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**METROPOLITAN GROWTH IN
ATLANTIC CANADA:
SAINT JOHN AND THE THROUGHWAY**

.....

by

David N. Boucher, Jr.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in Partial Fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

April 1, 1993

1993, David Boucher

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**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis**

**"Metropolitan Growth in Atlantic Canada:
Saint John and the Throughway"**

**submitted by David Boucher, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

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ABSTRACT

Outward growth has been a function of changing transportation modes through history. Saint John has been influenced by these changing technologies, as railways have superceeded water transport and highways later superceeded rail. The most dramatic effects of growth have occurred in the past three decades with the construction of the Saint John Throughway and Harbour Bridge.

This was the keystone of four themes of development which characterized the process of modernization in Saint John through the 1960s and 1970s. The themes; (1)regional growth, (2)renewal and redevelopment, (3)the relationship of Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments, and (4)the shifting demographics of the area, will be analyzed to understand the implications of an infrastructure project of this scale.

This thesis will be examining the impact of these issues through the analysis of census data to determine their effect on population movement in the Saint John Metropolitan Area.

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unravel some of the complexities of municipal organization and planning in the city. I would also like to acknowledge the Saint John Regional Library and the New Brunswick Museum for their vast collections.

CHAPTER 1

CAUSES FOR OUTWARD GROWTH

Traditionally, strong links have been seen between changes in transport and changes in the urban regional pattern.'

-Tom Hart

Urban development has been irrevocably altered by the era of the automobile. Since the early part of the century, motor transport has slowly challenged and surpassed rail as the favoured means of travel for goods and persons. In the Atlantic Provinces, this remains true as urban development has been inextricably tied to changes in modes of transportation over time.

Only in the past fifty years has the impact of the automobile on metropolitan areas been realized. It has generated physical, social and environmental effects on everything from conditions of suburbanization and labour markets, to urban sprawl, traffic congestion and Central Business District deterioration; as cities have become interwoven with roads, highways and expressways. Fifty years ago it was embraced as the wave of the future, built to enable society to overcome the geography of the urban and rural and to enable further growth in cities.² It has only been since

¹Tom Hart, "Transport, the Urban Pattern and Regional Change; 1960-2010", Urban Studies (Vol.29 May, 1992) p.483.

²James Flink, "Three Stages of American Automobile Consciousness" American Quarterly (October 1972).

the acknowledgement of the decline of the urban core that we have begun to understand the long-term implications of the highways surrounding and penetrating North American cities.

There have been many such highways built in Canada, beginning in 1939, with the Queen Elizabeth Way between Toronto and St. Catharines. It was the longest divided highway in the world at the time. Unlike Atlantic Canada, southern Ontario had become accustomed to the effects these roadways had; both positive and negative. The negative aspects were under scrutiny in the 1970s during the time when expressways in Toronto and Vancouver were being publicly rejected.³

FIGURE 1: CONTEMPORARY SAINT JOHN

³ Christopher Leo, The Politics of Urban Development: Canadian Urban Expressway Disputes (Toronto 1977).

The Saint John Throughway will be used as a similar Atlantic Canadian example of highway construction intended for local use (since the highway's primary use was for traffic destined for or returning from Saint John) and will therefore compare with others built to service larger metropolitan areas.

In Canada, Saint John's importance in this discussion cannot be discounted. It is the oldest incorporated city and one of the oldest Census Metropolitan Areas in Canada, enabling comparisons with other cities over an extended period of time, due to comparable sets of data on metropolitan areas. [SEE APPENDIX II] It was also a model city for bold, federally sponsored urban renewal and development initiatives which have taken place in Atlantic Canada since World War Two. This involved both the federal and provincial governments working with the municipality in what is now described as the *Atlantic Revolution*.⁴

Saint John as a case study must be put in a regional metropolitan perspective. The Atlantic Provinces, though well endowed with roadways, have until recently been in a race to *catch up* with central Canada. Until the mid-1970s, the region

⁴Margaret Conrad, "The Atlantic Revolution of the 1950s", Beyond Anger and Longing. Berkeley Fleming, ed. (Fredericton 1988). She used this term to describe the post-World War Two era of regional demand for federal interest and involvement in the plight of the region in the 1950s. Similarly, Graeme Wynn used the term *New Economic Policy* to explain Ottawa's general change of heart in addressing regional disparity. [Interpreting Canada (Vancouver 1986).]

had very few divided four-lane highways. Even today, most of the Trans-Canada highway through New Brunswick remains two lanes, and the province still holds the dubious reputation for having the worst roads in Canada.

FIGURE 2: MAP OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES*

Similar to other cities in the region, Saint John has followed evolutionary patterns of development. From a city based upon the transportation routes provided by water prior to the National Policy, to rail through the first half of the

*Rand McNally, Road Atlas (USA 1991) p.58.

twentieth century, to highways and automobiles, transportation has remained a major focus. This study will look at the effects of the evolution of transportation on the area and explain the broad implications on suburban growth over time; with the understanding that this outward growth was not a new trend since the automobile or superhighway, it was only exacerbated by those.

In some respects, Saint John was an atypical example of metropolitan growth in Canada and also in the Atlantic Provinces, because it did not seem to follow the pattern of traditional outward growth and CBD decline of the typical city. There were two reasons for this. First of all, the CBD remained rather unchanged through time, likely due to the low absolute growth the city saw between its booming late nineteenth century and post World War Two periods. Secondly it was the early suburban residential areas outside the original walking city⁶ which were, by the 1950s, in the greatest need of renewal, not the inner-city core. These areas included old Portland and the north end and portions of the west side. They were primarily tenements which, after years of neglect since the turn of the century, had fallen into severe disrepair. The south end of the peninsula needed

⁶T.W. Acheson, Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Society (Toronto 1985). The original colonial city of Saint John was hemmed in on three sides by water and did not continue much further than Haymarket Square in the north, at the end of Courtenay Bay.

considerable work as well, but the buildings were of generally higher quality and had only suffered neglect.

Saint John did not follow earlier Atlantic Canadian trends of industrialization or population movements either. Prior to confederation it was not only the first incorporated city in Canada, but it was one of largest urban areas in the region; almost identical in size to Halifax/Dartmouth and Portland, Maine. Halifax, which evolved from a military outpost, to a financial centre, and then to a significant regional metropolitan centre, never developed the industrial base, although its entrepot functions were similar to that of Saint John throughout history. Also prior to Confederation, Moncton emerged as the distribution centre for much of the Atlantic region. While the industrializing areas were booming, Saint John and other Maritime "transition towns" which were not in a position to respond to the sudden demand of the railroad boom, remained rather stagnant. By the turn of the century, it was clear Saint John had bucked the trend toward increasing urban concentration while other newly industrializing areas (and Halifax) continued to grow and develop their niches."

⁷Carleton University History Collaborative, Demographic Change and Community Development in Atlantic Canada, 1867-1991. (unpublished manuscript). In this piece, Atlantic Canada was broken down into four distinct urban typologies; coastal littorals, agricultural service centres, industrial zones and metropolitan areas.

UN-UNIFORM GROWTH

Yet the greater Saint John area was generally growing in population. Those who could afford it had moved out of the city for the "greener pastures" up the valley. Saint John's population had been at its densest prior to the fire. Now roads, railroads and ferries began to transport many people to and from some of Canada's earliest *suburbs*¹ along the Saint John and Kennebecasis Rivers. But the movement to the suburbs based upon streetcars² and speculation in the nineteenth century did not occur in Saint John as it had in other eastern cities. There are many possible reasons for this yet there are two which remain the most plausible. The city's early growth potential was severely limited by its natural boundaries. It was set in rugged terrain surrounded by water

¹I use the term suburban here because there was little sign of local outward growth outside the walking city. Formally, the term to describe the residential areas of the Kennebecasis valley is *exurban*, not *suburban*. The definition of Suburb versus that of Exurb has most commonly referred to; "An urban place (usually incorporated) outside the corporate limits of a large city; either adjacent to or near enough to be closely integrated into economic life of a city." [Peter McGahan, Urban Sociology of Canada (Toronto 1986) p.282. From Duncan and Reiss (1938).] For the remainder of the thesis, "suburban" will refer to the largely residential areas immediately outside Saint John city limits. Prior to the late 1800s, Portland may be considered suburban and from the early 1900s through most of the 1950s, Simonds and Lancaster would generally fit this category. Exurban areas reflect the growth trend since the 1960s, away from the city, along the Kennebecasis toward Sussex and along the Saint John toward Fredericton, within the CMA designated areas of the Census. The Census Metropolitan Area has been adhered to for Saint John since influence of Moncton and Fredericton come into play beyond these boundaries.

like many northeastern seaboard cities. Any land readily accessible to Saint John was very rugged, and the combined effects of the city's industrial nature and fog gave little motivation to develop pleasant residential neighbourhoods on the outskirts of town, which remained well within the range of industry.

Since the nineteenth century, Saint John's growth was guided by varying modes of transportation to produce this un-uniform growth; dependant upon its arteries and not upon its equidistant surroundings for development over time. The city's early history was guided by water-borne transportation; with the combination of a deep sea ocean port and a vast hinterland accessed by the Saint John River, the city flourished and developed patterns of growth in reference to the waterways.

Through the early 1900's, Saint John (along with most other Maritime cities) experienced severe deindustrialization and outmigration as the railway age assisted in the expansion west. After World Wars One and Two, it was clear this growth and expansion was not benefitting the whole of Canada. The MacPherson Commission⁹ and the subsequent National Transportation Act swept away what was by then an obsolete national policy-era focus on railroads, and ushered in a more diverse attitude involving the railway, highways and air

⁹Canada. The Royal Commission on Transportation (1961).

transport.¹⁰ Some would argue the pendulum has continued to swing with the termination of the Canadian Transport Commission and the further reduction of rail transport and heavier reliance upon highways.¹¹ This action has indirectly affected industrial development potential, since it is normal for a corporation to require multiple modes of transport as a prerequisite of industrial site selection where now there is only one.

Highway construction in and around Saint John has been an active force motivating development since the 1950s. This was a period similar to the 1879 National Policy in terms of regional economic importance; based on the increased demand for governments to tend to the social needs of modern society and for the federal government to strive for regional equality through economic incentives. This included the evolution of federal-provincial relations and the strengthening of provincial social welfare responsibilities in the local arena.¹²

This awakening had its beginnings in the Rowell-Sirois report in 1940 with the acknowledgement of regional disparity

¹⁰See the Summary of the MacPherson Commission for discussion of the evolutionary nature of the national transportation policy to 1960.

¹¹E.R. Forbes, "The Triumph of Ideology: Transportation Policy and the Atlantic Provinces in the 1980s", Challenging the Regional Stereotype (Fredericton 1982) p.146.

¹²Margaret Conrad, "The Atlantic Revolution of the 1950s", Beyond Anger and Longing (Fredericton 1988).

and government's responsibility to rectify it. There was little that came directly from this report, yet most later work made similar acknowledgements. In 1957, the Gordon Commission¹³ followed up where the Rowell-Sirois Commission had left off in its assessment of a need for a coordinated effort for economic development at the national level for the Atlantic Provinces.

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL INITIATIVES

The era of federally sponsored industrial development schemes was an acknowledgement that Ottawa was responsible for providing Canadians with a nationally uniform standard of living. The programs that began under Diefenbaker's Progressive-Conservative government had a tendency to support the provinces in arms-length programs which gave priority to private initiatives¹⁴ such as the Atlantic Development Board.

By the late 1960s with the Trudeau Liberals in power, development and regional disparity issues became high profile politics. At the Provincial and Federal level, growth poles and nodal development (both buzz-words at the time) provided the means for the region to develop industrial viability.

¹³Canada. Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (1957).

¹⁴James Bickerton, "Regional Policy in Historical Perspective: The Federal Role in Regional Economic Development," American Review of Canadian Studies (14 #1, 1984) p.75.

Programs tied to federal schemes relating to these growth poles and nationally coordinated development efforts became the key to the levelling of regional disparity. By the early 1970s the re-evaluation of these programs to satisfy regional demands provided a more provincially controlled effort to the same ends.

Translated to the municipal level in New Brunswick, Saint John became the model testing ground of federal/provincial involvement within this New Political Economy of Management.¹⁵ Through the 1960s and 1970s, Saint John was pinpointed for both urban renewal and more industrial/economic "catch-up" schemes, through infrastructural and economic development within the growth-centre concept, and more recently, to one of diversification and viable economic development.¹⁶ What this meant for Saint John was that the city which some said had been asleep for most of a century had now been awakened.

By the start of highway work and bridge construction,

¹⁵Carleton University History Collaborative, Demographic Change and Community Development in Atlantic Canada, 1867-1991. In defining this period, this phrase was adopted to describe the dynamic of the relationship between the Federal and Provincial governments and the economy between the 1950s and the 1980s. This fits in with Margaret Conrad, James Bickerton and Donald Savoie, among others.

¹⁶See Donald Savoie, Regional Economic Development, Canada's Search for Solutions, (Toronto 1986, 2nd ed, 1992) p.217. And James Bickerton & Alain Gagnon, "Regional Policy in Historical Perspective: The Federal Role in Regional Economic Development," American Review of Canadian Studies. (XIV, 1 1984). p.83.

Saint John had already experienced major initiatives in the areas of urban renewal and planning. In 1946, Campbell Merrett gave priority to a bridge below Reversing Falls in his *Saint John Master Plan*.¹⁷ In 1954 the federal planning survey acts furthered this process, leading to the 1957 Saint John Urban Renewal Study. By the early 1960s redevelopment was already in full swing in Saint John on some of the earliest Federally-sponsored redevelopment projects.

In terms of Federal assistance in Atlantic Canada, Saint John has been in a rather unique position since the early 1970's. The city was a designated special area chosen under the Department of Regional Economic Expansion as a growth centre¹⁸ which was intended to benefit the entire targeted region. Provincial/Federal General Development Agreements later replaced the heavy handed federal domination of these programs in 1973. By 1982, DREE was discontinued, but the GDAs were allowed to continue until their expiry date, by which time the bulk of the Atlantic Revolution had played itself through with mixed results. The infrastructural

¹⁷John Braddock, "Decision About A Bridge". Atlantic Advocate (March 1966) p.15.

¹⁸A Growth Centre generally refers to a more spatial conceptualization than does a growth pole which has been defined as "a set of expanding industries located in an urban area, inducing further development throughout its zone of influence". [Donald Savoie, Regional Economic Development..., p.6. Originally quoted from French economist J.R. Boudeville.] See Canada. Department of Urban Affairs, "Urban Development: Settlement Patterns in New Brunswick" (1978-1979).

improvements were generally applauded, but as R.C. Barnstead, President of CP Transport explained, "Transportation will not create products or markets... Markets must exist before goods can be transported".¹⁹ The implication was that contrary to DREE's identification of transportation as the key sector to the future development of Canada, it was not going to provide an industrial and commercial base.²⁰

Provincial commissions also made their impact. [SEE APPENDIX V] The 1960s saw major shifts of traditional responsibility and control away from the municipal and county level in such areas as health care, justice, welfare and education,²¹ and set it with the province. At the same time, Saint John's responsibilities had been greatly expanded geographically with the amalgamation of Lancaster city and parish and Simonds parish to create the fourth largest Canadian city in area. This political-geographic expansion did little to anticipate or resolve exurban growth of the 1970s and 1980s, as will be seen later.

THE EFFECTS ON SAINT JOHN

What were the effects of these federal initiatives and

¹⁹Donald J. Patton, et.al. (eds.) Canada East: Choices for Change. (Halifax 1978) p.59.

²⁰C.D. Burke & D.J. Ireland, An Urban/Economic Development Strategy for the Atlantic Region (Ottawa 1976).

²¹Len Gertler & Ron Crowley, Changing Canadian Cities (Toronto 1977) p.185.

the resultant changes on Saint John as a whole, socially and/or culturally? First of all, transportation improvements have traditionally proven to be a double-edged sword. H.A. Innis reflected this in his condemnations of enhanced resource exploitation due to railroads and steam trawlers in the 1930s.²² More recently, highways have had a similar effect.²³ Therefore, the increasing potential of commerce has been at a price. The price has been closer economic ties with Central Canada and more recently, increasing outward migration of households into rural areas, with little migration to urban areas. This has come about as automobiles have enabled a majority of the population to commute into the city from the outlying exurban areas.

Rather than drawing from the periphery to support the city centre and alleviate rural non-production, as federal development schemes had intended, people were drawn away from the Central Business District as services became available in the outlying areas. By the 1970s, the highway had exacerbated an already severe outward migration problem in the Saint John area. Retail and service establishments in mall environments

²²H.A. Innis, Essays in Canadian Economic History (Toronto 1956, reprinted 1979). Innis was also a chairperson on the Jones Commission [Canada. Royal Commission on the Provincial Economic Inquiry of Nova Scotia (Halifax 1934).] through which he warned of the risks involved with steam trawling.

²³Len Gertler & Ron Crowley, Changing Canadian Cities (Toronto 1977, reprinted 1979) p.24.

on the outskirts of Saint John began to compete with the "up-town" shopping area."²⁴ This doubled the problems of the CBD since not only were they losing to suburban competition, but they were losing their population base as well, as the cost of living increased in urban area due to the outmigration of population and businesses."²⁵

The 1960s bulldozer style of redevelopment resulted in considerable destruction of Saint John's potential heritage areas. As a Loyalist city, Saint John had always prided itself on more careful and deliberate development. Yet in the fervour of the planners' decade, potential heritage conservation sites were lost to the wrecking ball. Many examples of post-1877 architecture have been destroyed; replaced by the high-rise city hall and modernized market square, designed in the "current vogue" of the time, architect Roger Kemble explained, as "write-offs and tax-dodges".²⁶

If in fact the goal of the redevelopment schemes were for future population growth and an increased labour pool, there was some success. The throughway tapped into a new two-hundred-kilometre-long commuting labour "hinterland",

²⁴In the case of Saint John, the traditional down-town area is referred to as up-town.

²⁵The growing concern of the time was suburban sprawl as evidenced by A Study on Sprawl in New Brunswick (1980), Schizophrenic Sprawl (1978) and the Retail Study of Saint John (1977).

²⁶Roger Kemble, The Canadian City: A Critical Commentary. (Montreal 1989) p.37.

supplying Saint John with a labour base that stretched to St. Stephen in the west and to Sussex in the east. This has been critical for the English-speaking portion of New Brunswick's population because it has provided a working environment in Saint John with the assistance of the industrial incentives programs of the 1970s and provided a favourable living environment along the Kennebecasis River for younger families. There have been three factors which have made this more possible; climactic, environmental and financial reasons.'

To exacerbate this, there was the perception by the civil engineers in Saint John that a harbour bridge and later highway would solve the problem of local traffic's access to Saint John; not mass transit, even though ninety percent of the traffic serviced was reported to be traffic from within five miles.²⁸ It then becomes clear that the highway was the major development issue within the federal programs to modernize the city,²⁹ especially tied in with the port modernization schemes which began to rely heavily on container

²⁷Climactic- greatly increased average hours of sun per year once one leaves the coast. Environmental- industrial pollution and neglect until the 1980's. Financial- unincorporated areas with no zoning or property taxes major incentive to move in the '50's-'70's. See New Brunswick, A Study on Sprawl in New Brunswick (1980).

²⁸Albert O. Stevens, Highway Transportation Survey. (1961).

²⁹Saint John, Comprehensive Community Plan, Transportation:5 Recommended Street Plan (Saint John 1967; p.26.

traffic on both rail and highway.

There were other outside forces which played into the highway development issue in Saint John as well. With the push for the Trans-Canada and the proposed corridor road through Maine, as well as the new interstate 95 from Bangor, Maine to New Brunswick, there were development opportunities and challenges. Prior to Fredericton linking with interstate 95 in Maine, it was estimated that over three-quarters of all U.S. tourist traffic coming to Atlantic Canada, entered New Brunswick at St. Stephen and travelled through Saint John. There is no confirmation that improving the highway from St. Stephen to Moncton has provided significant increases in tourism or has decreased the traffic load on the Trans-Canada Highway. Very little has taken place in Maine to provide a high-speed replacement for Route 9, connecting Saint John with its closest U.S. neighbour, Bangor. Today, traffic volumes on routes west of Saint John and Fredericton entering Maine appear rather even, without specific analysis of traffic type.³⁰

There is also the omnipotent nature of the Irving family. Their empire, some of which is now managed by third generation Irvings, has vast land holdings as well as centres of operation in the Saint John area and has been responsible for

³⁰New Brunswick Travel and Tourism Statistics, Vol. 3. Department of Tourism, Recreation and Heritage, Canadian Travel Survey (Fredericton 1986). Also R.J. McCalla, The Maritime Provinces Atlas. (Halifax 1991) p.74.

a majority of the commercial and industrial development, which cannot be ignored in this analysis. [SEE FIGURE 9 PAGE 87]

As critical for the future growth of Saint John as the highway may have been, it directly affected thousands of individuals who were never compensated. These persons remained at the mercy of those who owned the vast numbers of high-demand, over-priced tenement properties" and had little or no financial stake in the projects as Saint John slowly transformed. For example, there was an outright displacement of more than 10,000 persons in the census sub-districts through which the highway travelled, on the east side of the harbour alone. This does not include those persons on the west side of the harbour, in Lancaster or those previously or subsequently displaced by urban renewal schemes in the Courtenay Place project or the south end.

An examination of these issues in the next few chapters will provide a sense of the impact that outward growth has had on the area, due to the throughway. It will also prove how critical the issue was to the process of redevelopment and how directly it related to the entire post-war process of Federal/Provincial modernization in Saint John.

Finally, it will be a testament to the coordinated efforts of three levels of government and the private sector. It is proof of just what can be realistically accomplished

³¹The redevelopment had raised rental prices on the main peninsula as demand outstripped supply.

over an intensive thirty year period in a city. It is also proof of how little has been done to study the long-term consequences of these projects on a city, when armies of federal agencies attempt to coordinate energies toward particular ends. In hindsight, was the present day, visibly spotty nature of redevelopment really worth it? Has Saint John, as a federally controlled development project, been left in a superior position when compared to its relative status in 1950, or is the city presently in a situation reminiscent of the early part of this century when rail traffic ruled the transportation networks with the help of Ottawa and a few key families? To this question there is no single answer. There are many advantages to the Saint John of 1993, above and beyond the millions of yards of concrete which have been poured, yet one may assume that there were many sacrifices and many decisions made in the name of modernization which have permanently cost the city possibly as much as has been gained in other areas.

CHAPTER 2

SAINT JOHN IN THE URBAN NETWORK: AN APPROACH

A holistic rather than a reductionist approach is necessary to appreciate the complete picture. And the patterns we find may be untidy and imprecise, requiring a more humanistic touch than has generally been the case in urban studies in the past.³²

-Gilbert Stelter

This project began as an examination of the process of highway development in Saint John over the past three decades. The Saint John Throughway and Harbour Bridge were the keystones of four larger themes of development which characterized the process of modernization of Saint John in the 1960s and 1970s. These themes; (1) regional growth, (2) renewal and redevelopment, (3) the relationship of Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments, and (4) the shifting demographics of the area, can not be ignored if one was to understand the implications of an infrastructure project of this scale.

Saint John has been a leading contender as the slowest growth centre in Canada for most of the twentieth century. [SEE APPENDIX VI & VII for national comparisons] Though some might say the city's 1960s renewal programs have proven innovative, they have not thrust the city to national

³²Gilbert Stelter, Cities and Urbanization: Canadian Historical Perspectives (Toronto 1990) p.11.

prominence as an example of governmental cooperation and resolve. What has the Federal/Provincial political economy of management meant for the city, the region and the nation, and have the original objectives been met?

This study will first look at the general trends of population change over Saint John's history, specifically examining post World War Two Saint John, keeping an eye on temporal trends in an attempt to put this process into a historical perspective. This research will be primarily based on analysis of the movement of population within the Saint John region and suggest that suburban and exurban definitions, as well as urban and rural ones become flexible when placed in temporal perspectives. It will focus on the growth of the east-west suburban and exurban corridor, which the area experienced as a result of redevelopment and highway construction in the 1960s and 1970s. I will then examine the economic, political and social trends that influenced the movement.

The goal will be to explain the evolution of growth more specifically due to the construction of the Harbour Bridge and the Saint John Throughway, and demonstrate how these projects transformed the city from its 1950s post-war appearance to its present day low density, metropolitan form. I will also allude to the evolutionary inconsistencies of the planning process and how this affected the development of Saint John, leading to a less than consistent pattern of redevelopment

since World War Two. The primary original research in this thesis will be the population analysis discussed throughout, but primarily in chapters 3 and 5. The remainder is a synthesis of the research completed on the subject, adapted to Saint John, and also of analyses of the master plans over time.

The interest in this project came from work done on the yet unpublished *Demographic Change and Community Development in Atlantic Canada: 1867-1992*, in a seminar with D.A. Muise. My geographic area of concentration was Saint John. Through analysis of the census sub-districts I found our theoretical framework emphasizing the urban versus the rural components of the population, too broad in area yet too narrow in perspective to enable an analysis of the process of growth in and around the Saint John Metropolitan Area.³³ Much of our discussion focused on the smaller industrializing, farming or resource extracting zones and therefore only briefly touched upon the urban issues of the three metropolitan centres; Saint John, St. John's and Halifax. The analysis worked well for smaller, more confined towns and villages yet became problematic for the larger areas because of the problems encountered by the examination of an area when defined by *urban versus rural*, and the evolution of the urban form in the more heavily populated areas.

³³As determined by Statistics Canada. See Appendix II.

My demographic analysis focused upon the population growth and decline of specific census-defined areas. The analysis began with a look at the regional census districts and then sub-districts to determine population growth patterns within the districts themselves. In Saint John, this process was further focused to examine census tracts; smaller, more accurate geographic units of the Census Metropolitan Area.³⁴

The first six months of research involved a literature search through the disciplines, with the understanding that there would be at least as many methodologies and perspectives as there were disciplines and authors of these disciplines. This step produced a related material bibliography ranging from topics of urban redevelopment, suburban sprawl, regional economic policy and gentrification. Also included were topics such as nineteenth century steamboats on the Saint John River and the Saint John streetcars; these last topics for potential effects upon early suburban growth. This has led to an understanding of how central highway development is to our society. It has all been determined to a large degree by the past, as society has made use of various transportation

³⁴FIGURE 10 used *census districts* to demonstrate the general growth pattern of the area in the nineteenth century. There were no smaller unit than the county or city to analyze in the census until later. For FIGURE 3, 12 and 14, the *census sub-district* was used at the macro scale as an unchanging boundary most consistent over the specific time period examined. The *census tract* was used in chart 4 to determine changes in the population in particular areas within the Saint John CMA to analyze the effect of highway construction.

technologies at rates according to variables in space and time.

Since considerable research has been done on other cities in North America relating to this issue, I will use methodologies adopted elsewhere to compare and explain Saint John's experience of outward growth." As an interdisciplinary thesis, I will bring a synthesis to some of the contemporary theories of the urban condition in an analysis of Saint John; one of the oldest and most historically significant Canadian metropolitan areas. This cross-disciplinary approach will attempt to bring a synthesis to the basic theories and examples which I have found critical for a study of urban development in Atlantic Canada."

To assist in this cross-disciplinary approach, Gilbert Stelter recognized a "three headed definition" of the process of urbanization. Attempts to explain the demographic

³Particularly, Roberta Balstad Miller, Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Henry Binford, Margaret Marsh and Kenneth Jackson, and Canadianists Alan Artibise, Gilbert Stelter, Paul-Andre Linteau, Len Gertler and Larry Bourne.

⁴Various other political and economic perspectives which must be acknowledged for their analytical content include those areas such as urban, regional and transportation planning, economic development, and political economy. Artibise, C.D.Burke, Gertler, Lithwick, Lorimer, Jacobs, Savoie, Bettison among others come to mind for their work ranging from Atlantic Canadian economic development (Savoie and Burke) to regional policy and planning (Artibise, Gertler, Lithwick, Kiernan)

⁵Gilbert Stelter. Cities and Urbanization (Toronto 1990) p.2.

process of urbanization has led to analysis of the physical environment and its relationship to population movement, redistribution of populations based upon functions within an urban system, and finally, how has this process affected the behaviour of society. As mentioned earlier, the concept of time and its importance in defining the relationship between cities and urbanization must be acknowledged.³⁸

Within this spatial context, Paul-Andre Linteau has observed four major subjects in the analysis of Canadian Urban/Suburban development to date. One is the rise of the corporate developer and the implications on suburban development and urban renewal. The second is housing and issues of provision, availability and quality. The third concern is one of the most apparent; that of urban sprawl.³⁹ And the forth is the political economic battle between levels of government over the region.⁴⁰

In the case of Saint John, this list must be modified to account for the lesser concentration of corporate development and the greater concentration of primarily Federal efforts of

³⁸Gilbert Stelter, Cities and Urbanization. p.4-11.

³⁹This will not be a thesis on *sprawl* as such. Outward growth will be discussed as will fringe retail shopping centres. This paper is not concerned with the land use per-se and will avoid defining these types of development.

⁴⁰Paul-Andre Linteau. "Canadian Suburbanization in a North American Context..." Cities and Urbanization. Stelter, ed. (Toronto 1991) p.214.

developmental assistance over the past three decades. Therefore this list must be expanded to include the outright effects of highway development within the federal/provincial schemes of development.

This thesis will be examining these issues through analysis of the population movements and growth curves which the city has experienced. The following chapters will follow this format, with each section adhering to a linear structure.

Though Goldberg and Mercer's book, The Myth of the North American City: Continentalism Challenged (1986) exploded the myth of the North American city, there were many oversights which handily avoid many comparative issues and rely on statistical analysis which have since proven questionable.⁴¹ This is especially true in the case of older eastern seaboard cities, which historically have much more in common with each other than with those of the plains or west. Though considerable work has been focused upon similarities between Saint John, Portland, and Halifax;⁴² Bath, Portsmouth and

⁴¹Gordon O. Ewing, "The Bases of Difference Between American and Canadian Cities," The Canadian Geographer (36 #3, 1992). p.266-279.

⁴²Robert McCalla, "Separation and Specialization of Port Functions in Cityport Waterfronts: The Cases of Saint John and Halifax", The Canadian Geographer (27 #1, 1983). Robert Babcock, "Economic Development in Portland and Saint John During the Age of Iron and Steam, 1850-1914". American Review of Canadian Studies (Spring 1979)

Boston" also had rather similar early developmental experiences. From an economic and geographic perspective, it may also be possible to compare Montreal and Quebec City as examples which shared quite similar historic patterns of outward movement with Saint John prior to the twentieth century." As a Census Metropolitan Area since 1951, Saint John is a city which has been given considerable attention, yet its condition remains rather disputed, as local issues have tended to distort what one would consider a possibly more consistent pattern of growth.

Though I criticize Goldberg and Mercer, my initial reason for becoming involved with this project were similar to their's. For them, it was absurd to consider the Canadian urban example to be just a delayed extension of that which occurred in the United States, Just as it is absurd to consider the Atlantic Canadian urban experience to be a delayed replication of Central Canada's.

Due to the nature of this rather historical, demographic study, it appeared important to briefly discuss the geographic evolution of the urban form without discussing it further in the text primarily because it has been tied closely to the Federal and Provincial responses in this century. Therefore,

"Henry Binford, The First Suburbs, Residential Communities on the Boston Periphery 1815-1860 (Chicago 1985)

"Paul-Andre Linteau, "Canadian Suburbanization in a North American Context- Does the Border Make a Difference?" Cities and Urbanization Gilbert Stelter, ed. (Toronto 1990).

to understand the historical geography of this thesis, it is necessary to break down the various contemporary geography-related theories and guiding forces behind these topics due to the variety of definitions of what historically constitutes a city, metropolitan area or region." The first step involved examining the evolution of the urban form to determine the physical area to be studied.

Saint John evolved from a confined, water oriented walking city" of the nineteenth century, with its basic primary resource hinterland, to the metropolitan twentieth century, as rural and urban fringes became more complex and city played specific regional and national roles." More recently, analyses have incorporated the urban field" into a study of how the "farm and factory may be found shoulder to shoulder along with scattered and clustered residential

"F.A. Dahms "The Evolution of Settlement Systems: A Canadian Example 1851-1970", in Cities and Urbanization (Toronto, 1990) for chart of *Selected Conceptual Outlines of the Evolution of Settlement Systems*, Table 1.

"T.W. Acheson, Saint John. Paul-Andre Linteau, "Canadian Suburbanization in a North American Context- Does the Border Make A Difference?" Cities and Urbanization.

"Gertler & Crowley Changing Canadian Cities: The Next 25 Years (Toronto 1977).

"Coppack, Russwurm & Bryant. Essays on Canadian Urban Process and Form III (Waterloo 1988). This came from the earlier work of Friedman (1973), Friedman & Miller (1965). The concept of an urban field attempts to come to grips with the contemporary relationships and interdependence between the two areas. See Coppack, Essays on Canadian Urban Process and Form III, p.82 for discussion of urban field.

units",⁴⁹ to combine with the urban, to form the city's countryside.⁵⁰

Philip Coppack explained the concept of the urban field⁵¹ and how it might explain the process of urbanization,

Urbanization in terms of demographic change revolves around two basic themes: 1. Long-term change in population dynamics as outlined in the basic demographic transition model; and 2. Changes in the location and movement of population.⁵²

The first theme, though basic to any population study will not be discussed here since it will be assumed that since the area being studied is rather small and homogeneous and therefore is assumed as a constant over the entire area. The second theme will be the key to this analysis. To expand on this and explain its relevance Coppack believes,

The location and movement of population is critical to the development of both urbanization and the urban field. In its most visible aspect, urbanization refers to the increasing concentration of population in urban areas which are, in essence, high density locations in nodal regions. Partly this location is due to the rapid natural

⁴⁹op.cit. p.6.

⁵⁰C.R. Bryant, L.H. Russwurm & A.G. McLellan, The City's Countryside (New York 1982).

⁵¹"A concept in which the previous rural-urban dichotomy has been replaced by a continuum of more or less urban influence, comprised of overlapping physical, economic and cultural environments" [Philip Coppack, Essays on Canadian Urban Process and Form III p.6.] He was commenting upon the lack of integration between city and countryside in Gertler and Crowley, The Changing Canadian City.

⁵²Philip Coppack. Essays on Canadian Urban Process and Form III, p.33

population increases. However, the location is due to relocation - to the movement of rural populations into urban areas. [Another] component of change involves quite another type of movement - that of exurbanites. Accompanying and intrinsic to the urban field over the past decades, is a phenomenon called population decentralization."

Where Coppack leaves off is in the most recent reversal of the trend of decentralization. With the general trend toward revitalization of the urban core, many cities have experienced gentrification. There has been a decreased movement away from the city. Whether this is due to the increases in cost of suburban living such as home construction, transportation, taxes or other factors involving seclusion or reversing perceptual values of improved quality of life, it seems to be a somewhat permanent trend which must be examined."³ This geographic evolution in analysis has been very beneficial to those studying the dynamic of urbanization. Yet it has caused considerable problems for those creating uniform governmental policy to cope with these changing issues. Urban policy makers have had to respond to the evolution of crises as they are brought to the attention of society.

The point of this discussion of urban geographic perspectives is to point out the evolutionary nature of thought of the urban form. This has had a profound effect

³Philip Coppack, Essays on Canadian Urban Process and Form III, Coppack, Russwurm & Bryant, eds. p.34.

⁴L.S. Bourne, "Population Turnaround in the Canadian Inner City: Contextual Factors and Social Consequences", Canadian Journal of Urban Research. (1:1, June 1992).

upon setting up regional development programs by the federal and provincial governments. The following chapters will examine how Saint John has and has not followed these trends and to what degree these trends have affected the city.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL EFFECTS OF TRANSPORTATION

*Canadian History has been shaped by transportation more perhaps than any other factor. Indeed, Canada itself has been described as "an experiment in transportation."*⁵⁵

As Saint John has grown over the past few centuries, mobility has continued to be a pressing theme and one which has been of utmost importance in the past few decades. Traditionally, transportation has been viewed in terms of industrial and commercial strength. Since the nineteenth century era of wood and wind, Saint John has struggled to develop its regional function while both Moncton and Fredericton have grown and developed their specific provincial and regional niches. Halifax, with the help of government and financial sectors has grown in population to a size nearly three times that of Saint John, serving as a financial, government, medical, retail and service centre for the entire province. Today, though the city was late to link into both national rail and highway networks, the modern era of personal transport has now transformed Saint John, re-creating its function as a provincial centre, but one that is still as reliant upon transportation networks as it was a century ago.

⁵⁵R.J. Burns, P.D. Love, Ralph Hedlin, "Aspects of Urban Transportation: Economic and Financial", Canadian Urban Transportation Conference (Toronto, February 1969) p.273.

Yet there are profound differences. The rate of time required to commute to and from the city and the capital invested in infrastructure and in personal transport are two critical, but inversely proportional characteristics. Also the primary use of transportation has changed from that of a highly commercial use to being predominantly for personal use, further taxing the roadways as the trend has been toward outward growth.

Since the Atlantic region as a whole is based upon a generally smaller urban unit and subsequent ties to rural areas, the structural changes in the rural/urban landscape have been profound over the past half century. Trunk highways have tied the traditionally small urban units together and into larger regional centres to maximize efficiency, essentially negating the connections and/or interdependence these areas may have had with their neighbouring urban and rural counterparts.⁶⁶ This has been true in Saint John as the throughway has been the latest in advancing transport technologies to draw the periphery into the city's sphere of influence.

SAINT JOHN AND THE NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION NETWORK

Saint John's transportation-dependent system based upon highways and automobiles has followed a long history of transportation reliance beginning in the early nineteenth century as the city tapped into its resource hinterland by

⁶⁶Bryant & Russwurm, The City's Countryside (New York 1982).

water. It had the largest natural hinterland of any Maritime city, relying on the Saint John River's access to a vast interior. By the turn of the century, the railway had effectively transformed the region, reducing Saint John's influence to the south-central New Brunswick area, yet also providing access to Central Canada as the winterport function developed.

Prior to the railroads, water-borne transportation fed both a thriving international trade on the Atlantic and hinterland trade on the Saint John River in the early nineteenth century, as the city filled the regional entrepot function. Railways supplemented this trend as eastern points within the region were well accessed by the time the European and North American railroad was completed in 1860.

As the railroad supplemented, then effectively replaced water transport to the interior of the continent, Saint John's port functions began to change as well.⁵⁷ The city and port became less interdependent as goods being shipped and traded had less and less to do with local mercantile trade, which had taken the city through the prosperity of the nineteenth century. By the later part of the century, the era of wood and wind had not only given way to steel and steam, but had

⁵⁷Elizabeth McGahan, The Port of Saint John: From Confederation to Nationalization. (Saint John 1982). Robert McCalla, "The Separation and Specialization of Land Uses in Cityport Waterfronts: The Cases of Saint John and Halifax," Canadian Geographer (27 #1, 1983)

also given way to the railway, resulting in a significant shift in transportation routes as well as technology. Therefore, this period saw the greatest growth in west Saint John (Carleton and Lancaster) due to the CP Railway and also along the Kennebecasis toward Sussex due to the European and North American Railway.

By 1890, the shipping and timber-based economy driving Saint John had collapsed and the city was in the process of industrial transformation focusing upon industrial capital versus the mercantilism of the lumber and ship building years.⁵⁸ Saint John had made what seemed to be a successful transition, from a water-based mercantile city focused upon a regional hinterland to an industrialized entrepot, focused upon the west and rail linkages there.

As demonstrated in the following graph, The concentration of the population in the city reached a peak in the early days of confederation. Disease, filth and advances in transportation technologies all contributed to the trend of outward growth and lessening population densities. But outward growth was also a result of events such as the fire of 1877 causing early suburban growth. Later, urban renewal affected suburban growth in the 1960s, and highway development spurring exurban growth in the 1970s.

⁵⁸Eric Sager & Gerald Panting, Maritime Capital (Montreal 1990). For discussion of the Saint John mercantilists of the shipping age as opposed to the Montreal and Toronto-based industrial capitalists of the industrial revolution.

Population: Saint John Area, 1871-1991

1986 Saint John CMA boundaries.
Census sub-districts.

1871-1911 Statistics Canada 1891 Census vol 1 p 12 & 1921 Census vol 1 p 22

1921-1971 Statistics Canada 1971 Census #92-701 p 2-16

1981-1991 Statistics Canada 1986 Census #92-112 p 2-3 & 1991 Census #93-304 p 26

FIGURE 3

The city experienced setbacks in its competition with other Northeastern ports. The Intercolonial Railway failed to link directly to Saint John on its way to Montreal, to the benefit of Halifax, and Portland had accessed the Montreal market with a direct rail link well before 1890 when the CPR Short Line chose Saint John's west side as its eastern terminus. With help from the National Policy, the emphasis on East-West trade with central Canada via rail rather than the Atlantic shipping trade with the United States, West Indies and Europe provided the city with stability if not major growth. Nationalization of the port and emphasis upon the guaranteed winter wheat trade continued until the 1950s with the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway and evolution in transportation policy by Ottawa toward highway and air travel.

FIGURE 4 SAINT JOHN CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA

Since then, highways have been a mixed blessing. They have provided Saint John with renewed access to its regional, east-west hinterland as it has become the regional employer for a vast majority of the 125,000 persons within its Census Metropolitan Area in the past thirty years. Today, it is not unusual for at least one family member of an english-speaking New Brunswick family to settle in the Kennebecasis valley, between Saint John and Sussex and commute to Saint John. Without the throughway, it is unlikely the city could have provided the desired lifestyle for younger families who have purchased homes in Quispamsis, Gondola Point, Fairvale and other communities since the 1970s.

Although the throughway has provided the city with a high-speed link with its regional hinterland, it has not benefitted the city with more growth. In fact it has been the major contributor to the city's decreasing population, as we will see.

TRANSPORTATION AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL

Water transport had established the region's transportation routes early in the city's history. Railways, though critical for changing the influence Saint John had on its hinterland and being responsible for various new development over time, seemed to support the established means of transport at the local level. As Roberta Balstead Miller had found in her analysis of Kingston, New York,

Unlike the canal, the railroad did not directly interrupt established development patterns nor alter the distribution of population in the county. Nor did it disturb the existing relationships between cities and smaller settlements. Although technologically a transportation innovation, the railroad operated within a previously established transportation context in Onondaga County."

There are obvious variations between the two entrepot cities; Saint John as an ocean port versus Kingston, an inland, canal-based supply port. But the point she makes is important for Saint John. The CPR was responsible for the development of West Saint John in the 1880s, resulting in the redevelopment of the Carleton/Lancaster West side from a lumber and milling area to that of CP Rail terminus and winterport for western grain shipments.⁶⁰ But it was a supplementary function to the city and one which did not result in significant additional growth or significantly varied local patterns of development. By 1900, streetcars and railroads were well established in the Saint John area. In Simonds Parish, streetcar service was available through Haymarket Square, behind Courtenay Bay, and in Lancaster Parish, separate service ran from the Reversing Falls suspension bridge to the CP terminals and Seaside Park in Lancaster.

⁶⁰Roberta Balstad Miller, City and Hinterland: A Case Study of Growth and Regional Development (Westport 1979) p.79.

⁶⁰Elizabeth McGahan, The Port of Saint John. CPR's Short Line running from Montreal to Saint John through Maine was completed around 1890.

FIGURE 5: 1927 SAINT JOHN⁶¹

These new urban modes of transportation allowed people to jump the walls which had constrained the original walking

⁶¹Elizabeth McGahan, The Port of Saint John (Saint John 1982).

cities". The effect was less dramatic than might be expected for Saint John. Rather than resulting in the development push in ways similar to the streetcar suburbs of Boston or Montreal, in Saint John it allowed workers to remain in their present homes and commute across the river via streetcar when the employment base shifted to the west side after 1890.¹ Later, highways, though frequently following the previously established rail beds, had a much more significant impact upon the patterns of development in the Saint John area than did railways and streetcars.

TRANSPORTATION IN THE SAINT JOHN AND KENNEBECASIS VALLEYS

The growth in population in communities up the river from Saint John due to outmigration from the city had only begun in significant numbers once steamboats were able to provide regular service to Saint John and Fredericton. Though there was a long history of settlements along the river for lumbering and shipbuilding, the influence of Saint John now increased considerably. As Donald Taylor, the son of a Saint John River steamboat captain wrote,

During the 1830's a rapid expansion took place.
The steamboat gradually supplanted a few sailing

¹See Paul-Andre Linteau for his work on Montreal and Binford and Warner for their work on Boston suburbs. But particularly Linteau for the discussion on geographically confined cities such as Quebec and old Montreal (and Saint John).

²Fred Angus, Loyalist City Streetcars (Saint John 1979).

vessels, and because of their regular schedules and greater speeds helped in the development of settlements along the river.”

By 1833, there was both direct non-stop service and regular stop service to Fredericton and "by mid-century 10 steamboats were operating between Saint John and Grand Falls".⁶⁰ In 1913 sidewheeler service was still popular as Donald Taylor's father, C.C. Taylor had returned to Saint John and begun a service between the city and Wickham, half way up the river to Fredericton as a suburban service. Service between Fredericton and Saint John carried as many as 50,000 passengers annually alone.⁶¹

A streetcar line had already been operating from Market Wharf to the Saint John riverboat terminus at Indiantown along Main Street through Portland since 1869. It was discontinued in 1876, not to run until 1887.⁶² But it had been successful in setting the priority route for mass transit in the city. This provided a continuous link from the wharf to the north end and to Simonds, Saint John West and

⁶⁰Donald F. Taylor, The Early Steamboats of the Saint John River, New Brunswick Museum (Saint John 1980) introduction, np.

⁶¹op.sit. np.

⁶²Vroom & Doyle, Old New Brunswick: A Victorian Portrait (Toronto 1978) p.14.

⁶³Fred Angus, Loyalist City Streetcars (Saint John 1979) p.10-14.

Lancaster, later on. This period also marked the beginning of municipal administrative and services expenses, such as water, police (discussed later) sewerage and power.

The European and North American Railway was in full operation as well, having originally opened in 1860, supplementing steamer and coach service along the Kennebecasis to Sussex, being a major force in the creation of focal points for these communities.⁶⁸ Rothesay was one of the most well known villages along this route, having become a haven for Saint John's elite. Its notoriety became international after 1871 when a Saint John sculling crew which won on the River Seine in 1867, then repeated the feat and won the world championship on the Kennebecasis at Rothesay. This event was also important since it resulted in the village of Chalet, a neighbouring community along the Kennebecasis, being later called Renforth in honour of the British champion oarsman who died during the race. This is mentioned to emphasize the importance of the area within the Saint John region and the importance it had as part of the urban scene.⁶⁹

The first half of the twentieth century saw further

⁶⁸C.M. Wallace, "Saint John Boosters and the Railroads in Mid-19th Century", Acadiensis (vol.6 #1, Autumn 1976) (for political/economic history of E & NA Railroad)

⁶⁹The partially restored Rothesay station still stands as a monument, built in 1859 as a representation of the integration of modes of transport. The station is near the waterfront in the older section of town. [photo: R. Brown The Train Doesn't Stop Here Any More (Peterborough 1991) p.79]

developments in rail and winterport functions as well as a slow phasing out of steamer services on the river, replaced by trunk roads and motor vehicles.⁷⁰ This is not to say roadways were not part of the plan until then, but they were not a significant part of the national transportation policy. Saint John was a major focal point of nineteenth century carriage routes from New England through the Maritimes though, as evidenced from the quote;

Running north from Saint John is the famous Marsh Road, the great outlet of the city... built broad enough for... five teams to drive abreast.⁷¹

Prior to 1900, local authorities built and maintained the roads while the provincial government retained responsibility for the road system. At the turn of the century there were Parish highway boards with a chairman appointed by the Provincial government. Road taxes were levied and collected by these officials and turned over to the county. During most of the early twentieth century, more and more authority was shifted to local officials. But by 1938, local authority was

⁷⁰Charles Allain, "Impact of the Automobile on the Government of New Brunswick, 1837-1992", unpublished M.A. Thesis (UNB 1987).

⁷¹David H. Waterbury, "A Chat on the Way From the City to Gondola Point," [New Brunswick Provincial Archives (1871)]. This quote is critical in its temporal context. Marsh Road was originally built prior to Saint John's incorporation across Marsh Creek by Acadian labourers from the Tantramar as probably one of the earliest public works projects. Today the road is known as Rothesay Ave. It was superseded by the throughway in the late 1970s.

abolished and by 1945 the province took control of roads away from the county. Urban municipalities retained control over their streets and roads but the provincial government provided financial assistance.⁷²

Outside the province, potential again lay in connections with the United States, the rest of Canada and the Maritimes, strengthening Saint John's influence over a hinterland which had been reduced somewhat by rail networks which used the Fredericton to Moncton routes in the late nineteenth century. Most of the grand plans; the "Three C's", as they were known, were supported by the Boards of Trade as well as other organizations. One of the most visible voices was the Atlantic Advocate, which tended to express especially the interests of K.C. Irving.

Within a decade, the hopes of a Saint John-centred transportation system had faded, as highways tended to follow routes already created by rail transport, which had been less

⁷²See Charles J. Allain, "Impact of the Automobile on the Government of New Brunswick, 1897-1932". MA Thesis (UNB 1987) and R.R. Krueger, "The Provincial-Municipal Government Revolution in New Brunswick", Canadian Public Administration (vol.13 #1, Spring 1970).

⁷³The Corridor Road, The Chignecto Canal and the PEI Causeway. The Canal was of particular interest to Irving, who was willing to help finance the project.

⁷⁴This magazine must be recognized as a source of information biased toward the commercial and industrial interests of the region. In the function of consistent reporting over time, there is little comparable information available. As a non-biased source, it must be questioned.

than optimal for Saint John's needs and desires, and bypassed Saint John (for example, the Trans-Canada highway), or never linked with Saint John (in the case of routes in the US).

FIGURE 6: A CORRIDOR ROAD THROUGH MAINE⁷⁵

⁷⁵Atlantic Provinces Transportation Study, vol.x (Jan. 1967).

In Saint John, a significant part of the federal growth centre plan concerned transportation development. Under Federal Special Areas Agreements,⁷⁶ the city was able to create a modern roadway network which linked it (following the general route of the original European and North American Railroad) to Moncton in the east and to St. Stephen and Maine in the West. The primary area affected in the city, by this modernization was the valley of old Portland, where the Harbour Bridge landed in 1968 and highway cut through by the mid-1970s. This was an area which had originally been bisected by the European and North American and later, the Intercolonial Railroad as early as 1860, and used as the switching yard for the competing CPR and ICR lines.⁷⁷

Since the 1960s, the decisions which have led to a more balanced transportation policy based upon rail, highways and air have begun to reverse the trend of labour export. But in so doing, regional effects previously unfelt, have beset Saint John in the form of urban sprawl and CBD decay. Personal transport, coupled with Federal policies which favoured growth of home-ownership and further development, enhanced the trend

⁷⁶"Saint John was one of twenty-two special areas in Canada. "The initial emphasis was to be placed upon the construction of infrastructure to ensure the expectations of incoming industry" [Susan Fleming, "The Growth Centre Concept: Its Application in the Maritime Provinces." unpublished M.A. Thesis (UNB 1979) p.21.]

⁷⁷The Urban Waterfront: Growth and Change in Canadian Port Cities, Vol.2: Folio (Ottawa 1978).

of outward migration at a rate which remains unchecked. Therefore, the question remains; which issue caused the other? It is relatively clear that unlike higher growth metropolitan centres, land speculation was secondary to transportation in providing development opportunities in the case of Saint John. The primary exurban growth came after transportation improvements had begun. Yet the highway was built to fulfill the pressing need of supplementing Rothesay Avenue and to reduce the traffic pressure on the Reversing Falls bridge.

CHAPTER 4

INTERACTION OF THE PUBLIC & PRIVATE SECTOR

*The nature of Canadian regional policy is such that the federal government can carry on with the status quo if it so wishes, suddenly launch new programs, or, just as suddenly, backtrack or reverse its actions. Canadians have witnessed all three postures time and time again, since the first regional development measures were introduced in 1960.*⁷⁸

-Donald Savoie

BACKGROUND TO FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT

The federal and provincial governments' role in Saint John's history is uncontested. Ever since Macdonald's National Policy in 1879, the city's fate has, to a considerable degree, been in the hands of those in Fredericton or Ottawa. The comparisons with neighbouring American cities may give some indication of the different forces at work in Saint John, versus the role government played in Portland or Bangor.

On this theme, Goldberg and Mercer were on track in attempting to debunk the myth of the North American City. Very few times in history have the two countries demonstrated such divergent approaches to urban issues as has been demonstrated since the 1950s. They noted that the deep-seated belief in the ideals of rural life in the United States had

⁷⁸Donald Savoie, Regional Economic Development (Toronto 1986) preface.

been partly responsible for that country's tendency to reject or deny the need to contend with the urban plight in the late 1950s. It was also responsible for the emphasis on infrastructure (and particularly highways) development due to the suburban ideal which exacerbated the outward growth movement. One of the roots of this divergence is based in governmental response. Ottawa's less aggressive highway policy was partially responsible for saving it from the excesses of an uncontrolled highway policy which had been justified in Washington as a national defence measure. Goldberg and Mercer calculated that the United States has four times the number of lane miles of urban expressway for each metropolitan resident than does Canada.⁷⁹ The apparent national defence necessity in the United States had also justified this massive undertaking as an *at all costs* initiative as part of the cold war nuclear threat; with little regard for its social, ecological or demographic impact. The result was a somewhat reduced trend toward outward development which has been so prevalent in the United States.

Unlike what Goldberg and Mercer might believe, this did not translate to an ideological difference. In the 1950s, N.H. Lithwick noted that the predominant Canadian federal ideology explained,

highways have little to do with decisions of people

⁷⁹Goldberg and Mercer. The Myth of the North American City (Vancouver 1986) p.152.

to move, but do make a region more attractive to industry, because of their importance for transportation and so encourage an inward movement of capital. According to [Buchanan's] premises, such a movement would have a corrective effect on the allocation of resources.⁸⁰

This is demonstrated in Saint John as it was apparent that on the local scale, that the lessons of outward growth elsewhere were not easily learned.

The result was that it had become possible and economical for young families from the region to move to unincorporated rural areas surrounding Saint John; approximately five miles or more from the CBD, yet continue to rely on the city for employment and partial services. By the 1951 census, this sudden population growth in the rural, non-agricultural sector was a disturbing trend at the provincial and national level.⁸¹ This group was statistically less productive than either rural-agricultural or urban dwellers. It also cost significantly more to support them with utilities and education as well as infrastructural maintenance.

The response to this issue had been the federal and provincial efforts toward centralization of services, supported by many in all levels of government, as it seemed to address the issue of uniform provision of services trend and also address the growing needs of infrastructural demands by

⁸⁰N.H. Lithwick, Regional Economic Policy (Toronto 1978) p.34. From J.M. Buchanan, "Federal Grants and Resource Allocation", Journal of Political Economy (June 1952).

⁸¹L.O.Stone, Urban Development in Canada, (Ottawa 1967).

the cities. This took many forms in Atlantic Canada, from the grand centralizing schemes of the Smallwood Government in Newfoundland beginning in the 1950s, to the equal opportunities program and growth centre development strategies in New Brunswick in the late 1960s. Even programs such as the Mactaquac hydro project indirectly affected this issue as it displaced hundreds of families for the purposes of filling a reservoir in an area which was considered unproductive.

In the Saint John area, while capital concentration and centralization of services attempted to restore the city as a modern industrial and commercial centre, it has been at a high price. While the metropolitan area has grown from approximately 80,000 in 1951 to 125,000 in 1991, the original city has had a net ten percent decrease in its population every decade since 1961. (estimate) The resultant growth has been along the path of the thoroughway and MacKay highway toward Sussex, producing the fastest growing area in New Brunswick and one of the top nationally.

THE POST-WAR FEDERAL RESPONSE⁸²

The federal role in Canadian economic development dates back to the National Policy but the role of addressing regional disparity dates more recently to the 1940 *Rowell-*

⁸²SEE APPENDIX V FOR CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS.

Sirois Commission.¹¹ This report stressed the have/have not dichotomy within Canada, relying on geographical determinism and the staples theory to explain how the Maritime Provinces were doomed to backwater status among Canadian provinces. The report went on to explain that the economic difficulties of the region were an unfortunate but inevitable concomitant of the development of the Canadian national economy, an economy which was determined by the physical geography of North America. Though the Commission's findings were not fully implemented, the Federal government did push ahead with assistance in a few critical areas. This was the beginning of an official federal response, stressing its resolve on the issue of regional disparity.

In 1957, the first equalization payments were made to enable the provinces to provide services that would reflect a national standard of living. Other initiatives came in the form of federally funded mega-projects involving infrastructural improvements which focused on transportation and other indirect industrial incentives. One of the most portentous projects was the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway beginning in the mid-1950s, which signalled, along with the 1961 *MacPherson Commission*,¹² a change in the national transportation policy. The commission saw a need for

¹¹Canada. Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (1940).

¹²Canada. Royal Commission on Transportation (1961).

greater diversification in continental transportation, which focused more heavily on air and roadway travel. Also critical to the surge in the trend of outward growth was the crown corporation, the *Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation*. It was set up in 1945 to administer the National Housing Act by supporting the provision of sufficient and adequate housing by the public sector and to maintain the level of employment in the construction industry in the post-war era."⁶⁶

In 1957, the *Gordon Commission*⁶⁷ underlined the need for structural change in the Canadian economy. This included;

a coordinated plan for economic development of the Atlantic Provinces and stressed the need for public sector involvement beyond personal and intergovernmental fiscal transfers of social policy and equalization.⁶⁸

The incoming Diefenbaker government set aside the report as a Liberal document and instead went ahead with its rural *Agricultural Rehabilitation Development Agency* in 1961, and the *Atlantic Development Board*⁶⁹ in 1962; designed primarily to coordinate industrial development in designated areas on an

⁶⁶Albert Rose, Canadian Housing Policies: 1935-1980 (Scarborough 1980) p.29.

⁶⁷Canada. Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (1957).

⁶⁸James Bickerton & Alain Gagnon, "Regional Policy in Historical Perspective: The Federal Role in Regional Economic Development" American Review of Canadian Studies (vol.14 #1, 1984) p.74.

⁶⁹J.K. Burbridge, "The Atlantic Development Board", unpublished M.A. Thesis (UNB 1971).

ad-hoc basis to relieve chronic unemployment. These programs were rather uncoordinated; relying on the individual Provinces for direction as well as results."

At the local level, the ADB initiated major public works as well, such as funding of the Harbour Bridge and the future throughway/expressway." The primary focus after the Courtenay Place project was to organize a comprehensive plan to integrate the infrastructural projects, such as the Harbour Bridge and Throughway with the renewal programs of 1966 and 1967. This period was critical because it committed the city to the throughway, since the bridge was in place by 1968 and placed Saint John in a decisive position for the future administration.

By 1968 the federal perspective had shifted back to one held by the Gordon Commission eleven years prior with the Trudeau Administration. The Atlantic Development Board was terminated and in 1969, the Department of Regional Economic

"The ADB agreement was primarily for the reconstruction of specific roadways, such as the highway from St. Stephen to Sussex, via Saint John. It would provide a matching grant situation to construct the road. [Atlantic Provinces Transportation Study, vol.1: Transportation in New Brunswick, (January 1967) p. 51-53.

"APEC, Atlantic Canada Today (Halifax 1987) p.122. In 1964, the federal Government was requested to assist in the construction costs of the Harbour Bridge. In Feb. 1965, Ottawa agreed to cover the difference between agreed annual expenditures and toll revenues, to be repaid when toll revenues permit. [ADB "Annual Report; 1964-65", Minister of Transport (Ottawa 1965) p.19.] The debt had in fact tripled by the 1980s, resulting in an inquiry into the management of the Harbour Bridge Authority and a review of its mandate.

Expansion was created. Trudeau centralized and politicized DREE in an attempt to coordinate programs and initiatives toward common national goals and proclaimed war on regional disparity, declaring, "Economic Equality is just as important as language rights".²¹

As Trudeau's high-profile federal response to the issues of regional disparity, DREE had a broad mandate. It was the key to a new economic development program designed to provide depressed areas with *growth poles* and link them theoretically into a national plan of *nodal development*.²² With this plan, Saint John received a double injection; one from the *General Development Agreements* under DREE and a second, through the designated *special areas* status the city received as a growth pole in 1970. This guaranteed not only the continuation and acceleration of programs in place under the original ADB but also guaranteed new loans and grants to execute the Municipal

²¹Donald Savoie. Regional Economic Development. p.233. Trudeau had three books of economic development: the book of planning; urban growth poles; and strategic investment. Planning and growth poles worked hand in hand to provide areas for investment. Federal assistance would be directed to points of strength within regional economies. This would translate to assistance to the urban areas which demonstrated potential as *growth centres*. [See L.O. Gertler & R. Crowley, Changing Canadian Cities: The Next 25 Years. p.183-84. Also see S.C. Fleming, "The Growth Centre Concept: Its Application in the Maritime Provinces," unpublished M.A. Thesis (UNB 1979).]

²²James Bickerton, Donald Savoie, N.H. Lithwick, L.O. Gertler, N. Ridler. A *growth centre* is to the regional economy what *growth poles* are to the national economy. [Susan Fleming, "The Growth Centre Concept: Its Application in The Maritime Provinces" unpublished M.A. Thesis (UNB 1979).]

Plan, laid out in 1967, for such work on roadways and services for land development.

The critical issue here is not in the federal programs themselves, but in the fact that Saint John was now well financially supplied by Ottawa's new economic policy. This became even clearer as policy during the 1972-73 DREE Policy Review, at which time it was noted that with the Atlantic Gateway Concept," the strategic location between the United States and Europe could be used to benefit the Atlantic Provinces as it could become a transportation, packaging and distribution centre, not to mention the tourism benefits.

The history of this concept goes back at least a century, during which time the original European and North American Railway had been envisioned by industrialists from Boston to Halifax as the eastern trans-shipment route running from New England to Cape Breton, which was one-third closer to England than New York." For Saint John, one of the keys to economic success lay in a modernized transportation network, integrating highways, railroads, air travel and container shipping. The highway would now become the fundamental building block on which to develop the others, as port

"Detailed reviews of each province's economic circumstances were produced, called DREE's "Yellow Books" in 1973. [Donald Savoie, Regional Economic Development: Canada's Search For Solutions. (Toronto 1986). p.51.]

"Robert Babcock, "Economic Development in Portland, ME and Saint John, NB During the Age of Iron and Steam", American Review of Canadian Studies (Spring 1979).

functions evolved to support emerging container shipping by the early 1970s.

By the early 1970s, most of the grand infrastructure plans such as the Chignecto Canal, the corridor road, the PEI causeway and tidal power generation stations had evaporated, leaving only the centrepiece of the Saint John development scheme; the Saint John Throughway. This would eventually connect the city with the Trans-Canada in the east and Maine in the west to provide Saint John with its token link with the US in a similar fashion to the early failed visions of the eastern seaboard European and North American Railway proposals.

THE SECOND TRUDEAU ERA

As far as Saint John was concerned, this arrangement which focused upon regional disparities and growth centres was fine. The problem lay in Ottawa's relationship with the Provinces, and the shift of control away from the provincial and toward the federal government.

No longer was there celebration over urban redevelopment or infrastructural projects at the national level. The general tendency in the 1970s was for the federal government to take a lower profile and not tend to showcase these as

accomplishments of a federal administration;" although frequently the provincial government took credit instead, especially during election time.

After the elections of 1972, DREE moved toward a policy of *development opportunities*, to accomodate a more provincial-regional economic development schemes. In the mid-1970s growing political concern over the concepts of growth centres and have/have not regions caused a general retreat from that program," yet most agreements ran their full course. This had little effect on the highway or infrastructural initiatives originally set forth. Therefore, the plan calling for a nine mile long high speed throughway, connecting with highway 1 in the west and with the MacKay highway in the east continued, with major land acquisitions occurring along that east-west corridor."

"These programs came under fire by the early 1970s as problematic to national development strategy which seemed to exacerbate regionalism.

"Fleming, p.iii.

"Saint John. Comprehensive Community Plan: Transportation, Recommended Street Plan (1967). North End - West Side Urban Renewal Scheme: Part 1 & 2 (1966). Also see APPENDIX IV for description of funding through the GDAs to the highway project.

FIGURE 7: PROPOSED TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM⁹⁸

The growth experienced in Saint John during this period continued to focus on transportation, such as the highway and related port expansion. Light and heavy manufacturing, such as food processing, industrial chemicals, shipbuilding, the refinery and container and superport saw advances. One of New

⁹⁸Saint John, North End - West Side Urban Renewal Scheme (December 1966) plate 13.

Brunswick's famed parachuted industry failures, the Bricklin project, called Saint John home for two years while Premier Hatfield poured twenty million dollars into it, only to have it fall into receivership in 1975.⁹⁹ But there were also many successes such as those mentioned earlier, as well as the Point Lepreau nuclear generating station, and the Coleson Cove oil-fired generator, and many Irving ventures from the oil refinery and Superport to the Courtenay Causeway.¹⁰⁰

With the complexity of the relationship between Federal, Provincial and Municipal levels of government, it had become impossible for a business or multinational corporation to settle or grow in the region without an intermediary responsible for translating government incentives into direct benefits for the corporate and business consumer.¹⁰¹ The role of the development corporation as well as the boards of trade have attempted to fulfil this requirement as well as that of intermediary between planning and zoning boards. This will be a critical area if the region is to maintain its

⁹⁹E.R. Forbes & D.A. Muise, eds. The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation (Toronto, 1993) p.468-9.

¹⁰⁰The Causeway was constructed with both government and Irving funds. It provided improved access to the east side, rather than travelling around the bay. It also provided Irving with a dam which would eventually reclaim 120 acres of land on the north side for future development. [Redevelopment Scheme, Courtenay Place, Saint John, NB. p.10.]

¹⁰¹M. Gary Davis, "The Bureaucracy as Friction On Industrial Development Projects", Issues in Regional/Urban Development of Atlantic Canada, Neil Ridler, ed. (Saint John 1978).

present level, as federal funding dries up.

POST-WAR PROVINCIAL ISSUES

*The metropolitan problem is the consequence of the failure of metropolitan communities to make adequate and prompt adjustments to accomodate urban growth and expansion into formerly rural or sparsely populated areas. The problem has been accentuated in recent years by technological developments which have allowed and in fact, encouraged, a degree of urban dispersal which would have been unthinkable even a generation ago. The fact that new urban settlements need no longer cling to the fringes of developed urban centres has fostered an exodus of those who want to enjoy the amenities of country living without its disadvantages or who are anxious to escape the heavy taxation which city life necessitates, by foregoing for a time some of the normal city services.*¹⁰²

-H. Carl Goldenberg

At the Provincial level, the government's responses stood in sharp contrast to that of Ottawa on these same subjects during this period. There was hesitation to allow the federal government to become directly involved with local control and development especially when the programs discussed in the last chapter had become so politicized. The province took action on these issues as well as on the matter of government re-organization.

GOVERNMENT RE-ORGANIZATION IN NEW BRUNSWICK

New Brunswick had enacted the *Local Improvement Districts*

¹⁰²The Royal Commission on Metropolitan Saint John. (July 1963) p.1.

Act¹⁰³ in 1945 to provide needed local services in unincorporated areas (such as surrounding Saint John). Two other major programs were established to reorganize the functions of government in the province which came as a result of two separate Royal Commissions as well. The Byrne Commission¹⁰⁴ which addressed provincial organization resulted in Robichaud's *Equal Opportunities Program* in 1967; further centralizing government functions and providing for rural areas at the provincial level. This was also the official end of the county as a functioning political unit.

The second was the *Goldenberg Report*¹⁰⁵ which focused specifically on the city of Saint John and the question of amalgamation and boundaries, not on powers and functions.¹⁰⁶ As Goldenberg recommended, municipalities in the Saint John

¹⁰³R.E. Garland, "Government Centralization in New Brunswick," Issues in Regional/Urban Development of Atlantic Canada, Neil Ridler, ed. (Saint John 1977) p.82.

¹⁰⁴New Brunswick. Royal Commission on Municipal Finance and Taxation. (1963) was responsible for changes in the powers and functions of the Province and was required to rectify the variations in the level of services among the municipalities. The Provincial Government would assume responsibility for general services (education, health and social welfare and justice) plus support services such as property assessment and tax collection. Municipalities were left with responsibility for police, fire, water, recreation, streets, sewerage and garbage. [D.J.H. Higgins, Urban Canada: Its Government and Politics (Toronto 1977) p.132.]

¹⁰⁵New Brunswick, Royal Commission on Metropolitan Saint John (1963).

¹⁰⁶Donald J.H. Higgins, Urban Canada: Its Government and Politics (Toronto 1977) p.131.

area were amalgamated into one enlarged municipality which would include Saint John city, Lancaster and Simonds. The resulting boundary change gave Saint John an increase in population from 52,000 to 89,000 and an increase in area from 12 square miles to 104 square miles (323 square kilometres), making Saint John the fourth largest city in the country in land area, containing a population near 90,000.¹⁰⁷ This was to have the effect of addressing the growth of the immediate suburban area of Saint John and also resolve jurisdictional issues regarding supply of services in the unincorporated areas. Byrne supported Goldenberg's recommendations, and the reorganization of Saint John took effect at the same time as the Program for Equal Opportunities, in 1967.

Unfortunately the combination of amalgamation, Equal Opportunities and the new administrative regions¹⁰⁸ failed to resolve the problem of exurban growth which surged once the throughway and highway were fully functional. Since 1951, Statistics Canada had determined that the Saint John CMA

¹⁰⁷Atlantic Advocate, "The New Saint John" March 1967. Only three other cities in Canada had a larger land area: Calgary with 535 square kilometres, Winnipeg with 572 and Edmonton with 670. [Roger Kemble. The Canadian City (Montreal 1989) p.207.]. Prior to amalgamation, the city boundaries included the area of the main peninsula, old Carleton across the harbour and old Portland; area equivalent to a two-mile radius circle from the south tip of the peninsula.

¹⁰⁸See map of Administrative Regions in Ralph Krueger, "Changes in the Political Geography of New Brunswick", The Canadian Geographer (vol. 19 #2, 1975) p.122.

included Rothesay parish and village (and other communities which incorporated out of Rothesay parish by the 1966 census in Kings County¹⁰⁹). These communities were clearly within Saint John's influence, yet they remained completely independent. The provincial plan to bring these areas in under Saint John's administrative control, although well intentioned, failed miserably. Under Equal Opportunities, one quarter million New Brunswickers living on ninety-six percent of the province's land area were without any form of local government through the 1970s.¹¹⁰ In the Saint John CMA, a half-dozen new communities incorporated out of Rothesay parish to provide local organization and tax base, but it resulted in relatively wealthy, autonomous, unconnected exurbs at the expense of a declining urban base. There had been many examples of this occurring across North America and it was clear that the outer area was prime for development even without the throughway connections yet in place.

By 1967 it was clear that the provincial issues had changed to the point that the 1963 Goldenberg Commission was out-dated. Yet the opening words of the report went unheeded,¹¹¹ leaving the city and the newly amalgamated areas

¹⁰⁹The county at this time had been rendered powerless, and stood only as an historical boundary.

¹¹⁰Canada. Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, "Urban Development: Settlement Patterns in New Brunswick", (1979).

¹¹¹Goldenberg's opening paragraph is quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

little better off than they were in 1963, when the commission was written. This problem was exacerbated by the Equal Opportunities Program and Fredericton's new role providing the services that parishes and county governments had been unable to afford. Since services to rural, unincorporated areas were now the responsibility of the Provincial government, the incentive to live in these areas increased.

Another shortcoming of this reorganization was that the effort to bring a greater degree of control to rural areas failed to give these areas any say in their planning initiatives. The *Provincial Administrative Regions* solution aimed at providing the unincorporated areas with a voice never had a clear mandate through the newly established Ministry of State of Urban Affairs. Even in the mid-1970s, unincorporated areas had no representation on planning commissions. In the case of Saint John, the outlying areas along the Kennebecasis had no say in the development process; whether it involved the highway or various other provincial schemes.¹¹²

Variations within political and geographical boundaries of cities have tended to distort analysis, even with the precise Statistics Canada definitions for what defines a city, CMA or even CBDs. [SEE APPENDIX I] This is relevant because, Saint John's northern boundary continued to respect the county

¹¹²Robert Garland, "Government Centralization in New Brunswick", Issues in Regional/Urban Development of Atlantic Canada p.96.

boundaries after the amalgamation even though the county as a political unit had been discarded with the program for equal opportunity in 1967. Today the fastest growing part of the Saint John CMA, is in the Kennebecasis Valley in neighbouring Kings County. As much as 3/4 of that county's population can be considered within the Saint John CMA today, yet it is an area that remains outside the city's municipal jurisdiction.

HOUSING

Another area of focus after World War Two was housing. One of the most striking signs of urban decay in Saint John after the war was perceived to be in Saint John's housing stock. In the Merrett Report, and 1957 Urban Renewal Study, one-third (4000 units) of all the housing in the city was ready for demolition.¹¹³ Another eight thousand units were considered fair to poor and one thousand were good.¹¹⁴ The study cited that among the reasons for this, the one that stood out was the lack of control over land use in the city. The main residential areas had been declining in population for years due to the expansion of the CBD, and suburban growth. The report also noted that more than just rebuilding

¹¹³Ronald Rees, "Changing Saint John: The Old and the New", Canadian Geographic Journal (vol. 90 #5, May 1975) p.16.

¹¹⁴Saint John, Urban Renewal Study (1957). Also see Norman Peterson, Community Planning Review (vol.7 #3, September 1957) p.151, for brief summary of the study.

would be needed;¹¹⁵ meaning infrastructure projects such as a modernized arterial roadway network, as well as other projects were in desperate need.

Most of the housing was owned by absentee landowners, unwilling or unable to financially maintain their rental housing by the 1940's, after the prior decades of transient immigrants and war-related lessees. By the post-war redevelopment period, these areas began to look attractive for industrial and commercial expansion. The situation eventually guided the city to drastic action. Unfortunately, the housing which was built to strict codes after the fire was given no greater value than that which was built in post-fire, un-zoned areas. The result was a redevelopment plan based on the speculator/landowner, developer, planning consultant and the bulldozer.

At the time, much of the blame for poor housing was directed at the hastily constructed pre-1900 structures, believed to have been built by a minimal and untrained labour force and based on the original street network of colonial Saint John, after the fire of 1877.¹¹⁶ Old Portland's

¹¹⁵Community Planning Review (vol.7 #3, September 1957) p.5.

¹¹⁶ C.Anne Hale, The Rebuilding of Saint John: 1877-1881 (Fredericton 1990). Christine M. Rosen, The Limits of Power: Great Fires and the Process of City Growth in America. (Cambridge, UK 1986) p. 334. This book's thesis explains that, power in the nineteenth and twentieth century cities was more widespread and complexly distributed than pluralist or elitist theories would have it and because of this, power to

population grew by fifty percent between 1871 and 1881 due to the variation in building codes between Saint John and Portland, and therefore the attractiveness of the latter to development after the fire. By the next census in 1891, Portland was amalgamated into Saint John.

Urban renewal first focused on this area and then on the main peninsula which was reconstructed in 1877-81 to some of the highest fire code standards of the nineteenth century. It was at considerable expense that this had been undertaken, yet the trend was to declare it as sub-standard.¹¹⁵ There were three fire code zones on the main peninsula; from the requirement of all brick in the CBD (zone 1) to wood structures of specific dimensions with particular roofing (zone 3).¹¹⁶ This zoning had not included Portland (North Saint John) or the 1960s renewal area of Courtenay Place, which were the first areas in Saint John to get attention under the 1954 *National Housing Act*.

improve the environment was limited.

The Saint John example had a much greater effect upon the average urban dweller, in comparison to Rosen's examples which were exclusively CBD fires. The result could well be less friction between the conflicting interests of home-owners and businessmen.

¹¹⁵To understand how pervasive this attitude was, see Ronald Rees, "Changing Saint John: The Old and the New", Canadian Geographic Journal (May 1975) p.16.

¹¹⁶C. Anne Hale The Rebuilding of Saint John, NB: 1877-1881 (Fredericton 1990) p.9.

Before the end of the 1960s, new housing would be constructed in both Simonds and the new north end, beyond the present throughway, replacing that which was levelled for renewal. Courtenay Place redevelopment would be well under way and the new Harbour Bridge would directly link Saint John with the city of Lancaster and the Carleton west side. The north end communities in old Portland, just beyond the main peninsula would be in their death throes, awaiting the throughway which would cut through the area from the Harbour Bridge, following the same general path through the area as the railroad did. It demonstrated just how difficult it was for residents and concerned citizens to stop the urban renewal bulldozer as it started to roll.

In 1968 Trudeau launched a task force to look into various aspects of housing and urban development. The findings noted that many were unhappy with the bulldozer approach to urban renewal, the social stigma of public housing and aloof government officials.¹¹⁹ The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation-sponsored Neighbourhood Improvement Program was one of the direct results of this task force, in an attempt to place a socially friendly face on present and future programs.

¹¹⁹Report of the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development (January, 1969). Association for Canadian Studies, Canadian Issues: The Canadian Urban Experience (Waterloo 1975) p.18.

INFRASTRUCTURE

The 1957 Urban Renewal Study had acknowledged that there must be a coordinated plan to rebuild Saint John before any singular attempt could be made to solve the problems the city faced.¹²⁰ The challenge appeared to be in accomplishing their goals while leaving the city intact: keeping in mind that redevelopment still stood for razing and reconstruction.¹²¹ It was determined that yet another, more regionally conceptualized master plan would be necessary. Within that plan, the Harbour Bridge and Throughway would figure prominently.

The bridge has been a contentious political hot potato in nearly each generation since the nineteenth century. The original suspension bridge was built in the mid-1800s across the Reversing Falls and was soon twinned with a railroad bridge beside, it in the 1890s. The bridges saw considerable upgrades through the century coming to a climax with construction of the Harbour Bridge which would, when combined with the Throughway, streamline the east-west traffic which was some of the busiest in New Brunswick by the 1960s.

¹²⁰Unfortunately the tendency to clear and rebuild without regard for much of Saint John's heritage areas nearly destroyed the historic Market Wharf as well as the loyalist burial grounds (to streamlined arterial roads) and post-1877 zone three housing in the south end.

¹²¹Saint John, Comprehensive Community Plan: Transportation 5. Recommended Street Plan (1967).

This project began to take shape in 1961 after UNB Professor Al Stevens produced a traffic report supporting the need for a Harbour Bridge, which would serve the city directly rather than a peripheral expressway that was supported by business interests in Saint John. The debate continued in the local press and behind the doors of City Hall. The Atlantic Advocate even went so far as to write that the northern expressway looked imminent, in 1962.¹²² Yet the city set up the Harbour Bridge Authority in 1962 to investigate, acquire land and construct a bridge across the harbour. Proposals continued to be discussed on the issue of an arterial roadway network in and around Saint John within the urban renewal scheme. The project had early sympathy since the findings of the Stevens Report had provided ample reason to proceed with a Bridge/Throughway which would follow a route partially based upon government lardholdings on the west side and rail yard and slum tenement housing on the east side, which had been condemned in the Report on Urban Renewal in 1957.

By 1965, the final negotiations for the Harbour Bridge were occurring when the businessmen, including the Irvings, had organized into the "Community Growth Committee". They criticized the proposed Harbour Bridge location and expense, supporting instead a bridge across Pokiok narrows connecting to an expressway bypass north of the city.

¹²²Bill Lovatt, "The Changing Face of Saint John", Atlantic Advocate (March 1962) p.22.

By December of 1965, Ottawa called a stop to further construction while the two sides settled through arbitration. According to the Atlantic Advocate, when the final contract for the bridge was signed in 1966, the bridge was nearly half-constructed.¹²³

Saint John had done considerable housekeeping by the late 1960s. This included the afore mentioned municipal re-organization, a new master plan for redevelopment which replaced the 1946 municipal plan, completion of the Harbour Bridge and a number of arterial roads.¹²⁴ The city was now prepared to execute the second stage of the development effort with finances through the Special Areas Agreement and the GDAs.¹²⁵ With much of the planning now in place and new zoning regulations in effect for 1972, the bureaucratic work for redevelopment was behind the city.

¹²³See John Braddock, "Decision About A Bridge", Atlantic Advocate, (March 1966) p.14-19. Unlike most other factual material in this thesis from the Atlantic Advocate, this is un-substantiated. But it supports the assumed on-going dynamic between the city and business interests, as expressed through the pro-business monthly magazine and is used primarily for its consistency over time in reporting on Saint John's "progress".

¹²⁴Such as the Courtenay Causeway, Haymarket Square redevelopment, the north end viaduct and the arterial roadway network on the main peninsula.

¹²⁵See "Summary" section of the four phases of the Saint John Comprehensive Community Plan (1967).

FIGURE 8: THE STAGES OF THE NORTH END RENEWAL SCHEME¹²⁶

¹²⁶Saint John, North End - West Side Urban Renewal Scheme. plate 15.

FIGURE 8.2: 1960s HIGHWAY AND BRIDGE PROPOSAL.¹²⁷
(NOTE: LEVELLED AND REDEVELOPED MARKET SQUARE AREA)

¹²⁷Saint John, North End - West Side
Redevelopment Scheme (December 1966) Plate 6.

Much of the initial housing problem had also been resolved, as far as replacement housing was concerned. Most new housing was rebuilt outside the pre-1967 city limits. Those who chose to move to the north end after the razing of the Courtenay Place area five to ten years prior were again relocated. By 1970, most of the buildings and the rail yard in the north end had been cleared to make way for the throughway.

The throughway had been designated as a priority under the 1966 urban renewal plan. Also under the Renewal plan, the six-lane viaduct connecting the Harbour Bridge with the city was completed by 1970, giving direct access for the west and north end along Main Street, to up-town Saint John. It also bridged the future throughway and provide access ramps to access the city.

By 1973, the two miles of the throughway were completed linking the west side of the Harbour with Saint John via the Bridge. On the east side, the throughway connected with the Mackay Highway by 1978. This was by no means the end of construction on the roadway though. It was only another deadline met in the ongoing construction of the highway network. [SEE APPENDIX IV]

By 1979 the Mackay Highway was already being twinned to increase capacity for the now booming Kennebecasis Bay area. This procedure continued sporadically throughout the next decade, finally being completed in the early 1990s. In the

mean time, Route 7 from Saint John to Grand Bay was extended to four lanes in 1991; a project begun in 1987 to eventually link Saint John and Fredericton with a four lane highway. Work is also continuing in the west to expand Highway 1 to four lanes to St. Stephen.¹²⁸

Th s process of perpetual construction is not unusual, as evidenced by the Queen Elizabeth Highway from St. Catharines to Toronto, originally built in the 1930s which has grown every ten years since then to its present ten-lane width. Highway 401 through Toronto, which is presently 14 lanes, is another good example since it has taken half as long as the QEW to grow to that size. Surprisingly, the myth that a highway project once completed, will solve the intended problems still seems to be the primary justification for construction of this nature. It results from optimistic long-term projections and the desire for short-term gain, not long-term regional planning. It is further proof that highway construction only displaces problems, never completely solving them.

¹²⁸This information was taken from an assortment of newspaper clippings on New Brunswick highways filed at the Saint John Regional Library. They were from the Saint John Times Journal and the Evening Times Globe from 1988 to 1992. See Bibliography for specific Articles.

EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL

*The metropolitan community dominates the surrounding hinterland. Indeed, as the process of metropolitanization advances, the distinction between rural and urban becomes less significant. As urbanization proceeds, the entire society experiences dramatic re-organization.*¹²⁹

-Peter McGahan

As suggested in the past two chapters, the effects of Federal and Provincial programs were dramatic on the city. As valid as this quote is in explaining the dynamics of metropolitanization, the question remains, how much effect did the federal and provincial governments have in this period?

MUNICIPAL PLANNING

The city had not experienced the major development and planning initiatives of the early century that the high-growth cities further west had. It was therefore less prepared to take on the related issues of development based on speculation with planners and developers until later in the 1960s, after the renewal programs began looking like subsidized landowner/developer slum clearances.

There were three areas which saw dramatic change as a result of the new policies of redevelopment and reorganization. The primary areas that the initiatives most profoundly affected was the urban and immediate suburban communities. This was expected since the urban renewal study

¹²⁹Peter McGahan, The Urban Sociology of Canada (Toronto 1986) p.45.

had found such a large portion of sub-standard housing within the urban core, which resulted in a population displacement to the local suburbs. Across Canada the Federal government invested one-quarter billion (1960s) dollars to demolish and rebuild deteriorated housing across the country, of which Saint John was an early benefactor. But few realized the extent to which dislocation of these neighbourhoods would occur.

Municipal and regional planning was also foremost on the mind of city officials. [SEE APPENDIX V] In 1943, the Saint John Planning Commission was established, employing part-time consultant/secretary Campbell Merrett. His 1946 Merrett Report was more of a general survey than a master plan; addressing problems and posing possible solutions. This, in turn, led to the 1957 Saint John Urban Renewal Study; made possible with funding made available through the 1954 revision of the NHA.¹³⁰ This study focused upon the problem areas Merrett was concerned about, as well as the preliminary considerations of a Harbour Bridge. It also paved the way for future plans which incorporated the throughway and an arterial roadway network around Saint John. The study divided the urban area of Saint John into ten general planning areas. Later plans then concentrated upon these areas singly but

¹³⁰Norman Pearson, "First things First", Saint John Urban Renewal Study Review Community Planning Review (Vol.7 #3, September 1957) p.151.

within the spirit of the general plan.

This was just the beginning of an army of private consultants Saint John hired to work with the city to develop plans of development and renewal after the mid-1940s. By the early 1950s, the Planning Commission employed full-time staff persons and represented the three municipalities of Saint John, Lancaster and Simonds. In 1967, the commission was given department status with full municipal responsibilities for Lancaster and Simonds as well.¹³¹ Much of the work submitted by the private consultants in the 1950s and 1960s was used as the basis for redevelopment for the next twenty years. Through this period, the Planning Commission/Department's role was generally as administrator and problem solver for the earlier plans. This era of transition was critical for planning in Saint John. But it was not until the early 1970s that the city had its house in order.

As this bulldozer approach¹³² of *Urban Redevelopment* and later *Urban Renewal*,¹³³ fell to disfavour, the federal

¹³¹From March, 1993 telephone conversation with Jim Baird of the Saint John, NB. Municipal Planning Office.

¹³²Matthew J. Kiernan, "Land-Use Planning", Urban Policy Issues: Canadian Perspectives (Toronto 1990) p.60.

¹³³Section 12 of the NHA in 1944 and Section 23 in 1954 and an amended version in 1964 spelled out the variations on this common theme. See Albert Rose, Canadian Housing Policies, 1935-1980 (Toronto 1980). I do not tend to use these terms in the same manner though. In this thesis, redevelopment and slum clearance describes the early levelling process, whereas renewal and the NIP approach tried to address both the heritage and social issues in the 1970s.

government re-evaluated its urban renewal program, resulting in the NIP, with its mandate to involve the general population through public planning hearings financially assisted by the federal government.¹³⁴

At the national level, this had occurred because attacks were being directed at the planning establishment and the governments involved due to the paradox that had developed in city planning. There had been a heightened demand for public input after the 1960s yet only greater bureaucratic planning, and alignment of that group with property-owning interests had occurred.

James Lorimer and Kent Gerecke attacked the Canadian Institute of Planners and others for being "far more interested in careers, salaries and licensing than in helping ordinary citizens".¹³⁵ This was especially true in Atlantic Canada since planning consultants generally came in from central Canada and did not have as much at stake. Others had perceived the problem to be that the development corporations were now responsible and that they had intervened when the developers and public became stalemated.¹³⁶ Neither of these

¹³⁴J.M. Davis, South End Neighbourhood Development Plan (February 1976).

¹³⁵Ron Clark, "Planners as Professionals", The City Book, James Lorimer & Evelyn Ross, eds. (Toronto 1976) p.48.

¹³⁶Matthew Kiernan, "Land-Use Planning", Urban Policy Issues: Canadian Perspectives, Loreto & Price, eds. (Toronto 1990) p.70. Also Robert Goodman, After the Planners (New York 1971).

issues were as significant in Saint John as they were in other cities, primarily due to the weak overall growth of the region. Yet the problem of *suburban sprawl* persisted. Not until the late 1970s were there true shifts in the policy toward concern for suburban growth¹³⁷ and a concern for the declining CBD.¹³⁸

To say that Saint John went along with the planners and federal/provincial governments in harmony without any contest would misrepresent the urban populists.¹³⁹ Though relatively unrecognized in comparison to those in Toronto stopping Spadina or Vancouver halting the expressway through Chinatown, they concentrated their efforts upon the housing issue¹⁴⁰ and later, on heritage conservation.¹⁴¹ But in any case, the protests had their roots in the highway issue.

¹³⁷ See Schizophrenic Sprawl: A Report on the Disintegration of Human Settlements in New Brunswick (1976), and A Study on Sprawl in New Brunswick (1980).

¹³⁸Kiernan, p.62. For example, see Ellen Drewery, "Saint John Tenants' Association: Saint John Social Development Project", Structure and Change in Atlantic Canada, Stadal Dasgupta, ed. (Charlottetown 1975).

¹³⁹As described by Lloyd Axworthy & Donald Epstein in "Public Policy and Urban Neighbourhood", Canadian Issues: The Canadian Urban Experience (Waterloo 1975).

¹⁴⁰Ellen Drewery, "Saint John's Tennant Association: Saint John Development Project", Structure and Change in Atlantic Canada.

¹⁴¹For example, the Chipman Hill Properties, King Street, Prince William Street and especially along Douglas Avenue, where a series of period architecture homes have been saved (not to mention extensive work to keep the bulldozer out of the south end of the peninsula).

The rise of neighbourhood groups representing the average renter and single home-owner rather than the landholder and the local development corporations came out of the need to provide a voice for the tenants and single homeowners, although they were not organized to specifically halt the throughway. They had grown out of disillusionment with the grand plans such as Courtenay Place, the north end - west side and south end, as communities had been destroyed at the whim of landowners, planners and distant government, and had benefitted only a handful of persons; namely those developers and landowners.

The Saint John Tenants Association was founded to give the tenants of the south end of the peninsula a voice in the renewal process of the south end of the peninsula. It came into being soon after it was realized that a group which was formed under the aegis of the Social Services Council of Greater Saint John primarily concentrated on the problems and interests of the property owners. Since this area was primarily made up of low income and welfare households, a vast majority were not property owners and were therefore unrepresented.¹⁴² The group incorporated in September 1970 after watching the Courtenay Place redevelopment scheme "take

¹⁴² Ellen Drewery, "Saint John Tenants Association: Saint John Social Development Project", Structure and Change in Atlantic Canada, Satadal Dasgupta, ed.

its toll... without regard to tenants".¹⁴

It did not happen overnight though. Originally tenants had formed the South End Improvement Group, with little success or impact. The association was formed¹⁴ to get the attention of the city; both citizenry and bureaucrats. Progress was exceedingly slow in the north end between demolition and rebuilding, and many would question whether residents' interests had been served throughout that period. The process was reminiscent of the experience in Halifax with the MacKay Bridge and Africville.¹⁵

More recently, the trend toward greater interest in heritage conservation has been a general blessing to most older CBDs, such as Saint John. Dramatically altered consumer tastes combined with increasingly more sophisticated planning approaches have saved portions of the city's heritage areas, such as Market Square, Chipman Hill and the Capitol Theatre,

¹⁴op. cit. p.81. To be fair, there were groups organized in the early 1960s to address the north end urban renewal scheme, but they were organised generally after demolition had begun and had not been part of the early stages of the planning process. See M.M.Somerville, "The Human Element in Urban Renewal", Community Planning Review, (vol.18 #4, Winter 1968).

¹⁵ These organizations were partially funded with federal dollars.

¹⁶Donald H. Clairmont & Dennis W. Magill, Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community, (Toronto 1987).

to name just a few.¹⁴ Unfortunately, as was described in the last chapter, it was too late for other parts of the CBD, such as lower King Street, where the new City Hall high-rise complex, erected by Trizec was located. With most of the work now completed and little likelihood that development will continue at a pace similar to the past few decades due to declining assistance from Ottawa, redevelopment in Saint John is perceived as being spotty at best.

LOCAL POLITICS

In a *slower growth* or *forced growth* region, such as Saint John, planning and investment stimulus preceded development, since the area was selected and then promoted through benefits and incentives rather than through pressures due to the fulfilment of development needs. Saint John had these plans and government financial stimulus, yet inherited the problems which accompany high-growth areas which have little of either.

¹⁴"The Market Wharf buildings were incorporated into a redevelopment scheme by the Rocca Group, a New Brunswick developer who saw greater value in integration than in demolition. This project's financial complexity resulted in a decade of financial and legal wrestling. See F.H. Garland, "Development Dilemma at Market Square", Problem of Leadership in Urban Communities (1977).

For a look at artistic renderings of potential redevelopment efforts, had late-1950s plans for the waterfront gone through, see the Redevelopment Plan For Saint John: (1957).

In contrast to the Market Wharf, the Bi-Capitol project privately raised the one-million dollars necessary to purchase the building, with the assistance of the Irving interests' contribution of \$350,000.

2 of 2

PM-1 3 1/2"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

Therefore politics and initiatives at the local level are also keys to successful development. Politics in Saint John has represented changing patterns of pressure groups over time, rarely representing distinct ideological groups or larger dynamics. As UNB professor R.E. Garland pointed out, Saint John is an example of this;

Through choice or ignorance, Saint John was isolated from the contemporary trends in urban planning and redevelopment that appeared in North America in the 1940s and 1950s. It was isolated from patterns of planning and redevelopment that were beginning to appear in the Maritime Provinces in the late 1950s and early 1960s. There seems to be two reasons why this occurred. Saint John was too overwhelmed in carrying out its service functions to plan ahead or develop a structure of priorities for its future and it did not possess the advantages of cities such as Moncton or Halifax.¹⁴⁷

He perceived those advantages to be politically-based. Moncton had built-in political demand due to the French population whereas Saint John was a-political; with little distinguishing one municipal administration from another and few holding office more than one or two terms. Halifax, on the other hand, had an elite willing and committed to civic redevelopment. These families; MacKeen, Oland and MacCulloch were responsible for the Scotia Square project, for just one example.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷R.E. Garland, "Development Dilemma at Market Square", Problems of Leadership in Urban Communities, (Saint John 1977) p.124.

¹⁴⁸op.cit. p.125.

FIGURE 9: PORT OF SAINT JOHN LAND OWNERSHIP¹⁴⁹

(NON-INCLUSIVE OF INDUSTRIAL LAND)

¹⁴⁹Canada. MSUA, The Urban Waterfront: Growth and Change in Canadian Port Cities (1978) Figure 29.

The Irvings, though contributors to Saint John, remained much lower in profile; rarely taking a major initiative that was not in the company's direct interest first. This argument is questionable in that it gives little credit to the stability of institutions in Saint John, such as the Irvings, as opposed to parachuted industries (which frequently involve outside ownership and little local responsibility). It also minimalizes the effect of power the city wields as the major English metropolitan centre of New Brunswick, as has been seen in federal initiatives directed at the city. But it does point to the ambiguous yet firm control the Irving family has had during this period. As evidenced in the map below, ownership of industrial land alone would give the Irvings considerable control of development.

Rarely has a progressive political figure had a chance without the Irving blessing at the municipal or provincial level. This has translated to, as Garland referred to, an incapacitated bureaucracy.¹⁵⁰ Mayor Elsie Wayne has broken that mould to some degree in the past ten years but not without an indirect Irving "ok".

There are other differences between Saint John and Halifax, beyond the sheer size differential, especially in the area of municipal organization. Halifax and Dartmouth, its

¹⁵⁰R.E. Garland, "Development Dilemma at Market Square", Problem of Leadership in Urban Communities (Saint John 1977) p.123-4.

sister city across the harbour, have remained as two separate entities throughout their history. Saint John, on the other hand, was founded when the two communities, Parrtown and Carleton, which were similarly separated by the harbour, amalgamated in 1785.

This was the beginning of a history of differing choices made by the two cities; Saint John which chose amalgamation to ensure control and the Halifax/Dartmouth area which chose a looser organization. By the 1960s Halifax was continuing to favour a more autonomous region surrounding the Bedford Basin. In 1962, the independent governments of Halifax, Dartmouth, Bedford, Sackville agreed to form the Halifax Regional Planning Authority. This was the start of a trend of cooperation which continues in a more elaborate form today, through which the various interests have created the structure to administer the region. As Higgins has observed,

Although the provincial government studiously refrains from referring to it as a regional government, the Halifax-Dartmouth Metropolitan Authority has every appearance of being just that.¹⁵¹

TRANSPORTATION POLICY

As seen earlier, transportation has always been critical to Saint John's existence. The policies which have determined its direction have had a profound economic and social effect

¹⁵¹Donald Higgins, Local and Urban Politics in Canada (Toronto 1986) p.182.

on the city. Since the turn of the century with the national winterport function, the city has relied upon the dictates of Ottawa to provide at least a source of transportation if not a central Canadian market to go along with it. The dependence has continued into this era, as Saint John's growth centre status directed from Ottawa has been a major motivator of growth. As the port nationalization and winterport status assisted in the development of rail service early in the century, the pressure of containerized shipping has meant greater reliance on highways as the centrepiece of modernization.

In hindsight, the unfortunate result of this policy in Saint John, has been a shift away from public transportation while there was still a market for it. As the Stevens Report had found in the 1962 traffic survey, a harbour bridge would be used primarily to serve local needs, since it was found that ninety percent of the trips to and from the city originated within a five mile radius of the city.¹⁵² If the choice was made today, it would be likely that public transportation would look very attractive as an alternative to the additional parking required, the widening of the streets needed to accomodate more cars. The decline of the CBD as the focal point due to the *suburbanization* and *mall*ing of the area along the route of the throughway and outmigration of the

¹⁵²Albert O. Stevens, "Highway transportation survey", (1961).

population would provide equally strong incentive.

Unfortunately, the transportation development programs were embraced with little concern. The loudest protest of the location of the Harbour Bridge and Throughway came from business groups who supported an alternative plan following a more peripheral route, further north of the city; citing the non-productive use of harbour space the bridge would consume. There was general consensus that development was good and a bridge was necessary. The Atlantic Advocate is probably the best example of this unconditional support. For the decades of the 1950s and 1960s the boosterism displayed in the Atlantic monthly projected a spirit of modernization and regional improvements. By most accounts, the early reactions to these programs were positive. There was little if any sense of sacrifice; the change Saint John was experiencing would elevate the whole city to regional if not national prominence and would be a "win - win" situation for the city. By the time Michael Wardell had sold the magazine to the Irvings, the trend to blindly support mega-projects had begun to pass.

Saint John has paid a heavy price for regional prominence. What has stood out in the attempt to create a growth centre is the fact that all attempts had nearly the opposite effect. Though Saint John is still the employment centre of the area, the city has been severely affected by the disappearance of nearly twenty percent of its population since

1971, not to mention the local suburban migration from the CBD in the 1960s. The evolutionary nature of the Federal/Provincial relations and of the programs related to regional development is apparent and the experimental nature of these programs lead to a trial and error approach to municipal redevelopment. Programs under the ADB and DREE produced little of the large scale coordination hoped for; especially when the CMHC, or other provincial programs such as Equal Opportunities or Municipal amalgamation were factored in. The result was a similar, uncontrolled outward growth which had haunted high-growth urban areas elsewhere.

CHAPTER 5

SUBURBAN/EXURBAN POPULATION GROWTH IN SAINT JOHN

We tend still to think of [the metropolitan area] as a bigger and more extended city, but it has formed itself into something qualitatively different which is neither city nor country, but partakes of the physical characteristics of both.¹³³

-Hans Blumenfeld

Saint John has been growing outward, to one degree or another, since confederation. Yet, in relative terms, the city exercises influence over a much smaller area today than it did in the nineteenth century, even with the efforts put forth in the past twenty-five years to support its influence over the region. Its outward growth has not translated to greater influence on the region, and in fact has been responsible for its decline in regional and national stature. The graphs in this chapter generally confirm that outward migration has always been part of Saint John's heritage as an immigrant port, as a city with a rather transitory workforce and as a regional centre. Therefore outward growth has not been a phenomenon only attributable to transportation and housing policies since World War Two. Yet the degree to which growth has occurred outside Saint John in the past fifty years demonstrates the effect that personalized transportation has

¹³³Hans Blumenfeld, "Urban and Social-Economic Development", paper presented at the Canadian Urban Transportation Conference (Toronto 1969) p.13.

had.

Population Growth 1834-1891

Population by census district.

Statistics Canada Census: 1834, 1840, 1851, 1861, 1891 (vol.1 p.12-13).

FIGURE 10

NINETEENTH CENTURY POPULATION GROWTH

As indicated by the graph and discussed earlier as a factor of transportation, there was considerable population growth in the Saint John area during the nineteenth century. By far, the trend most apparent in the graph of this period is the pinpointing of the duration through which Saint John saw a majority of its population growth. The lumber and shipbuilding industry that had provided the initial stimulus had faded by 1880, leaving Saint John reeling as it recovered from the fire of 1877. The immigration of rural settlers also provided the area with some population shift.

The linkage between rural and urban was not new in Saint John. Farming and lumbering communities had traditionally supplied the city, and dozens of ship builders had generally built ships on the premises of the satellite communities up river with easy access to timber, sending the ships to Saint John to be fitted out with hardware and rigging and sold on the spot or sent to Europe with lumber to be later sold as a package.¹⁵⁴

The graph also demonstrates the dramatic population decline of the entire area as excess labour tended to move on by 1891, after the decline in the timber industry. The city was in the midst of a transition period, shifting from its mercantile economy of lumber and shipbuilding to one based on

¹⁵⁴Eric Sager & Gerald Pantang, Maritime Capital (Montreal 1990).

industrial capital and central Canada.

FIGURE 11: THE WALKING CITY OF 1867 SAINT JOHN¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵Elizabeth McGahan, The Port of Saint John (Saint John 1982).

By Saint John's centennial in 1885, the town of Portland had been amalgamated into the city. This accounts for the slight drop in the city's population where there would normally have been a major loss without the amalgamation. This is because the fire and the resulting outward growth toward the town of Portland, caused a population decline in the 1881 census in Saint John. This will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

SUBURBAN GROWTH TREND

The critical transport-related outward growth themes of the following graph are the rather stagnant growth pattern, only showing significant population increases during both wars, and the slow but steady pattern of growth outside Saint John. Prior to the turn of the century, this occurred in Portland town and the Carleton/Lancaster west side.

Lancaster was granted city status soon after the census of 1951. This resulted in Simonds requesting the same, only to become amalgamated into Saint John with Lancaster in 1967. But even with this suburban growth, overall growth in Saint John compared poorly to other urban centres in Canada, as most saw their populations doubling during the this period. [SEE APPENDIX VI & VII] This may be in part due to the seasonal reliance the city had on the winterport function.

Population of Saint John CMA: 1871-1951.

Urban, Suburban, Exurban 1951 CMA Delineations
Population by census sub-districts

- (1) Areas include Lancaster and Simonds Parishes
 (2) Area includes the City of Saint John
 (3) Areas include Musquash, St. Martins, Westfield, Rothesay vi & par, Kingston and Hampton

FIGURE 12¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵Data taken from Statistics Canada decennial census:
 1871-1891: 1891 Census, volume 1, p.12.
 1891-1921: 1921 Census, volume 1, p.22.
 1921-1951: 1971 Census, #92-701, p. 2-16.

The other trend noticeable here is the decrease in population of the city of Saint John (prior to amalgamation with the town of Portland) and a continued decline through the next decade of the entire area. Much of this can be attributed to a combination of the effects of the fire, the shift in labour and the new period of industrialization, as discussed in chapter 3.¹⁵⁷

The fire was the most significant event in terms of the sheer population displacement it created. Labourers and various middle-class residents who were displaced, either left the area or moved to Simonds, Portland or across the harbour to Carleton and Lancaster. After the fire, the town of Portland saw a population increase of twenty-two percent between 1871 and 1881, to over 15,000. This was responsible for the growth in the suburban population between 1871 and 1881, before being amalgamated and becoming part of the urban population in 1891. The growth was due in part to the availability of clear land on which to build, since the main peninsula was full of debris after the fire. But it was also from the availability of open land on which one could construct less expensive buildings than could be built surrounding the Saint John CBD, since the town was not under the same rigid fire codes as had been put in place on the main

¹⁵⁷Elizabeth McGahan, The Port of Saint John. Eric Sager, Maritime Capital.

peninsula for insurance purposes, after the fire.¹⁵⁸ This had not been so much the case in either Simonds or across the Harbour in Lancaster, primarily due to greater distance from the CBD.

FIGURE 13: SAINT JOHN BURNED DISTRICT AND NEW FIRE CODES¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸See C. Anne Hale, The Rebuilding of Saint John... for discussion of the overbuilding of Saint John. Many said too many buildings had been built to replace the destroyed ones.

¹⁵⁹A. Hale, The Rebuilding of Saint John (Fredericton 1990) p.21.

Areas which were damaged, yet rebuilt by 1881 were generally of two types. Either they were zoned and rebuilt primarily commercial and therefore never regained their population density (such as Kings, Queens or Dukes Ward)¹⁶⁰ or they were rebuilt to accomodate the displaced and immigrant populations to greater densities than before (such as Wellington, Sydney and Prince Wards). These areas and the Carleton Wards across the harbour, housed the predominant Irish immigrant and working class.¹⁶¹ In either case there was a clear movement toward further segregation as many immigrants who were *burned out* of Queens and Kings were unable to return when the areas were rebuilt. This is a trend evidenced throughout the history of redevelopment.

There was a social element to the population movements as well. Prior to 1840, the population of both Saint John and Portland were rather homogeneous, consisting of loyalists and protestant immigrants from England. With the potato famine came a surge in Irish catholic immigration. In 1846, of the nearly 10,000 immigrants received that year, almost all came from Catholic Ireland. Though only a small percentage of immigrants ever stayed in the city, by the 1850s more than

¹⁶⁰This was not a negative aspect of lessening density since a majority of the population in this area were poorly housed immigrant populations in areas disease ridden and unfit for habitation to today's standards.

¹⁶¹Elizabeth McGahan, The Port of Saint John. C. Anne Hale, The Rebuilding of Saint John, New Brunswick: 1877-1881.

one-third of all Saint John Residents were Irish born. Sectarian violence became common, especially with the close affiliations of the Orange Order and the ruling class in Saint John.¹⁶² The result was a greater consolidation of Irish in the Market Wharf area and in what is today Courtenay Place, the later a high density Irish area well before the fire of 1877 or the redevelopment of the 1960s. The Irish did not create the outward growth, but had been the primary reason for internal population movements in Saint John, setting up religious and cultural boundaries still seen today in the patterns of development.

The fire did not affect population growth in the outlying rural communities such as Rothesay, since the total outward migration was relatively small. At a distance of 8 miles, the distance was still too great for the average worker to commute. But it was critical for further moving those who were financially able, out of town. Many of Saint John's elites moved to Rothesay, creating an English village setting there which grew slowly through the turn of the century."¹⁶³

¹⁶²See Scott W. See. "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Saint John", Acadiensis (Autumn, 1983).

This produced the formal establishment of the Saint John police force in 1849. [Greg Marquis. "A Machine of Oppression under the Guise of the Law: The Saint John Police Establishment." Acadiensis (Autumn, 1986).

¹⁶³Robert Babcock. "The Saint John Street Railwaymen's Strike and Riot, 1914", Acadiensis (Spring 1982) p.12. For brief discussion of Saint John at the turn of the century see Richard Vroom & Arthur Doyle, Old New Brunswick: A Victorian Portrait (Toronto 1978) p.13-16.

These communities, along the Kennebecasis and Saint John Rivers, were socially and economically linked to Saint John, yet located further inland, away from the nineteenth century industrial city dirt, pollution and disease as well as the Fundy fog.

The village's distance and affluent status helped prevent speculation and development there. Rothesay received some growth after 1900, as improved roadways supplemented the riverboats and railway with more frequent and personal service. Streetcars never made it as far as Rothesay though, primarily due to World War One and the advent of the automobile, which was slower to catch on here as a primary form of transportation than in metropolitan Boston or New York.

Streetcars further opened up areas for those working in Saint John in the immediate east (across Courtenay Bay) and the west, (in Carleton and Lancaster) well before there was continuous service across the Saint John River. Lancaster and Carleton had local service, running from the suspension bridge to the wharfs on Union Street and to Seaside Park. This assisted development innitiated by the CP Rail line running into Saint John West from 1890 to after the turn of the Century. Yet it had not been enough. As Robert Babcock explained,

There had been a crying need for suburban railways... The city had become congested and conditions of many families were unbearable. It

was almost impossible to get a building lot in the city, and there was no means of outside transportation so people could move into the suburbs.¹⁶⁴

In this respect, Saint John had not developed in ways similar to other metropolitan centres in North America. The early streetcar suburb experience never took firm hold outside the city. Since the late nineteenth century, Saint John's port functions had been the focal point of the city. The main population base was roughly centred around that point, rarely more than a mile from the port itself. But this is not to say little had changed since T.W. Acheson's "walking City".¹⁶⁵ Rather, streetcars allowed residents to remain housed on the main peninsula and commute to the west side when development and employment shifted to that area, reducing the pressure for new development.¹⁶⁶ The only obstacle which remained was the harbour crossing. Only much later was it possible to ride non-stop across the river without leaving one system on the east side, walking across the bridge to meet the west side connection. Prior to this, either the ferry, a carriage or a walk across the bridge were the two options.

Though some development did occur in neighbouring areas to Saint John, such as Lancaster and Simonds, organized pre-

¹⁶⁴Robert Babcock, "The Saint John Street Railwaymen's Strike and Riot, 1914", Acadiensis (Spring 1982) p.8.

¹⁶⁵T.W. Acheson, Saint John: The Making of A Colonial Urban Community (Toronto 1985).

¹⁶⁶Fred Angus, Loyalist City Streetcars (Saint John 1979).

fabricated developments such as the 1930s Leavittown examples in the US were much smaller scale, acknowledging restrictions in infrastructure and geography in the area. There were successful efforts though, as seen in builder William Pugsley's advertisement for low cost homes in the eastern outskirts of the city; "Streetcar line to make country homes possible,"¹⁶⁷ in the early part of this century.

EXURBAN GROWTH TREND

Even though Saint John's first major suburban exodus did not match those of other centres in the United States and Canada, it was significant. Prior to 1951, fifty years of population growth in the Saint John area (1986 metropolitan area) had continued at an average rate of less than one percent per year, with a majority of the growth occurring between 1931 and 1951. The war years saw total growth increases due to increased port activity. Between 1951 and 1976 however, growth was considerably higher, providing the area with fifty percent more persons in half the time. From 1971 to the present, Saint John experienced exurban growth which replaced all population growth of the Saint John area.

The period between 1961 and 1971 was also extremely significant, but for different reasons. Similar to the 1880s, this was another transitional decade. The internal population

¹⁶⁷Robert Babcock, "The Saint John Street Railwaymen's Strike and Riot, 1914" Acadiensis (Spring 1982) p.12.

Population: Saint John CMA: 1951-1991

1986 CMA Delineations.
Population by census sub-districts

- (1) Lancaster city and Parish and part of Simonds Parish was amalgamated into Saint John in 1967
 (2) Area affected by east-bound throughway toward Sussex
 (3) Area affected by highway improvements of Route 7 north (4) Area unaffected by throughway

FIGURE 14¹⁰⁰ (See map on next page for regions)

¹⁰⁰Data from Statistics Canada Census:
 1951-1971: 1971 Census #92-701 p. 2-16.
 1971-1986: 1986 Census #92-112 p. 2-3.
 1991: 1991 Census #93-304 p. 26.

of the Saint John area saw two shifts during this time. First of all, the redevelopment programs were partly responsible for the population shifts inside the Saint John Census Metropolitan Area, which eventually led to the amalgamation of Lancaster City and Parish and Simonds Parish. Both Simonds and Lancaster saw considerable growth immediately prior to amalgamation, generally at the expense of the poorer segment of Saint John's population, which were displaced by the early redevelopment projects of the north end and Courtenay Place. This was the conclusion of major suburban movements that Saint John would experience. By the 1970s suburban growth was dropping off, being replaced with exurban growth.

FIGURE 15: DESCRIPTION OF REGIONS FROM GRAPH

With construction of the Harbour Bridge and the Saint John Throughway from the late 1960s through the 1970s, growth beyond the suburban parishes increased in areas north and east of Saint John such as Rothesay, Hampton, Kingston, Gondola Point and Quispamsis. This growth was at least as significant as the suburban growth experienced for the first three-quarters of this century, and was the only serious growth the Saint John area exhibited since the mid-1960s. By now the suburban portions of the Saint John area had become part of the city's urban network and were amalgamated into Saint John.

This chart was the most telling of outward growth and growth of outlying areas. As the chart was broken down into regions determined by the twentieth century growth experience, it became very clear what areas were affected by the throughway. The exurban population north of Saint John; including Greenwich, Westfield and Grand Bay, along the west bank of the river, had grown considerably since the late 1960s but at a conservative rate relative to the east, as Route 7 and 102 were improved, but not to the degree of the throughway, retaining their two lane design with on-grade intersections.

The regions which saw little if no population growth were the rural zones including two Parishes on opposite sides of Saint John. Both Musquash and St. Martins have remained insignificant in terms of total population. St. Martins was well known for its shipbuilding in the nineteenth century.

Since then its population has continued to slip until very recently. Along the Fundy coast, with little appeal or access as an exurban centre in the past thirty years, it is the most traditional village and parish in the region, largely unaffected by the outward growth which affected the upper river valleys surrounding Saint John. Musquash on the other hand, is located west of Saint John along highway 1 west of old Lancaster. Although it is no further from the CBD than the major exurban growth in the east, there has been little growth there. There was a fifty percent population increase in the five years after highway construction yet even this is insignificant since the parish population reached little more than 1000 by 1976.

Therefore, the highway did not create growth in-and-of-itself. It was only the facilitator of growth, requiring a combination of advantages/events to make an area attractive for growth. For the towns along the Kennebecasis, before the highway was constructed it was necessary to have a need, either present or future, for one. Once the highway was constructed, there was even greater growth. Yet other areas equidistant from Saint John did not automatically follow the same trend.

The eastern exurban areas, were established communities with a significantly better environment than in Saint John, St. Martins or Musquash. The fog that the Bay of Fundy is so famous for, less frequently affects the upper bays on the

Saint John or Kennebecasis Rivers, therefore providing a sunnier, drier environment. The area has a well-known and highly regarded educational environment for children and a well-established supply of basic services. Shopping centres are nearby on Rothesay Avenue, one of the most established roads in New Brunswick, with a history dating to the early 1800s as the route for Sussex farmers supplying the Saint John market, particularly at Haymarket Square, just beyond Courtenay Place.

From this socio-geographical description of the past thirty years, two questions then arise. Did exurban growth supplement suburban growth or replace it? In other words, did the exurban boom come at the expense of the local suburban growth of earlier years or was Saint John's immediate area "filling up"; spilling over into other neighbouring towns. To this question there are a few possible responses. As has been proven in the past, the geography of the region is challenging at best. The immediate area surrounding Saint John has traditionally been undesirable for development, but the area to the northeast, along the Kennebecasis sustains a considerably higher quality of life. Yet historically, the city of Saint John was capable of supporting much greater population densities. This is documented as well in the post-war case, since many population projections of the 1960s expected the suburban areas' populations to double, yet they

remained stable.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹Saint John. Retail Structure of Saint John, NB
(September 1977) table 11.

FIGURE 16: MAJOR SOURCES OF POLLUTION¹⁷⁰

Both pulp and paper mills are within two miles, generally upwind, of the main peninsula. Also note the all-encompassing nature of industrial land; generally distributed in a thin band along the waterfront, visible from all directions - see Figure 9.

¹⁷⁰Canada. MSUA, The Urban Waterfront (1978) figure 34.

Clearly, incentives for development combined with the "Grey city's" industrial, wet, foggy atmosphere to make it a place to move away from in the 1960's and 1970s.¹⁷¹ Surveys documented that many lower income families, if given the choice would move out of Saint John to the country, given incentives via the NHA through the CMHC, rather than purchase or rent in an upgraded urban renewal area such as Courtenay Place, North Thornborough¹⁷² or Simonds East Side.¹⁷³

Regarding the graph of population change from 1951-91, the distortions between 1966 and 1971 were not population shifts but may be attributed to the major municipal reorganization Saint John experienced in 1967 as a result of the Goldenberg Commission. As evidenced by the continued population loss in Saint John after the amalgamation of Lancaster and Simonds, the greater control of the immediate area was not broad enough to enable the city to control the high-growth exurban regions in Kings County, which had provided the Saint John CMA with a net growth curve or stem the outmigration from the city.

But an unwillingness to contend with the Kings county

¹⁷¹Canada. MSUA, The Urban Waterfront: volume 2 (Ottawa 1978) figure 34.

¹⁷²Saint John, Redevelopment Scheme: Courtenay Place, Saint John, NB. (Saint John 1961).

¹⁷³Canadian Welfare Council, Urban Need In Canada: A Case Report of Families in 4 Canadian Cities, Section II Saint John, by Lillian Thomson (Ottawa 1965).

border in the 1960s has left the municipality of Saint John in a similar situation to that of the late 1800s when the significant growth occurred outside the boundaries of Saint John, in Portland. This time though, the need for "control" comes in a different form. At the turn of the century, the issue was central control for provision of services, but by 1967, under Equal Opportunities, services were promised by the province as a move toward uniformity and centralization. The issue has turned to one of influence over a local labour hinterland provided by the throughway. It was originally expected to provide enhanced transport for commerce and for a greater labour mobility within Saint John's hinterland. But by the 1980s, the throughway was draining the city's retail, service and labour base, as shopping centres and the service sector has grown outward, leaving industrial and commercial functions and a decreased residential sector in Saint John.

FIGURE 17: LOCATION OF SHOPPING CENTRES¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Saint John, Retail Structure of Saint John (September 1977) Plate 3.

It is possible the choice of municipal governing system over a broad urban and rural area, rather than regional government capable of representing Saint John and the Kennebecasis, Grand Bay area has hampered the region's ability to cooperate and organize. But distrust of Saint John by the outlying areas has pervaded the debate for regional organization, since promises made during the 1967 amalgamation were left unfulfilled. The result left Simonds and Lancaster sacrificing their own autonomy for few collective gains. The 1967 MSUA-managed Administrative Regions and the 1974 Fundy Planning Region were attempts to administer the incorporated and unincorporated areas outside Saint John. They did not provide for local representation though.¹⁷ Today, Kings County and Saint John County still seem distinct, even though the county as a unit of Government has been dead for twenty-five years.

Outward growth of Saint John was also forced by redevelopment schemes which frequently appeared as resettlement programs designed to rezone and redevelop valuable real estate which were presently occupied by high density tenements. [SEE FIGURE 18 NEXT PAGE] The lessees were generally displaced to housing projects further out in the north end or Simonds, or to existing slum areas elsewhere in

¹⁷Ralph Krueger, "Changes in the Political Geography of New Brunswick", The Canadian Geographer (Vol. 19 #2, 1975) p.132.

the city. Generally, once redevelopment plans were presented, the only remaining questions were financing and time schedule. Those who did not benefit had little say, or said little.

FIGURE 18: RESIDENTIAL DENSITIES

**NORTH END - WEST SIDE URBAN RENEWAL SCHEME
SAINT JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK**

PROCTOR, REDFERN, BOUSFIELD & BACON
Consulting Engineers and Town Planners

REDEVELOPMENT OFFICE
City of Saint John

READ, VOIRHEER & ASSOCIATES LTD.
Transmuting Planning Consultants

FIGURE 19: PERCENT OWNER-OCCUPIED DWELLINGS

PRIORIT, REDFERN, ROUSFIELD & BACON
Consulting Engineers and Town Planners

REDEVELOPMENT OFFICE
City of Saint John

READ, VOORNES & ASSOCIATES LTD
Transportation Planning Consultants

FIGURE 20: 1965 LAND USE¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶Saint John, North End - West Side Urban Renewal Scheme
(1966) Plates 10, 4, 2.

Most redevelopment plans, though paying lip service to local residents, resisted housing replacement for that which had been torn down in favour of commercial and industrial development. For example, only one-third of all housing torn down in the Courtenay Place Redevelopment Scheme was ever replaced in that area. The balance was lost to commercial and light industrial uses.¹⁷⁷ This happened time and time again in the city, most notably with the slow but eventual removal of housing to accomodate the Harbour Bridge and Throughway in the old Portland north end.

FIGURE 21: SAINT JOHN CENSUS TRACTS, 1971-PRESENT¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷Saint John. Redevelopment Scheme: Courtenay Place (Saint John 1961).

¹⁷⁸Canada. Statistics Canada, CMA Map (1986).

Population Loss Due to Bridge/Throughway Construction

Selected urban census tracts north of main peninsula

(1) Census tract 20 is tract 9 & 10 in 1951-56.
Census tract population data for 1991 was unpublished at time of writing
See 1971-81 census tract map for tract locations

FIGURE 22

HIGHWAY-INDUCED POPULATION DISPLACEMENT

This graph illustrates the effect north end redevelopment schemes had on population displacement in order to accomodate the Harbour Bridge and Throughway. The most noticeable trend is a significant population decrease along the string of census tracts in which the throughway travelled. The east side where the bridge set down produced a maze of on-grade and above-grade ramps, viaducts and accesses.

With close examination of the 1966 renewal plan and the previous graph, the area can be broken into two distinct phases. First, census tract 18 was cleared and re-zoned for the Harbour Bridge. Later, census tract 7, 19, 20 and 5 were cleared for the throughway. [SEE PAGE 75, FIGURE 8 FOR STAGES] The population fell from approximately 16,000 to 4000 in this area. Much of the remaining population (as of 1986) presently live in a few concentrated areas such as Rockwood Court, northeast of the old Union Station (census tract 20). It is a 205-unit CMHC project that was built in 1947 to provide affordable accommodations to veterans. Today the housing project has become surrounded by highways, cut off from local retail establishments and Rockwood Park even more so than when the southern boundary was the rail yard.¹⁷⁹

Census tract 7 includes the residential area from City

¹⁷⁹CMHC, "Rockwood Court", Housing In Saint John: Tourbook of Housing Under NHA (1986). As an aside, Rockwood Park was one of the earliest recreational areas set aside in a Canadian city.

Road south, to the residential Waterloo Street, bordering Courtenay Place to Haymarket Square, including St. Joseph's Hospital. Most of this tract remained outside redevelopment schemes, yet lost more than half of its population between 1971 and 1986, during the same period that the throughway was constructed. The remaining three census tracts have been virtually eliminated; causing the displacement of 12,000 persons. These tracts were among the most heavily populated in Saint John, with densities reaching between 100-150 persons-per-acre in 1961. [SEE FIGURE 18, PAGE 118]

Though this graph represents only a small area, it accounts for a 12,000 person population decline in the city of Saint John over just twenty-five years. This does not include Courtenay Place (east of the highway redevelopment area) which was reduced from 3600 persons to under 1000, over thirty-five years. It does not include the south end of the peninsula which lost population to redevelopment as well; an area which many hoped housing infill would stabilize either through gentrification or local migration to stem population decline.¹⁸⁰

THE 1980s AND GENTRIFICATION

Due to the rather spotty nature and scale of residential improvement on the main peninsula, considerably less

¹⁸⁰Saint John, South End Neighbourhood Development Plan (1976).

gentrification has occurred there as compared with other Canadian cities.¹⁸¹ Without further breaking the population down to survey the residents who have moved within or moved out of Saint John, a few generalizations can be made. The trend of regional outmigration so prevalent during the earlier part of the century had been significantly reduced by the 1970s due to the growth and attraction of the towns primarily along the Kennebecasis. Since then there has been little evidence yet that the children of those who moved to the suburbs in the earlier outward surge have made a move back to the city in any significant numbers. Gentrification has not generally entailed a movement from the outlying towns in the Saint John instance, just as the suburban/exurban movement did not involve a mass movement out of town. Rather, the younger generations had been provided with the alternative to move locally rather than out of the area, giving the appearance of an outward migration.

As found in previous studies, those who have lived in Saint John most of their lives have little or no desire to leave.¹⁸² This was also true of those living in the suburban

¹⁸¹Bali Ram, Mary Jane Norris & Karl Skof, The Inner City in Transition (Ottawa 1989).

¹⁸²Ellen Drewery, "Pains and Pleasures in the Involvement of Indigenous Leaders in Research and Community Planning", Problems of Leadership in Urban Communities. Lillian Thomson, Canada Welfare Council, Urban Need In Canada 1965:.... Section 2 Saint John. Saint John, North End - West Side Urban Renewal Scheme (1966).

areas such as the west side and Simonds. The descendants of these families (children who moved out and into their own homes) tended to settle in the outlying areas but within the Saint John CMA. L.S. Bourne agreed with Ram, Norris and Skof¹⁸³ in their analysis of the general trend toward residential upgrading in Canadian inner cities.¹⁸⁴ Both saw Saint John and Montreal as exceptions to the rule though. Neither of these studies went far enough in examining the change that has occurred in Saint John or in the CBD in particular. Yet they did find that the rate of outward growth from the CBD had slowed dramatically.

Most likely, "non-gentrification-induced displacement"¹⁸⁵ has been occurring at an increased rate as some people return to the urban environment due to increased suburban/exurban home-ownership expenses, such as taxes as well as the cost of living and transportation. "Incumbent upgrading"¹⁸⁶ has also been a factor as residences on Germain, Charlotte and Sydney Streets and surrounding Kings and Queens Squares have slowly been brought back to their

¹⁸³Ram, B., M.Norris & K.Skoff. The Inner City in Transition (Ottawa 1989).

¹⁸⁴L.S. Bourne, "Population Turnaround in the Canadian Inner City", Canadian Journal of Urban Research (June 1992) p.74.

¹⁸⁵Michael H. Lang, Gentrification Amid Urban Decline (Cambridge, MA 1982) p.37.

¹⁸⁶op.cit. p.38.

post-fire, Victorian stature, therefore increasing rents and values of surrounding properties.

Though Saint John's renewal displays these signs of gentrification, especially with landmarks such as the Market Square, a revived and protected King and Prince William Streets and the Capitol Theatre among its new attractions, it is far from reversing its traditional outward growth trend. What would appear as the primary motivator for this is the still disproportionally low quality of life standard in the city versus the exurban areas further north and east, along the Saint John and Kennebecasis Rivers. There are also small enterprises which are indicators of progress such as new businesses and restaurants opening on Prince William Street. Restaurants such as "Wild Willies", and a row of shops and restaurants along Market Wharf would make any *progressive* city envious. Yet the traditional motivators of this type of growth are rather lacking. Outside of the tourism market, the other potential influences such as the University of New Brunswick campus and other professional activities such as the new hospital have been relocated outside of town, near Rockwood Park, where they are easily accessible by the throughway and will not significantly alter patterns in and around the CBD.

As one looks out upon the harbour from the bridge, it is clear Saint John holds securely to its industrial heritage as one sees paper mills, oil refinery, sugar processing, and

container terminal and drydock cranes disappearing into the fog above the harbour. It seems Saint John has unknowingly shunned the allure of the silicon valley-style, post-industrial city, expecting the romance of the honest, working city will again prevail.

CHAPTER 6

EFFECTS OF OUTWARD GROWTH: WHAT IT MEANS FOR SAINT JOHN

The history of uncontrolled outward development is well documented in Saint John. The earlier stages of outward growth based upon the modes of transportation, such as waterways and rail lines, were partly responsible for setting the stage for later growth. But unlike highways, they were great enough restrictors by themselves to prevent excess inter-regional population movement. With the fire of 1877 came the first wave of uncontrolled outward growth, affecting Portland and other outlying areas. This occurred as a response to the uneven regulation and expense of rebuilding between Saint John and Portland. In hindsight, it occurred generally at the expense of Portland.

Saint John saw little outward growth as a result of the early streetcar experience, with the exception of Lancaster. This was an exceptionally slow period of growth for the city as a whole though. By World War Two, the era of the automobile and versatile bus transport had struck Saint John with the result being major growth in the suburbs of Simonds and Lancaster. The result of the suburban movement brought strip malls and roadway congestion, especially since little infrastructural improvements had occurred since World War One.

The ensuing era included the modern period of planning

and federal assistance in Saint John. The throughway, though not responsible for outward growth, exacerbated the situation caused by weak planning and control of rural unincorporated areas and bulldozer-style redevelopment plans.

The irony here is that the need for housing redevelopment since the 1950s has been blamed on hasty and uncontrolled construction in the unregulated and unzoned areas outside Saint John, in Portland after the fire of 1877. These areas were not affected by the fire but had witnessed a building boom after the fire since it was these areas which escaped the brunt of strict and enforced building codes after the fire. The irony is that it had been the unregulated areas in the nineteenth century which had caused a majority of the problem, just as the unincorporated and unregulated areas threatened to do the same in the 1970s era of displacement and reconstruction. Even though these areas are incorporated today, the debate continues, as the province has begun to push for greater urban regional organization in the 1990s.

The expressway and related development schemes have changed the face of Saint John. It is essentially true that Saint John's position has been enhanced by the inflow of investment and infrastructural projects. The city has reversed the trend of degradation based on inadequate housing and crumbling infrastructure to become an attractive, diverse area. Yet at what social costs have these improvements to the city been made? There has been a general failing to

understand the full implications of development, to say nothing of funded development initiatives on a region. The result was that the early 1970s were filled with a "hurry up" response to get the Atlantic Provinces up to par with the rest of Canada.

The effects of thirty years of Federal, Provincial and Municipal development initiatives designed to stimulate the Atlantic Canadian economy are well documented yet many questions remain. What will be the role of the Federal Government on housing in the future? From long-term mortgage guarantees, to tax credits and exemptions for home owners and builders, the goal has recently been to assist the consumer.¹⁸⁷ Of equal importance, the verdict is still out on the effect shopping centres will have on the region,¹⁸⁸ especially as they begin to age and the retail sector of the CBD becomes competitive.

But for good or ill, a new growth region has been developed, which has reduced Saint John's regional slide. The string of towns and villages along the Kennebecasis valley

¹⁸⁷Canada. Department of Urban Affairs, "Urban Development: Settlement Patterns in NB" (Ottawa, 1979) p.26.

¹⁸⁸In 1976, Shopping centres in the Saint John CMA were capturing two times the national average in terms of retail trade (17% versus 34%). [Saint John. The Retail Structure of Saint John (Saint John 1977) p.43.] From a retailing perspective, the CBD deteriorated "through not being brought up to contemporary competitive needs with shopping centres". (p.E-2) Although this is true, the impact of the shopping centres would not have been as dramatic without acres of free parking and direct access to the highway.

which have grown up in the past quarter century are still among the fastest growing in Atlantic Canada. Well positioned between Saint John and Moncton, if well planned, could establish that corridor as central to Atlantic Canada and New Brunswick, if experience is any teacher.

APPENDIX I

EVOLUTION OF THE SAINT JOHN CMA¹⁶⁹

- 1941- The Greater City designation of the 1941 census included the city of Saint John plus Lancaster and Simonds Parish.
- 1951- The Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) was enlarged to include all of Simonds Par., the village and Parish of Rothesay and the Parish of Westfield.
- 1956>
1966- The CMA delineation was retained but significant municipal reorganization took place in Rothesay and Westfield.
- 1971- Hampton Village and Parish and Musquash Parish were brought into the CMA.
- 1976>
1981- CMA delineation remained unchanged.
- 1986- The Census Sub-districts of Lepreau, Greenwich, Kingston, Upham and St. Martins were added to the CMA.
- 1991- No change to the CMA.

¹⁶⁹Statistics Canada, "CMA/CA Program: A Review 1941-1991". by Richard Nadwodny (Ottawa August, 1991).

APPENDIX II

EVOLUTION OF CMA PROGRAM¹⁹⁰

- 1941- *Greater Cities*; those cities which have well defined satellite communities in close economic relationship to them. Population must be over 50,000 in city. (Nadwodny p.3)
- 1951- *Census Metropolitan Area* introduced as the unit of measure; cities of 50,000, around which fringe municipalities enclose geographical, economic and social relationship, with a total population of over 100,000. The term *Major Urban Area* also coined. (Nadwodny. p.4&5)
- 1961- Refinement of the 1951 definitions: a)Principal city of 50,000+ persons. b)Urbanized area with density of 1000/sq.mi. c)a labour force, outside the central city, of which at least 70% were engaged in non-agricultural activities. d)Total population of 100,000. (Nadwodny p.5)
- 1971- Concept of CMA as main labour market: a)Urbanized core of 100,000 persons. b)Municipalities within a 20 mile radius included if; the percentage of labour force in primary industries was less than the national average, percentage population increase for 1956-66 was larger than the average for the 1966 CMA, or municipalities were included if they were accessed by a Provincial or Federal highway. (Nadwodny p.6,7)
- 1976- Commuting data were applied to the delineations of CMA's for the first time. Now 40% of the employed labour force living in the municipality worked in the urban core or at least 25% of the employed labour force working in the municipality lived in the urbanized core. (Nadwodny p.8)
- 1986- The commuting threshold was raised from 40% to 50%.
- 1991- CMA was defined as a very large urban area, together with adjacent urban and rural areas which have a high degree of economic and social integration with that urban area. (Nadwodny p.13)

¹⁹⁰Statistics Canada, "CMA/CA Program: A Review 1941-1991".

APPENDIX IV

TRANSPORTATION FUNDING: HIGHWAYS, EXCLUDING THE TRANS-CANADA

- 1964- The ADB's main efforts regarding transportation begin with the first highway agreements of \$10 million for the Atlantic Provinces (\$3 million for NB).¹⁹¹

- 1965- Parliament gives \$9 million, then \$7.5 million to New Brunswick in two separate agreements.¹⁹²

- 1968- The Saint John - Sussex Road given \$2.85 million.¹⁹³

- 1970> DREE Special Areas Agreement for Saint John Throughway 1972 for this period include loans for land acquisition totalling \$3 million and outright estimated payments of \$13.34 million for construction.¹⁹⁴

- 1970s- DREE GDA Subsidiary Agreements for the Saint John Throughway to complete work begun under the Special Areas Agreements: From February 1975 to April 1981. Estimated costs were \$26.7 million (\$21.3 Million for construction and \$6.7 million for land acquisitions) of which \$8.01 million was the Provincial and \$18.69 was the Federal share.¹⁹⁵

- 1970s- DREE GDA Subsidiary agreement for the funding of municipal and regional planning between December 1975 and March 1982. This was an evenly shared expense totalling \$4.86 million.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹J.K. Burbridge "The Atlantic Development Board and Atlantic Regional Development", unpublished M.A. Thesis (UNB 1971).

¹⁹²C. MacKay "Canadian Regionalism: The Atlantic Development Board", unpublished M.A. Thesis (McGill 1969).

¹⁹³Atlantic Canada Development Board Annual Report; 1968-69 (Ottawa 1969) p.30-33.

¹⁹⁴DREE, Canada/New Brunswick Second Special Areas Agreement (August 20, 1971).

¹⁹⁵DREE, Development Agreements (April 1, 1980) p.55.

¹⁹⁶op. cit. p.56.

APPENDIX V

CHRONOLOGY OF URBAN-RELEVANT EVENTS

- 1938- National Housing Act.¹⁹ C.D. Howe's consolidation response to the post-depression housing crisis.
- 1944- Dawson Commission (Royal Commission of Provincial Development and Rehabilitation).
- 1945- Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation set up to administer the NHA.
- 1945- Local Improvement Districts Act. Set up by New Brunswick to provide services to unincorporated areas.
- 1946- The Campbell Merrett Report. Saint John's first Master Plan.
- 1957- Gordon Commission (Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects).
- 1957- First Equalization Payments made based upon recommendations from the Rowell-Sirois Commission.
- 1957- City of Saint John Urban Renewal Study, through funding from the NHA.
- 1959- Courtenay Place Redevelopment Plan.
- 1961- MacPherson Commission (Royal Commission on Transportation in Canada).
- 1961- Albert Stevens, UNB. Highway Transportation Survey.
- 1962- Atlantic Development Board set up.
- 1962- Harbour Bridge Authority formed to administer construction and planning of bridge.
- 1963- Atlantic Development Agency (Established to administer a budget for major public works).
- 1963- Goldenberg Commission (Royal Commission on Metropolitan Saint John) on municipal amalgamation.

¹⁹Albert Rose, Canadian Housing Policies (Toronto, 1980) Appendix B, for details of NHA since 1938.

- 1963- Byrne Commission (Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation). Equal Opportunities.
- 1964- Harbour Bridge Study by FENCO for economic feasibility of bridge.
- 1966- North end - West side Urban Renewal Scheme, Saint John: Pilot rehabilitation program of areas of the West side and redevelop North end for throughway.
- 1967- Implementation of New Brunswick's Program For Equal Opportunities (From Byrne Commission) with Administrative regions established to administer unincorporated areas.
- 1967- Saint John Amalgamation (From Goldenberg Commission).
- 1967- New Brunswick Housing Act.
- 1967- Saint John Comprehensive Community Plan established framework for redevelopment.
- 1968- Department of Regional Economic Expansion.
- 1969- Report of the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development found dissatisfaction with the process of urban redevelopment.
- 1970- Saint John given "Special Areas" status within DREE.
- 1972- Zoning implemented through Community Planning Act, dividing the province into seven planning regions to replace administrative regions from 1967.
- 1973- Establishment of General Development Agreements within DREE for planning and throughway.
- 1976- The South End Neighbourhood Development Plan.
- 1976- Allen Report (Report of the Task Force on Non-Incorporated Areas in New Brunswick.
- 1976- Schizophrenic Sprawl: Report of Human Settlements in New Brunswick. (Community Planning Association of Canada National Action Habitat Program).
- 1977- Study of the retail structure of Saint John conducted by the Saint John Department of Community Planning.

- 1980- A Study of Sprawl in New Brunswick: Government response to 1976 study.
- 1985- Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada.

APPENDIX VI

Population for the Principal Regions of Metropolitan Development in Canada, 1901-61

Population in thousands

Principal regions of Metropolitan Development	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Halifax	51	58	75	79	99	134	184
Saint John	51	54	61	63	71	78	96
Montreal	415	616	796	1086	1216	1504	2156
Quebec	117	133	158	207	241	297	383
Hamilton	79	112	154	190	207	266	359
Kitchener-Waterloo	53	63	75	90	99	126	177
London	52	61	74	87	97	129	181
Ottawa	103	133	168	197	236	296	436
Sudbury	16	30	43	58	81	110	166
Toronto	303	478	686	901	1002	1264	1942
Windsor	22	32	66	117	129	163	192
Winnipeg	48	157	229	295	302	357	476
Calgary	8	56	78	103	112	156	290
Edmonton	15	48	87	116	136	211	374
Vancouver			224	338	394	562	790
Victoria			64	70	86	122	162

From L.O. Stone, Urban Development in Canada, Bureau of Statistics (Ottawa 1961), Appendix L Table 5

APPENDIX VII

Percentage Change in Population Since Last Census

Computed from unrounded data

Principal regions of Metropolitan Development	'90'	'91'	'92'	'93'	'94'	'95'	'96'
Halifax	-	13.4	30.6	4.1	25.5	35.8	37.3
St. John's	-	4.7	14.2	2.5	13.1	10.5	22.0
Montreal	-	48.6	29.2	36.3	12.1	23.6	43.3
Quebec	-	13.9	18.5	30.7	16.7	23.0	29.2
Hamilton	-	40.6	37.5	23.7	8.6	26.7	34.9
Kitchener-Waterloo	-	19.0	20.2	19.4	9.9	27.8	40.1
London	-	18.5	20.9	18.0	11.6	32.7	40.6
Ottawa	-	26.4	25.4	17.6	19.9	25.3	47.2
Sudbury	-	64.9	44.5	35.4	36.7	35.6	51.4
Toronto	-	57.7	43.6	31.3	11.2	26.2	53.6
Windsor	-	44.7	103.4	77.2	10.6	26.1	17.6
Winnipeg	-	223.7	46.0	26.7	2.4	16.1	33.4
Calgary	-	570.2	39.5	33.0	8.1	39.7	85.8
Edmonton	-	215.5	63.0	32.4	17.9	55.1	77.1
Vancouver	-	-	-	51.3	16.5	42.7	40.6
Victoria	-	-	-	9.1	23.3	41.5	33.5

From L.O. Stone: Urban Development in Canada. Bureau of Statistics (Ottawa 1961) Appendix L Table 5

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