts and its artistic first principles, informed the city beautifying process. Beautification in City Beautiful/City Practical ethos was not ornamental but foundational. Beauty and use in concert occupied the centre of city planning in the early twentieth century. Hence the emphasis on design, which defeated chaos, ugliness, and degeneration on one end, and ostentation and superficiality on the other. Design upheld *bona fide* principles of art that infused the object of attention with beauty and use. And while Wilson (1989: 79) is right in suggesting that most beautifiers “did not usually go beyond a generalised Ruskinism,” this Ruskinism was exactly the point. It sufficiently imbued the beautification impulse with a reverence for Art that could turn the beautification of utility into a social imperative.

Showing George Reid’s commitment to decoration and its principles reveals the need to extend those same principles to our understanding of city reform and planning in the early-twentieth-century. Decoration mattered

⁴³⁹*ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰*Globe*, January 5, 1929: 4.

⁴⁴¹*Globe*, January 5, 1929: 4.

environmentally. Decorative principles, especially in their contribution to the erection of a noble city, improved the quality of social life in the city. A decorated city, decorators insisted, albeit speculatively—they never actually produce evidence to support their theory that artful environmentalism actually manufactured a moral citizenry—made citizens civil and moral, brightened their countenances and outlooks, and made them pure and happy. Anon Moore even implied that city beauty made the populous temperate, an important reference to a major goal of many liberal evangelical Protestants. In the modern city where squalor and sadness abounded as a consequence, at least in part, of deleterious urban space, the social need for beauty was as important as the environmental. Beauty was not a hollow elitist aim, but rife with the high-flown social consciousness of the environmentalist bourgeois liberals.

Beauty could not be separated from use; they informed each other. Decorators and planners could not talk about one without the other. The most practical planning thought failed to avoid beauty; even the dry practicality of Ford's discussion of city scientific, or Lewis' rigid engineering sensibility, invoked aesthetic considerations that surmounted the utterly rational. And the achievement of beautified utility in the city required the "fearless reorganization" and "radical disruption" (Wilson 1989: 23) of the existing city, for the complete integration of the principles of decorative art.

It is here that the ACPC's conception of the practical runs into a problem. Because decoration required the demolition of large sections of the downtown of cities, in order to cut new streets, it was hugely expensive. The *Plan* called for the destruction of swathes of existing buildings, infrastructure, and, importantly, viable thriving businesses. However, utilitarian the ACPC

may have considered the *Plan*, it was for most of Toronto's city councillors, journalists, and voters, as I noted in an earlier chapter, wholly unsatisfactory.

Still, the *Plan of 1929* demonstrates the decorative melding of beauty and use that demanded a design consideration that, as it were, started from scratch. Its proposal to alleviate the interminable congestion of Toronto's CBD with widened and diagonal roads, squares, plazas and traffic circles . As the *Plan of 1929* illustrates, not only was city beautiful, as Wilson (1989: 298-299) argues, not ruled out even by its most ardent critics, but it had never been erased. How could it? Use was beauty. It also grounded to the geographic imagination of reformers intent on urban environmental upgrade, a process that reformers earnestly believed would also decorate the human soul.

**Chapter 5 'Judged by its streets': the Asphalt Bias and the Bicycle in
Toronto, 1890-1900**

The city engineer is to the city very much what the family physician is to the family. He is constantly called upon to advise and direct in all matters pertaining to his profession...[to] know the character, constitution, particular needs and idiosyncracies of the city, as the family physician knows the constitution of the family.

John C. Olmsted, 1894⁴⁴²

As a man is judged by his linen, a city is judged by its streets.

Charles Mulford Robinson 1899⁴⁴³

To the ears of the old settler who waded in the mud, the clack of the horses feet upon the clean, smooth surface is music; and he crosses the street wherever the notion strikes him, he is proud of himself, proud of his town, and proud that he had a council that could and did so successfully grapple with the vexing problem.⁴⁴⁴

Rosa Nettleton, 1904

⁴⁴²John C. Olmsted, "The Relation of the City Engineer to Public Parks", in *Organization and Management of a City Engineer's Office*, *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies* 13, October, 1894: 594.

⁴⁴³Charles Mulford Robinson, "Improvement in City Life: Aesthetic Progress", *Atlantic Monthly*, 1899, vol. LXXXIII: 774.

⁴⁴⁴"A Model Street", June 14, 1904, *Rosa Nettleton Book*, www.charlevois.lib.mi.us/1904.htm.

In this chapter, we encounter both the bicycle and the pavement to which it was best suited: asphalt. This is important for Toronto; as I argue here, the city's approbation for the bicycle directly correlates to the City Engineers' recommendation of asphalt pavement. It also affiliates with an idea that reformers and engineers held dear: the beautification of use. Asphalt pavement was as beautiful as it was useful.

The use of asphalt as a decorative pavement in industrial Toronto is congruent with the central thesis of the dissertation: that a culture of liberal evangelical Protestantism and Domesticity influenced the urban geographical imagination, the city-thinking, of turn-of-the century-North Americans. Bourgeois women and men acceded to the moral-aesthetic world-view of liberal evangelical Protestantism, and the Domestic elevation of morality, beauty, and order to a geographical organising principle. Domestic environmentalism with its emphasis on tasteful decoration, after the influence of the Decorative Arts and patterned after the decorum of the parlour, became the public standard for what the bourgeoisie deemed to be spatially appropriate. It was also the basis of their visual expectation, their evangelicised "bourgeois perception" (Lowe 1982).

The chapter connects the bourgeois penchant for beauty and use to cycling and asphalt paving in an effort to decorate the city. Toronto's male coterie of City Engineers, and their unwavering faith in decoration as it is embodied in the beauty and hygiene of asphalt, assists the promotion of decoration in Toronto. Curiously, the engineers do so despite the obvious draw backs of laying asphalt as a surface for heavy cart and animal-powered traffic. As with George Reid and his inclination for Domestic environmentalism, the fact that Toronto's engineers are men does not hinder

their susceptibility to the beautiful and decorous aims of the Domestic decorative geography.

Introduction

Despite the seemingly prosaic nature of the subject of this chapter, there is more to this discussion of road surfaces than meets the eye. Asphaltic and bituminous pavements increased steadily as a road surface in the industrial city from about the 1860s (Earle 1974: 132-133).⁴⁴⁵ And, seemingly, they worked together with the bicycle in turn-of-the-century cities to create a transportation environment that both enticed beautiful riders and was itself comely and convenient.

As stated at the outset of this dissertation, Toronto is not known as for its adherence to the principles of City Beautiful. We can find remnants of City Beautiful reform on University Avenue (Dendy 1993: 180-183), or on Queen Street between University and Yonge Street.⁴⁴⁶ In a city where the City Council time and again, from 1900 to 1929, refused to accommodate formal City Beautiful efforts, something more creative had to be considered, which would introduce beauty to the streets of the city. But if not monumental building activity then what?

One such decorative and fashionable activity, although I hesitate to call it a fashion lest it be construed as a fad, was cycling. Cycling resists the popular meaning of being a "mere fashion"—and is decidedly not a fad—for two reasons. Firstly, as I illustrate in the chapter on responsible modernism, Willard promoted cycling as a Domestic lifestyle; cycling clung to an

⁴⁴⁵Engineering historian, J. B. F. Earle (1974: 132), notes that although the first asphalt paving contract in Britain was awarded to Val de Travers Paving Co. Ltd., for work in Threadneedle street, London, in May of 1869, a full scale operation to compare stone, wood, and asphalt paving surfaces was carried out in Oxford street, London, in 1838-39.

⁴⁴⁶ See John Ralston Saul's talk ("Toronto and the Idea of the Public Good", *Toronto Star*, June 22, 1997: F6) on reform in Toronto, made to the Toronto Historical Society.

overarching strategy of improvement, of the environment, of masculinity, and of the self. Secondly, and not unrelated to the first, as Stephen Kern suggests, a social impulse to compress time and space gathered the bicycle, along with other time-and-space-defeating technologies, under its wing (Kern 1983: 111). I concur with Kern's illustration of the bicycle as a technological manifestation of a culture of time and space, though clearly it more than this. The bicycle in Toronto indicates a commitment to Domestic environmentalism, a desire to decorate Toronto's street with the attributes of decorative probity, in this case beautiful people on beautiful bicycles.⁴⁴⁷

To facilitate decorative cycling, Toronto needed substantially improved roadways. The application of asphalt surfaces on streetcar track allowances and city thoroughfares received the vociferous approval of cyclists and their apologists. Whether or not asphalt provided the best possible street surface for an industrial city is an interesting question raised by this chapter. I contend that city engineers promoted asphalt-use in Toronto despite its cost-ineffectiveness and inferiority as a durable surface under the ponderous traffic conditions of the modern city. By recommending asphalt as a "proper" alternative to cheap but problematic cedar block pavements, Toronto's City Engineers participated in a liberal evangelical Protestant milieu that promoted cleanliness, beauty, and modernism. We who live with asphalt may differ, reminded daily of its symbolism of the "concrete jungle." For city dwellers in *fin de siècle* Toronto, and compared to wood block and macadam pavements, asphalt was beautiful and cosmopolitan. It also provided a surface that would entice handsome Torontonians into the streets on their bicycles,

⁴⁴⁷ See Alan Bernstein's (1998) "Beauty and the Bike," a demonstration of the decorative principle applied to bicycle design.

effecting a type of city beautification through a unique use of human space in the city.

Bicycles

The quest for decoration in Toronto meant the inculcation of a bourgeois standard of beauty and order in the environment. This explains why Toronto embraced the bicycle in the 1890s, cycling obtaining to *haut couture* in the age of improvement. It gave the bourgeois classes yet another reason to form a club, to meet socially, and to flaunt themselves publicly. Glen Norcliffe (1998) shows how such people, especially men, used the bicycle as a means of flaneurism, but with the safety of numbers. Pedalling about the city on bicycles that could cost as much as six months of a working man's wages (Humber 1986: 33), adorned with expensive fashions, and lofty social expectations, cyclists added a decorous and modern cosmopolitanism to the streets that mere pedestrianism could not.⁴⁴⁸

Toronto's bourgeoisie boosted cycling largely because it had become an irresistible force in big cities. All the "best people" of London, "elderly countesses...perspiring peers...cabinet ministers, daughters of a hundred Earls" and more could be seen on bicycles in Hyde or Battersea Park any day between eleven and one (Jerome K. Jerome, in Hudson 1996: 129). So too in Toronto at High Park, where on a fine day there were as many as 2000 cyclists according to one Toronto newspaper; it also commented on the eminent "respectability" of these riders.⁴⁴⁹ "In England," one Torontonians noted, "all the women of nobility ride nowadays, to say nothing of the royal women,

⁴⁴⁸The wealthy could pay as much as 500 dollars for a bike, although advertisements in the dailies usually price them between 75 and 150 dollars. I have seen advertisements for new bicycles as low as 40 dollars (*Mail and Empire*, January 22 1898: 7), and "good" used bicycles for 25 dollars (*Mail and Empire*, March 8 1898: 8).

⁴⁴⁹*Saturday Night*, July 4, 1896: 1-2.

who spin every day through their private parks, and what these people do the members of [New York's]...precious four hundred are bound to do, and so bicycling is becoming more in vogue than ever."⁴⁵⁰ And if the women of New York cycled then so should Toronto's women. "In New York city," the *Mail and Empire* reported, "there is no distinction of persons on the wheel, and for a woman to ride there attracts no more attention than for a man to ride a horse anywhere."⁴⁵¹ Likewise in Toronto, women "gradually [awoke] to the fact that there is no disgrace in riding a wheel," noting that "almost as many ladies' wheels ha[d] been purchased...as gentlemen's." ⁴⁵²

Throngs of well-dressed, well-bred men and women cycled through the cities and urban countryside of the West: early-twentieth-century historian, Arthur Schlesinger (1933: 313) reports that in America alone more than million bicycles wheeled through the streets and roadways. It became commonplace to read of the excursive exploits of well-born cyclists, on tours of London or the English countryside; Francis Willard's discussion of her rides round Eastnor Castle attaches to this impulse. In April of 1895, the *Mail and Empire* reprinted at length the travels of a literate British cyclist through the English countryside.⁴⁵³ Travel writer, and spouse of American illustrator Joseph Pennell, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, wrote a cycling travelogue for *Harper's* in 1897.⁴⁵⁴ Pennell is useful here because of the class-driven nature of her use of the bicycle.


⁴⁵⁰*Mail and Empire*, May 14, 1898, part two: 4.

⁴⁵¹*Mail and Empire*, May 25, 1895, supplement, "The Flaneur."

⁴⁵²*The Ladies' Journal*, May 1895, Vol. XV, No. 5: 7.

⁴⁵³*Mail and Empire*, April 6, 1895, supplement.

⁴⁵⁴Elizabeth Robins Pennell, "Cycling Around London", *Harper's*, June to November 1897, XCV: 489-510.



**Those
Evening
Rides...**

Would be much more enjoyable if you
were mounted on an **expanding**.

**Massey-
-Harris**

The bearings are almost **distinction**.

Massey-Harris Co.

Salesroom

Cor. Yonge and Adelaide Sts., Toronto

- 5.1 A Massey-Harris Co. advertisement emphasizing the gentility of cycling. Note the rider's flower.

Pennel undertook a cycling trip through the geography of English literature. Her narrative begins with descriptions of Disraeli's Deepdene, "because in its library Disraeli wrote *Coningsby*," then Juniper Hill "and the haunts of the French exiles, among them Madame de Stael and Tallyrand and M. d'Arblay whom Fanny Burney married; to Camilla Lacy, where part of [Burney's] life with him was spent and *Camilla* was written; to Burford Bridge, where Keats finished his 'Endymion'."⁴⁵⁵ In Rochester, although the place of Pepys, Dr. Johnson, and Hogarth,

these are not your companions through the dull little town. It is Pip, rather, or Edwin Drood, or Davy Copperfield, or the Seven Poor Travellers, or Mr. Pickwick and his friends. There is no getting rid of them if you wanted. They follow you every turn, dog your every step...Go further, and a little way from the High Street in one direction, and you come to where Davy Copperfield spent the night under the cannon during his flight to Dover and Miss Betsy Trotwood; in another, and you pass the beautiful old house where Pip played to please Miss Havisham, and Estella gave him her cheek to kiss.⁴⁵⁶

A few more miles and Pennell arrived in Chalfont St. Giles, "where Milton's cottage still turns a gable to the street."⁴⁵⁷ This was too much for Pennel who indulges her readers with a few lines of Milton: "here too" she wrote,

are the hedge-row elms and hillocks green, the 'Russet lawns
and fallows gray/Where the nibbling flocks do stray'; here the
'Meadows trim, with daisies pied -- here, in a word, all the

⁴⁵⁵*ibid.*: 493.

⁴⁵⁶*ibid.*: 496-497.

⁴⁵⁷*ibid.*: 507.

beautiful land of 'L'Allegro,' so that but for the facts and dates one would think that the poem must have been written in [Milton's] cottage.⁴⁵⁸

Pennell on her bicycle took her North American readers to the nativity of "Paradise Lost." Just as Willard showed women that cycling facilitated beauty and decorum, Pennell illustrated for city dwellers that civility and the bicycle coincide. Bourgeois Torontonians learned early that cycling and the city was the place "[w]here 'Bikes' and 'Beauty' congregate."⁴⁵⁹

The bicycle symbolised cosmopolitan decorum and civility and the *Mail and Empire* editors opined:

That the bicycle has come to stay is unquestionable. Its value has been generally recognized by all classes and by both sexes, by military authorities, the church, the professions, and the labouring man. It has become a factor in regulating fashion in dress and health in mind and body, and is already an important agent in the improvement of roads, in both town and country.

Most importantly, however, the writer continues, Chicago's municipal authorities guaranteed the bicycle's value: mounted police in Lincoln Park would ride bicycles from then on.⁴⁶⁰

Cycling helped women manifest Domestic civility in public, something at which I have already hinted. This feminist decorum also contributed to the presence of a civil cosmopolitanism, emphasising as it did fashion and comportment in the public. Woman having "appropriated" the bicycle in

⁴⁵⁸*ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹J. C. Innes, "Cupid and the Wheel", *Mail and Empire*, April 6, 1895: supplement.

⁴⁶⁰*Mail and Empire*, April 23, 1895: 6.

They're All Artists' Models

Perfect,
Garden City,
Dominion,
Chainless.



Three
Artists' Models.

*THERE are no
wheels made that
have as many valu-
able exclusive im-
provements as the
"Welland Vale," and
that have the Grace,
Beauty and Strength
They are made for
sterling.*

Welland Vale Mfg. Co., Limited

TORONTO STORE:
147-149 Yonge Street

St. Catharines, Ont.

- 5.2 Welland Vale produced a line of bicycles called the "Artists'," a tacit acknowledgement of the influence and efficacy of art in late-Victorian Society.

Toronto, the question remained whether she could “wear the garb that [wa]s most suitable for riding it,” since conventional women’s dress standards ill-suited the bicycle, as we have seen. For the answer, Toronto’s “eyes would be turned to Chicago to see what course it will take upon this vexed question.”⁴⁶¹ Toronto eyes would also turn east for the “[l]atest things worn by wheelwomen in New York:”

The bicycle girl is more prominent than ever this year. Someone has said that bicycling had gone out of fashion but that person should watch all the swell girls of the four hundred go out through Westchester and Tuxedo and all about the other pretty places of New York, and then he wouldn’t say such things.⁴⁶²

The catalogue-like article advances “all sorts of pretty and attractive fashions devised for fair riders,” from hats to gaiters, everything worn by decorous women cyclists in New York and London. Advice from a “lady” cyclist in Washington, DC, proposed the outfit that won the *World’s* prize “as the most practicable” for women cyclists, an “Eton Jacket, shirt waist and skirt.”⁴⁶³ One’s appearance, fashionable habiliment, while riding mattered as much as the bicycle itself.

Bicycle fashions made Toronto’s cyclists so comely that one critic suggested that it was changing the nature of traditional social structure.⁴⁶⁴ Because many cyclists tried to live up to the appearance-standard of cycling, Edmund Sheppard, editor of *Saturday Night*, surmised that

⁴⁶¹*Mail and Empire*, June 25, 1895: 8. Apparently, “an Alderman of the city of Chicago want[ed] bloomers banished from the centre of western culture. He condemn[ed] bloomers as menacing to public morals, unhealthy, un-American, and unladylike.”

⁴⁶²*Mail and Empire*, May 14, 1898, part two: 4.

⁴⁶³*The Ladies’ Journal*, February 1895, Vol. XVII, No. 2: 12.

⁴⁶⁴An American census official in 1900 declared “that few articles ever used by man have created so great a revolution in social conditions as the bicycle” (Schlesinger 1933: 313).

[t]he sewing girl is quite as much of a swell as the daughter of the millionaire when they go out riding, and the clerk is perhaps more graceful and as well-dressed as his master as they dash away home for luncheon. Aristocracy can hardly survive the time when they are not recognized and envied in the street.”⁴⁶⁵

We can challenge Sheppard here: sewing girls could ill-afford the price of the outfits recommended for bourgeois riders, even if cycling itself was one thing they could afford to do, but he is stretching the conceit here to make a point.⁴⁶⁶ Sheppard understood something integral to Toronto’s interest in the decorative, since it relates to reform. Improvement was intended to be a trickle-down process. Just as the decorative arts was a movement to lend the moral-aesthetic benefits of high-art to the middle and lower classes, the social decorum that accompanied bourgeois cycling affected all the lower classes who cycled. Sheppard noticed this happening in the streets of Toronto. If this was obvious to Sheppard then Toronto’s engagement with the bike as a means of reform was paying off.

Given such bicycle-motivated social uplift, pedestrians and street-watchers could be expected to see “tides” of handsome wheelwomen and wheelmen “between Yonge street and High Park [cycling]... steadily westward during the morning and early part of the afternoon, while the shades of dusk see the same crowds of pleasure-seekers returning to their homes.”⁴⁶⁷ They

⁴⁶⁵*Saturday Night*, May 9, 1896: 1.

⁴⁶⁶Toronto had “bicycle liveries” that rented bikes by the hour and day. A *Mail and Empire* (April 6, 1898: 6) series on business opportunities for young men noted that “this line of business has developed rapidly, until nearly every village in the country, large enough to support a livery, has at least one bicycle livery. Toronto has forty such shops where bicycles may be hired by the hour, day, or month ... in one of the larger liveries of Toronto there are nearly 400 wheels ready on demand.” Fashions aside, sewing girls and clerks might occasionally afford the twenty-five cents to ride a bicycle for an hour.

⁴⁶⁷*Mail and Empire*, April 9, 1898: 6.

saw with increasing frequency neat couples or small, fashionable groups of women and men out for a "gentle wheel" in the streets of the city at twilight.⁴⁶⁸ Mostly, contemporary observers witnessed a "wonderful increase in the number of riders,"⁴⁶⁹ which only increased "the [appreciable] influence of Toronto's cyclists."⁴⁷⁰

Apart from individual riders, there were at least thirty bicycle clubs in Toronto, consisting in part of bourgeois and evangelical riders, e.g., the Berkeley Epworth Bicycle Club, the Sons of Temperance Cycling Union, the Toronto Methodist Cyclists' Union, the Tourists (YMCA) Bicycle Club, the East Presbyterian Bicycle Club, the Athenium Bicycle Club,* the Q. O. R. Bicycle Club,* the Parkdale Bicycle Club,* the Wanderers Bicycle Club,* and the Ramblers Bicycle Club*.⁴⁷¹ Commentators could remark on the civilising effect that cycling was having on the streets of Toronto by "changing the habits of people."⁴⁷² They dressed according to the dictates of the bicycle-fashion, which elevated the appearance of people in the streets; they preferred roadhouses to saloons. And they drank "'soft' drinks rather

⁴⁶⁸*Mail and Empire*, July 27, 1898: 6.

⁴⁶⁹*Mail and Empire*, May 10, 1895: 4.

⁴⁷⁰*Mail and Empire*, April 26, 1898: 8.

⁴⁷¹Asterisks denote those clubs whose names appear regularly in the social and cycling pages of the *Mail and Empire*. For example, the Royal Canadian Bicycle Club annual "At Home" gala at Dingman's Hall was "tastefully decorated" and "two hundred couples had a pleasant evening" (*Mail and Empire*, January 29, 1898: 12).

⁴⁷²*Saturday Night*, May 2, 1896: 1. Part of this bicycle-induced change of habit, Sheppard wrote was the reinforcement of individualism. Cycling "has lifted us out of the corporate power and made it possible for the individual to be a factor, not noisily or politically, but in respect of simply being able to separate himself from the mass and go by himself. When the world goes by itself in such a way as that, there is nothing in the old systems that can guide political or economic results in an election or the value of real estate. The people see for themselves; they travel by themselves; they work for themselves, and as they have not done in the past – they reason for themselves. All these things grow out of the new idea, and we must calculate in business matters and political matters, and in everything, that the citizen is much more of a personage and less of a fraction of a mass than ever before."

than 'hard' ones," buttressing Frances Willard's belief in the bicycle as a missionary for temperance reform (Willard 1895: 12-13).⁴⁷³

Another interesting observation pedestrians could make had to do with the sidewalks themselves. So many people were riding bicycles in Toronto it affected the numbers of people rubbing shoulders on the walkways: "There is already more room on the sidewalks than there used to be, but in future we may see them more deserted than they are now."⁴⁷⁴ Perhaps, but many of Toronto's roads, which we encounter below, were hard to ride on and cyclists frequently took to the sidewalks. So much so that the city was forced to pass a by-law restricting the sidewalks to pedestrians until after midnight.⁴⁷⁵

If the sidewalks looked a little less peopled, it was not so on the streetcars, and even there the bicycle's influence could be felt.⁴⁷⁶ In Toronto in the late 1890's, streetcars were compared to "cold storage cattle cars," streetcar travel considered an outright incivility (on this point, see Holt 1972).⁴⁷⁷ Overcrowded streetcars in Toronto appeared to some an "evil for which there [wa]s no remedy."⁴⁷⁸ Alderman Denison decried the Dundas cars calling them "the fag end of creation."⁴⁷⁹ Considering that at the time middle-class suburbanites and professionals dominated the use of the streetcar—the democratisation of streetcar usage would happen after street railways became

⁴⁷³*ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴*Mail and Empire*, August 1, 1895: 4.

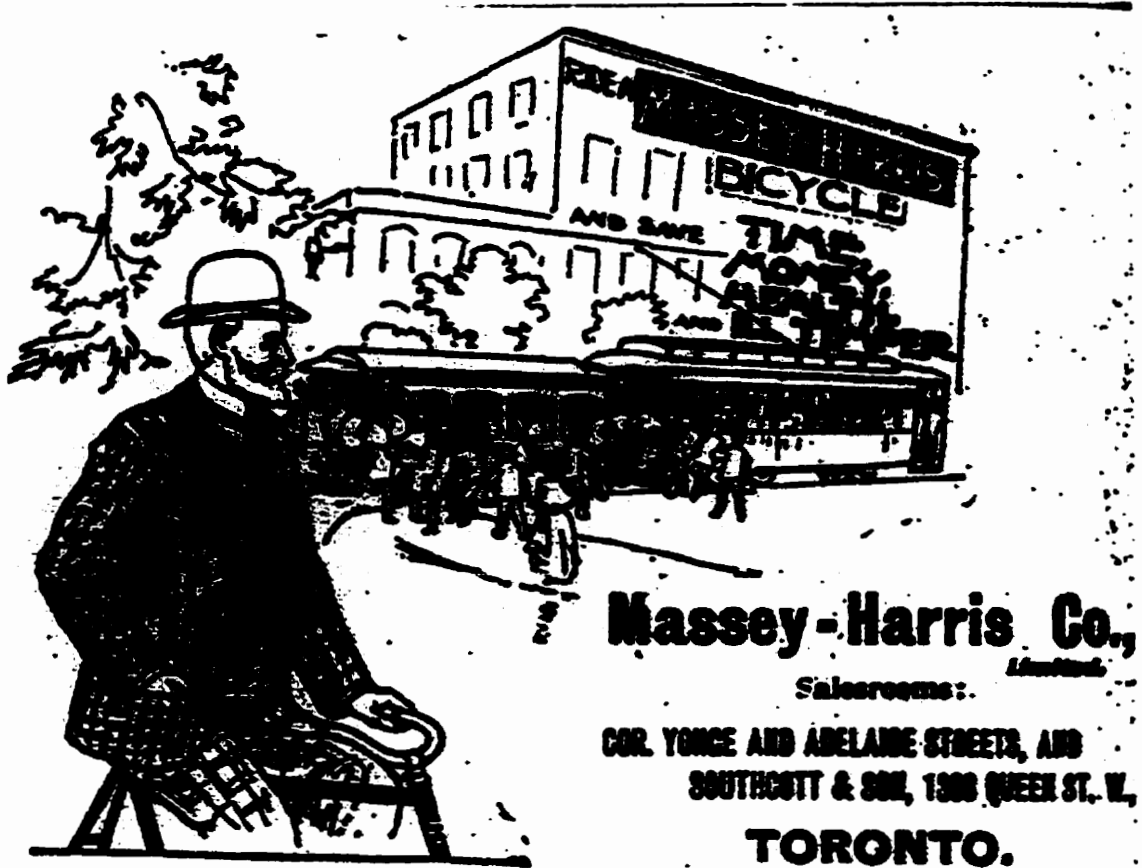
⁴⁷⁵*Mail and Empire*, May 6, 1897: 6.

⁴⁷⁶These reduced numbers of people on the sidewalks must refer to the bourgeois pedestrians, since we know from the same sources that Toronto's sidewalks were filled with children, the underclasses and the unemployed, and working girls.

⁴⁷⁷*Mail and Empire*, February 12, 1898: 6.

⁴⁷⁸*Mail and Empire*, January 7, 1898: 6.

⁴⁷⁹*Mail and Empire*, February 12, 1898: 6.



Massey-Harris Co.,
Limited
 Salesrooms:
 COR. YONGE AND ADELAIDE STREETS, AND
 SOUTHOTT & SON, 1300 QUEEN ST. W.,
TORONTO.

5.3 A Massey-Harris Co. advertisement used frequently throughout 1898.

WHY NOT
RIDE A **MASSEY-HARRIS** AND HAVE
COMFORT?

MASSEY-HARRIS (CO., LIMITED,
BALDWIN—GRAND TRUNK AND AVENUE ST., 100 QUEEN ST. WEST, TORONTO.

- 5.4 Bicycle manufacturers knew who their customers were and how to appeal to their sensibilities. Notice the seated woman reading a Massey Harris ad in her magazine.

a public utility rather than private enterprise—such conditions rankled even more.⁴⁸⁰

Saturday Night's editor in the late 1890s, "Mack," rode these streetcars daily. He complained that

[a]ll the company aims to do is supply sufficient cars to do all the business possible at as little expense as possible...At no regular hour of travel can a man rely upon getting and keeping a seat—coming to business in the morning, going home in the evening, coming to and going from the theatres, going anywhere on Sunday.⁴⁸¹

To him they "seem[ed] to be carefully clipped, gauged and regulated to just carry the people in packed and crushed boxfuls."⁴⁸² Indeed the deplorable conditions of street railway travel compelled City Engineer Rust to recommend to the Board of Control that it "take action to ascertain its [legal] powers to prevent overcrowding on street cars."⁴⁸³ The Mayor noted that "complaints [were] so numerous and frequent it is evident there was a grievance" and instructed the city solicitor to take necessary action.

⁴⁸⁰A unified one-fare system was implemented in 1921: four tickets for 25 cents or a single cash fare of 10 cents for adults; for children not over 51 inches, ten tickets for 25 cents; and a 3 cent cash fare. Toronto had already established municipal railways—the Toronto Civic Railways—during the interregnum between the establishment of the Toronto Street Railway and the Toronto Transportation Commission, now the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC). The civic railways operated from about 1911 on Danforth Avenue, Gerard Street east of Greenwood, St. Clair Avenue west of Caledonia, Lansdowne Avenue south from St. Clair Avenue to the C.P.R. tracks, and on Bloor Street west of Dundas to Runnymede Avenue. A provincial Act created the TTC in 1920, integrating the city's "nine fare collecting services," such as the Toronto Street Railway, Toronto Suburban Railway, Toronto Civic Railways, etc., within the city limits prior to 1921. The commission consisted of three ratepayers appointed by City Council for a term of three years (see Middleton 1934: 142). For a history of Toronto's streetcar services and how those railways were integral to the culture of the city see Filey (1996) and (1981) respectively.

⁴⁸¹*Saturday Night*, February 12, 1898: 1.

⁴⁸²*ibid.*

⁴⁸³*Mail and Empire*, February 15, 1895: 6.

Mack, however, recognised that the bicycle played a part even here. Streetcar travel, incredibly, could have been worse: "Perhaps hundreds of people who, like myself, were prejudiced against bicycles two years ago, have bought wheels just to escape for half the year from street cars in which they are forced to cling to straps or poise on narrow footboards."⁴⁸⁴ The bicycle brought a civility, decorum, and convenience to the streets, apparently providing some relief to middle-class Torontonians living in "streetcar suburbs" (Warner 1978).

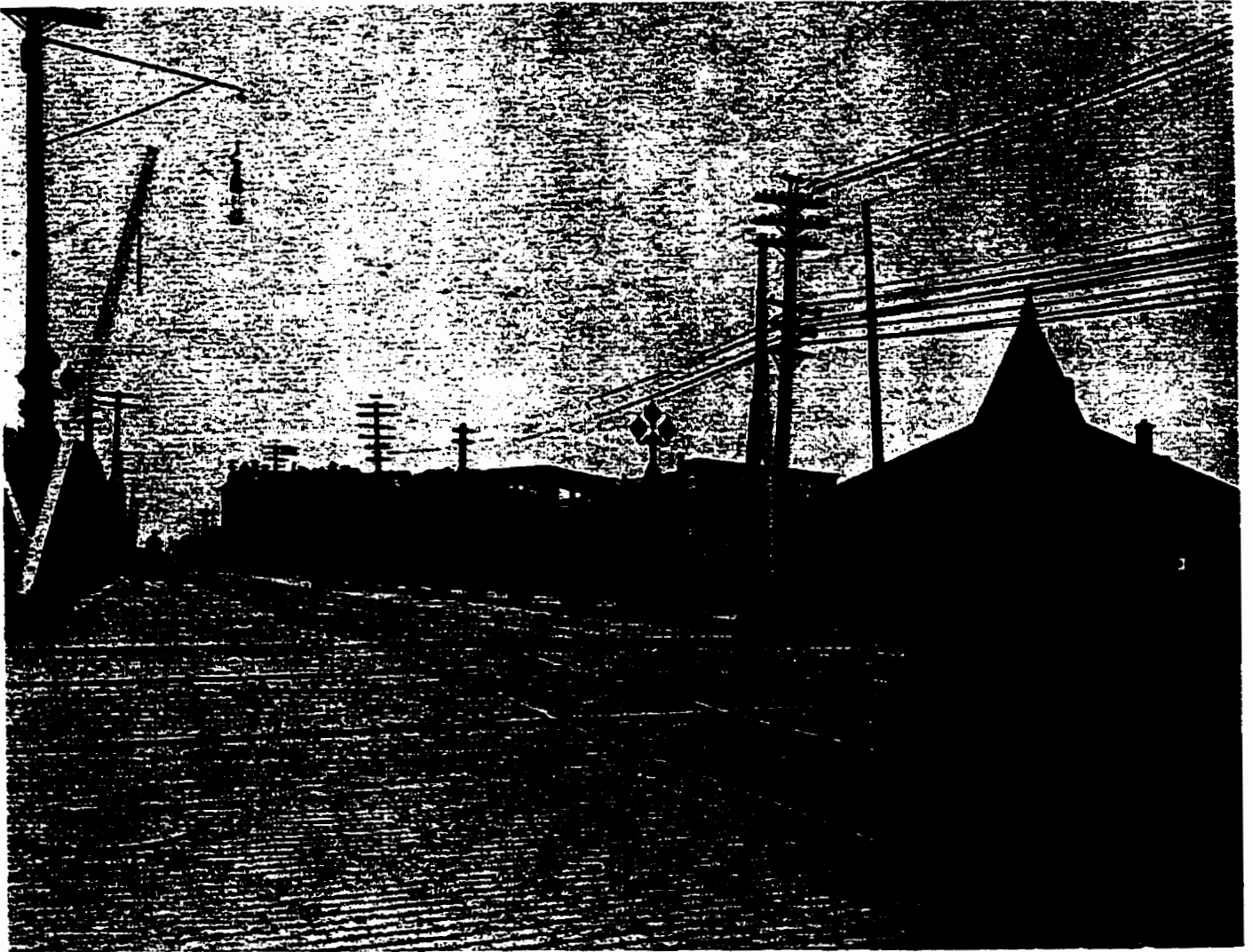
The importance of pavements

The turn of the century was an era of "good roads," thoroughfares with paved surfaces, and reformers efforts to build them. Just as bicycles connected to civility and decorum, in Toronto they directly affected the increase in road surfacing, performing "good work as a missionary of good roads."⁴⁸⁵ Scholars too have noted the link between bikes and pavements as it applies in general to the good roads movement in North America (Guillet 1966; Woodforde 1970; Alderson 1972; Harmond 1971-1972; Smith 1972; Monkonnens 1988; McShane 1994; Bijker 1995). Urban historian, Clay McShane (1994: 41-56) documents the turmoil of late Victorian streets under the pressures of animal traffic and the respite the bicycle introduced. For one thing, bicycles did not bite or kick passersby, nor cover the streets with millions of tons of manure, which caused not only filth and stench but respiratory infection. Bicycles did not drop dead every hundred or so miles travelled; New York by the 1880's removed 15,000 carcasses a year, or approximately 41 a day, from the streets.⁴⁸⁶ Roads were so difficult to navigate

⁴⁸⁴*Saturday Night*, February 19, 1898: 1.

⁴⁸⁵*Mail and Empire*, December 23, 1896: 4.

⁴⁸⁶Imagine the composition of the dirt from these roadways! In Great Britain street sweepings were given to farmers for fertilizer (Blanchard and Drowne 1911: 166).



5.5 Brick roads were especially hard on horse-drawn carts (Filey 1970: 74). Notice the sets between the tracks.



5.6 The cycling-amenity of pavement on Jarvis Street (Filey 1970: 78).

that they simply wore animals and vehicles out. Middle-class cyclists, however, needed uniform surfaces to pedal their fashions about the city. The massive popularity of the safety bike among urbanites and suburbanites in the 1890's increased pressure on municipal governments to lay rubber- and bourgeoisie-friendly pavements.

We who live with pavements tend not to think about them or contemplate their affiliation with civility, excepting perhaps our occasional engagement with a pothole. We rarely if ever put hygiene and asphalt together. When Robinson writes "[g]ood pavements are a demand which clean pavements involve, and together they may be said to be the essentials of municipal dignity" we simply marvel that dignity in the city can be affiliated with asphalt.⁴⁸⁷ New York City believed so devoutly in the civility, dignity, and hygiene of pavement, Robinson suggested, that the corporation laid thousands of yards of asphalt in the Lower East Side during the 1890's in an attempt to improve the quality of life for tenement dwellers.⁴⁸⁸ It was clean and made a safe, hygienic playground for tenement children.

Reformers widely accepted the idea that "good pavements [we]re necessary to the highest development of the commercial, sanitary, and esthetic life of the city" (Baker 1913: 293). "Good roads in Canada" one writer argued, meant "a higher standard of citizenship, [and] a people pervaded by education and good morals."⁴⁸⁹ School children in Toronto learned that "roads and highways [were] an index to the nation's civilization" (Hughes and Foster 1919: 3081). Indeed, in a list of eight economic benefits of asphalt pavements road engineer, Ira Baker (1913: 295), attributes five to aesthetics

⁴⁸⁷Robinson, *Improvement in City Life*, *op. cit.*: 774.

⁴⁸⁸*ibid.*: 529-530.

⁴⁸⁹"What Good Roads Mean to Canada", *Farm Improvements*, Vol. 1 No. 4, 1912: 75.

and hygiene, "an absolute necessity to both the business and resident districts of...cities...good pavements add[ing] greatly to the health, comfort, and pleasure of life" (Baker 1913: 296).

Not surprisingly, reformers believed good roads were good for the city. Detroit's reform Mayor, Hazen Pingree, declared at his inauguration in 1890 that nothing contributed "'so much to the prosperity of a city as well as paved streets'" (Pingree, in Holli 1969: 24). J.W. Howard wrote in *Municipal Engineering* in 1900 that "cities with disagreeable, repelling, improperly paved, noisy, poorly cleaned streets cannot become nor remain successful cities. They cause men who are successful financially to go to more attractive places" (Howard, in McShane 1994: 54). Certainly such a philosophy formed the infrastructural backbone of Burnham and Bennett's *Plan of Chicago* (1909), as we have seen in a previous chapter; recall that they used of "good taste" as a precondition for the erection of infrastructure.

This idea of infrastructural decorum loomed large in the decorative writings of theorists such as Robinson (1903: 138-165, chapter five, "The Furnishings of the Street"; 1901: 94-112) and Swiss engineer, Jean Schopfer (1903), both forwarding the idea of street furnishing, one highly suggestive of making a homelike city. Indeed in Robinson and Schopfer we notice the similarity between furnishing the street and decorating the parlour. For Schopfer, "the art of making a beautiful city must be practiced down to its minutest detail, and therefore do not let us be afraid to go down on the street and see how it is ornamented, lighted, and rendered pleasant and commodious, in a word, how it is furnished."⁴⁹⁰ There is a parlour-esque-

⁴⁹⁰Jean Schopfer, "Art in the City, The Plan of a City, The Furnishing of a City", *Architectural Record*, 12 November 1902: 573-583; December 1902: 693-703; 13 January 1903: 42-48; in Reps (2000).

ness to Robinson (1903: 165) too: "The furnishings of the street, like the furnishings of a room, should not only add to its convenience but to its aesthetic aspect."⁴⁹¹ These pleasant and commodious street furnishings included decorous lamp standards, broad paved roadways and sidewalks, ironwork benches, drinking fountains, median islands, street signs and house number-plates, post boxes, advertising kiosks and columns, and of course, trees. The beautification of utility is at its most apparent in these prescriptions for proper infrastructure; Robinson (1901: 94-112) has a chapter called "Making Utilities Beautiful." And the literal foundation of this beauty is smooth, noiseless pavement.

Paving the city

Beliefs aside, the laying of pavements proved a formidable task for most cities. North American cities languished on insufficient road surfaces. Yet as Hughes and Foster (1919: 3081; emphasis added) explain, "[t]he condition of the roads in the United States and Canada *is no disgrace*...because the[se nations] include so much territory and have been settled so rapidly that it has been impossible for the states and smaller communities to construct roads as fast as they are needed." Hughes and Foster's telling use of "disgrace" here should suggest that the issue of road and street conditions floated very near the surface; the appearance of streets to many North American city dwellers seemed disgraceful, if not morally reprehensible. Unpaved roads hampered the free movement of traffic, goods, and people, made clouds of dust in warm weather, countless yards of mud in wet, and disparaged the appearance of both the built and human space of the city. Unpaved roads

⁴⁹¹In a chapter on city planning, "the Need, the Theory and its Rationale" in a later study, Robinson (1916: 72) compares city planning to domestic living space and its commonsensibility.

made the modern city seem anything but modern, and more importantly, anything but beautiful or cosmopolitan.

Although asphalt paving made its debut in North America in the 1870's, not until the end of the century did reformers turn to it as a practical thing of beauty. Gravel, cedar blocks, or the layered stone of macadam created dust, dirt, and travel-discomfort. The attraction of asphalt lay in its meeting the criteria established by highway engineers and immortalised by Burnham and Bennett: cleanliness, noiselessness, and smoothness, the latter especially crucial for the health of animals and maintenance of vehicles. Even in the age of the streetcar and telephone, we tend to forget, horses and carts moved most goods, though bicycles, streetcars, and increasingly automobiles, transported people through the streets of the city. Choice of road surfaces accounted not only for durability, and cost effectiveness as it pertained to laying the pavement, street-cleaning and watering, vehicle and animal maintenance, ease of repair, and longevity—highly significant in the age of local improvement assessments when ratepayers paid directly for the pavements that passed by their front doors—but also appearance.

Much to the chagrin of reformers, and despite the prevalence of rational discussions about the economic, hygienic, and aesthetic necessity for the universal application of modern pavements, brick, concrete, and especially asphalt, Toronto struggled with poor street surfaces. Effective and efficient pavements, of which asphalt is only one, simply cost too much money. Ratepayers refused to grant City Council permission to lay them. City engineers, however, continued to recommend them, particularly asphalt, despite ratepayer adversity. It is Toronto's city engineers' predisposition to asphalt paving to which I draw the reader's attention. Their approbation for

asphalt impinges greatly on economic interpretations of planning action at the turn-of-the-century— “urban planning” is an anachronism when applied to the 1890’s. As the remainder of the chapter will argue, it is entirely for purposes of beauty and not practical economics that Toronto used asphalt pavements, considered it a “proper” pavement. Asphalt pavements though especially suited to rubber-wheeled vehicles were poor choices for the conduct of “heavy traffic,” the animal-powered hauling carts that persisted in North American cities until the 1920’s, and the massive high-weight streetcars that became a permanent urban attribute by the 1890s. Asphalt pavement, however, ideally conveyed spatial beauty, both human and built. The bicycle in the 1890s gave Toronto mobile beauty. And uniform asphalt pavements encouraged beautiful cyclists to take to handsome pavements and beautify the city through the riders’ physical presence a-wheel.

Bad roads

Toronto had hundreds of miles of streets, many of which were surfaced with either gravel or macadam, or cedar blocks, six-inch cedar logs stood on end on a bed of sand, gravel, and very infrequently, concrete. Such roads tormented reformers, cedar blocks occupying the lion’s share of street surfacing in the city. When cedar block roads were excluded from the equation “only 10 1/2 per cent. (sic) of the roadways inside the City limits...ha[d] anything like a durable covering.”⁴⁹² No one liked macadam, gravel, or cedar block roads, but the latter was the one to which the average ratepayer gravitated. Cedar roads laid relatively inexpensively and initially provided a smooth and noiseless travelling surface compared to macadam or gravel, which pitted, heaved, bogged, and destroyed vehicles and animals.

⁴⁹²*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1894*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1895: 23-24; CTA.

Unfortunately, cedar blocks had a short life span, wore badly in the rain, and required extensive maintenance in the form of repairs and street cleaning. "This wear" assistant engineer H. D. Ellis wrote of cedar block roads, "occurs exactly in the centre of the tracks and is caused entirely by the sharp caulks in the horses shoes during the spring, autumn and winter...A hollow once formed at this point acts as a gutter for rain water, and the blocks, thus kept wet and soggy, soon cut to pieces under the wear from the horse's feet."⁴⁹³ In less than five years a cedar block road turned to pulp, incessantly pounded by the iron shoes and metal rims of heavy horses and carts.

Even worse for a society burgeoning with economic and scientific efficiency, as the City Engineer reported with more than a hint of perturbation, cedar blocks were not cost-effective:

If the public could be brought to understand that poor roadways mean a heavy annual tax for repairs and cleaning, and, indirectly, by the additional cost of haulage, the destruction of vehicles and harness used, and injury to horses, they would not hesitate about repaving these thoroughfares with some proper material. The average strength required to be exerted by a horse to pull one ton on smooth pavement is given as between 16 lbs. to 20 lbs. per ton, whereas on a broken stone roadway in good condition it amounts to 60 lbs. On a cedar block road in bad condition it probably amounts to 100 to 150 lbs. per ton, that is, it requires more from 4 to 5 horses to do the work that should be done by one.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1895*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1896: 26; CTA.

⁴⁹⁴*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1894*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1895: 23; CTA.

Remember both this cost-benefit assessment of cedar blocks and the recommendation of repaving with a “proper material.” The argument of this chapter hinges entirely upon Toronto’s City Engineers’ construction of the “proper.”

Cedar block pavements were problematic in other ways. For one thing, they were hard to clean. Street cleaning on block streets was “very much handicapped... by reason of their defective condition, it being simply impossible to clean them thoroughly, with the numerous holes and cavities in the blocks making it a lodgement for the dirt. The expense of the work is also materially increased from this cause.”⁴⁹⁵ The city maintained a \$55,000 annual budget for street cleaning, street watering and snow removal. Cedar block roads were the main reason. Toronto had mile after mile of the stuff.

Living with dust and mud

Cedar block roads trapped dirt, being round blocks abutting each other. The dirt became dust in hot weather. Continuous breezes off the lake and the passing of streetcars stirred it into clouds. Dust was a problem endemic to all modern cities and city engineers employed different methods to keep it down, “including emulsions of paraffin, solutions of calcium chloride and various oils” although it became “evident that tar was the only practical solution” (Earle 1974: 42; see also Blanchard and Drowne 1910, Chapter IX, “Dust Prevention by the Use of Palliatives”; and Smith 1909). To keep dust down in Toronto, crews watered the streets, usually one good, but ineffective, soaking. Without watering, dust choked commercial and pedestrian life in Toronto. The city’s Retail Merchants’ Association agitated for “properly watered” streets to protect their goods and make it possible for shoppers to shop

⁴⁹⁵*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1896*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1897: 33-34; CTA.

comfortably.⁴⁹⁶ Omnipresent dust in the downtown ruined merchant's displayed goods, outside and in, and aggravated their customers. In spring of 1898, Alderman Bowman recommended "sprinkl[ing] the[streets] throughout the day rather than...flooding" them once.⁴⁹⁷ No action on Bowman's recommendation by midsummer that same year impelled the *Mail and Empires'* Flaneur to comment that the city's policy of watering the street once a day assuaged nothing but aldermanic reticence. "The summer is passing and the dust is increasing," he wrote. "Alderman Bowman, push that proposal of yours. Never mind the old ladies in the Council; sprinkle them too if you like."⁴⁹⁸ Unfortunately, the Council comprised only part of the problem.

The inability to keep dust down had much to do with sheer physics on dreadful roads: "The great majority of block paved streets are so bad that we dare not run a watering cart on them," Board of Work Commissioner Jones intoned at a council meeting in February of 1898; "they would break the carts." And in Toronto, there were over a hundred miles of such roads which never got a drop of water in the summer.⁴⁹⁹ And not just the road surfaces needed repair. Months previous, Engineer Keating--of "Keating Channel" fame--backed Mayor Shaw's "effort[s] to enlist the support of the Council in his brick sidewalk and devil strip scheme," the latter the paved track allowance, often supported with brick or granite setts, in which ran the street car tracks.⁵⁰⁰ Lack of maintenance produced "frightful ruts" and potholes. As a result, "[a]ccidents [we]re happening daily...and one need only ride from Yonge street to Spadina avenue on College street to see."⁵⁰¹ And as for the

⁴⁹⁶*Mail and Empire*, April 2, 1898: 6.

⁴⁹⁷*Mail and Empire*, May 10, 1898: 6.

⁴⁹⁸*Mail and Empire*, July 9, 1898, part two: 6.

⁴⁹⁹*Mail and Empire*, February 23, 1898: 10.

⁵⁰⁰*Mail and Empire*, April 19, 1897: 7.

⁵⁰¹*Mail and Empire*, April 20, 1898: 8.

sidewalks, Keating thought that the city needed brick walks, brick being “much superior to wood...the accidents which now occur through defective walks would be largely reduced in number.” (People broke through the plank walks, twisted their ankles, barked their shins, etc.). Such was the state of Toronto’s pavements in 1898, “probably 40 or 50 miles of streets in the city...completely worn out.”⁵⁰²

Yet by the end of that particular February Council session, the 1898 budget for pavement repairs was slashed by \$27,000. Repairs to cedar block roads were cut \$15,000 to \$8,000, macadam roads from \$12,000 to \$8,000, general repairs to already improved roadways from \$5000 to \$3000, sidewalk repairs from \$25,000 to \$15,000 and street watering from \$25,000 to \$20,000.⁵⁰³ Ironically, a month before these cuts to the street repair budget, Mayor Shaw declared with seeming sincerity that “[o]ne of the most difficult questions which the City Council will have to consider this year is as to what is the best method of dealing with the street pavement problem...the whole question should be dealt with without delay and with the most earnest consideration which the Council can devote.”⁵⁰⁴ He no doubt believed that statement but aldermanic accountability was judged by ratepayers.

Too bad for Toronto. The unpaved and/or badly paved source of dust in dry weather is a mire in wet. A ubiquitous and malodorous mud sucked the boots from Torontonians’ feet in the wet seasons, especially early spring, a time one commentator dubbed “the mud period.”⁵⁰⁵ Mud was the lot of modern cities. Charles Baudelaire, the modernist city-poet of Paris, writes about the desanctification of ideals in *la fange du macadam* in mid-century

⁵⁰²*Mail and Empire*, March 12, 1897: 4.

⁵⁰³*ibid.*

⁵⁰⁴*Mail and Empire*, January 11, 1898: 8.

⁵⁰⁵*Mail and Empire*, March 22, 1897: 4.

Paris (Berman 1981: 155-171). Another, not so poetic writer implies this same loss of sanctity in the disrespectful ooze of the Toronto's thoroughfares.

The Time of Mud

It must be evident to the most unscientific observer that this is the mud period. Mud soils the bottines of beauty, draws a frown on the matronly brow of Beauty's mother, bemires the merchant and manufacturer; makes politicians look dirtier and damages the poor man's only pair of breeches. Nothing short of a vicious pen can express the disgust with which people generally, and perhaps women more particularly, view the beginnings of spring in the city ways. It is all very well to talk of the green buds that presently will begin to thicken on the trees, and the daffy-down lillies that blaze in golden glory under the oaks, and of the young crocuses and scant snowdrops that the spring poet has now in his thoughts ready to transfer to neat foolscap. But spring as heralded by the mud which the going away of the snow causes to accumulate in uncared for city streets is something which turns the poet's daydreams into a hideous nightmare, which pursues you along the pavements, and culminates at the crossings. Thick, oozy, and sticky city mud has not even the fresh scent of country mud to redeem it from absolute nastiness. One would not object to a rim of wet country earth about one's shoes as we do to the filthy rolls of smooth slimy material that meet us at every turn in our city streets. One would need to be in a very rapt and ecstatic frame of mind indeed to look with any kind of favour on the approach of



5.7 An automobile mired on a suburban street in the "time of mud," 1912 (in Careless 1984: 191).

spring when trudging along through the heavy slush that makes a puddle of pathways and a morass of the horse-road. Spring as an abstract quantity is a pleasant and glad season that might be made far more pleasant to dwellers in the cities if some prompt attention were paid to the cleansing of the streets. The delight of man a beholding the world getting ready to clothe itself in bright new raiment would be much increased were some precautions taken for the protection of his raiment, which cannot hope to perform for itself the rejuvenating evolution of nature. If clothes budded and became renewed at this time of the year, one could perhaps bear the advent of the mud period. As it is, it afflicts us with an amount of dirt on our persons, and in our houses, which is not by any means conducive to a happy frame of mind.⁵⁰⁶

Marshall Berman (1982: 160-161) tells us that *la fange*, though literally translated *m u d*, is also figurative for “mire, filth, vileness, corruption, degradation, all that is foul and loathsome,” and appropriately for this thesis, “the nadir of the moral universe.” Boosters could hardly hawk cities where unsightly, dangerous, and impassable streets fettered freedom of movement, upon which commerce and beautification depended, and modern individualism (see Sennett 1994: 323). “The time of mud” demonstrates this forcefully.

If Torontonians loathed mud and dust as “The time of mud” suggests, they also resigned themselves to it. The City Engineer’s recommendations for pavements were frequently rejected by a Council acting on behalf of its

⁵⁰⁶*ibid.*

constituents. How frustrating it must have been for the City Engineer to know that “[a] great many of the cedar block roadways are in deplorably dangerous condition, and although sixty-four new pavements have been recommended this year [1896], they have, with a few exceptions, been petitioned against by the ratepayers.”⁵⁰⁷ The ability of the ratepayer to thwart reform raised the ire of more than the city’s engineers. “Considerably more than half of the pavement in the city is in the most pressing need of repair,” the *Mail and Empire* grumbled. “There are miles and miles where it is unsafe to take a vehicle; street after street can be instanced that would be a disgrace to back country village; and yet little or nothing is being done to improve their condition.” Yet, the writer argued, because of an inadequate local improvements plan, too many small groups of property owners were able to impede repairs to pavements in their neighbourhoods, thus obstructing what would be a public good throughout Toronto.⁵⁰⁸ The writer was of course right that ratepayer dissent, often through petitions such as the McCaul street petition in April of 1897 specifically fighting a recommendation of asphalt, stopped improvement cold.⁵⁰⁹ But the *Mail and Empire* was of two minds about ratepayer influence. Responding to the aspersion cast against the city’s “Local Improvements” scheme which “should fall under general public charge,” the Mayor said he was considering assessing costs to property owners. The paper, contradictorily, thought such a statement “tyrannous.”⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1896*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1897: 17; CTA.

⁵⁰⁸*Mail and Empire*, July 3, 1897: 10.

⁵⁰⁹*Mail and Empire*, April 16, 1897: 10.

⁵¹⁰*Mail and Empire*, July 17, 1897: 4.

Which Surface?

A moment's reflection on the ratepayers' resistance to street improvements and the reader will conjure a fairly good picture of the physical condition of the streets. This is not to say that all Toronto's streets lay bruised and broken. Asphalt pavement, the pavement of choice for promulgators of beauty such as Robinson began to achieve widespread favour among city engineers. Engineer Ellis fairly gloated over the increase of traffic and the percentage— 46 percent more—of tons hauled on Adelaide avenue between Victoria and Toronto streets after the laying of asphalt.

An average of 688 more vehicles made daily use of this thoroughfare, which must relieve congestion at the intersection of King and Yonge Streets. The continuation of this pavement from Yonge to York Streets, (sic) I consider a necessity, and should be recommended without delay. This would then give a continuous, well paved thoroughfare from Church to Spadina, and increase the value of adjacent property.⁵¹¹

Of course none of this traffic was motorised. Toronto would not see regular and regulated automobiles until the early 1900s, vehicle registration statistics beginning in 1903 (Table 1). Ontario shows 178 registrations for 1903, 178 also the number registrations for all of Canada in the same year. On the other hand, the Canadian Wheelmen's Association claimed in 1898 that 30,000 cyclists pedalled Toronto's streets.⁵¹² And so, while asphalt looked nice, and

⁵¹¹Though the city engineer report recommends these changes, when it comes to shelling out the money, the city refuses, offering instead new cedar block and cinder paths for requested bicycle paths. Particularly, the specific stretch of asphalt from Yonge to York streets was refused, "as the assessment for the existing pavement on this street will not expire until next year ... [and] the season is now far too advanced to permit [it]" ("Supplement to the Sixteenth Fortnightly Report of the City Engineer for 1896": 173-174 [1-2]; CTA, RG 008 Box193).

⁵¹²*Mail and Empire*, May 5, 1898: 8.

Table 1.1 Motor Vehicle Registrations for the Province of Ontario, 1903-1930

Year	Passenger Automobiles	Commercial vehicles	Motorcycles	Total
1930	496,892	61,690	3,924	562,506
1929	481,448	55,218	3,541	540,207
1928	429,426	54,714	3,197	487,337
1927	386,903	43,442	3,159	433,504
1926	343,992	39,012	3,345	386,349
1925	303,706	34,690	3,748	342,174
1924	271,341	31,488	3,941	306,770
1923	245,815	28,612	4,325	278,752
1922	210,333	24,164	4,799	239,296
1921	181,978	19,554	4,989	206,521
1920	155,861	16,204	5,496	177,561
1919	127,860	11,428	5,516	144,804
1918	101,845	7,529	5,002	114,376
1917	78,861	4,929	5,180	88,970
1916	51,589	2,786	4,287	58,662
1915	42,346	—	4,174	46,520
1914	31,724	—	3,333	35,357
1913	23,700	—	2,900	26,000
1912	16,268	—	1,754	18,002
1911	11,339	—	—	11,339
1910	4,230	—	—	4,230
1909	2,452	—	—	2,452
1908	1,754	—	—	1,754
1907	1,530	—	—	1,530
1906	1,176	—	—	1,176
1905	553	—	—	553
1904	535	—	—	535
1903	178	—	—	178

(Source: Transportation and Communication, *Historical Statistics of Canada, Second Edition*, F.H. Leacy et. al., eds., Statistics Canada/Social Science Federation of Canada, 1983 : T163-194.

Table 1.2 Mileage of different Classes of Pavements...laid from 1890 to 1911⁵¹³

Class of Work	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Pavements and Roadways:	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles
<i>Asphalt</i>	1.73	1.635	6.216	5.607	3.067	1.156	.366	.460	3.408	6.215	6.348
Bitulithic											
<i>Cedar block on sand and plank</i>	15.51	9.186	3.349	3.249	.852	1.753	.428	2.459	4.831	3.151	7.842
<i>Macadam</i>.....	.123	.494			.059	1.663	1.661	.510	2.089	5.013	2.503
Tar Macadam											
<i>Cobble</i>.....	.10	.069	.366								.068
Tamarac on Concrete.....	.192	.77									
<i>Cedar Block on Concrete</i>			8.416	2.185	.826	.227	.038		.084	.079	
<i>Stone Set on Concrete</i>.....			.705	3.743	2.536	.085					.107
<i>Scoria on Concrete</i>.....	.138		.028			.117			2.986	1.367	1.247
Asphalt Block											
<i>Brick on Concrete</i>				3.964	.787	.744	1.032	5.803	6.079	3.670	5.472
<i>Brick on Gravel</i>.....							.028	.838	.352	.934	.057
<i>Brick on Broken Stone</i>.....										.546	.516
Treated Wood Block											
<i>Concrete</i>.....						.071			.057		
<i>Gravel</i>								3.138	4.756	.069	.303
Totals	17.670	11.090	19.547	18.748	8.154	5.816	3.553	13.208	24.666	21.120	24.666

⁵¹³Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1911, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1912: 167-168; CTA.

Table 1.2 cont'd Mileage of Different Classes of Pavements...Laid from 1890 to 1911

Class of Work Total	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Pavements and Roadways:	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles
Asphalt.....	4.449	5.237	6.662	6.336	5.404	11.600	17.276	21.031	15.411	11.811	13.556
Bitulithic.....			.063	1.528	1.635	2.759	4.348	5.326	5.001	6.055	6.160
Cedar block on sand and plank.....	2.725	2.191	1.774	.511	.630	1.441	.089				
Macadam.....	2.733	5.486	2.737	1.940	3.373	1.591	1.434	.937	.086	.614	2.214
Tar Macadam.....			2.148	.920	1.257	.247	.738				
Cobble.....											
Tamarac on Concrete.....											
Cedar Block on Concrete.....	.021		.069		.500			.600			
Stone Set on Concrete.....	.028		.427		.662		.057				.068
Scoria on Concrete.....	.669			.613	.600						
Asphalt Block.....							.281	.546	2.334	.082	1.751
Brick on Concrete.....	2.885	4.272	2.602	2.876	3.751	1.504	2.860	2.353	1.611	1.692	1.183
Brick on Gravel.....											
Brick on Broken Stone.....	1.627										
Treated Wood Block.....							.396			.149	
Concrete.....		.041	.147	.053	.055	.144	.448	.553	.415	1.013	1.034
Gravel.....	.222										
Totals	15.629	17.413	16.839	14.756	17.962	25.097	34.401	39.326	35.046	32.600	30.623

provided a consistent, noiseless surface for travelling, especially with pneumatic rubber tires, the majority of the working vehicles was animal-powered carts. Laying pavements in heavy traffic areas urged a consideration of who and what was using it.

Other pavements were available to engineers and they did in fact recommend them. The three most popular pavements in Toronto after asphalt and cedar block were brick, macadam and scoria (Table 2). Brick used a concrete base and the city engineers in Toronto recommended it for two reasons: first, while too expensive to lay with imported brick, brick roadways made of locally produced brick would create stable streets and a valuable local industry;⁵¹⁴ and second, bricks made a good foundation for asphalt once the bricks started to wear out.⁵¹⁵ Macadam was composed of successive layers—smaller to larger, smaller on the surface—of rolled, broken limestone. When the metal-rimmed and shod carts and horses ran along the surface, the smaller stones reduced to a fine dust which settled into the interstices of the layers. Rain would turn the dust to mud and make a natural cement. Pneumatic tires, sadly, upset the principle by sucking the dust from the cracks (see Smith 1909: 2-3; Briggs 1914). And as we have read, many macadam roads in the rain were impassable.

The third was bitulithic, a combination of bitumen and gravel, much like asphalt but not quite.

After careful preparation of the sub-grade or native ground, six inches of course limestone is placed, and rolled to grade by a twelve ton steam roller. Finer material of the same kind covers

⁵¹⁴*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1892*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1893: 33-34; CTA.

⁵¹⁵*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1895*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1896: 23; CTA.

this and again rolled. This is then flooded with hot bitumen, which when cooled makes the foundation a solid and homogeneous mass of rock...Then comes the "hot stuff" as the workmen called it -- crushed hard-heads mixed with bitumen to a fixed chemical rule...This is raked to grade, two inches thick and given a thorough rolling. The substance this built presents a surface of an even gray color, and while devoid of the unyielding road-bed that attaches to brick or sheet asphalt, it is more enduring than either. ⁵¹⁶

The reader will notice the similarity between the construction of this road-bed and macadam. The above road bed is tarmacadam, hot bitumen rather than limestone mud giving it its strength. The road Rosa Nettleton describes here is bitulithic on tar macadam.

Lastly, scoria, the silicate slag produced after the smelting of ore, laid on a concrete surface, as did brick. Commonly known for its use in "cinder paths," scoria roads provided a great surface for cycling and city councils built such paths specifically for cyclists. Indeed, when the spring thaw destroyed a cinder road running through Norway Village, Toronto cyclists threatened a "rare blaze of indignation" as they watched the cinder path get destroyed by melt-water. Snow from the ditches, cyclists complained, piled on the side of the road by ploughs on the Scarborough line, melted and ran "its sweet will down the road...cutting channels and ruts...and washing it away in sections."⁵¹⁷ Scoria was not an insignificant pavement in Toronto, but whether cinder or one of the others mentioned, most of the roads in Toronto

⁵¹⁶"A Model Street", June 14, 1904, *Rosa Nettleton Book*, <http://www.charlevoix.lib.mi.us/1904.htm>.

⁵¹⁷*Mail and Empire*, March 8, 1898: 6.

in the 1890's were paved with cedar block and gravel, though increasingly asphalt and brick.

One surface received scant attention from Toronto's Engineers: the wooden block pavement. Wooden blocks were more like wooden bricks, rectangular, three-and-a-half to four inches wide, five to ten inches long, four inches deep. They laid in a bed of portland cement mortar spread upon a concrete foundation, the joints between the blocks filled with either portland or grout, or a bituminous filler (Byrne 1917: 147).⁵¹⁸ The wooden brick was infused under ten pounds of pressure with an oil derived from creosote oil, "possessing the original preservative properties with a longer endurance, and also having the effect of forming a varnish-like film or coating on the outer surface of the wood protecting it from the elements" (Judson 1902: 77). This substantially improved the wood block's specifications over other treated blocks which tended to form an emulsion upon contact with water that evaporated up to seventy five percent of the preservative (Judson 1902: 75). Non-treated blocks absorbed water and could expand up to fifty percent (Baker 1913: 560).

Table 2 shows that in twenty-one years Toronto laid only half a mile of wooden block pavement. This is surprising since wooden block pavements meet the criteria set out by Burnham and Bennett. Indeed, wood block pavements circa 1900, engineer William Judson (1902: 66) maintained, "surpass others in freedom from noise, and rank among the best in qualities and cost." Wood blocks when treated with kreodone-creosote and layed to a snug fit on a bed of concrete created a noiseless, clean and easy-to-clean and, even better, easy-to-fix pavement, repairs amounting to a manageable one-

⁵¹⁸This method varies. Baker (1913: 559) shows the blocks laid on a cushion of sand on concrete. The block depths also vary, sometimes up to 6 inches.

and-a-half to three cents per square yard per annum (Baker 1913: 560). Wood block pavements also furnished the city with a concrete base, should city engineers choose to lay asphalt at a future date, something that mattered to Toronto's city engineers and one of their preconditions for recommending brick.⁵¹⁹

According to Hughes and Foster (1919: 2759) wooden pavements and brick pavements, since both were on concrete, approximated \$20,000 per fifteen foot mile. Brick however could not meet the requirement. Under heavy traffic it broke and ground into dust; it was hard under animal feet and cart wheels, and extremely noisy. Yet city engineers preferred it to wooden pavement, and asphalt to both. Judson, on the other hand, suggested that wooden block pavement laid for \$2.50 to \$2.75 per square yard of four inch wood bricks on a concrete base, and included a nine year warranty. Without the concrete, the blocks alone laid for \$1.50. So despite the fact that treated block roads were very slippery when wet, they present a viable alternative to asphalt.

Asphalt bias

Laying asphalt in heavy traffic areas constituted, in fact, negligence on part of the Toronto's city engineers. They religiously recommended asphalt for most capital infrastructure upgrades in spite of the existence of more durable pavements; wooden block pavement or bitulithic on tarmacadam would have done the same thing better and cheaper. Toronto had easier access to wood and stone than asphalt, and this is a crucial to my argument. The choice and cost-effectiveness of a road surface depended on the availability of surfacing material to the city and was an engineering rule of

⁵¹⁹*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1895*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1896: 27; CTA.

thumb (Besson 1922: 80). Toronto's city engineers knew of asphalt's inferiority to brick in certain applications. Their solution: if the city were "to contract or to purchase a small [asphalt] repairing plant...a matter that should be settled without delay...roadways will not be allowed to deteriorate for want of attention."⁵²⁰ This amounts to an admission of engineering irresponsibility on behalf of Toronto's engineers. They recommended the laying of asphalt despite Toronto not having an asphalt plant, which would help the city afford the constant requisite repairs.

This vexing state of affairs caught the eye of at least one critic knowledgeable about the practical mechanics and economics of flexible roadways. After reading about City Engineer Rust's report that repair of the track allowances would cost \$115,000, a writer cryptically monickered "W" called for an aldermanic inquiry into the "inexplicable preference for asphalt on the part of [Engineer] Rust and his roadway staff."⁵²¹ The track allowances, W comments incredulously

were laid five years ago, at an enormous cost to the city...and under civic inspection [and] the contractors bound to keep them in repair for five years, and then leave them in a condition satisfactory to the city. Every summer these streets have been constantly in the contractor's hands for repairs, to the annoyance of storekeepers and residents thereon, and causing constant delay in traffic.

W notes "two facts" as result of this:

First, the inefficiency of civic inspection: and second, the total failure of asphalt as a pavement between the tracks. It has been

⁵²⁰*ibid.*

⁵²¹Letters, "Our Street Pavements", *Mail and Empire*, May 7, 1898: 12.

tried with all kinds of 'toothing' and without 'toothing,' as on King street, and in the face of these undoubted failures Mr Rust still persists in recommending asphalt for repairing the very streets on which it has been such a signal failure.

The "toothing" W mentions here refers to the stone supports that buttress the track rails. With or without, however, Toronto's track paved allowances do not meet the standard.

This was no exaggeration. In a letter from Canadian Wheelman's Association Chief Consul Howson to Alderman Saunders, Howson offered, sarcastically, "[m]any thanks...on behalf of Toronto bicyclists re the atrocious condition of the track allowances." "Why the chief engineer does not proceed and keep these allowances in a proper state of repair in accordance with the [street railway] agreement" mystified Howson. Cyclists should, he argued, be able to "take a jaunt a-wheel and still feel free from danger of being killed by reason of the terrible condition of some parts of this city's thoroughfares" meaning particularly the streets with streetcar tracks.⁵²²

Another writer confirmed Howson's opinion: "Toronto asphalt is in a bad plight and ought to be repaired. It is as much as the bicyclist's life is worth to navigate along the street car tracks just now, and the tracks in many city streets are the only portions of those streets that can be used."⁵²³ In what condition, we may ask, were these roads if the track allowances in their state of disrepair provided the only means of passage? Still, another commentator escaped from a situation almost surely fatal:

Sir, Today as I was wheeling down Yonge street I turned to avoid a waggon, my wheel slipped on one of those holes, and I found

⁵²²*Mail and Empire*, April 20, 1898: 8.

⁵²³*Mail and Empire*, May 11, 1898: 4.

myself sailing into the fender of a moving trolley. Fortunately for me, and the accident companies, and the careless city fathers, the car was stopped before any damage was done.

How long are the wheelmen of this enlightened city going to tolerate this disgraceful state of asphalt between the tracks?⁵²⁴

“Signal failure” seems the perfect phrase for W to use to describe asphalt usage on the main city streets. Curiously, Richardson (1905: 441-442) includes in a list of the causes of “deterioration of or defects in asphalt pavements:” “1. Defects in construction due to...Inferiority in the asphalt or lack of intelligence in its use.” Toronto’s use of asphalt in the track allowances and in the CBD surely qualifies here.

Wrong application

Road engineers at the turn-of-the-century had established an efficient method of buttressing streetcar tracks. Brooklyn city engineer George Tillson (1912: 486-533) describes with scientific precision the various acceptable methods for laying track and paving the allowances.⁵²⁵ Brick, stone or treated wood blocks--granite setts though expensive were ideal--chamfered to fit the inside and outside grooves of the rail, laid on a base of concrete and set in a bed of portland make up the bulk of his illustrations. The one pavement that he reports contradictorily that “proved entirely satisfactory” is the one used by Toronto, which I will get to. Judson (1902: 119) suggests that the most successful asphalt pavements with street railway tracks embedded “put some other material than asphalt next to the rails...granite blocks...stone blocks...vitrified brick.” Tillson gives an example of this comparing Toronto

⁵²⁴Letters, “We want good roads”, *Mail and Empire*, May 17, 1898: 2.

⁵²⁵The information on streetcar track construction appeared in the 1900 edition of this book. See “Preface to the First Edition” (Tillson 1912: v).

with Sioux City, Iowa, the latter using chamfered bricks to abutt the rail and a thick bed of concrete between, upon which a surface coat of asphalt was laid. When asphalt had been used to abutt the track "ninety pound rails with nine- or ten-inch webs welded in continuous lengths, and placed in twelve-inch concrete base insure[d] rigidity." However, as Tillson (1912: 506-507) also shows, though Toronto poured a concrete foundation, track construction used lighter, web-less 73 lb. rails and scoria blocks, not granite blocks, because and this is crucial, "so much complaint was made by the bicyclists" about the latter. Asphalt was then laid against the rail and hence the problem.

Aside from the complete inadequacy of asphalt as a pavement in heavy traffic areas in Toronto's CBD, W demanded the disclosure of the actual costs of laying asphalt, to get Toronto to admit it paid too much. He claimed that the "existence of an asphalt combine was proved five years ago," and that it was even more potent today. "Asphalt can only be secured by firms outside the combine," W wrote, by "buying the material in ship loads on the plea of using it in some country in the eastern hemisphere, and the story of how a cargo for this Dominion was secured in England by a ruse was told in the press some time ago." As a result of the combine-monopoly-Toronto paid too much, though it did not have to. Asphalt purchased in England could have been be laid down in Toronto from \$18 to \$19 per ton.

Fortunately, W proceeded to describe in detail precisely how Toronto paid too much and it has everything to do with application:

In laying pavements the asphalt coating is composed of from 12 to 15 parts asphalt, and from 88 to 85 parts sand. Excavating the roadway costs 20 cents per square yard; 4-inch beds of concrete are laid for 45 cents per square yard, and a 2-inch coating of asphalt

for 50 cents per square yard, a total of \$1.15 per square yard, for which this city has paid the contractors from \$2.50 per square yard and over. When the concrete is six inches deep, and the asphalt four inches thick, the cost is \$1.60 per square yards, and the contractors have got from \$2.70 per square yards, and upwards as high as \$3.75, thus raking in an enormous pile as profits, and giving the city, as Mr. Rust now reports, a most unsatisfactory roadway."

The city of Hamilton, a great user of asphalt, paid under \$2.10 per square yard; Toronto alternatively averaged \$3.10 per square yard. "The reasons for Hamilton's low prices" W insists, were that the City Engineer and the aldermen "had backbone enough to shake themselves free from the trammels of the asphalt combine." Even at that, the asphalt company that held the Hamilton contract "it is said, earned a splendid dividend." The interminably long letter ends by urging Toronto ratepayers "to demand a change in material used for paving the track allowances and an absolute prohibition of the laying of asphalt until the combine is smashed and the prices reduced to a fair figure."

What are we to make of this letter and its allegations? Hughes and Foster (1919: 2759) suggest that asphalt laid for \$15000 to \$20000 per fifteen foot mile of road, while wooden brick and brick pavements laid a approximately \$20000. This alone would suggest that asphalt is cheaper, though they are writing twenty years later. However, if we can trust W, we also know that Toronto paid on average \$3.10 per square yard. Per fifteen foot mile this means that Toronto was paying \$27,280, a substantial difference from the

Hughes and Foster estimation.⁵²⁶ If we cannot trust *W*, a table in Judson (1902: 26) “shows the conditions and costs [of pavements] in 1894 in...32 cities.” Judson’s average cost of asphalt per square yd. is \$2.81, with outliers as low as \$1.95—Utica, New York—and as high as \$3.50—Buffalo, New York. A US Department of Labor statistic averaging the cost of asphalt per square yard in one hundred and twenty nine American cities arrived at the approximate figure of \$2.75 (Baker 1913: 293). *Saturday Night* confirms this average cost, reporting that, in Toronto, Jarvis street residents petitioned for an asphalt pavement at a price of \$2.75 per square yard.⁵²⁷ This would put the per fifteen foot mile cost at \$24,200. Even at this lower price, and we must not forget to allow for the annual cost of repairs, it is easy to argue that wooden block or brick pavements are more cost effective than asphalt. It also means that at \$2.50 to \$2.75 per square yard, kreodone-creosote wooden block pavements on a concrete base provided a road surface competitive with asphalt in price and cleanliness and appearance, and more cost-effective in terms of durability. Even at today’s US/Canada exchange rates wooden blocks would at least compete with asphalt, all costs totalled.

We also know from Table 2 that the second pavement of choice was brick on concrete, 27.5 miles of it laid between 1890-1900. Brick on concrete again on average exceeds the cost of asphalt, though not in Toronto. They are noise- and dirt-prone and play havoc with animals and vehicles, unlike wooden pavements. But, as Engineer Ellis suggests, a worn-out brick pavement provides an excellent foundation for an asphalt road.

⁵²⁶ $9(5280 \times 15) \times \$3.10 = \$27,280$

⁵²⁷*Saturday Night*, December 15, 1888: 1.

The decoration factor

Toronto's City Engineering department proceeded on the philosophy that "increased condition of pavements produced increase in travel and tonnage hauled," an economic transportation principle that cannot be disputed. While this may be so, the discussion up to now refutes the Toronto City Engineering Department's claim of the economic advantage of asphalt. In Toronto the use of asphalt was decidedly not cost-effective, particularly when the city had so much trouble affording repairs.

Toronto, moreover, was in the interesting position of owning the street car tracks, but granted exclusive privilege of operating them to the Toronto Street Railway Company. In the agreement made between the city and the company, the latter was required to maintain satisfactorily all the ties, stringers, rails, turnouts, curves, etc. The company was responsible for any subsequent paving or alterations to the streets and tracks, the manner and material to be the complete discretion of the city engineer (Tillson 1912: 492). (As we have seen in W's letter, the street railway company did not live up this agreement). So the question remains: why do the city engineers insist on the recommendation and use of asphalt, especially on streets with streetcar tracks that had to bear the thundering burden of ten-and-a-half to twelve ton streetcars, and heavy horses and carts? Engineers generally admitted that street car tracks had posed problems for engineers for years and were "detrimental to any pavement" (Tillson 1912: 486).

We must return to the beautiful and modern advantages of asphalt pavement and the bicycle as facilitators of the decorative. I have already shown that City Engineer Keating supported in Council Mayor Shaw's scheme to pave the devil strips. We know that Engineers Rust and Ellis

supported asphalt. We also know through Tillson's reporting, as I showed above, that the Toronto's city engineers listened to Toronto's cyclists. Why? Perhaps a March 25, 1898, meeting of the officers of the Canadian Wheelmen's Association (CWA), Toronto Cycling Association, four city aldermen, and city engineers in the City Engineer's office furnishes a clue.⁵²⁸

The CWA called the meeting to correct the problem of Toronto's streets and track allowances, the condition of which being so degraded that Consul Howson of the CWA would request permission to convene, at a later date, a protest at High Park: "With over 30,000 wheels in Toronto...the interests of such a large body of citizens are not being cared for."⁵²⁹ At this meeting, however, Howson argued that "with the \$29,524 to be yet expended to the city in road improvement...[the city] should...fix the roads between the tracks on Carlton, College, and Queen Street west, and the cyclists were promised the work would be pushed through at once."⁵³⁰ In other words, devil strip repairs were to be made a priority--they were called "devil strips" because you had a "devil of a time" if you got caught between opposite running streetcars. The aldermen present, Saunders, chair of the Board of Control, Crane, Hanlon, Boustead, and Sheppard heartily agreed, adding proposals of their own:

Ald. Boustead was in favour of having Victoria Street, from Queen to Gerrard, rolled and picked with the city machines, so that it would also be a good cycling thoroughfare. Ald. Sheppard promised to take in hand a petition for a new pavement on Adelaide street, from York to Bay, which if successfully proceeded with, will give an excellent asphalt route from

⁵²⁸*Mail and Empire*, March 26, 1898: 8.

⁵²⁹*Mail and Empire*, May 5, 1898: 8.

⁵³⁰*Mail and Empire*, March 26, 1898: 8.

Church street to Spadina avenue...It was also proposed to asphalt Adelaide street from Church to Jarvis. Chairman Saunders of the Board of Control, promised to do all in his power to further the interests of the wheelmen.⁵³¹

These are significant promises made by influential politicians in Toronto and in the presence of engineers capable at least of lending the authority of their expertise to the endorsement of such changes.

It is probable that Toronto's city officials, mayor, aldermen and engineers, favoured cycling and used their influence to try to effect an environment conducive to the success of the bicycle—they would also be quite aware that most of these 30,000 cyclists were voters of the voting class. The Annual City Engineer's report of 1895, "having regard to the extensive use of the asphalt pavements by the numerous bicycle riders in this City," indicates the importance and need "to keep the asphalt roadways in perfect order."⁵³² No other reason, except perhaps the modern novelty of asphalt, can explain why Toronto's engineers would recommend paving the track allowances with asphalt.

Of course ratepayers held the day; over 64 miles of cedar block pavements, predominantly cedar block on concrete, were laid between 1890-1900. But the city engineers did not need ratepayer permission to recommend pavements per the agreement with the street railway company or for infrastructure not classified under local improvements. Toronto laid over 36 miles of asphalt between 1890-1900, many miles of that on the streetcar lines. Some would have been paved at ratepayer request, some not. In residential

⁵³¹*ibid.*

⁵³²*Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1895*, Toronto: The Carswell Co, 1896: 27; CTA.

areas asphalt more than suffices. And with the planting of trees and laying of sidewalks and greenswards, asphalt added a beauty and cleanliness that lent "pleasure to the stranger as well as create[d] pride in the citizen," as well as increase property values.⁵³³ In high and heavy traffic areas, asphalt fails. Rubber-wheeled motorised commercial traffic does not become significant enough to chart until 1921 according to the motor vehicle registration statistics. And clearly from the complaints, and the evidence, the city was laying asphalt on streets that could not sustain it.

Conclusion

Road Engineer, Clifford Richardson (1905: 421), suggested in a discussion of "the merits of modern sheet-asphalt pavement," some of the main reasons for using asphalt:

1. It does not disintegrate under impact or attrition, and consequently produces neither mud or dust.
2. It can be kept perfectly clean if the proper efforts are made to do so...
7. Deterioration in a standard asphalt pavement is of a kind that can be readily and economically met owing to the simplicity of making repairs...
9. It increases the actual and rental value of all real estate abutting on streets where it is laid to a larger extent than any other form of pavement.

Toronto's streets, however, challenged Richardson's assertions and rankings. As for reason "1.," I have shown that Toronto's city engineers belied it. Asphalt in the Toronto CBD was, to quote W, a "singular failure." Granted, it

⁵³³"Town Planning and Civic Improvement", 1913: 5; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48.

was laid without the use of "intelligence," one of Richardson's criteria for the deterioration of asphalt. Reason "2." substantiates the claim in this chapter that asphalt acquired public and professional celebrity for its beauty and cleanly appearance; reformers used hygiene and asphalt in the same breath. Asphalt-use in Toronto was clearly an attempt by the city's Engineers to make utility beautiful. Toronto's budget negated reason seven: the city seems unable to repair its broken asphalt, despite lobbyist depositions to the Council and the Council's bicycle-based affinity for good roads. Reason "8." links formidably with reason "2.". Beauty and cleanliness in a consumer society had capital value. Were I Richardson, "2." and "7." would go first and second, respectively. Asphalt was used in Toronto for its appearance not its effectiveness.

City Engineers endorsed the use of asphalt in the CBD of Toronto citing the cost-ineffectiveness of cedar blocks. This economic ruse to embed in the city landscape another pavement equally cost-ineffective had everything to do with the promulgation of decoration, the beautification of use, which is really just another way of saying the city wanted to demonstrate its commitment to modernism (of course the irony is that beauty suborned use in this instance). We know that asphalt paving was the most modern of all the pavements. Its presence symbolically modernises Toronto. We understand this entirely; urbanites still judge a city or town by the condition of its pavements. It is not unreasonable to speculate that Toronto's city engineers, as modernisers and beautifiers, regarded the use of any other pavement, especially wooden, as amounting to an antimodern resignation that horses and carts, and dust and mud would always be with them. Asphalt pavement applied art and science

to roads. It was indicatively modern. And modernism intertwined with the liberal evangelical Protestant faith in progress and providence.

In Toronto, asphalt pavements increased the use of the bicycle by riders who by and large belonged to the class of people known at the time for their putative influence on the actions of those in lower classes. Most importantly, these bourgeois cyclists manifested Toronto's capacity for beauty. It is important that Toronto's politicians, whether the Mayor, the chair of the Board of Control, or various aldermen supported cycling and wanted to do all in their power to keep cyclists on the road. It meant that Toronto could flaunt a city of fashionable modern people a-wheel on neat hygienic pavements. I cannot emphasise this enough. Just as the parlour was the place for decorum and culture, so too were the streets of the responsibly modern, homelike city. Asphalt was the pavement of choice for homelike public space specifically because it capacitated the presense of handsome bourgeois cyclists and the beautification of the human space of Toronto.

[T]he assertion is made today that parks and park systems are the most important artistic work which has been done in the United States. Charles Mulford Robinson (1901: 153-154)

So the modern city in its large public park has as distinct and definite a function to perform as in any other portion of its structure. How modern this is; how entirely it is due to the pressure at which we live and work to-day; how it serves an ethical, a sociological, even a hygienic end, as well as the aesthetic purpose; and so how naturally attempt (sic) to satisfy it becomes a phase of modern civic art, will appear on very slight reflection.

Charles Mulford Robinson (1970[1903]: 322)

Previous chapters have demonstrated the informing role that the Decorative Arts played in the beautification of cities, establishing the necessity of the first principles of decoration in the artful reconceptualisation of the modern industrial city. This chapter considers the turn-of-the-twentieth-century emphasis on the urbanite need for nature in the city as an expression of the decorative. Green space, in cities such as Toronto where overt civic beauty and art were at best elusive, sometimes represented the only spatialised instances of "municipal art" of which the city could boast. The nobility and dignity of nature, as symbolised by a park, manifested the first principles of decoration: parks were eminently useful and uncontestably

beautiful. In this they show their connection to the home and to Domesticity, a primary source of moral-aesthetics in the era of reform.

It is through the connection of city beautification to the decorative art impulse that I can illustrate how city beautifiers and city planners reformed urban environments with parks and parkways. City beautification, with its emphasis on decorative first principles, attaches to park reform in Toronto, just as it also coupled with seemingly irrelevant environmental reforms in that city, as I showed in the last chapter on asphalt pavement. Importantly, Toronto's *Plan of 1909* directly illustrates the efficacy of the decorative first principle of right placement in the urban geographic imagination of Toronto's city beautifiers. Indeed, the *Plan of 1909* was crafted through the grace of its draughters' reliance on right placement.

Introduction

Scholars have suggested that reformers and citizens alike earnestly sought out parks and green space for the revivification and restoration of the flesh and soul in the modern city (Marx 1964; Wilson 1964, 1989; Schmitt 1969; Jackson 1972; Bender 1974; Blodgett 1976; Miller 1976; Hall 1977; Stewart 1977; Holt 1979; Jackson 1985; Schuyler 1986; Stilgoe 1988; Conway 1992; Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992; Domosh 1997). But as Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992: 29-30) show, the park *via* landscape architect, Andrew Jackson Downing, is also a source of aesthetic teaching and part of the nineteenth-century concern for horticulture, the epitome of moral order and environment (Downing's *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1844) arguably drives the horticulture movement in North America).⁵³⁴ Robinson (1901: 354) confirms the park's tutorial abilities, but also notes the park's affiliation

⁵³⁴Downing influenced Olmsted's park inclination (Wilson 1989: 13-16).

with Domestic moral-aesthetics: “[i]n the growth of taste’ says a writer ‘no educator of the people has been more valuable than the parks. Their attractiveness is undoubtedly one of the causes of that everywhere increasing desire for more perfection in home surroundings.’” Robinson continues syllogistically: “A beautiful park may awaken a desire for a lovelier home-garden, and the wish for a beautiful home grows into a wish for a beautiful street” (Robinson 1901: 354). The park, as much as it was a beautiful air filter, was also a prime source of homely aestheticism and street reform.

It is no surprise, then, that parks were linked to Municipal Art. The park-urge in Toronto attached to a perceived dearth of municipal art, which prompted the emergence of the Society of Mural Artists, the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (TGCA). It also inspired groups such as the Central School Art League, the Toronto chapter of the Women’s Art Association of Canada, and the Toronto Heliconian Club; the latter was a group of women working professionally in the arts who met to promote and celebrate women’s public involvement in the arts in Toronto.⁵³⁵ New York City Engineer, Julius Harder, even suggested that green space represented in some cases “the only ‘municipal art’ which the municipality prides itself in possessing.” Because of this citizens were often “not allowed to ‘walk upon the grass;’” if they did they were “chased, sometimes clubbed, and occasionally shot at.”⁵³⁶ Such attitudes may explain certain art-starved Torontonians’ abhorrence for the disorderly state of Queen’s Park. According to beliefs at the time, parks could induce aesthetic refinement and even moral tuition; the park functioned much like the parlour in the Domestic home. Indeed, a park ethos that shaped thinking about nature in the city influenced reformers keen to build

⁵³⁵See the Toronto Heliconian Club Papers, Series A Subject Files, Papers, MU8091, PAO.

⁵³⁶Julius F. Harder, “The City’s Plan”, *Municipal Affairs* 2, March 1898: 25-45; in Reys (n.d.).

parks for reasons ranging from art to hygiene. Queen's Park in late-nineteenth-century Toronto, unfortunately, emulated not the values of a dignified municipal art but the disorderly streets, and seemed to flout the accepted wisdom of the park ethos.

If Queen's Park was supposed to enhance the general perception of central Toronto, the *Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Civic Improvements in Toronto* (1909) (*Plan of 1909*) offered the peerless amenities of parks and nature to the whole city. The *Plan of 1909*, draughted by Sir Aston Webb and his assistant, A. W. Bentham, but conceived and boosted by the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (TGCA), posited for Toronto, environmental ennoblement and dignity through its commitment to the right placement of parks and parkways, diagonal roads and boulevards. Like the *Report of 1929*, Toronto's comprehensive plan for the central business district, the *Plan of 1909* illustrates city beautifiers' commitment to the first principles of decorative art which, as I have already argued, linked to a Domestic milieu at the turn-of-the-century.

The aim of this chapter is to tie the social construction of the park to the decorative art impulse in the modern industrial city. Toronto's concern for the slovenly condition of Queen's Park, as well as the city's attempt to reform comprehensively its precincts according to City Beautiful's park ideal, reveal the influence of reformers trying to implement the first principles of the decorative. The *Plan of 1909* demonstrates persuasively Toronto's reformers' urge to make parks that symbolised the era's commitment to decoration, through the Report's harnessing of both nature and decorative first principles: right placement, nobility, beauty and use.

The *Plan of 1909*

The *Plan of 1909* (hereafter, the *Plan*) was “the first city-wide planning proposal in Canada” (Hodge 1991: 53).⁵³⁷ Its emphasis on interconnecting parkways and pleasure drives, boulevards and avenues, and the erection of numerous parks and playgrounds made it a typical blue print for City Beautiful, as we have seen in a previous chapter. The *Plan*, as TGCA president John Ewan modestly intimated in a document accompanying the *Plan*, was “a suggestion, a graphic representation of what Toronto might be made by the conscious and determined efforts of its citizens.”⁵³⁸ Indeed, the Guild’s proposal urged Torontonians to consider the wisdom in foresight, such as city planning offered city dwellers tired of living with high improvement taxes and a low quality of life:

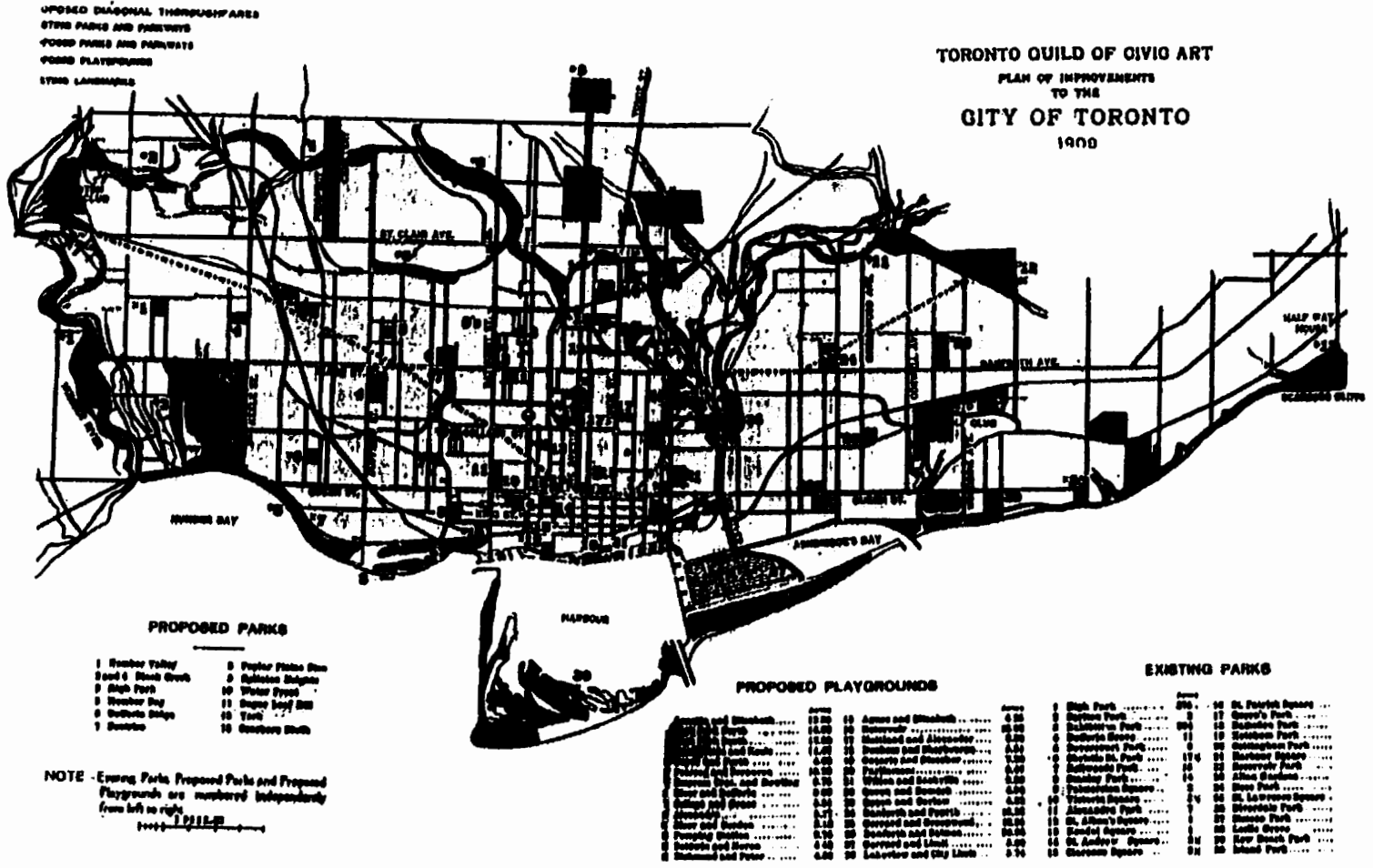
A city of the proportion, extent, and aspirations of Toronto will spend in any event a considerable sum of money for park purposes as well as for correction of errors in its original street plan...much will be saved if these problems are faced early and deliberately instead of tardily, spasmodically, and heedlessly.⁵³⁹

Thus, the *Plan* presented Torontonians with an opportunity to array itself with the comfort, convenience and beauty befitting a city of its calibre:

⁵³⁷Planner and planning historian, Gerald Hodge (1991: 53), seems to think the date of the plan’s nativity is 1906. The Guild membership, however, did not carry the idea that “the Guild should raise \$5000 for the purpose of engaging Sir Aston Webb” until February 1907. It was May 28, 1907, that Webb was finally engaged to do the work. A.W. Bentham, Webb’s draughting assistant submitted his first report to Webb July 4, 1907. And the plan itself was not published in the Toronto papers until 1909 (*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, February 19, 1907; May 28, 1907, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL; 1st Report on Toronto, and the Proposed Improvements, Sent July 4, 1907, *Letters, etc. 1907-1910*, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL; *Toronto Sunday World*, January 3, 1909: 1).

⁵³⁸John Ewan, *The Civic Guild*, Toronto Jan 14, 1909, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S 48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

⁵³⁹*ibid.*



Torontonians used to say that Toronto was destined to be a great city. We employ the present tense now. Toronto IS a great city. When the population of a community rises to 350,000, adds 15,000 souls yearly to its numbers and erects ten or twelve million dollars worth of buildings every twelve months, it has joined the ranks of great cities.⁵⁴⁰

The TGCA believed the *Plan* was the means of guaranteeing Toronto's greatness, through proper alterations to its environment.

The *Plan* is a subtly persuasive attempt to convince Torontonians of the correctness of city planning. The *Plan* itself is a relatively small document; it has no page numbers, not a lot of text, but plenty of photographs of cities that have succumbed to the planning ideal. A brief history of planning and its effectiveness in other cities around the world and in North America predominate the document.

Readers learned that European cities such as Paris, Vienna, and Frankfort had "been re-planned by the civic authorities, old streets have been obliterated and new ones formed in accordance with modern ideas."⁵⁴¹ More important, however, was the "wave of civic improvement" that was sweeping over America. Everywhere cities had awakened to the necessity of city planning:

Civic Improvement and City Planning are the remedies of the evils of the congestion of population in cities... To provide for wide continuous business thoroughfares, parks, parkways,

⁵⁴⁰*Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Civic Improvements in Toronto*, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, 1909, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S 48, Baldwin Room, MTRL. Hereafter cited in the footnotes as *RCPSCIT 1909*.

⁵⁴¹*ibid.*

playgrounds, aquatic sports, pure water, sanitary sewage disposal, rapid transit, clean streets, underground wires, curtailment of sign and noise nuisances, building laws for structural, sanitary and fire safety, and tenement laws to restrict congestion of population, enormous expenditures are being undertaken.⁵⁴²

It was time for Toronto to act.

An important argument in the *Plan* deals with fire. Coming as it did on the heels of a massive conflagration that destroyed many acres of Toronto's business district in 1904, the *Plan* carefully demonstrates the post-fire commonsense of cities such as Chicago and Baltimore. Prescience in the wake of fire-disasters enabled both these cities "to recast [their] lines...into permanent beauties." "It should not," the *Plan* continued, "need a disaster to awake [Toronto's] citizens to the possibilities of civic improvement." Ewan wrote solemnly: "[o]nce to every man and nation comes the moment to decide' said Lowell of a time of crisis. That time has come for Torontonians with respect to the setting, so to speak, of their city. They should act with far-sightedness, confidence and a wise boldness."⁵⁴³

The civic improvement proffered by the TGCA was parking, the construction of parks and playgrounds according a master design. Its planning solution encompassed a decorative beauty and utility that linked all the mainland parks, ravines, and woodlots through a system of ornamental parkways. It also included building new parks and playgrounds. Granted, its determination to build parks in its *Plan* was not exactly conforming to the definition, above, of City Improvement and City Planning, laid out in the *Plan* itself. But then the park at the turn-of-the-century was more than the

⁵⁴²*ibid.*

⁵⁴³*ibid.*

sum-of-its-parts. Parks were an ethos. The park symbolised nature in the form of hygiene and aesthetics, two modern ideas for solving the problems of the modern city.

The park ethos

The idea that nature necessarily induced salubrity, decorum, and comfort was the basis of a park ethos. The importance of parks in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century city began with the imposition of a Romantic/Transcendental ideal on the burgeoning modern city. The rise of the park ethos was a direct response to the negative environmental effects of industrialism in the city, which as early as the 1820's, as Stansell (1987: 10) notes about New York City, had begun to impoverish and degrade many of its inhabitants. But if the park ethos starts with a rural idealism related to the nature-bound Jacksonianism of the ante-bellum era (Ward 1955; Pessen 1969), it gradually becomes a fundamentally urban institution of hygiene and aestheticism by the end of the century, whose universal benefits most contemporary commentators of public life extolled (Schmitt 1969). Connected to public health, regarded as nature's filter and the means by which to remove the "deleterious gases of the city," parks were seen as "one of the most powerful correctives to the vitiated air within the reach of the inhabitants of the populous" (in Schuyler 1986: 60-61). Parks, swards, trees--nature in general--provided palliative countermeasures to the hardness and harshness of the industrial life in the city, "sooth[ing] tired brains and hearts and wearied nerves by the quiet restfulness of [their] beauty" (Robinson 1970[1903]: 323).⁵⁴⁴ A green city gave its citizens reason for hope: the one or one and a

⁵⁴⁴It is difficult to overestimate the importance of trees in 1900. They were to be "introduced in large numbers in the heart of the city [a]s a wise sanitary precaution" (John Sulman, "The Laying out of Towns" [1890], in *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia, Sydney*, Government Printer of New South Wales, 1921: Appendix A; in Reps (n.d.)). Tree-

half days they had for leisure in the work week could be spent on grass and under trees beneath the sun in a still yawning tower-less sky.⁵⁴⁵

Now, it is not the mandate or intention of this chapter to rehearse encyclopedically the ideational history of the North American urban proclivity for nature. Scholars have have undertaken that task with great success elsewhere for decades (Ward 1955; Olsen 1962; Marx 1963; Schmitt 1969; Jackson 1972, 1984; Bender 1971, 1974; Blodgett 1976; Stewart 1977; Holt 1979; Lears 1981; Nash 1982; Jackson 1984; Jackson 1985; Schuyler 1986; Stilgoe 1988; Merchant 1989; Wilson 1989; Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992). Nevertheless, a brief discussion of the geographic imagination of nineteenth century naturalists is imperative for the contention that a green city indicated not just salubrity but moral-aesthetics in the modern industrial city. A city with parks, tree- and grass-lined streets showed an urban sensibility attuned to the moral-aestheticism of nature. The edifying and ennobling qualities of nature had been touted by earlier Romanticists and Transcendentalists, people such as William Wordsworth, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Andrew Jackson Downing, and Frederick Law Olmsted, since the beginning of the nineteenth-century.

Such men established the moralising tone of nature-boosting that fit the city of decorative art. Wordsworth (1989[1807]: 286-287) in "Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*" wrote that nature had the ability to temper human "passions"

planted space cost little to lay out; the presence of trees was in the "hygienic interest" of the city; their superior aesthetic effect when used to line streets, boulevards, and avenues was unquestioned. Trees were: the chief attraction in the "green belt;" to be included in all technical surveys of the city; and always to planned into any re-planning effort.

⁵⁴⁵Hall (1977: 17) notes however that parks had a limited appeal. Even the "trolley park," for example, designed specifically to greet leisure-seeking passengers at the end of a trolley line, was great while the "novelty last[ed]," wrote the manager of the Williamsport Passenger Railway Company, in 1893. But, the manager continued "when curiosity is satisfied, [interest] falls off materially more than one half." This economic reality forced park managers to import attractions "beyond fresh air and grass."

according to nature's "beautiful and permanent forms." The nature-influenced life was the purest of lives, pure lives being precisely what reformers hoped environmental reform would bring about at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁴⁶ The beauty of nature for Wordsworth affected moral outlook, which is exactly what decorative art was supposed to do.

Similarly, Emerson (1968[1836]: 28; 29) later averred the human need of nature's moderation. In his highly influential essay, *Nature*, he suggested that

[t]o the body and mind which have been cramped by noxious work or company, nature is medicinal and restores their tone. The tradesman, the attorney comes out of the din and craft of the street and sees (sic) the sky and the woods, and is a man again. In their eternal calm, he finds himself.

By mid century, Thoreau (1968[1849]: 238) would permanently etch nature-driven "humanity" into the North American psyche with *Walden: A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), asserting the instinctual advantage of "fisherman, hunters, woodchoppers and others" who live by nature's "Higher Laws." As a landscape designer, Downing would promote the moral virtue of nature, propounding its capacity "'to soften and to humanize the rude...and give continual education to the educated,'" while artistically arranged nature he considered "'the purest of human pleasures' preserving 'moral rectitude' and 'rational enjoyments'" (Downing, in Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992: 29-30).

⁵⁴⁶Wordsworth contended that he adopted the language of "rustic" men because their affiliation with nature allowed them "to speak a plainer and more emphatic language." Such nature-impelled men "hourly communicate with the best objects from which the best part of the language is derived" (Wordsworth 1989[1807]: 286-287). Historian John William Ward (1955; see especially Chapter IV, "The Ploughman and the Professor") writes of the Jacksonian preference for a nature-induced intuitive genius versus urbane artificial reason.

Olmsted, on the other hand, held that the aesthetic effect of the park had the power to control morally the working classes, by providing an excellent forum for “haves” to moderate mimetically the “have-nots.” In a letter to his friend, and noted evangelical minister, Charles Loring Brace, Olmsted unequivocally articulates his highly moral meaning of park:

We need institutions that shall more directly *assist* the poor and degraded to elevate themselves. The poor & wicked need more than to be let alone...the poor...need an education to refinement and taste and the mental & moral capital of gentlemen...[so]...go ahead with the Children’s Aid and get up parks, gardens, music, dancing schools, reunions which will be so attractive as to force into contact good & bad, the gentlemanly and the rowdy
(Olmsted, in Bender 1987: 200).

Thus, the importation of nature’s beauty and morality to the city signified eminent improvement for a culture that believed in moral osmosis. In the modern city, where size, density, and heterogeneity efficiently produced the “unwashed masses,” the park as moral tutor could help them acquire the refinement and tastes of their so-called betters. Parks could instil human dignity, even in those whom nature-boosters believed were devoid of it.

The reformers’ park

By 1900, the “redeeming power of nature” (Rosenweig and Blackmar 1992: 2) had become a truism in reform thought. Not only did “everybody want parks,” as the *Plan of 1909* suggested, the desire for parks being “characteristic of this generation,” but everyone knew the benefits of parks.⁵⁴⁷ Robinson (1901: 153) noted matter-of-factly, in a chapter on “Parks and

⁵⁴⁷*RCPSIT 1909, op. cit.*

Drives," that there was "happily no need to present...the arguments in favor of parks for cities, nor is it necessary to go deeply into the history of the movement in their behalf." Reformers rehearsed these arguments anyway, of which there were at least six: the physical rejuvenation of the city and its inhabitants; the promotion of low mortality rates; the proper training and nurturing of children; the provision of recreation; the increase of property values; and the park's presence as a form of municipal art.

Parks were well known for their ability to resuscitate and to invigorate the physical and social conditions of the modern industrial city. British architect, John Burley Waring, though he feared "[i]t may appear fanciful" likened the city to the human body. The city as human body had veins and arteries--streets and thoroughfares--through which the blood--people--pulsated, prompted by its heart--the economic centre. Importantly, it also had "[l]ungs, the parks and open spaces in which air is purified."⁵⁴⁸ By the turn-of-the-century, as city planner, Benjamin Marsh, noted "[i]t [wa]s universally admitted that parks are the lungs of a city." Parks not only obtained the capacity to purify the polluted air of the industrial city, but a city without parks, wrote Marsh, extending the human body metaphor, was "like a human being with part of his lungs lost through the ravages of tubercular bacillus."⁵⁴⁹ Parks, as Olmsted, Jr., stated simply, were "one of the urgent needs" of the city, "if the health and vigour of the people are to be maintained."⁵⁵⁰ Reformers accepted unquestioningly the premise that the establishment of parks, playgrounds and open spaces...influence[d] the social,

⁵⁴⁸John Burley Waring, "On the Laying out of Cities", *Papers Read at the Royal Institute of British Architects. Session 1872-73*, London, The Institute, 1873: 141-155; in Reps (n.d.).

⁵⁴⁹Benjamin Marsh, "Economic Aspects of City Planning", *Municipal Engineers of the City of New York, Proceedings*, Paper no. 57, 1910: 73-87; in Reps (n.d.).

⁵⁵⁰Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., *The City Beautiful*, *The Builder* 101, 1911: 15-17; in Reps (n.d.).

hygienic, and architectural development of the city.”⁵⁵¹ This meant that not only did reformers want parks, they had to have them: “When we think of city parks, and open spaces we must think of them as being, by necessity, utilitarian as well as by choice, beautiful, for we must have recreation and breathing spaces if we are to have healthy happy and contented citizens.”⁵⁵² Nature via the park was a pivotal solution to the social and environmental ills of the modern city.

Reformer’s knew viscerally that the park was an “hygienic necessity,” contributing to quality of life and even longevity.⁵⁵³ A beneficent statistic, reported in the *Mail and Empire* about park provision and mortality rates, and reprinted from the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, would have affirmed reformers’ opinions of nature in the city. Although the article stresses the incompleteness of the study, the *Tribune* showed a correlation between the amount of designated park area in a city and the general health of its populous:

It appears that Minneapolis with an acre of park land to each of 129 of its inhabitants, has a death rate per thousand of 9.93; while Cincinnati with a population 1025 per acre of park land has a mortality rate of 18.74; and Chicago, which ranks next to Cincinnati in the number of inhabitants (745)...has a death rate of 16.93.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹Sylvester Baxter, “The German Way of Making Better Cities”, *Atlantic Monthly* 104, July 1909: 72-95; in Reps (n.d.).

⁵⁵²Town Planning and Civic Improvement, Jan 1913: 5; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁵³Josef Stubben, “Practical and Aesthetic Principles for the Laying out of Cities”, a paper presented at the Deutschen Vereins fur offentliche Gesundheitspflege, Freiburg, Germany, September, 1885; in Reps (n.d.).

⁵⁵⁴*Mail and Empire*, January 3, 1898: 3.

The *Mail* did not offer a mortality statistic for Toronto, but the implication was important, park reformers intuiting as they would have the number of parks in Toronto compared to the population.⁵⁵⁵ And the number was impressive: Toronto's 1898 population of 186,517 coexisted with 1573 acres of park space, a ratio of 118.5 Torontonians per acre of park.⁵⁵⁶ The death rate per thousand for the whole of Canada only twenty years later was 10.3 per thousand.⁵⁵⁷ By 1913, the Guild would combine the Plan of 1909 "and the new harbour project [to] add nearly 900 acres of [park land] across the City's lakefront."⁵⁵⁸ Little wonder parks meant as much as they did, especially in Toronto, since "[p]ublic parks and gardens were not only an ornament to the city but a necessity of its people, if their health is to be regarded."⁵⁵⁹ The *Plan of 1909* would propose them unreservedly and plentifully.

The park's ability to guarantee the health of city people was especially important when it came to children; concern for children exercised reformers constantly, as I suggested in an earlier chapter. Reformers argued that city children, the majority of whose lives were spent roaming the streets, alleyways, and vacant gravelled lots of the city, and dodging streetcars, etc., needed parks as play spaces. Hence the establishment of a "playground

⁵⁵⁵Marsh writes in 1908 that "the acreage of parks and playgrounds for various densities of population had not been definitely settled." By 1910, however, Marsh reported that the New York City Playground Association had established a standard of 250 people to 1 acre of park (Marsh, "City Planning in Justice to Working Populations", *Charities and the Commons* 19, February 1, 1908: 1514-1518; in Reps (n.d.); Marsh, "Economic Aspects of City Planning", *op.cit.*).

⁵⁵⁶Acreage based on figure supplied in the *RCPSCIT 1909, op. cit.* Population figure from the TGCA, *Population of the City of Toronto from 1870, Letters, etc., 1911*, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁵⁷*Historical Statistics of Canada* only reports 1921 forward (Series B23-34, Average age-specific death rates, both sexes, Canada, for five-year periods, 1921-1974, in F.H. Leacy, ed. (1984) *Historical Statistics of Canada*, Statistics Canada).

⁵⁵⁸"Town Planning and Civic Improvement", Jan 1913: 5; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁵⁹G.H. Knibbs, "The Theory of City Design", *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1901* 35, 1901: 62-112; in Reps (n.d.).

movement" in North America (Dickason 1979; Kett 1977; Cavallo 1981; Nasaw 1985; Clement 1997; McLeod 1998).⁵⁶⁰ "Children's playgrounds," the Toronto Civic Guild intoned, "are quite as necessary...as...schools, churches and hospitals; the value to the rising generation for instance of supervised playgrounds and children's gardens cannot be overestimated."⁵⁶¹

Playground boosters believed that urban children required saving through structured play in greenspaces, "to encourage the skills and values necessary" for life in the modern city (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992: 393). Playground reformers stated their case plainly: "the boy without a playground...is the father to the man without a job" (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992: 393). "It is surely a need to take the children out of the streets," wrote Philadelphia engineer, H. Van Buren Osbourn, "and give them a spot where the fear of trolley cars shall not be a factor in the sum of parental anxieties, and lack of space a despoiler of the robust enjoyment of those games that make boys and girls better men and women."⁵⁶² However, the reclamation-function of the playground equally depended on these children's unfettered consumption of its natural goodness. City planner, George Kessler (in Lewis 1916: 146) warned against "disregarding... the value of natural beauty [in parks and playgrounds] as an inducement to enjoy outdoor recreation in surroundings that appeal to and educate the growing child." To this end city planner, George Ford, recommended that

⁵⁶⁰The playground movement was initiated by Playground Association of America founder Joseph Lee in 1906. According to cultural historian Joseph Kett (1977: 226), Lee was "an uncompromising racist convinced that weaker races were staining the purity of the Anglo-Saxon strain by their thoughtless embarkation for America." The playground movement was but another solution for the control urban immigrant children.

⁵⁶¹*ibid.*: 6.

⁵⁶²H. Van Buren Osbourn, "Philadelphia; What are Its Needs?", *Proceedings of the Engineers Club of Philadelphia* 17, February 1900: 24-39; in Reps (n.d).

playgrounds should be established in every section of the tenement district. They should be small and there should be many of them. They should have a southern exposure, open to prevailing summer winds. In all cases there should be lots of trees, grass, and flowers.⁵⁶³

There is little need to remind the reader that the proliferating tenement district in the increasingly populous city was, for the reformer, a nursery for the young criminal mind. Edward Bennett (in Lewis 1916: 147), co-author of the *Plan of Chicago* (1909), however, claimed that in such neighbourhoods where playgrounds had been erected, “[p]olice records showed an extraordinary decrease in youthful crimes.” The park, for reformers, successfully moderated childhood in the city with nature.

Parks and recreation were as inseparable in the reform mind as they are in ours. They were part of the “wider democracy of recreation,” which sought “for more opportunity to enjoy those forms of beauty and pleasure which feed and refresh the soul as bread does the body.”⁵⁶⁴ Planning advocate, Horace McFarland, suggested that the park was the “essential recreation facilit[y]” in the “great and growing” modern city.⁵⁶⁵ Parks were, as Harder suggested, “of paramount importance for the exercise and recreation of the people, and the playground, with its games and contests, may with dignity and profit receive recognition and consideration from the state.”⁵⁶⁶ In the age

⁵⁶³George Ford, *The Technical Phases of City Planning*, in Benjamin Clarke Marsh, ed., *An Introduction to City Planning: Democracy's Challenge to the American City*, New York, Privately Printed, 1909: Chapter VII; in Reys (n.d.).

⁵⁶⁴John Nolen, “What is Needed in American City Planning”, *City Planning Hearing before the Committee on the District of Columbia United States Senate on the Subject of City Planning*. 61st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document no. 422, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1910: 74-75; in Reys (n.d.).

⁵⁶⁵J. Horace McFarland, “The Growth of City Planning in America”, *Charities and the Commons* 19, February 2 1908: 1522-1528; in Reys (n.d.).

⁵⁶⁶Julius F. Harder, “The City's Plan”, *Municipal Affairs* 2, March 1898: 25-45; in Rep (n.d.).

of hard work, work-weary wage-labourers required spaces of rest and recreation that would accommodate their few hours of rest in a week. This meant, as landscape architect, Richard Schermerhorn, Jr., wrote, that “there should be many parks, playgrounds and open spaces, and they should be freely connected.”⁵⁶⁷ Labourers should be free to walk to a local park rather than pay carfare to ride to a central park, often miles away.⁵⁶⁸ There was even an insistence that parks be built “near factories so that the workingmen may have a convenient place to rest and play.”⁵⁶⁹ Indeed, the erection of such recreational spaces was an issue of social justice in the city, as Marsh insisted; it behooved city authorities to realise that in providing parks, they were “recognizing the rights of the public.”⁵⁷⁰ Parks and recreation seen in the light of social justice meant that establishing places of beautiful recreation was inseparable from the urban philanthropic impulse, was “the most obviously aesthetic phase of urban philanthropy” (Robinson 1901: 153). And as philanthropy uplifted the human spirit, so “[t]he park [wa]s the cathedral of the modern city” (Robinson 1970[1918]: 344), the quintessence, perhaps, of spiritual recreation. The park and recreation together represented a realisation of the social necessity of nature in the city.

From the beginning there was no question of the economic advantage of parks. Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992: 31) note the skepticism of critics of Central Park over the issue of parks and property values: “Will anyone

⁵⁶⁷Richard Schermerhorn, Jr., “City Planning”, *Brooklyn Engineers’ Club, Proceedings* 16, 1912: 102-143; in Reps (n.d.)

⁵⁶⁸Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992: 309) show that the poor simply would not afford the carfare to New York’s Central Park. When a reporter asked an Irish char woman why she had never visited Central park in the thirty years she had been a resident of New York City she responded: “I have never seen ten cents for car fare that wasn’t needed some other way—that’s why.”

⁵⁶⁹Frederic Howe, “The City as Socialising Agency: The Physical Basis of the City: The City Plan”, *American Journal of Sociology* 17, March 1912: 590-601; in Reps (n.d.).

⁵⁷⁰Benjamin Marsh, “City Planning Injustice to the Working Population”, *op. cit.*

pretend the Park is not a scheme to enhance the value of up-town land," asked land reformer Hal Gurney in 1851, "and create a splendid center for fashionable life, high rents &c, without regard to, and even in dereliction of, the happiness of the multitude upon whose hearts and hands the expenses will fall." If there were ulterior plans for the building of parks beyond the recreational at the mid-century, by the turn-of-the-century, they were in full view. Schermerhorn bluntly asserted the economic advantage of importing nature into the city: "Parks, and parkways increase the property values and help raise the standard of proper living."⁵⁷¹ Bennett, too, explicitly linked parks to property values, suggesting that "[a]lready in Chicago, with...parks only a few years old, the new houses in their vicinity are showing a marked improvement over the old" (in Lewis 1916: 147). Marsh certainly did not misconstrue commercial interest in parks: "It is highly significant that as conservative a business body as the Staten Island (Richmond) Chamber of Commerce, foreseeing in 1902 that the island was to be a residential area proposed to secure one tenth of it for recreation purposes."⁵⁷² The park simply made economic sense, whether in real estate development or land values.

Finally, and not unrelated to the economics of park building, is the idea of parks as municipal art. Like flowers, parks were the spatial instantiation of the beauty of nature in the city (and as Perkins suggested "beauty is an excellent investment, and a wise commercial policy").⁵⁷³ The park's connection to beauty led to an important reform argument for the park in the city, and the ideational basis of this chapter: the park was directly affiliated

⁵⁷¹Schermerhorn, Jr., *op. cit.*

⁵⁷²Benjamin Marsh, "City Planning Injustice to the Working Population", *op. cit.*

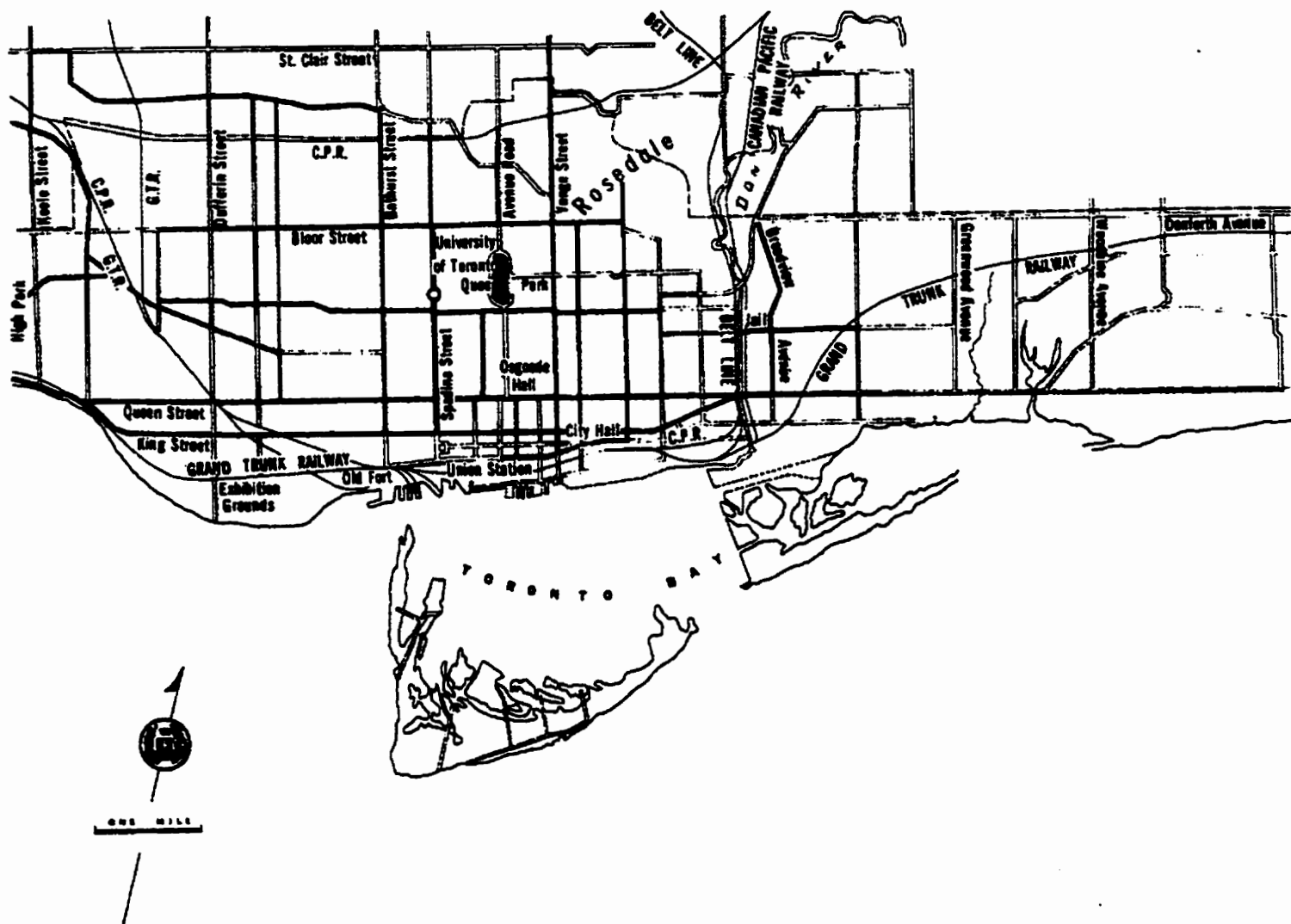
⁵⁷³Lucy Fitch Perkins, "Municipal Art", *op. cit.*

with municipal art. The park, as Harder above suggested, was frequently the only instance of municipal art in some cities. Reformers could easily construe the park with its natural beauty and symbolism of utilitarian hygiene because of the broad meaning of municipal art; Robinson wrote of parks and playgrounds under the heading, "The Alliance of Hygiene and Aesthetics" (1901: iii; 73-75). Robinson (1918: 27) had early defined municipal art—the first edition of *Modern Civic Art* was published in 1903—as that "which is so utilitarian in its purposes as to be civic first and art afterwards" but also that which takes "just the right way...those steps necessary or proper for the comfort of the citizens—as the doing of the necessary or proper civic thing in the right way." Parks were as much a contribution to art in the city as "libraries, theatres, and art galleries."⁵⁷⁴ More than this, parks represented a "mature civilization[']s" profound desire for "civic æsthetics" (Robinson 1901: 155). Municipal art, such as the park, was its outward expression.

Queen's Park

The park ethos and the desire of reformers to have salubrious, hygienic, nurturing, recreational, valuable, and artful parks in their cities explains Toronto's reformers' interest in developing a park plan for the city. But before the *Plan of 1909*, there was Queen's Park. It lay to the north of the CBD and was the geographically central park of the city. This made it highly visible. Queen's Park was constituted in the work-a-day geography of city-dwelling Torontonians, much more so than High Park, Toronto's biggest and celebrated park; at the time it was miles away from the centre of the city. Torontonians saw Queen's Park everyday, with a gaze tempered by the park ethos. It was a scrutinising critical gaze that the park had trouble meeting.

⁵⁷⁴*ibid.*



6.2 Queen's Park

Queen's Park was—and is—the legacy of the University of King's College, chartered 1827 as a college of the arts for Upper Canada College. Not long after, 1829, the college governors purchased the land for University Park, of which both Queen's Park and the land on which the University of Toronto now sits, were a consequence. By the mid-century Queen's Park served as the head of glorious tree-lined and fenced avenue, University Avenue, restricted to the students of the college, who strolled its paths which were "isolated from traffic [and] carefully maintained, both in the interests of an ideally secluded collegiate life, and to preserve the tranquillity of the grounds" (Dendy 1993: 183).⁵⁷⁵ Because no streets were permitted to cross College Avenue, it was regarded as both a barrier to commerce and development, and the grid plan of the city, and men such as George Brown argued for public and *laissez-faire* access. The provincial government finally appropriated for public purposes a large eastern portion of the university land, stretching from the head of College Avenue to Bloor Street. In 1859, the province then turned the land over to the city, which assumed a 999 year lease on both the grounds, "University Avenue and that portion of College Street eastward to Yonge" (Middleton 1934: 53). In 1860, the parcel became known as Queen's Park and opened up to traffic and development (Dendy 1993: 183; 180-183; Careless 1984: 97).⁵⁷⁵

Queen's Park may have had noble beginnings, including providing a site for the July 1 celebration of the Canadian federal union of 1867 (Careless 1984: 104). At the turn-of-the-century, however, the civic pride once invoked by Queen's Park and its traffic-free avenue had given way to reformer's

⁵⁷⁵Because no streets were permitted to cross College Avenue, it was regarded as both a barrier to commerce and development and the grid plan of the city (Dendy 1993: 183).

embarrassment. By the 1910s, as the Civic Guild worked to generate public opinion on the *Plan of 1909*, the Guild contended that the city had squandered the opportunity that Queen's Park once offered, but with the implementation to new schemes, could offer again:

Queen's Park for example is the only extensive open space within several square miles [of the CBD], but how well conceived was it, by the early university and civic authorities, with its fine approaches from Queen, Yonge, and Bloor Streets. The heritage of the university preserved intact all these years provides a future expansion for which many cities would give millions to secure.⁵⁷⁶

In the 1890s, people did not flock to Queen's Park, as they did to High Park.⁵⁷⁷ Nor did critics seem prepared to describe Queen's Park as they did Toronto Island: "first-class."⁵⁷⁸

The worst aspect of the Queen's Park issue was the ugly face it presented to visitors, which risked the displeasure of the visitors, to say nothing of reformers. But there was something more; the apathy shown to Queen's Park by the City symbolised a patent rejection of the park ethos. As the main park in the CBD, the state of its grounds testified to visitors of Toronto's ability to apprehend and implement spatially the moral-aesthetic goodness of nature.⁵⁷⁹ "[T]he niggardly policy which is being followed by Toronto in not providing suitable places for recreation and exercise," combined with "[t]he want of public interest in these matters" as the TGCA

⁵⁷⁶"Town Planning and Civic Improvement", Jan 1913: 5; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁷⁷*Saturday Night*, July 20, 1896: 1-2.

⁵⁷⁸*Saturday Night*, June 15, 1895: 7.

⁵⁷⁹Queen's park was not alone in the central city. Allen Gardens was well-known and visited; so too Moss Park, though it was significantly smaller.

noted of Toronto's inattention to park reform, surely signified something gone awry.⁵⁸⁰ Indeed, the Guild indirectly accused the Toronto City Council of being responsible for the "inadequate parking...where now stands the heart of the city."

The extension of the park ethos to the urban environment of Toronto required the reordering and reconditioning of Queen's Park. The 35 acre park, at University Avenue and College Street, had much to live up to. In the first decade of the new century, when the TGCA started to formulate its park and parkway plan, Queens Park would become "the heart of the inner park system," the main park from which the interior parkway system would radiate.⁵⁸¹ And though High Park, Toronto's "flagship" park was much bigger (375 acres), more beautiful, and certainly more used, it lay in the suburban west end of the city, not a highly visible or immediate attraction for visitors. High Park really only availed itself to those with car fare, bicycles, carriages, or pedestrians living in walking distance. The same went for Riverdale Park (166 acres) Simcoe Park (150 acres) and Reservoir Park (50 acres), all far from the centre of the city.⁵⁸² Queen's Park, however, as the central park for the central city, was the park that visitors to the city were most likely to see.⁵⁸³ Torontonians intended, ideally, that Queen's Park would impress visitors with an apprehensible commitment to decoration.

⁵⁸⁰*Saturday Night*, January 19, 1889: 1; *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, May 6 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁸¹*Report on a Comprehensive Plan for Systematic Civic Improvements in Toronto*, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, 1909: n/a; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S 48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

⁵⁸²Toronto Civic Guild of Art Plan of Improvements to the City of Toronto 1909, in *ibid.*

⁵⁸³This is not exactly true. Seven parks and squares, apart from Queen's Park, lay north of the waterfront and south of Bloor, east of Bathurst and west of Parliament. Allan Gardens, at Jarvis and Carlton, was the next largest at 10.5 acres. None of Cottingham Park, Victoria Square, Harbour Square, Kendal Square, St. Patrick Square, and Moss Park, exceeded 2.5 acres, the total acreage, including Allan Gardens, being 20 acres. The *Plan of 1909* would propose eight more parks and playgrounds for the same location, increasing the existing park acreage by 47.79 acres (*ibid.*).

The park was an expression, at least rhetorically, of a city's spatial commitment to both decoration and the park ethos. It is, thus, little wonder that reformers raged at Queen's Park's dishevelment. In the 1890s, reformers' comments paint a picture of a park surrounded by damaged fences, adorned with unkempt grounds and shrubbery, intermittent mounds of debris, disgraceful roadways, and broken sidewalks. Queen's Park attracted opprobrium not approbation. "No other city on this continent," one critic began, "would allow an area like Queen's park to be in the comparatively neglected state in which it now is—a place of rubbish heaps, desolation, broken fences and bad roadways." Unless the city took immediate steps of improvement, Queen's park would stand as "a burning disgrace to [Torontonians] and likely...permanently injure the city's credit in the eyes of strangers and the world." To rub more salt into a highly sensitive, and visible, wound, the writer concludes by disparaging the citizenry of the city: "What shall be said of the public spirit that allows the area on which MacCarthy's fine monument of Sir John A. Macdonald stands to remain an uncared-for wilderness?"⁵⁸⁴ In the era of beauty and use, Queen's Park was their antithesis.

The City, whether by shame or pressure, addressed the problem of disorder in Queen's Park, and undertook some minor repairs in the summer of 1895:

A certain amount of work has recently been accomplished by the municipal authorities by making the vicinity of Queen's park, especially that portion in front of the parliament buildings, a little less unsightly than before. The heaps of earth and refuse

⁵⁸⁴*Mail and Empire*, April 25, 1895: 4.

which disgraced the western portion of the grounds at the head of the avenue have been levelled, and made to assume the appearance of land prepared for sodding. Other parts of the park have also been raked and cleaned, and an attempt has been made to render the roads more fit for traffic.

This cursory attempt at cosmetics held no interest for the writer who believed he saw through the ruse to ameliorate public, or at least bourgeois, discontent. Public works officials having "this much accomplished...evidently felt that public feeling would be conciliated, and most of the men who had for a short time been employed upon the job have been withdrawn."⁵⁸⁵ The park stood now only partially rejuvenated at best.

The City's outright negligence toward one of the principle elements of a reconditioned urban environment, parks, chafed an editor of the *Mail and Empire*, who waxed particularly sardonic over the whole affair. All that summer, the editor wrote, Toronto had enjoyed American visitors and excursionists who made the city "an objective point" for their tourism.⁵⁸⁶ They were, "no doubt...duly impressed with all that they saw of the sights of the city," the writer smoldered,

the most impressive being, of course, the Queen's park. Its wealth of flowers and foliage, its matchless tidiness, its incomparable fences and sidewalks, and above all, its magnificent roadways, will be subjects which on their homecoming they will vainly endeavour to describe, and they will ever remember it as a paradise, similar to that which came within the ken of the wandering peri [Persian fairies of beauty]

⁵⁸⁵*Mail and Empire*, August 1, 1895: 6.

⁵⁸⁶*Mail and Empire*, August 7, 1895: 4.

as they gazed within the golden gates. It is a question, however, whether they will care to drive through this terrestrial paradise twice.

Evidently, the partially cleaned-up Queen's park failed to meet, even meagrely, the park ethos or the decorative standard.

Similar sentiments were aroused with earlier talk of running a line of street cars through Queen's Park "to further damage what [wa]s left." This left one opponent of the scheme incredulous. Such a happening, it was suggested, "would not be tolerated in any city less utilitarian than Toronto."

Torontonians did not have "very much park" the writer complained, and the last thing "the remaining fragment need[ed wa]s the hum and bustle and danger of a trolley line running through it."⁵⁸⁷ Perhaps, although making the park accessible by street car might have increased pedestrian traffic and thus contributed to its rehabilitation through wider recreational use.

The idea that public access could assist in the clean up of the park was not wrong headed. *Saturday Night* implied that much of Toronto Island's appeal, that which made it "a picture of indescribable gent[ility]," was its patronage by the citizens of Toronto: "Everything is first-class, and as the people who are already patronizing this breathing-spot are thoroughly well-behaved searchers after fresh air and good things, all our citizens should lend their aid to make it still more popular and thoroughly fashionable."⁵⁸⁸

Queen's Park on the other hand, eshewed patronage. "The silly order in Queen's park about 'keeping off the grass'" erected in 1897 and which could not "be taken down too soon" undoubtedly hindered access by pedestrians, as the *Mail and Empire's*, *Flaneur*, averred. "Has the Parks and Garden

⁵⁸⁷*Saturday Night*, November 26, 1892: 2.

⁵⁸⁸*Saturday Night*, June 15, 1895: 7.

Committee been eating out lately? How can pedestrians keep to the paths when the paths are monopolized by bicyclists? Trust the parks to the people and the people can be trusted with the parks.”⁵⁸⁹ Queen’s Park was disorderly, and its so-called caretakers had no real idea how to re-order it again. And so Toronto had no central park worth mentioning, as the rhetoric of park building increased daily throughout North America. It was only a matter of time before Toronto’s reformers began to think seriously of a comprehensive plan for developing parks and parkways in the city.

Toronto Guild of Civic Art

By 1901, the TGCA had begun to pursue that part of their mandate that had until this point been submerged by its attempts to put mural panels in the New City Hall and the Ontario Parliament Buildings: aesthetic concern for the reform of the built environment of the city. Ostensibly, the TGCA would give sound but well-informed lay-advice to the City Council regarding the non-use and misuse of art and artistic principles in “the most philistine city of the Dominion” (*Globe*, March 16 1900, in Hill 1995: 38) (see Appendix 2: “Toronto and its self-image”: 431). The TGCA had, however, also determined in 1897, that it was not simply a body dedicated to the purpose of forwarding conventional art. Yes, “the objects of the association in those early days were to secure mural paintings and decorations for the City Hall and Parliament Buildings; to criticise the designs of buildings and (sic) sculptural works; to control the layout of public grounds; and to hold annual exhibitions of art.”⁵⁹⁰ They would, however, also begin manifesting their interest in broad environmental reform as it pertained the decorous arrangement of

⁵⁸⁹*Mail and Empire*, May 8, 1897: Part Three.

⁵⁹⁰“Letter to the Chairman and Members of the Young People’s Society”: 1; Letters, 1913, *Letters, Etc.*, 1912-1914, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

space, working “to form landmarks and places of distinction, with which Toronto will become associated in the minds of its inhabitants and in the recollections of those who visit it.”⁵⁹¹ The TGCA, co-founded by George Reid, Canada’s leading decorative artist, with as much interest in urban aesthetics as art exhibitions, would be Toronto’s first city planning body.⁵⁹²

Parks and urban nature fell well within the TGCA’s definition of municipal aesthetics, or civic art. “[T]he scope of the Guild’s objects,” the TGCA Minutes showed, included “Mural and other decorations; City Parks and their approaches, and public squares in the city; Architecture of public schools; improvement of the city waterfront and the island.”⁵⁹³ A circular sent by the TGCA “to citizens of Toronto and circulated amongst the various orgs. (sic) interested in Art matters in the city” declared:

One of the primary objects of the Guild is the general improvement of the city by means of Parks, Squares, well-designed buildings, etc., but owing to the want of public interest in these matters little so far has been accomplished, and Toronto

⁵⁹¹“Report of the Plan Committee”, December 4, 1908: 11, Report of the Plan Committee, March 30 1906/November 21, 1907/December 4, 1908, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁹²The TGCA moved very quickly from being a art consultation group in Toronto to one that promoted urban design. In the early 1900’s its aims shifted from interest in the installation of mural art in the city to the boosting of parks. By 1909, it was unofficially referring to itself as the Civic Guild, viewing itself primarily as a city planning body. At this time the Guild began to publish the *Civic Guild Bulletin*, a magazine of sorts dedicated entirely to city planning. the *Bulletin’s* aims were, among others, to “accelerate the progress of civic improvement,” and to “secure the carrying-out in Toronto of a comprehensive scheme of City Planning.” In 1912, the TGCA proposed to change its name officially to the “Civic Guild.” Its constitutional mandate would read: “To develop city planning for Toronto, with a view to making the city more healthful, more convenient, more beautiful; to promote civic art; to create informed public opinion in relation to municipal improvement; to foster enlightened civic consciousness and the sentiment of civic pride.” (*Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, May 1, 1911, Vol. 1 No. 1: Forward; *Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, January 23, 1912, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL).

⁵⁹³*Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, Feb 11, 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

from an artistic standpoint is not making due progress. The present appears to be an opportune time to bring to the attention of the citizens at large some proposals for the general improvement of the city which should be considered at once....⁵⁹⁴

The TGCA unequivocally included within its decorative artistic sphere of interest the design and construction of parks and squares. Indeed, so acceptable was this artistic conception of park building within the broader definition of Art, that the Ontario Society of Art (OSA), whose president at the time was George Reid (1897-1909), was fully "prepared to join the Guild as a body if possible under the Guild's constitution."⁵⁹⁵ This close association between the TGCA and the OSA justifies a popular urban reform journal's classification of designers and planners as "municipal artists."⁵⁹⁶ With well-known Canadian artists such as Wiley Grier, Frederick Challener, Fred Bell-Smith, and George Reid among its members, the TGCA was truly a league of municipal artists. And by the first decade of the new century, a municipal artist in Toronto demonstrated his decorative prowess by designing cities according to the park ethos. Art and the park in the decorative city obtained to the same thing.

⁵⁹⁴*Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, May 6, 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁹⁵Reid, G.A. Scrapbook, Info Desk #1, AGO Library. Art historian, Charles Hill (1995: 43), notes Frederick Bell-Smith as OSA president in 1907, Bell-Smith also a member of the TGCA (*Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, May 22, 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL); *Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, April 29, 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁵⁹⁶"Demands for City Beautiful", *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, 21 September 5, 1906: 243; in Repts (n.d.).

The comprehensive plan and the principles of decoration

The *Plan of 1909* conformed with what had become established decorative thought concerning parks and beautification. Designer and city planner, Charles Lamb, disclosed the basics of the principle behind the TGCA's report:

The park system, if properly developed, would give an open area and breathing spot in every section the city so close together that at no time would the distance be farther than a short walk; for it must be remembered that a park for the people is to be reached (if it is a park for the people) by walking, for a park which is ten cents away from the poor man's home is not one which he or his children can utilize. The Parkway, that is, connecting streets which tie the series of parks together, is the most happy solution of the difficulties that have been found in existing laws, the most of which seem to be legislation against the beautification of the streets even by the use of foliage. When a street becomes a parkway, however, it then is brought within the jurisdiction of the Park Department, and the use of trees in the park being fundamental, it becomes the principle for the treatment of parkways, and thus lines of green are formed connecting the greater areas of green--the extension of the system but adds to the beauty of the city.⁵⁹⁷

The secret to "the ennobling and beautifying of the city" lay in a sophisticated network of green spaces and interconnecting thoroughfares, through whose elaborate but utilitarian design urban dignity was possible.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁷Charles Lamb, "City Plan", *The Craftsman* 6, April, 1904: 2-13; in Reps (n.d.).

⁵⁹⁸RCPSCIT 1909, *op. cit.*

At this point, as we begin a discussion of the *Plan of 1909*, and having cited the TGCA's commitment to beautification and ennoblement, it will be useful to recapitulate what I deemed the first principles of Decorative Art, especially the principle of right placement. If any planning document attests to the paramountcy of right placement it is the TGCA's *Plan of 1909*.

Recall that the aesthetics of placement is synonymous with harmony and design, the artist's intrinsic or intuitive knowledge of what looks good and where. Proper design demonstrates both the designer's apprehension of the first principles decoration, and the power of design to imbue the designed with nobility and dignity, beauty and utility. A well-designed object whether a piece of furniture or a city will exhibit these first principles as innate attributes.

The opposite of design, however, was chaos; in a city planning context, this would be random acts of development. Such piecemeal development hugely encouraged the era's fixation on the comprehensive plan, of which type the *Plan of 1909* was. The comprehensive plan became the way to instil beauty in the city. Until the comprehensive plan, there had been "no system, no orderliness, no idea of gaining an aggregate effect that should be more impressive than any series of individual results could be" (Robinson 1918: 274). As the *Globe* put it, after a public meeting sponsored by the TGCA: "any efforts to beautify the city shall not be made in a haphazard or aimless way but...carried out on some definite and comprehensive plan."⁵⁹⁹ Hence City Beautiful's reputation as largely a comprehensive planning issue (see Appendix 1: Definitions: "Comprehensive": 426).

⁵⁹⁹*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, News clipping, May 22 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

The comprehensive plan guaranteed the fastidious design of the city by “some one man, or what is more practicable, the formation of some firm or other cooperative body of men, who combine in themselves all the requirements for deciding such questions [as design] in an authoritative manner,” a body like the TGCA.⁶⁰⁰ Artistically and aesthetically sound, expertly crafted by men whose expertise in design was as putatively infallible as their superlative judgement, and who were extolled as “the intelligence and brains of the municipal government in all physical matters,” the comprehensive plan depended entirely on the right placement of urban reform elements such as the park or parkway.⁶⁰¹ The comprehensive plan represented the glory and authority of design through city planning which, as Frederick Howe (1913: 186) wrote, “anticipates the future with the farsightedness of an army commander, so as to secure the orderly, harmonious, and symmetrical development of the community.” In other words design, comprehensively considered and rationally implemented, obviated future disorder, environmental and social.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰⁰Demands for the City Beautiful, *Municipal Journal and Engineer* 21, September 5, 1906: 243.

⁶⁰¹John C. Olmsted, “The Relation of the City Engineer to Public Parks”, in *Organization and Management of a City Engineer’s Office*, *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies* 13, October 1894: 594-595; in Reys (n.d.).

⁶⁰²This was everything and the basis for the aggressive anti-democratic actions of early city planners. It included the development of city planning commissions, as they struggled to circumvent municipal councils and laws to put into place their design-bent, decorous and eutenic vision of the future (see especially Boyer 1979, Chapter 6, “The Barriers of Municipal Government and the Need for Urban Observatories”). Excellent primary sources for this assessing this mentality are William Magee, “The Organization and Functions of a City Planning Commission”, *Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on City Planning*, 1913, Boston, National Conference on City Planning, 1913: 73-85; Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., “Introduction”, to John Nolen, ed., *City Planning: A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan*, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1916: 1-18; Walter Moody, *What of the City?* Chicago, McClery, 1919: 65; Edward Fitzpatrick, ed., *Experts in City Government*, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1919. Charles Mulford Robinson, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities, or the Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics*, New York and London, G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1901 (chapter XVI, “The Work of Officials”): 271-284; John C. Olmsted, *op. cit.*

The comprehensive plan attempted to subordinate individual will to the order of design. Planning advocate, Horace McFarland, alluded to the perturbation of the beauty reformer who would have a designed city, but was impeded by what Thomas Adams (1935: 317) called the “antagonism” of the American city “toward control or restriction of private property and actions.”

But there is the occasional inquirer after all, and as I have hinted he is sure to be an acute and far seeing man, who dreams of cities that shall be conveniently attractive, harmoniously complete in essentials for comfort, and free from outbreaking private or public ugliness. [Yet h]e has trouble in having his ideals respected in the free and presumably enlightened United States; for has not every citizen the right to do as he pleases with his own, however his “pleasure” may destroy the comfort or annoy the eyes and aesthetic sense of his neighbor?⁶⁰³

Likewise, sociologist, Frederic Howe, intoned: “Everything has been left to the uncontrolled licence of the builder. Like the land speculator, he has been free to do as he willed with his property and our cities have suffered in consequence.”⁶⁰⁴ Reformers needed a tool or method to prevent developers and individuals from ruining the environmental potential that a secured comprehensive design could advance in the modern city. They devised the comprehensive plan to abate the disorder caused by individualistic piecemeal development.

But apart from its being a “do everything” – Willard’s motto—design document, the comprehensive plan also sought to establish for the city a

⁶⁰³McFarland, *The Growth of City Planning in America*, *op cit.*

⁶⁰⁴Frederic C. Howe, “The City as a Socializing Agency: The Physical Basis of the City: The City Plan”, *op. cit.*

highly restrictive blue print to which all construction must conform. Ostensibly, comprehensive planning considered the whole city at once, the CBD, the neighbourhoods, and suburbs, the annexations and even future annexations, and proposed designs for every part. But a comprehensively planned municipality also “controlled in perpetuity” all land use, as Howe put it.⁶⁰⁵ Builders could build, but the “what” and the “where” were curtailed by the land use dictates of the plan. After all, the design had already been undertaken and sanctified by “experts” and “municipal artists” whose aesthetic authority and judgement lay beyond question.

Believing its opinions indisputable in the matter of aesthetic judgement—they were after all “lay men of taste and influence...having specified authority”—the TGCA by 1902 had begun “to look into the question of a city By-Law giving the Guild an authoritative position in Municipal matters.”⁶⁰⁶ It formed a “Legislation Committee,” responsible for ascertaining, essentially, what legal powers the Guild and the City would need to by-pass Council or public intervention.⁶⁰⁷ By 1913, the TGCA, now the Civic Guild (CG), was lobbying the city council for the creation of a “Town Planning Commission.”⁶⁰⁸ In this way they believed they could fulfil their new mandate: “To develop city planning for Toronto, with a view to making

⁶⁰⁵*ibid.*

⁶⁰⁶*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, January 22, 1902, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁶⁰⁷The actual text reads: “b) to ascertain what powers are at present vested in the city of Toronto available for the carrying out of any civic improvements recommended;” “c) consider or report on what further powers are or would be in their judgement requisite or desirable for the said puposes;” “d) consider powers vested in other cities or communities inder such Acts as the Town Planning Act;” and finally “e) to draft at the request of the Civic Guild the legislation for which the latter may consider it desirable that the City should apply” (“Plan of Organization, Civic Improvement Committee”, *Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, n.d.: 233; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL).

⁶⁰⁸*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, December 18, 1913, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

the city more healthful, more convenient, more beautiful; to promote civic art; to create informed public opinion in relation to municipal improvement; to foster enlightend civic consciousness and the sentiment of civic pride."⁶⁰⁹ Such a mandate required the unbridled authority of a legally empowered planning commission.

The Planning Commission

The angst of early urban planning derives from the expediency of designers and laymen to have their designs sanctioned by city councils or, barring this, given legal authority through the creation of planning commissions, about which Boyer (1979: 126-136) writes so well. And while this is a chapter on parks and art, it warrants a minor deviation on the planning commission; design required legal authority. Planning commissions were a means of acquiring it. Indeed, the planning commission, as a quasi-political body positioned between the public and the municipal council (Boyer (1979: 128), existed for the non-democratic purpose of checking civic governments' and taxpayers' ability to subvert comprehensive planning initiatives. At the time, these were generally only informal proposals by altruistic, civic-minded, bourgeois men who, along with their boosters, considered their reform opinions to be the most informed and trustworthy.⁶¹⁰ Yet such men believed they could speak for the whole community. They therefore needed the authority to do so.

Authority to plan comprehensively required the elimination of opposition. As the mayor of Pittsburgh, William Magee, explained, city

⁶⁰⁹*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, January 23, 1912, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁶¹⁰Daniel Burnham received no remuneration for his conception of the *Plan of Chicago*, though the services of his staff and the publication of the report were funded by the Merchants' and Commercial Clubs of Chicago (Adams 1935: 202-203).

planning commissions could eradicate all formal opposition to comprehensive planning, to design, by defeating “the complexity of governmental jurisdiction...restrictions upon the use of public credit...[or] limitations upon legal powers” that produced at best “fragmentary results.”⁶¹¹ The planning commission existed to circumvent the municipal government, to overthrow the “timorous taxpayer, the lethargic citizen set in his conservatism, [and] the poor economists sent to the general assembly and elevated to the bench.”⁶¹² Leagues of order- and art-loving professional men such as the TGCA truly believed in the superiority of their opinions and beliefs and had no trouble advancing an anti-democratic means to forward them.

Magee knew the implementation of the comprehensive plan required unfettered legal sanction to ensure its success: “The poverty of [comprehensive] planning in its present stage of development is nowhere so well exemplified as by the absence of laws providing for the administration of purely community questions upon the basis of the metropolitan district.”⁶¹³ In other words, the failure of comprehensive planning lay in the unwillingness of municipal governments to abet the reformers’ need to adjudicate the public good. The key to planning commission success required that

as rapidly as possible the enactment of laws should be procured containing the principle of local assessment, public ownership of the use of municipal credit in the construction of public works and self supporting public utilities, and, lastly, at the proper stage

⁶¹¹Magee, *op. cit.*

⁶¹²*ibid.*

⁶¹³*ibid.*

of development the commission must obtain the veto power over all plans and designs.⁶¹⁴

By “public ownership of the use of municipal credit,” Magee surely means reformers’ access to it, which leads us directly to a point. These laws dealt primarily with the planning commission’s ability both to force city councils to force taxpayers to acknowledge the professional authority of city planners, and to afford improvements. Because, as reformers argued, the comprehensive plan must inevitably be carried out, now or in the future, it made eminent sense to men such as Magee and the TGCA that the city should begin financing it immediately:

The prevailing ideas upon public finance must be overcome. If the penny wise pound foolish policy with respect to taxation continues and if the great improvements are not to carry their own cost, naturally the city planner may as well conserve his energies for some more inviting field of action.”⁶¹⁵

Planning commissions would attempt to arrange for legal means to coerce municipal acceptance and implementation of the comprehensive plan.

This approach contrasted with Olmsted, Jr.’s, opinion, that the most efficient planning was “pursued in [a] democratic, modest commonsense spirit [where] there is no vital danger to be feared from wholly unprecedented applications of police power.” Indeed, as Olmsted continues,

[a]dvocates of city planning who approach it from the opposite viewpoint are also eager for efficiency and consequently for a sufficient concentration of authority to make possible a high degree of administrative efficiency, and they recognize clearly

⁶¹⁴*ibid.*

⁶¹⁵*ibid.*

that the greatest attainable good for the individuals who constitute a community to-day and those who will constitute it in the future can be had only by joint action for harmonizing the more wasteful or injurious conflicts of individual enterprise. But they have a saving humor which recognizes that any group of people, including themselves, will always combine a substantial percentage of error along with their wisdom, and will cling to the one almost as tenaciously as the other. They accept the rather sardonic definition of an efficient executive as "one who decides quickly and is sometimes right." But to prevent the diligent and efficient pursuit of mistaken ends...they rely upon the commonsense of all the people as the safest possible control. In other words, they are democrats.⁶¹⁶

Thus, most comprehensive planners and their advocates, "whether proletarians or aristocrats, they are alike willing to subordinate individual initiative on the part of most of the people to the initiative of some central authority." The comprehensive plan, then, seems to represent a body of thought and action so earnest and confident that it would willingly suborn individual will and autonomy to attain the supposed benefits of its application.

This discussion of the planning commission has everything to do with the design. Without legal or public authority, design and designers succumbed to chaos. The *Plan of 1909* naturally fretted about the effect of random development in Toronto and its effect upon the beautiful natural features of the city and their moral aesthetic influence:

⁶¹⁶Olmsted, Jr., "Introduction", *op. cit.*. This supports Handlin's (1963: 20) suggestion that the city plan was "a product of inescapable compromises."

these are features which can easily be spoiled for want of timely recognition and incorporation of an inviolable plan. There is no beautiful feature in Toronto so salient but that it could be obliterated by speculative building or by such undue commercialism as the establishment of a smelter where there is no real occasion to establish it.^{617 618}

Adams (1935: 25) would suggest later that where natural beauty is destroyed, opportunity for artistic design would be lost, and only huge expenditures of money could restore it. Random acts of development were to painstakingly designed plans that considered every aspect of site specific natural beauty what the undomesticated bicycle was to the modern Domestic ideal: irresponsible. Design, in this case parkway design, demonstrated responsible modernism in the modern city, a providential entity when harnessed securely to euthenic modernism's team: science, technology, sociology, and decorative art.

The *Plan of 1909* and right placement

The most succinct way to illustrate the TGCA's belief in design, and the accordance of the *Plan of 1909* with the principle of right placement, is simply to allow the reader to read the passages in the plan that deal with the siting of the parkway system. This is a long, but necessary passage, the point of which will make itself evident not too far along:

⁶¹⁷RCPSCIT 1909, *op. cit.*

⁶¹⁸The *Plan of 1929* similarly urged the Toronto City Council to act quickly; one modern building randomly erected in the path of the proposed improvements will eliminate the hope of ever carrying them out (*Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission, with Recommendations for the Improvement of the Central Business Section of the City of Toronto, 1929*: 13; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL).

The Park System

The Park System consists of a practically continuous chain of parks and parkways surrounding the city, linked by boulevards with the existing parks. The system may be traced on a map as follows:

Starting on the water front at the Old Fort, the Garrison Common, Exhibition Park, and the property recently acquired by the city immediately west of this, gives a continuous park system on the water front to the Humber River, and may be incorporated with High park on the southern front of that property.

Both sides of the Humber River are reserved for parks as far north as the Military Grounds on the east side, when the reservation is continued on the west side only until passing the Lambton Golf Club it turns east through the Black Creek Ravine.

Rising to the higher level at Prospect Cemetery, which it crosses, it continues east to the Ravine, which runs south east and intersects Poplar Plains Road, on this road it turns northward to join Avenue Road, at which point one arm runs north, dividing so as to pass on each side of Upper Canada College, and then continues north to a large park above Eglinton Ave.

From Avenue Road the main parkway continues east, south of St. Michael's Cemetery, and connects with Reservoir Park, where it again turns north and after skirting the southerly boundary of Mount Pleasant Cemetery in an easterly direction,

turns south east, and after crossing the CPR tracks, enters the Don Valley through which it continues until reaching Riverdale Park. Rising then to the higher level it skirts the east and south banks of the eastern branch of the Don, widening into a large park reservation on leaving the river and following a ravine until due north of Norway Hill it drops south, joins the Kingston Road and continues on it to the Scarboro Cliffs at the foot of the sixth concession east of Yonge Street, where a park reservation is suggested.

From the Scarboro Park the parkway turns westerly along the cliff overlooking the lake and descending with the bank passes through Balmy and Kew Beaches to Woodbine Park. Here the parkway returns to the city by one of the minor connecting parkways, to be mentioned later, while the park reservation continues on the lake front south of Ashbridges Bay to the Island, of which the greater part is included, and which extends almost to the point of starting.

The Queen's Park as the heart of the inner park system, is made the point from which parkways run south via Queen Street Avenue, west via Wilcox Street, and continuations which may be traced to High Park, north through Hoskin Avenue, to St. George Street, and thence to the outer park system at Poplar Plains Road and east via Wellesley Street to Riverdale Park. The west side of the city is divided by another parkway, which, connecting with the outer park system, east of Prospect Cemetery, runs down Dufferin Street, then east along the brow

of Wells' Hill and south through Christie Street, continues south through the Trinity College ravine and Stanley Park to the Exhibition Park, which it enters by a bridge over the railway tracks. To the east this parkway is continued through Wellington place to Clarence Square.

From Riverdale Park the present Rosedale Ravine drives run to the north west, the south one terminating in Ramsden Park and the north one in Reservoir Park. A parkway runs south through the Don speedway and on to the park reservation south of Ashbridge's Bay and east through Gerrard Street to connect with the outer parkway at the Norway Hill, and at Coxwell Avenue, a branch running south through the ravine at Small's Pond, which connects with Woodbine Park.⁶¹⁹

The TGCA and Aston Webb, the hired "expert," obviously spent much time pondering over the question of what shape this parkway system would take. Their justification adheres fully with beautification site planning thought concerned with the necessary utilization of existing natural landforms in the city (see for example Knibbs 1901; Robinson 1901; Town Planning Committee of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1911; Price 1912-1913). Indeed, as TGCA president John Ewan wrote:

Without any stretch of meaning it can be said of Toronto, as the Psalmist said of Jerusalem, that it is beautiful for a situation. There is no Mount Zion within our gates but the bay, lake and island, the ravines of the north, and the valleys of the Don and

⁶¹⁹*ibid.*

Humber, furnish ideal raw material for the landscape
designer....⁶²⁰

This ability of the TGCA to know intuitively and artistically what should go where anticipates a statement made by the Town Planning Committee of the Royal Institute of British Architects, relating to the role of the architect/artist in site planning:

The appreciation of the relation of masses and voids, the apprehension of right points for emphasis, and the power to combine into one creation many differing parts by bringing them into harmonious proportion...largely constitute the beauty and grandeur of cities.⁶²¹

The *Plan of 1909* not only apprehends right points for emphasis but believed it had harnessed the raw material, the existing parks, natural green spaces, and water sources in the city, "to create a more comely, a more spacious and a more inspiring Toronto."⁶²² And we can see this by briefly perusing the TGCA's proposal for the outer park system.

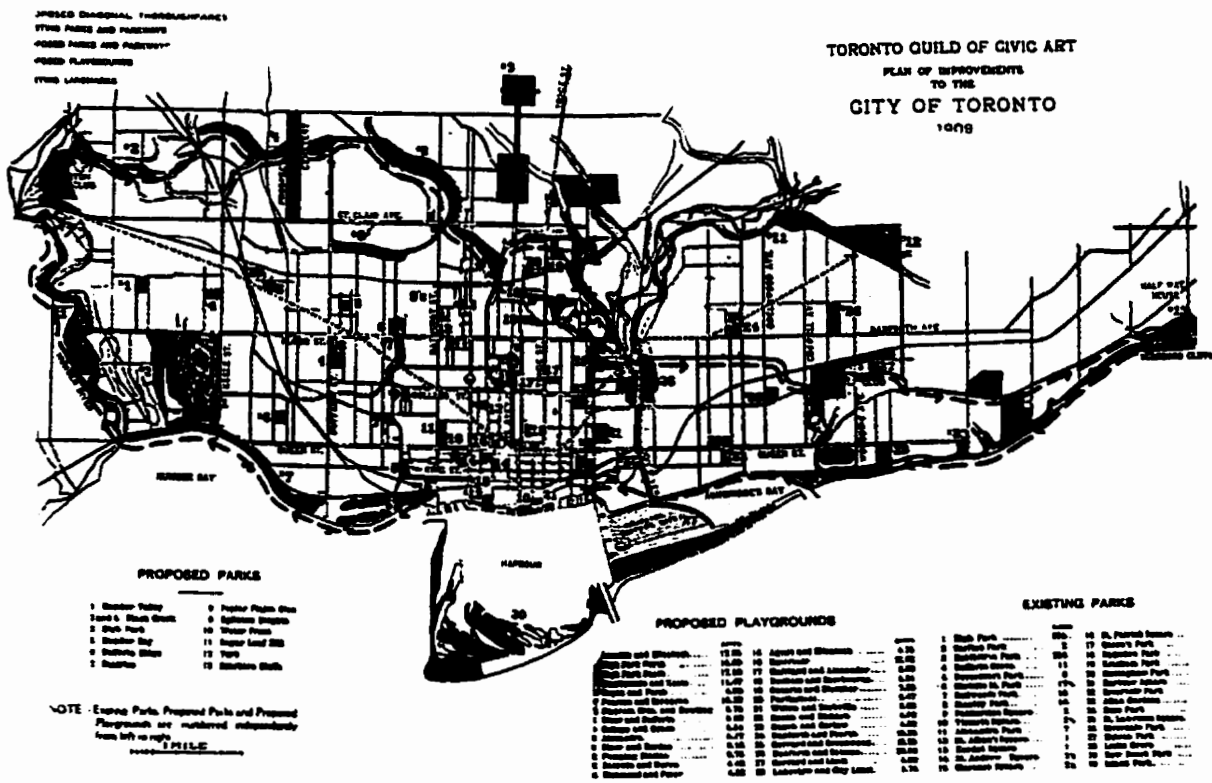
The TGCA knew that by starting the outer park system on the waterfront at Old Fort York, Garrison Common and the Exhibition Grounds and moving west, these three green and leisure spaces join with Western Beaches--here they propose reservations for Humber Bay Park--which continue along the waterfront three kilometres to the mouth of the Humber River.⁶²³ This alone uses five kilometres of natural land forms and existing

⁶²⁰*ibid.*

⁶²¹"Suggestions to Promoters of Town Planning Schemes", Town Planning Committee of the Royal Institute of British Planners, Royal Institute of British Architects, Journal, 3rd ser. 18, August 26 1911, 661-668; in Repts (n.d.).

⁶²²RCPSCIT 1909, *op. cit.*

⁶²³All distances used here are approximate. Recall too that Garrison Common had been refurbished a few years previous to the tabling of the Report.



6.3 Arrows mark the Plan of 1909 outer parkway route (RCPSCIT 1909).

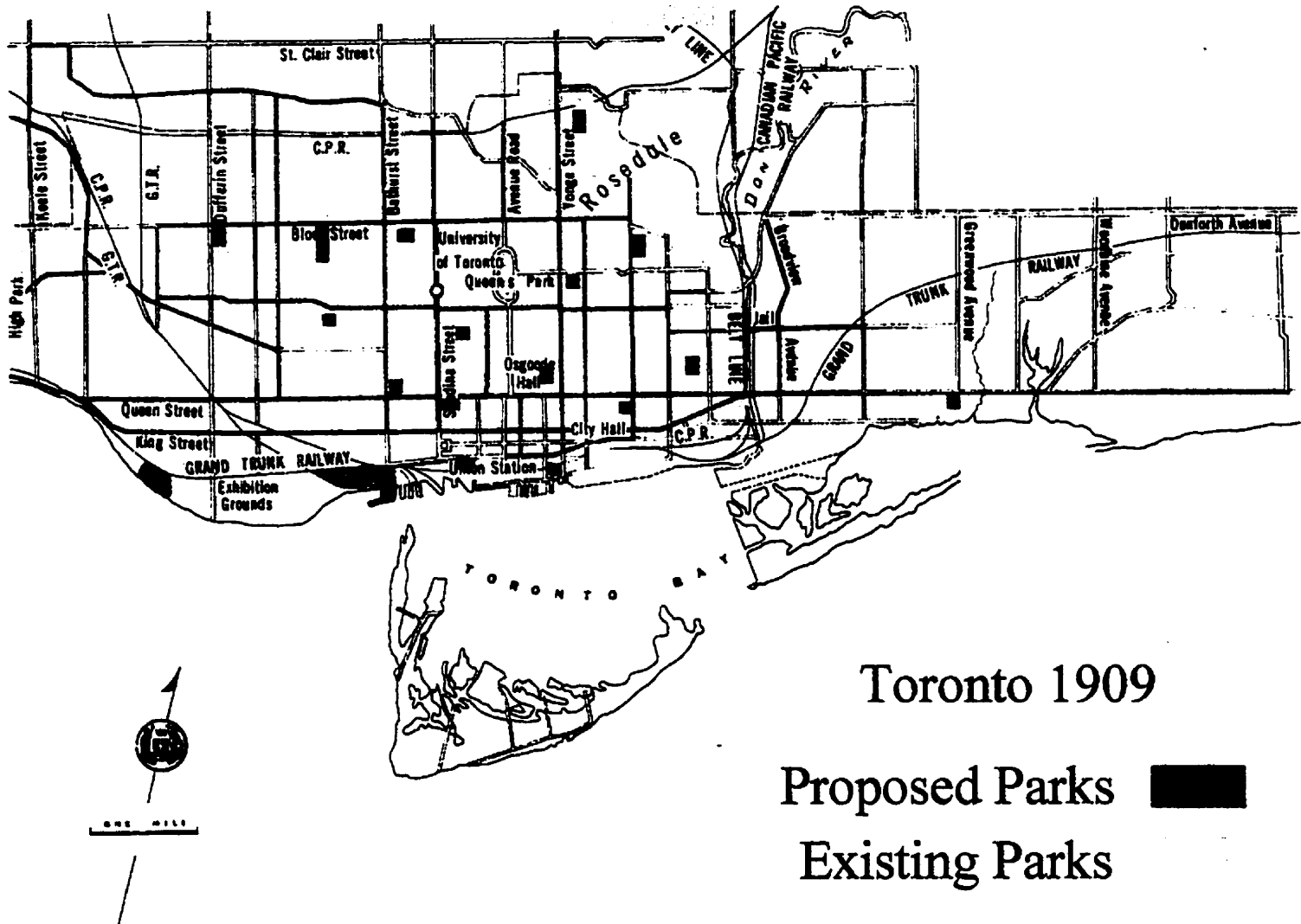
park land. Extending north from the mouth of Humber, the system utilises 2 more kilometres of existing green space provided by the Humber Valley until it reaches the existing Lambton Golf Club, at Scarlet Road and Dundas Street. It then heads sharply west along the Black Creek, incorporating the banks of the watercourse into a park reserve for a little over a kilometre, where the creek veers north and up what is now Black Creek Drive. The parkway however keeps west for a kilometre following Rogers Road to and through the existing Prospect Cemetery and west through what is now the neighbourhood of Cedarvale to Cedarvale Park. Continuing southeast another kilometre to what would become Winston Churchill Park, the system vees up a half a kilometre along Poplar Plains Rd to Avenue Road and the existing St. Michael's Cemetery.

At this point, a road runs north for a kilometre to the proposed Eglinton Heights Park, now Eglinton Park, pausing first to skirt the east and west sides of Upper Canada College. This, however, is a diversion, for the main system--there are minor diversions such as this throughout the plan--keeps running east a kilometre along St. Clair Avenue to Reservoir Park. Travelling north on what is now Mount Pleasant Road, the main system turns west along what is now Moore Avenue then southeasterly through Moore Park Ravine along the recently created Belt Line Trail into the Don Valley and through the recent Don Valley Brick Works Park. Here the main system follows the Don Valley for about a kilometre and a half to the existing Riverdale Park. Turning east, the system travels for about a kilometre parallel to and just south of Danforth Avenue, following an existing ravine until it reaches Greenwood Avenue where it dips to meet Gerrard Street at Coxwell

Avenue.⁶²⁴ Now it follows due east along Kingston road to what are now called the Scarborough Bluffs. Then the parkway reverses back along the lake shore through the existing Toronto Hunt Club and past Balmy and Kew Beaches, now "The Beach" or the Eastern Beaches, to Ashbridges Bay, where a diversion cuts north past what was until recently Woodbine Race Track and through the existing Toronto Golf Club, now a series of green spaces including Fairmount Park, to connect with the main system at Coxwell and Gerrard. Hence the outer park system excepting the harborfront, and even here 25 acres of green space spread over three playgrounds, Parliament, Alexandra and Pumping Station, are proposed, completely encircles the city as it stood in 1909 in one continuous system.

Examining the intricacy of the detail of the siting of the *Plan of 1909* should suggest that we would be hard pressed to dissuade the TGCA that this is anything but a moment of thoroughly designed right placement for ideal aesthetic effect. The plan incorporated most of the natural landforms available for beautifying effect within the precincts of Toronto in 1909. It also proposed another forty-one parks and playgrounds. A quick look at Figures 6.4 and 6.5 should suggest that with the existing and proposed parks, not only is each park about a ten minute walk from its neighbour, but that the amount of increased acreage fits the general push to use nature as a beautifier in cities. The proposed playgrounds alone would increase the nature in the city by 245 acres and another, approximately, 360 acres of park reservation, making the

⁶²⁴There is what may at first seem an error here. The southwest to northeast diagonal continuation of Gerrard Street which on the present day map runs from Coxwell to Woodbine, on this map begins at Greenwood. A closer look at this map, however, reveals that Fairford Avenue opposite the Gerrard continuation is the remnant of the earlier gore street between Greenwood and Coxwell.

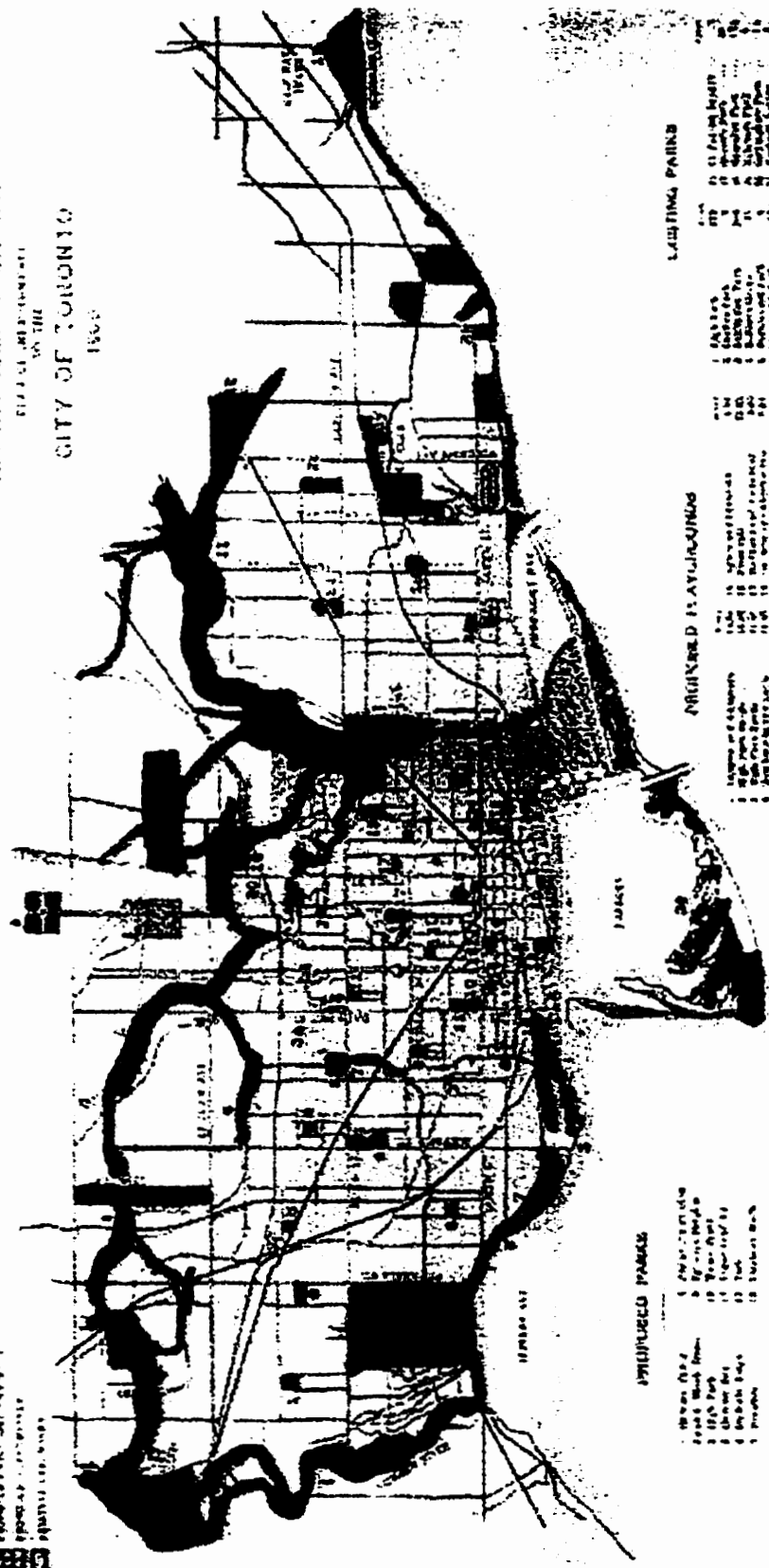


Toronto 1909

Proposed Parks

Existing Parks

CORPORATE PLAN OF CITY OF TORONTO
 PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS
 WITHIN
 CITY OF TORONTO
 1909



LEGEND
 1. Proposed Parks
 2. Existing Parks
 3. Proposed Public Buildings
 4. Proposed Public Works

- PROPOSED PARKS**
- 1. Queen's Park
 - 2. York Park
 - 3. St. James Park
 - 4. St. Paul's Park
 - 5. St. Andrew's Park
 - 6. St. Nicholas Park
 - 7. St. George's Park
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- MINOR PAVILIONS**
- 1. Victoria Park
 - 2. Queen's Park
 - 3. York Park
 - 4. St. James Park
 - 5. St. Paul's Park
 - 6. St. Andrew's Park
 - 7. St. Nicholas Park
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- EXISTING PARKS**
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total 2078 acres and reducing the person per acre of park land ratio to 156:1.⁶²⁵ Given the Guild's population statistic for Toronto in 1909, 325, 302, Toronto's proposed person per acre of park ratio seems fairly respectable in comparison to Minneapolis's mortality-inducing 129:1, and the ratios of other cities' within the North American system of cities.^{626 627} The 156:1 ratio means that Toronto would fall well within a standard of 250:1, set by the Playgrounds Association of New York.⁶²⁸ Knowing where to place parks and why may have been the purpose of the Guild but, apparently, so was assessing how much park space was the right amount.

All this and we have yet even to discuss the right placement of diagonal roads, another important part of the plan. Running north east from Church and Queen and north west from Queen and Simcoe, they would "make a city of Toronto" as TGCA Plan Committee chair W. A. Langton

⁶²⁵ Acreage figures for proposed parks are only available for York Park—200 acres—in the *RCPCIT 1909*. I conservatively estimate the other twelve proposed parks and reservations, Humber Valley, Black Creek (2), High Park, Dufferin Ridge, Beatrice, Poplar Plains Glen, Eglinton Heights, Water Front, Sugar Loaf Hill, and Scarboro Bluffs, at sixty acres.

⁶²⁶ "Population of the City of Toronto from 1870", *Letters, Etc. 1911*, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁶²⁷ Lewis (1916: 134) reproduces person per acre of park statistics for various cities, circa 1914.

This list is not complete:

City	Population	Park acreage	Persons per One Acre of Park
London	7,251,358	15,901	456:1
New York	5,333,539	7,738	689:1
Paris	2,847,229	5,014	554:1
Chicago	2,393,325	545	545:1
Berlin	2,082,111	1,034	2,014:1
Philadelphia	1,657,810	5,143	322:1
Hamburg	1,006,748	808	1,246:1
Birmingham	840,202	1,414	598:1
St. Louis	734,667	2,765	266:1
Boston	733,802	3,545	207:1
Baltimore	579,590	2,402	241:1
Washington	353,378	5,212	68:1
Kansas City	281,911	1,952	144:1
Rochester	241,518	1,836	133:1

⁶²⁸ Marsh, *Economic Aspects of City Planning*, *op. cit.* There is no evidence that the Guild was aware of this standard or that they actually thought in terms of ratios.

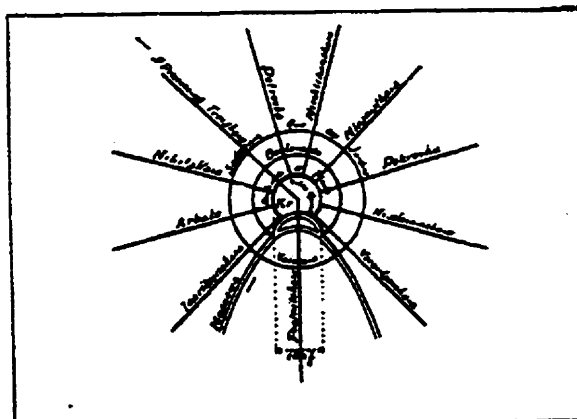


Plate IV.

Vienna.

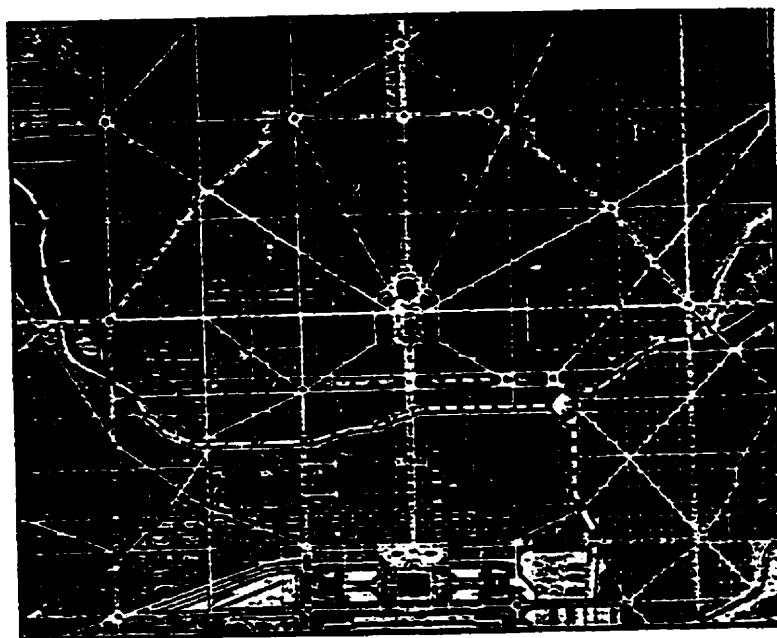


Plate V. Business portion of Chicago showing diagonal streets proposed by Plan Commission.

- 6.6 Diagonal Road Plans, Vienna, Chicago (*Civic Guild Bulletin*, February 1, 1912, Vol. 1, No. 7: n/a).

proudly suggests.⁶²⁹ If the diagonal roads could make a city of Toronto, it would be not simply because of their utilitarian emphasis on traffic and congestion abatement:

Diagonal thoroughfares should be from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five feet wide. This would give a twenty to twenty-five foot sidewalk on either side and space so that three lines of vehicles, all going in the same direction, would have ample room between the sidewalks and the track allowance. This would permit a vehicle to stand at the curb and room for two other vehicles to pass each other between it and the track allowance, one being slow, heavy cartage, and the other quick traffic.⁶³⁰

The Guild knew that in Toronto roads could be beautiful as well as useful: “only those who have actually worked upon their plan appreciate the beauty and dignity they will bring to the internal area of the city.” Hence even the roadways should adhere to beauty and use. But then everything in this parkway plan for the beautification of Toronto indicates adherence to the principles of decorative art.

Conclusion

We have seen in this chapter how decoration guided Toronto in its moral-aesthetic conception of parks. The contempt for the undecorated and indecorous Queen’s Park suggests that here is a space in the city and an element of urban reform that had been utterly misused, and whose moral-aesthetic purpose was completely misapprehended. In a very real sense, it is possible to see Queen’s park in the same context as the Frances Willard saw

⁶²⁹RCPSCIT 1909, *op. cit.*

⁶³⁰*ibid.*

the bicycle: something that needed Domesticating—decorating—to achieve its environmental and social potential.

The chapter's invocation of visitors is crucial to the Domestic use of the decorative. Just as the parlour was used to persuade visitors of the homemaker's correct apprehension of moral-aesthetics, so the park in Toronto was used by bourgeois reformers to decorate the city for the same end. The TGCA's suggestion, that their particular parkway plan for the beautification of Toronto would ennoble and beautify the city and its citizens, surely alludes to this dissertation's contention that evangelical Domesticity used decorative principles to order the environment for moral purposes. The vilification of Queen's Park reflected the reformers' embarrassment as much or more than the park's environmental foibles.

Certainly the TGCA carried the decoration principle to the natural spaces of Toronto, invoking right placement as it conceived for the city a system of interconnecting parkways for the beautification and dignity of the city. Right placement in this instance meant designing a system that cleverly used most of the existing natural features, including the waterfront. It also involved the building of twenty-eight new playgrounds whose acreage would significantly increase the amount of accessible greenspace within the city limits. In meeting Lamb's parkway ideal, which is both beautiful and useful, the TGCA was only organising around the principles of decorative art that guided it. Indeed, the *Plan of 1909* is a testament to the TGCA's commitment to decorative art. As I have already suggested in a previous chapter, George Reid's presence in the Guild implies the body's inclination toward decoration. That Reid was also president of the OSA when it opted to merge with the

TGCA is also significant; art and park planning in Toronto had the same aesthetic objectives. The Decorative Arts informed both.

The comprehensive plan was clearly the chosen means of implementing decorative design in the city. Municipal artists of unimpeachable judgement and character, or so it was believed, forwarded comprehensive plans. Yet without legal authority these plans were mere documents. The invention of the planning commission ostensibly enabled design-driven men to obtain municipal authority to coerce cities to accept their design opinions. But then, we could speculate, Domestic espousers of evangelical environmentalism would know that their cause was both just and sanctified. They saw themselves as not necessarily anti-democratic, but a "splendid...planning minority" "engaged in...the business of making this earth most serviceable and heaven-like to the people who cannot--or will not--do it for themselves."⁶³¹

⁶³¹McFarland, *op. cit.*

Conclusion What of the Geographic Imagination in the Modern City?

What can we say about the geographic imagination at the end of this study? What does the unquestioning faith in the efficacy of environmental influence in the lives of city dwellers tell us about urban reformers and the nature of urban reform in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Because geography impinges on the human condition, it must necessarily act upon the human mind. So it is that geography sparks the imagination that drives human action in landscapes (Meinig 1979). Whether we consider human activities as diverse as the pasture-seeking transhumance of Persian Bakhtiari shepherds (Bronowski 1973: 60-64); the Hausa-Fulani cultural influence on the city planning impulse in Northern Nigeria (Urquhart 1977: 4); or, in the case of this thesis, the evangelical Protestant Domestic influence on the use of the aesthetic first-principles of the Decorative Arts in the urban geographical reform of the North American modern city, we observe humans revealing the workings of their geographic imaginations.

This thesis has tried to suggest that North American evangelical Protestant culture, as it gathered around Domesticity, informed the geographical imagination of bourgeois urban reformers. Domesticity, it argues, contained geographical assumptions about a manner of living that directly influenced the reform of the modern city.⁶³² Reformers' geographical interest in the city filtered through their attachment to and/or participation in a milieu heavy with the environmental and decorative ideas of Domestic evangelical Protestantism. This evangelical milieu prompted the

⁶³²This is both a re-wording and re-conceptualisation of Alvin Urquhart's (1977: 4) original idea: "Hausa-Fulani culture contains assumptions about ways of living which indirectly give form to towns and cities."

geographical imaginations of urban reformers, giving them a specific conception of what constituted “proper” or “acceptable” and “perfected” space in the modern industrial city.

It is this imagined perfected space in the modern city that we should inspect further. To do this, I would like to turn to any unlikely source. It may seem an indulgence and undoubtedly a digression in a work about early modern Toronto, to discuss a geographic idea by the English Renaissance poet, Sir Philip Sydney. He does, however, have relevance here. Sydney comes to us as a writer on the cusp of modernism; *A Defense of Poesy* was written in 1583. His own modern geographic imagination and its powers of invention offer us a comparative insight at the conclusion of a dissertation investigating the city-sparked imagination of urban reformers. *A Defense of Poesy* provides a curious filter through which to regard those who would reform the modern city.

Sydney will also bring us full-circle. Through him it will become very clear why, in the “Introduction” of this thesis, I contended that Dendy (1993) made a mistake by including the *Plan of 1929* in a book lamenting “lost Toronto.” Sydney’s sense of the imaginary helps the modern reader understand why unimplemented, and nearly centenarian, plans of early-twentieth-century reformers and city planners demand reappraisal.

“brazen” versus “golden”

A Defense of Poesy is a detailed apology for the art of poetry, in response to a moralistic attack against poets and poetry by a Puritan clergyman, Stephen Gosson (Richter 1989: 131) in *The Schoole of Abuse*

(1579).⁶³³ For thinkers such as Sydney, poetry was the art of the wit: polite discoursing, mimetic expression for the purpose of delight and learning, and most importantly, the representation of imagination. As Sydney's apology unfolded, he made a point about the latter, and poets, that demonstrates a humanist modernism that is striking but familiar:

Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as
divers poets have done—neither with pleasant rivers,
fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else
may make the too much loved earth more lovely. Her
world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden (Sidney
1989: 137).

In other words, nature cannot issue forth its bounty with as much beauty and glory as the world contrived in the poet's imagination.

Already, we see parallels between the imagination of city beautifiers and city planners and the early modern poet. Poets and planners both exhibit a hubris about the power and importance of their conceptions. And both in their poems or plans imagine an environment better than the one-at-hand.

Yet Sidney continues. The poet can conceive of "a golden" because of the supremacy of the human imagination:

Neither let this be jestingly conceived, because the works
of one be essential, the other in imitation or fiction; for
any understanding knoweth the skill of the artificer
standeth in the idea or foreconceit of the work, and not in
the work itself. And that the poet hath that idea is

⁶³³Gosson's objection was four-fold. Poetry: was a lesser art; traded in fiction—so poets were liars; insulted "man's" wit or intelligence; and poets were banished from Plato's Republic (Richter 1989: 132-133).

manifest, by delivering them forth in such excellency as
he hath imagined them (Sidney 1989: 137).

It is this power of "foreconceit" that underpins the efficacy and legitimacy of the imagination. Through "the vigour of his own invention," Sydney insisted, the poet can "grow another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or quite anew, forms such as never were in nature" (Sidney 1989: 137). The poet imagines another world, environment, or space, whose excellence surpasses first nature. And it was foreconceived in the human mind. Not only this, but this alternate "nature" exhibits forms and matter not possible in the first nature.

To those of us who participate in our own era's neo-Romantic reverence for nature, this is a profound arrogance. But Sydney defended it:

Neither let this be deemed too saucy a comparison to
balance the highest point of man's wit with the efficacy of
nature but rather give right honour to the heavenly
Maker of that maker, who having made man in his own
likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that
second nature (Sidney 1989: 137).

Rather, let humans honour the "maker" who created the human imagination and made it ruler over the second nature of its own creation. God, or Providence, or what we will, gave humans the power to imagine a world superior to the one at their feet. The environmental portents of such a belief are not difficult to comprehend.



SATURDAY MORNING CLASS AT THE ART GALLERY OF TORONTO,
DUNDAS STREET WEST. ERRECTED 1926

- 7.1 Inspiring the imaginations of Toronto's middle class children (Middleton 1934: 109).

Sydney's defense of poetry, then, articulates the overarching conceit of humanist modernism: humans not only possess the ability to imagine, and by implication engineer, an environment that surpasses Nature, but it comes with the blessing of deity. It requires little work to see how such thinking evolved into the modern scientific quest to improve the real world through engineering and technology. Indeed, scholars have shown how Enlightenment thinking focused on the human improvement or perfection of the "first world" (Hoskins 1955; Glacken 1967; Thomas 1984) especially through scientific technological intervention (Merchant 1989).

How does Sydney's transcendent conception of human "invention" relate to urban reform and the geographical imagination? This thesis has shown that urban reform, specifically as it pertained to decoration, combined a number of elements to promote a decorative transformation of urban space: the ability to imagine a superior environment; the formulation of an environmental standard, according to which the transformation could take place; the existence of science and technology to effect reformers' imaginings; and, possibly the most important, the possession of a hubris which allowed reformers to declare in advance not only the innate goodness of their thinking and plans, but also the moral consequences of such imaginings for society.

Firstly, the ability to imagine a superior environment associates with the postmillennialist impulse of the era. Evangelical Protestants embraced a postmillennial urban perfectionism, the notion that the city and its precincts needed ordering and decorating to produce a city and a people worthy of welcoming the returned messiah. Postmillennialism offers a plausible

explanation for reform ideas that encompassed not only the practical, that which we would expect in a disordered and unsafe city, but also the moral. Reformers in a postmillennialist milieu confidently extruded moral order from environmental probity, something the thesis referred to as “social environmentalism.” In a postmillennialist milieu, a physically perfected city and its resultant population of happy and contented citizens—recall that in Moore’s imagined city they were also temperate and well-spoken—demonstrated a city’s worthiness to receive an imminent messiah. The returned Christ could be received into a “golden” city, but not a “brazen” one.

Secondly, the formulation of an environmental standard involved the ideas of Domesticity, specifically the moral and aesthetic stewardship of women in the home, and the home as a place for the nurture and protection of children. The recurrent use of the parlour metaphor throughout the thesis derives from its discussion of “homelikeness” as a Domestic environmental standard. Attaching the idea of the parlour to the bicycle demonstrated women’s ability to take their Domestic principles into the city. Frances Willard openly pedalled her Domestic ideals outdoors, urging women to undertake the Domestication of the bicycle. And the implication is clear: if women could Domesticate both cycling and the bicycle, the quintessential symbol of the modern, scientific, hygienic “mechanical street” (Relph 1987: 79)—the modernised street was itself a symbol unshackled individualism (Sennett 1994: 323) through mobility and crowdlessness—women could extend their Domestic influence to the street itself. And they did. Street reform was of particular interest to women, since their affiliation with Domesticity made them seem the perfect caretakers, or “municipal housekeepers,” of the environmental needs of the city. Such municipal

housekeeping involved scouring the city for problems in need of solution. Women were Domesticating the city, trying to make it imitate the home and its values. They were also imagining the city, as McFarland wrote, visualising “a bit of the heavenly city in advance,” one where Jesus Christ presumably headed up a theocratic municipal government.

Women and men engaged in the Domestication of the city because the city, like the home, was a place where children lived. Reformers’ uncritical belief in the viciousness of the street attached to the strong feeling the bourgeoisie had for home and its effect on children. The mean streets were the antithesis of the home. The bourgeois Domestic home with its decorous furnishings, artistic display of paintings, curios, and bric-a-brac, and its ever-present hearth, was a both a symbol of order and comfort, and a necessity for the raising of children. The health and success of sacralised children, whose potential as future citizens was a cultural concern, lay at the heart of reforming the world according to a homelike ideal. All environments needed reforming, since children as prospective citizens would either grow up responsible and productive, or irresponsible and unproductive, ripe for the jail cell. Homelikeness extended to the city “the presence at least of decency,” as Wister declared, whether in evening homes or other institutions, but also in parks and playgrounds, and in the streets themselves. The homelike world instilled children and adults with “the refinement and taste and the moral and mental capital of gentlemen.”

The thesis’ contention that reformers used the Decorative Arts as a Domestic environmental salve for the unruliness of the modern industrial city must be taken seriously. If the bourgeois Domestic home was the place where refinement, taste, and mental and moral capital were acquired, it

makes sense that reformers would draw on the principles that gave the home its moral-aesthetic influence. And as we saw in both of Toronto's comprehensive plans, decorative principles figured prominently. The *Plan of 1909* testifies to the importance of George Reid's notion of right placement as a first principle of decorative art. Toronto's comprehensive park plan exists by dint of right placement, as it considers every natural landform in the city, and the erection of parks and playgrounds. Linked parkways, avenues, and pleasure drives effected a continuous peripheral parkway, that then started again in the centre of the city at Queen's park and moved out to gather in the interior city parks.

The *Plan of 1929* represents the pre-eminence of beauty and use in the art and practice, as Thomas Adams as others saw it, of city planning in the early decades of the twentieth century. Beauty and use, together, were the inspiration for city beautification and planning. An urban historiographical conceit separated beauty from use to allow scholars of city planning and urban reform to categorise their research interest conveniently and chronologically: City Beautiful first, then later City Practical. Real consideration of the coeval inseparability of beauty and use hints at the unwisdom of such a manoeuvre. Hence, the Toronto ACPC's comprehensive conception of a CBD that is simultaneously a City Beautiful and a City Practical. The *Plan of 1929's* emphasis on beautification through the transfiguration of University Avenue into a modern version of its former glory, through the proposal of Vimy Circle, is matched by its inherent abatement of Toronto's street congestion. Toronto's CBD in 1929 exhibited a disorderliness in its narrow streets and heavy traffic that certainly seemed to reformers a form of unruliness, "occasioned by the ever-increasing use of the motor car." The

proliferation of the automobile posed real threats and urged architect Clarence Perry (1929) to conceive of the “neighbourhood unit,” a canonical planning idea, in the same year.⁶³⁴

Thirdly, reformers affirmed not only the existence of reform-making science and technology but its Providence. Willard exulted in the technology that surrounded her, especially the bicycle. It was a technology for the age, perfectly suited to the cause of reform, especially temperance. Most tantalizing were its possibilities as an agent of Domestication. As the thesis demonstrates in its discussion of masculine modernism and cycling, Willard and her Domestic cohort perceived modernity to be masculine, which was to say unruly and thoughtless. Through a programme I call “responsible modernism,” Willard attempted to eradicate the masculine symbolism of the bicycle, which had accumulated much masculine and disorderly meaning by 1895, the date of publication of *Wheel with in a Wheel*. From “scorching” lunatics who ran down little children in the street, to the bicycle’s negative contribution to traffic congested with streetcars, brewers’ waggons, and butchers’ carts, the bicycle showed its inclination for rudeness in masculine circumstances. Willard, alternatively, fashioned for women a new approach to cycling. Genteel, decorous, Domestic, Willard’s conception of the bicycle transformed it into a type of parlour-on-wheels. We might reasonably assume that the Domestication of the bicycle was an attempt to imbue riders of the once-masculine machine with the mental and moral capital, and manners, of gentlewomen. Most importantly, however, the Domestication of the bicycle

⁶³⁴Report of the Advisory City Planning Commission with Recommendations for the Improvement of the Central Business Section of the City of Toronto, 1929: 19; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

demonstrates how Domestic ideas could be worked into a conception of public space.

The existence of science and technology to effect reformers' imaginings certainly pertained reformers' interest in asphalt, which would aid the Domestication effort. A truly modern pavement, its beauty, cleanliness, and noiselessness signified aesthetics, hygiene, and science for a people embracing the providence of engineering to repair the problem of modernity. The eminent modernism of asphalt surpassed other suitable and less expensive surfaces. But then if modernism is, as I have suggested, an assay to diminish the deleterious effects of nature, both environmental and human, in the densely populous and heterogeneous modern city, the ubiquitous use of wooden pavements would signify the opposite of progress. Anything less than asphalt on the streets marked the scientific and technological incapacity of humans to imagine and to engineer a superior living environment. In the age of modernism, this would not do.

Toronto's Engineers abetted the cyclists by recommending asphalt pavements, the perfect accompaniment to the pneumatic tire. This in itself lends credence to the argument that Toronto's bourgeois community, which necessarily included its corp of City Engineers, embraced the bicycle and its bourgeois signification as an instrument beauty and refinement that renovated the human space of the city. Fashionable ladies and gentlemen a-wheel brightened the modernity-stricken streets of Toronto in the era of decoration. Bourgeois cycling we might speculate was for decorators perhaps the epitome of beauty and use in glorious harmony.

Lastly, the reformers' exhibited a hubris that allowed them to make insupportable moral claims about their imagined urban geographies.⁶³⁵ Reformers' social environmentalism moved them to equate spatial order with moral behaviour; to assert that decorated urban space improved "the refinement, the cheerfulness, the happiness, [and] the outlook on life of the poorest citizen," as well as their mental and moral capital. This, of course, was an arrogance on the reformers' part; they offered no evidence to support such opinions. Frederick Howe's essay on the physical city as a socialising agent, in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1912), never once offered empirical research to defend its insistence that "the vice and crime of the community" were intimately bound to the material conditions of the city.⁶³⁶ John Nolen can only declare the link between "fine city streets" and "to-morrow's efficiency" as they pertain to the regeneration of working people.

One explanation for the overconfident opinions of reformers, such as Howe and Nolen, and many of their decorator-peers, is perhaps that reformers fell prey to what we now call a *post-hoc* fallacy. Decorators seemingly concluded that their own moral and aesthetic probity resulted causally from the affluent geographies of their own bourgeois Domestic lives. It never seems to occur overtly to most reformers that poverty and class may be the prime sources of the viciousness of the streets, tenements, back alleyways. Rather, they preferred to believe the problem lay in the actual geography of vice. And reformers were all too happy to lend their opinions and expertise to the process of reclamation. This explains why reformers

⁶³⁵Handlin (1963: 19) suggests that among those concerned about the urban environment "exaggeration was easy because personal disorders were more visible in the city than in the country."

⁶³⁶Frederick Howe, *The City as Socializing Agent: The Physical Basis of the City: The City Plan*, *American Journal of Sociology* 17, March 1912: 590-601; in Reps (n.d.).

believed that “people who seek the ideal in surroundings... fulfil a duty which they are said to owe their fellow beings” (*Mail and Empire*, in Walden 1997: 173). That a bourgeois newspaper at the time could offer its suppliant readers such a slogan as a truism says much about not only the efficacy of the fallacy, but also of social environmentalism as a social imperative.

It is this hubris that makes Sydney’s centuries-earlier assertion so relevant in 1900. The modernism of reform, a privileging of human wit and skill as they relate to morality, art, science, and technology, was very much the belief that the urban reformer as poet/artist could indeed imagine and engineer a city of beauty and use. It was not a coincidence that city planners who were engaged in a programme of decoration were dubbed “municipal artists.” The guilds, clubs, and leagues of laymen and professionals of “taste and influence” that pushed themselves and their artistic sensibilities onto the municipal stage saw themselves as both urban aesthetes and city planners. (John Olmsted’s construal of the City Engineer as an omniscient sage in matters of urban reform of the city also fits here). That the TGCA could promote mural art and comprehensive city planning suggests that the modern geographic imagination of the reformer was filled with art and science—beauty and use—as they sought to imagine a golden city in the place of a brazen one.

Because “City Beautiful” and “City Practical” as discrete ideas imply a mutual exclusivity that this thesis rejects, perhaps the final paragraph is the appropriate place to propose a new term for students of the modern city to consider and to expand. The present work stands only on the periphery of the research possibilities available to historical geographers under a new rubric: “City Decorative,” a study of urban reform that spans the late-nineteenth- and

early-twentieth-centuries, from the conception of Central Park to the Toronto's *Plan of 1929*. Research on the City Decorative will demand a constant awareness of the geographical imagination and social environmentalism as prime informants of urban reform. With an eye to the postmillennialist milieu of perfectionism; the Domestic home and its moralising and civilising arbiters; decorative art and its inseparable pairing of beauty and utility; the scientific and technological promises of modernism as they seek to subvert nature in the city to create a city of comfort and convenience; and urban design, especially as it privileges bourgeois white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and their moral and material culture, researchers will add another distinctly historical-cultural layer to the geographical palimpsest of the modern city.

Note on sources

Establishing the validity of the substantial cultural suasion of evangelical Protestantism in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries has required my use of the massive literature of North American cultural history, especially North American religious history. This body of work has tutored me in areas essential to the thesis' urban reform- and evangelicalism-driven argument: evangelical Protestantism, millennialism, post-millennialism, pre-millennialism, social reform, nineteenth century feminism, Domesticity, and the "separate spheres" doctrine. The thesis also turns to literature in art history, as it connects the Decorative Arts to Domesticity. Geographers do not conventionally appeal to the literature of cultural history; there will be scores of names and titles that some Geographers simply will not recognise.

The thesis' primary sources are of three types: books, newspapers and magazines, and professional journals. Chapters three and six depend on books published at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century. The argument in Chapter three that WCTU president Frances Willard attempted a Domestication of the masculine symbolism of the bicycle, is based on a reading of her *Wheel within a Wheel: How I Learned to Ride the Bike* (1895), but also her autobiography, *Glimpses of Fifty Years: The Autobiography of an American Woman* (1889). The latter uses professional manuals of road engineering to support its contention that city engineers ignored engineering "rules of thumb" pertaining to asphalt pavement in Toronto, in order to facilitate cycling.

I have relied heavily on newspapers in the thesis and specifically on Toronto's *Mail and Empire*. In trying to evince the bourgeois geographical

imagination in this dissertation, I felt it important to find a primary public source that could be construed as representative of Toronto's bourgeois mind. The *Mail and Empire's* self-identification as a newspaper for readers who were a "better sort" or "better class" of person, was regularly asserted in the classified ad section; apparently, stating to an advertiser in the classifieds that one was a *Mail and Empire* reader was an assurance of probity. The *Mail and Empire's* daily "page four" "Editorial" frequently tipped its hand to its class of preference; the daily "On Dit" column reported on the quotidian happenings of Toronto's bourgeois social scene; the weekly "Flaneur" column engaged in high-flown debates about urban life and culture which appealed to this group; Kit Coleman's weekly "Woman's Kingdom" column and its discussion of bourgeois *haute couture* were directed to the "ladies" of Toronto. All this suggests a newspaper seeking to serve and define the interests of the demographic in which I was interested.

Another publication to which the thesis refers repeatedly is Toronto's monthly, *The Ladies' Journal (TLJ)*, which targeted the same readership. *TLJ* committed itself to women's "Home and Public Work," and to broadcasting the fine points of evangelical Protestant Domesticity to a female and male readership. It presented its readers regular features on "Fancy Work," "Hygiene," "The Mother's Page," "The Home," "Culinary," "Our Girls," "Our Boys," "Review of Fashion." There was a "Scripture Enigma" with its jewelry prizes for correct answers, and an investigation of a local institution, such as the "Visit to the Home for Incurables," about which I write in Chapter Two. In addition, *TLJ* offered numerous short fictions with uplifting morals, while editorials conveyed bourgeois evangelical Protestant Domesticity. "What they say of us," the readers' letters forum, revealed that men read this

magazine as well as women, suggesting that its Domestic world-view was not delimited by sex. What Keith Walden (1997: 183) suggests of the women writers in Toronto's *Globe* (Sama and Madge Merton), the *Mail and Empire* (Kit Coleman), and *Saturday Night* (Jean Grant) can be said of *TLJ*: "Although their reports were often published on the women's pages they were not intended solely for women readers."

Lastly, I have utilised the Online anthology of city planning documents, available on the Cornell University Library website. *Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports*, appears Online at: <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/homepage.htm>. Planning historian, John Reps', anthology is an herculean endeavour, a compilation of almost two hundred primary city planning documents that greatly facilitated my research task.

Note: I discovered too late Peter Baldwin's (1998) *Domesticating the Streets: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850-1930*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press. Baldwin discusses much of what I include in this thesis, municipal housekeeping, children, city plans, the street as parlour, etc., though for different ends, and certainly not to advance the geographic imagination. Nevertheless, it is an important work and its inclusion in this thesis would necessarily have made a better product.

Appendix 1 Definitions

The thesis uses a number of heavily freighted words, words whose very appearance denote their “vexed parentage” (Peter Goheen, personal communication). For the sake of clarity, I define these words, here, to ensure that all readers interpret them as intended.

“Modernism and Modernity”

“Modernity” is never used as a synonym for “modernism” in the thesis. To a degree, the thesis follows Marshall Berman (1981: 15-36), with some slight deviations. Rather, modernism, with its claims of scientific rationality, technological supremacy, teleological efficacy, and implicit suggestion of the eminently improvable condition of people and their environments, obtains the opposite of meaning of modernity, which is defined below. Modernism is also a cultural indicator of a shift in the “epistemological arrangement” (Foucault 1970: 217) of Western culture, a movement from premodern communitarian to modern individualist ways of thinking and acting: Richard Sennett (1994: 323) shows how in modern people it had the effect of diminishing, and even rejecting, the social need for contact and sharing fate with others.

These two streams of modernism greatly impinge on the modern city and urbanism, as defined by Louis Wirth (1995[1938]): size, density, and heterogeneity. Hence, “modernism,” in the thesis is defined as the ideological promise that Science, Rationality, Progress, and Individualism can improve the degenerating urban conditions created by size, density, and heterogeneity. Indeed, the promise of modernism, the covenant between modern people and technological invention, is a pledge to abate size, density, and

heterogeneity as they create social and environmental chaos in underserved modern industrial cities.

Berman's (1981: 15) notion of modernism as a maelstrom of disunity or a unity of disunity, I reserve for "modernity." Modernity is people in confrontation with nature in the city: the battle against disease, dirt, mud, populousness, the desperation of human will. Modernity in the modern city is a contest between humans and the inconvenience of the natural state. Modernism, alternatively, seeks to suppress the effects of this natural state, whether human or non-human, in order to create circumstances of comfort, convenience, and order. In this thesis, then, "modernity" is both the plane upon which ideological modernism confronts and contests the natural and social world, and a description of the conflict.

"Reform"

Reform is a difficult word because it is so often paired with both "urban" and "social," creating an apparent bifurcation of reform. The definition of reform in this thesis combines urban and social reform. Whether urban reform, the reform of built space in the city, or social reform, the reclamation of humanity in the city, both incorporated an urban geographical sensibility to accomplish their ends. Urban reformers, *e.g.*, city planners, engineers, architects, etc., as I show in Chapter Four, used planning ideas and theories, specifically built-spatial, to promote an agenda of social efficiency. Their urban reform had an identifiable social component. Alternatively, social reformers, *e.g.*, social settlement workers, housing, labour, and factory reformers, school reformers, and their ilk, adopted methods wholly geographical. For example in Chapter Two, I suggest that an attempt to improve the social efficiency of school children involved the

geographic reconfiguration of the actual built space of the public school, according to a decorative art standard that promoted moral and civil behaviour.

Moreover, I also see reform "as a religious expression" (Allen 1971: 3) and a moral impulse (Valverdi 1991) at the turn-of-the-century. Much social criticism of the era pivoted on evangelicalism or was a direct response to it (Cook 1985). Reform, in the thesis, then is connected to ideology, an idea elevated to the level of belief, by which people make moral judgements about right and wrong. Therefore, the working definition of reform is: an ideological action taken by women and men in the modern city to alter the city and its inhabitants to promulgate a type of social environmentalism, that which manipulated urban space for social improvement.

"Domesticity"

"Domesticity" in this dissertation represents a feminist ethos attached to the rise and cultural supremacy of, at least among the bourgeoisie, evangelical Protestantism. The "feminisation of American culture" (Douglas 1978) effected by women's influential role in evangelical religion (Cross 1950; Smith-Rosenberg 1971; Ryan 1981; Shiels 1981; Sweet 1983; Carnes 1989; Bederman 1989; Kimmel 1996) empowered women morally and culturally in northern North American society. With such moral suasion over their families and homes, women had real power to effect change in an urbanising society. Domesticity, as used in this thesis is that cultural institution which sought to extend the feminised morality and decorum of the home into an increasingly disorderly urbanising environment. The emergence of the term, "homelike" as an environmental standard, resulted from the pre-eminence

of Domestic geographic conceptions of morality, civility, comportment, and aesthetics.

“Comprehensive”

The word, “comprehensive,” in relation to reform at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century has a particularly Domestic resonance. Women’s Christian Temperance Union president, Frances Willard, adopted as her motto, “Do everything,” in her quest not only for temperance reform, but a host of other reforms, which included home and family, dress, and suffrage. Because Willard was president from 1879 until her death in 1898, it suggests that the comprehensive doing of everything was something known to the women of the WCTU well before its use in city planning. For Willard, all of society needed fixing in one way or another. Comprehensive in this sense meant doing, or correcting, or perfecting everything simultaneously.

“Comprehensive” is thus entwined with perfection. The city planner, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., understood “comprehensive” to be related, though apparently unreasonably so, to a social principle of environmental perfection. For Olmsted, Jr., “the new social ideal of unified and comprehensive city planning...may easily appear a counsel of theoretical perfection,” wherein planners undertook to correct every environmental problem that fell within the administrative boundaries of the city.⁶³⁷ It is not

⁶³⁷Olmsted, Jr., Frederick Law (1916) Introduction, in John Nolen, ed., *City Planning: A Series of Papers Presenting the Essential Elements of a City Plan*, New York, D. Appleton and Co.: 1-118; in Reps (n.d.). Olmsted was clearly against the notion of comprehensiveness, not for its idealism, but because it was “utterly beyond [the] power” of city planners and planning advocates to plan the city “with complete knowledge and infallible wisdom,” though they could reasonably “use a moderate amount of their collective energy and wealth in a deliberate and conscientious effort” to meet the needs of the city. I infer from Olmsted that it is not so much the professional planners who thought in terms of perfectionism, but those whom Thomas Adams, in 1926, (in Birch 1980: 425) called the “amateur civic reformers and untrained exponents of civic improvements” who were threatening to water down the profession to the “dilettante level.” There is, however, no reason to believe that only amateur reformers thought

unreasonable to suggest that comprehensive planning denoted spatial perfectionism in the city. "Comprehensive," then, in this thesis means the simultaneous consideration of the inadequacies, and their solutions, of the whole city, with an aim to perfecting the urban environment; it was a desire to reclaim the city in a unified and concerted way.⁶³⁸

"Environment"

Environment, here, means the external world, in the modern city the physical environment of built and natural space. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as we well know, environment had profound implications for and influence on humanity (Jones 1980; Bowen 1982; Peet 1985; Livingston 1992, 1994; Godlewska 1999). There is great need to be cautious since discussions of environment often obtain to complex disputes over biology, philosophy, sociology, and anthropology, and the ideational meanderings of the likes of Lamarck, Darwin, or Spenser. Turn-of-the-twentieth-century reformers had a much more popularised understanding, in which considerations of environment as a moderator of the human behaviour had immediate effects. Ellen Richards, in *Euthenics: The Science of Controllable Environment* (1911) articulates a pedestrian, immediately

about comprehensive perfection in the city. As president of the America Civic Association (ACA), Horace McFarland, wrote, comprehensive city planning was about "making the earth most serviceable and heaven-like" (Horace McFarland, *The Growth of City Planning in America, Charities and the Commons* 19, February 2, 1908: 1522-1528; in Repts (n.d.)). Birch (Birch 1980: 425) suggests that memberships in the ACA and the American City Planning Institute commonly overlapped.

⁶³⁸Art historian Christine Boyanoski (1986: 27) writes of George Reid's comprehensive reliance on the sketch in his painting: "The importance of the sketch cannot be overestimated. It played an especially significant role in the late-nineteenth-century, when emphasis shifted from the highly finished final product to the preparatory stages of the painting." The sketch allowed the painter to consider, compositionally and comprehensively, the entire canvas. Just as city planners insisted that the comprehensive plan did not curb individual freedom but provided a framework for development to occur, so "[t]he sketch was valued because it embodied both the expression of an original idea and the individual sensibility of the artist through the spontaneity and freedom visible in the brushwork (Boyanoski 1986: 27).

achievable, conception of environment as it relates to Domestic issues of the day. She urges everything from forcing parents to make their homes more liveable and thus conducive to the environmental sensitivity of children, to by-laws curbing public expectoration, in the era of epidemics, to convincing women they are society's frontline environmental activists. So environment in the thesis also means that very personal place where bourgeois reformers' feet touched the ground: the room, the street, the house, the park. And that point of contact had to meet a rigid standard based on the Domestic conception of home.

"Women"

Because women and their religiosity occupies a large part of the ideational centre of this dissertation, the question of "which women?" looms large. Because I am addressing Domesticity, I am restricted to followers of evangelical religion, usually middle- and upper- class urban women, though predominantly the latter; men are not excluded. Christine Stansell (1987) has shown that Domesticity did not attach to underclass and so-called street-vicious urban women, whose dire life-circumstances caused them generally neither to honour nor to care for the cultural and material values of Domesticity. Urban working- and underclass women usually were not reform-minded, although as Kathryn Kish Sklar (1985) notes, some working-class women aligned themselves with the industrial reform initiatives arising from Hull House and its leaders, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and Julia Lathrop, themselves women of privilege. Time-constraints on working women would at least have severely hampered their ability to volunteer (Bradbury 1993; Strange 1995).

The moral-aesthetic nature of this study requires me to particularise further. Aesthetics and decorum have always been the prerogative of the privileged. Forwarded and elaborated by aesthetes such as Shaftsbury, Hume, and Burke aestheticism's principles of manners, taste, beauty, order, and civility suited the materialism and powers of consumption of the aristocracy and later the bourgeoisie (see especially Eagleton (1990)). As liberal evangelicalism evolved into bourgeois religion in the late century, the promoters of Domesticity and its values invariably maintained the bourgeois attitude and lifestyle. As Marianna Valverdi (1991) demonstrates, the moral-bent of reform has a decidedly bourgeois curve.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's (1988) work on Southern women adds a geographical limitation. Because of the paternalism- and slavery-driven social structure of Southern society, constraints on middle- and upper class women inhered structurally. In a culture where "some were born and would die superior to others," honour and superiority were hierarchical realities (Genovese 1988: 49) and they clearly attached to the male head of the household. Southern culture prevented women from independent wage-labour, of sustaining female networks outside the home, and forming voluntary associations (Genovese 1988: 70), those which drove Domestic reforms in the north.

We need also limit the women of this study to those of the urban and suburban North. As Julie Roy Jeffrey (1979: 3-14) suggests, rural living impeded the ability of rural women – she writes specifically of frontier women – to practice domesticity according to the Domestic ideal. Such women, in their encounter with the quotidian "realities" of rural living, discovered that the constructions of the nineteenth century bourgeois

womanhood conflicted with much of their daily routine, which would have included many un-feminine tasks. When this study refers to women, it means primarily, though not exclusively, moneyed and leisured evangelical white Anglo-Saxon late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century North American women, religious women of influence in a culture that privileged conspicuous consumption. Thus, the women in this study have been differentiated six ways: chronologically, geographically, economically, ethnically, racially, and culturally.

“Men”

As with the women, the men I speak of are predominately bourgeois. They are the privileged men of influence or capital (Stearns 1979) in the modern industrial city. About their masculinity, this dissertation has nothing to say; it is their inclination for principles of Domestic order and decorum that is of interest here, and which others have noted (Marsh 1990; Kimmel 1996). These men understand that beauty, order, comportment, civility, virtues important in Domestic thought, necessarily civilise a gruff modernity. These men are white, independent gentlemen, industrialists, bankers, professionals, and artists whose own affiliations with Domestic culture and polite society, and the social attributes of that realm—the clubs, civic leagues, soirees, restaurants, opera, and theatre, and the like, have taught them the social expediency of moral-aestheticism.

Appendix 2 Toronto and its self-image

Toronto's precarious self-image resulted from its inability to implement consistent strategies to beautify its precincts; many reformers in the reform era were self-conscious about their city, something about which Asa Briggs writes (1963: 55-82; 57). This was "the age of great cities," and reformers' faith in and devotion to the progress of their particular city. Such environmental discontent may not be simply self-interested bourgeois misapprehension. Architectural historians Eric Arthur and Stephen Otto (1986: 210) suggest that the years from 1860 to 1900 were "not a period in [Toronto's] architectural history" that can be recalled "with great pride." The revolutionary architectural effects of the White City in 1893, "slow in reaching Toronto," failed to deflect the multitudes of architects and their opinions which appeared in illustrated magazines. Such architects posited "recent solution[s] to every possible building type," and so produced an artistic dreariness in the Toronto landscape. And as for the city's infrastructure, I describe at length the problems reformers had with, for example, Toronto's chronically unhandsome and anti-utilitarian roadways, in chapter five. The *Globe* referred to Toronto as "unlovely."⁶³⁹ To the reformers' chagrin, it might have been true.

Toronto frustrated reformers. On the one hand Toronto's "unalterable faith in itself and the advantage of the position she occupies"⁶⁴⁰ made it "destined to become the greatest British City in America."⁶⁴¹ Toronto

⁶³⁹*Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, News clipping, March 31, 1905, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁶⁴⁰*Saturday Night*, September 14, 1889: 1.

⁶⁴¹Forward, *Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin*, May 1, 1911, Vol. 1, No. 1.

“compare[d] magnificently with many of the largest cities on the American continent.”⁶⁴² Indeed, as one zealous booster exclaimed: Toronto “recognises itself as a city of value. Toronto’s roadways are the admiration of American visitors; our streetcar service is comparable to any of its kind; Toronto burns its garbage, public health has rapidly improved and mortality rates decreased.”⁶⁴³ “Things that [we]re possible in the way of dirt in New York or Chicago [we]re not allowed” in Toronto.⁶⁴⁴ As for culture, an editorial praising the recent successes of Toronto’s theatre and theatre going public declared a “theatre literacy of the Toronto public, which far exceed[ed] that of London or New York.”⁶⁴⁵ If not now, Toronto would soon become the jewel in the Canadian crown, preparing as it was to be “a great city,” in spite of Montreal.⁶⁴⁶ Toronto Guild of Civic Art president, John Ewan, reiterated this:

Torontonians used to say that Toronto was destined to be a great city. We employ the present tense now. Toronto IS a great city. When the population of a community rises to 350,000, adds 15,000 souls yearly to its numbers and erects ten or twelve million dollars worth of buildings every twelve months, it has joined the ranks of great cities.⁶⁴⁷

Toronto was a great city, sometimes.

On the other hand, “the Ontario capital [wa]s comparatively contemptible.”⁶⁴⁸ “The flower of wealth and culture...had not been seen in bloom, even in bud” in the Queen city.⁶⁴⁹ Toronto “only show[ed] a squalid

⁶⁴²*Mail and Empire*, July 17, 1895: 6.

⁶⁴³*Mail and Empire*, June 13, 1895: 6.

⁶⁴⁴*Mail and Empire*, July 17, 1895: 6

⁶⁴⁵*Mail and Empire*, November 19, 1895: 4.

⁶⁴⁶*Saturday Night*, May 11, 1889: 1.

⁶⁴⁷RCPSCIT 1909, *op cit.*: Forward.

⁶⁴⁸*Toronto Daily Star*, May 9, 1913, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

⁶⁴⁹*Mail and Empire*, February 14, 1898: 6.

condition that cannot be equalled.”⁶⁵⁰ Toronto might have some charming residential districts “but there [we]re few cities so absolutely uninteresting, and even unlovely in their business sections.”⁶⁵¹ Professor Bell Smith of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art lamented that “everyone must be struck upon visiting American cities by the central squares scattered through them. Toronto had none of these,” their absense making it a third rate city.⁶⁵² Toronto therefore should “consider itself quite out of the race of modern cities and submit with equanimity to being a back number.”⁶⁵³ Indeed, “[i]f Paris, or London, or Berlin, or Vienna, or St. Petersburg, or Florence, or Rome were to enact the laws that we endeavour to enforce in Toronto, they would cease to attract visitors from all over the world.”⁶⁵⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Henry Pellat complained after an unsuccessful meeting with the Toronto Board of Control, over a TGCA beautification scheme, that Toronto had no sense of pride: if Toronto Island were adjacent to an American city “it would have been converted into a fairyland by now.”⁶⁵⁵ Instead, “Toronto appears from the water as a city of business premises and factories, varied by occasional church spires, and enveloped in an almost perpetual pall of smoke from railway and factory chimneys.”⁶⁵⁶ Toronto’s boosters hardly desired to turn to this kind of face to the city’s visitors.

⁶⁵⁰*Toronto Telegram*, December 21, 1921, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.

⁶⁵¹*The Globe*, clipping, *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, March 31, 1905, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁶⁵²*Mail and Empire*, clipping, *Civic Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, May 22, 1901, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁶⁵³*Saturday Night*, November 21, 1896: 1.

⁶⁵⁴*Saturday Night*, September 25, 1896: 1

⁶⁵⁵*Guild Minutes 1897-1914*, April 24, 1902, Newsclipping from the *Globe*, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

⁶⁵⁶A. W Bentham to Aston Webb, 1st Report on Toronto and the Proposed Improvements, July 4, 1907: 3; *Letters etc.*, 1907-1910; Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room MTRL.

As it happened, visitors to Toronto prompted reformers to think about the inherent worth of a city still deciding about city beautification. Reformers asserted Toronto's "need...to recognise" and to demonstrate "itself as a city of value," especially to "American visitors."⁶⁵⁷ Visitors could determine whether Toronto's "reputation" would be that of "a summer resort... a city of parks and buildings, moonlit waters and music,"⁶⁵⁸ or a place no more "notable" than "Galt or Hamilton."⁶⁵⁹ Indeed, "[i]f Toronto is to continue to be on the up grade it must be the result of public spirit combined with continued vigilance."⁶⁶⁰ Vigilance meant meant scrutiny, an idea we have already encountered. Such scrutiny brought hawkeyes into the city in search of travesties against tourism, "eyesores" such as the "old horsecar...permitted to remain on the southeast corner of Yonge and Adelaide streets. This and a pile of bricks and rubbish...have become the subject of the unfavourable comments of visitors."⁶⁶¹ "That the streets [we]re a mess" may have been "a disgrace," but such a condition had consequences.⁶⁶² As one writer put it: "If we make Toronto attractive, we shall get more visitors, and visitors spend money."⁶⁶³ Toronto, however, would never receive visitors, their dollars or their approval, when "[e]veryone knows the sidewalks are never clean."⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁵⁷*Mail and Empire*, June 13, 1895: 6.

⁶⁵⁸*Mail and Empire*, February 12, 1898, Part Two: 5.

⁶⁵⁹*Saturday Night*, July 5, 1890: 1.

⁶⁶⁰*Mail and Empire*, June 13, 1895: 6.

⁶⁶¹*Mail and Empire*, March 25, 1897: 6.

⁶⁶²*Mail and Empire*, December 28, 1895: Supplement, "The Flaneur".

⁶⁶³*Mail and Empire*, July 29, 1895: 4.

⁶⁶⁴*Mail and Empire*, December 28, 1895: Supplement, "The Flaneur".

Appendix 3 A mnemonic for reform

Just what kind of person are we talking about here when referring to an evangelical reformer? In writing this dissertation I have tried to keep in my head a character profile of an evangelical, one through which I could filter my thinking and writing. Due to the difficulty of constructing the character of those long dead, and because there is an historiographical rule of thumb that proscribes psychoanalysing historical subjects, I looked to the present for someone who could offer insight. That I could find someone representative of those about whom I am writing also adds a useful element of veracity to the work; not only did these people exist, they still do, or in this case, until recently did.

My perception of the Canadian historian of religion, the late George Rawlyk, has helped me to hold together much of what I am writing about. Rawlyk personified the postmillennialist social gospeller: a practicing Baptist, and “candidly committed Christian” (Lyons n.d.); a believer in the literal advent of Jesus Christ;⁶⁶⁵ an historian who openly admitted the Christian bias of his historiography, and who advocated “forming judgements and theories of change from a Christian perspective” (Lyons n.d.); a social reformer who sat on the Advisory Council the Centre for Renewal in Public Policy, “an independent, non-profit, charitable organization...helping Canadians and their leaders shape a vision of a civil society by focusing on the important and often complex connections between public policy, culture, moral discourse and religious belief”,⁶⁶⁶ an ardent member of the New Democratic Party who

⁶⁶⁵This is a personal communication from one of his former students, Professor Clyde Forsberg, Department of History, Trent University.

⁶⁶⁶Centre for renewal of Public Policy, mission statement, <http://centreforrenewal.ca/index.html>.

campaigned for Ed Broadbent's run for Prime Minister of Canada (Lyons n.d.); and finally a passionate promoter of social justice (Lyons n.d.). In Rawlyk we had a curiously Shakespearean character: one whose devout liberalism led him to a "radical politics" (Lyons n.d.) but yet never beguiled him from a profoundly conservative religious belief whose eschatological implications, for the believer, are truly life-defining. Most importantly, he was most certainly bourgeois, by dint of his tenured professor's salary and lifestyle, his class a great facilitator of his ability to work for the postmillennial reforms for which he so earnestly strove.

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Note

I reference "Reps (n.d.);" extensively throughout this dissertation. It refers to "Reps, John (n.d.), *Urban Planning, 1794-1918: An International Anthology of Articles, Conference Papers, and Reports*:

<http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/homepage.htm>.

(this address is also listed in the citation in the bibliography). Once in, scroll down to "Click here to go to Biographies." Double click. Go to "Search by... Author." Double click. Scroll down to the author and document in question. Double click. Scroll down from "Edit" in the menu bar to "Find in Page." Type a keyword or phrase from the citation in question and press "Return" or "Enter." The word or phrase then appears highlighted on the screen. This latter process of finding-in-page may be used for any other web document cited in this bibliography. For the convenience of the conventional researcher, all primary sources cited in Reps (n.d.) have been reproduced in full in both the dissertation's footnotes and Bibliography.

Primary Sources

Abbreviations

CTA	City of Toronto Archives
MTA	Metropolitan Toronto Archives
MTRL	Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library
PAO	Public Archives of Ontario
QA	Queen's University Archives
AGO	Art Gallery of Ontario Library

Newspapers and Magazines

Atlantic Monthly

Canadian Architect and Builder

*Construction**Daily Mail and Empire (Toronto)**Farm Improvements**Globe (Toronto)**Harper's**Saturday Night (Toronto)**Toronto Civic Guild Monthly Bulletin**Toronto Star**Toronto Star Weekly**Toronto Sunday World**Toronto Telegram**The Ladies Journal**The Manufacturer and Builder**Women's Century***Archival Sources***Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1892, Toronto, The Carswell Co., 1893, MTA.**Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1894, Toronto, The Carswell Co., 1895, MTA.**Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1895, Toronto, The Carswell Co., 1896, MTA.**Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1896, Toronto, The Carswell Co., 1897, MTA.**Annual Report of the City Engineer of Toronto for 1911, Toronto, The Carswell Co., 1912, MTA.**Central Ontario School of Art and Industrial Design, Reports, Prospectus, 1903-1910, RG 2420348, MS 5612, PAO.**Circular, 1899, School Art Leagues, RG2-42-0-322, MS 6511, PAO.**Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.**George Reid Scrapbook, AGO Library.**Info Desk 1, Reid, G. A., AGO Library.**Info Desk 2, Reid, G. A., AGO Library.**Letters, etc., 1907-1910, Civic Guild of Toronto Papers, S48, Baldwin Room, MTRL.*

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