City Building and Architectural Renewal: A Historical Study of Five Buildings in Halifax, Nova Scotia

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ABSTRACT

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Claire Renwick

Halifax is a small Canadian city that has gone through phases of city building and urban renewal that have most visibly affected its downtown area around the waterfront. While many buildings were cleared during the post-WWII period, growing heritage preservation and participatory planning movements in the city successfully saved many older structures that contribute to the history of Halifax. This case study looks at five heritage buildings in the waterfront area known as the Peter Martin Liquors, Harrington MacDonald-Briggs, Fishwick & Co., Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, and seeks to document their individual and collective histories by bringing together aspects of the social, political, and economic circumstances that have shaped these buildings through the eighteenth century to the present. Through investigating the buildings' histories and changing forms, a history of city building and urban renewal in Halifax can be uncovered along with the power structures that determine the image of the city. After allowing a brief period of citizen participation in the planning process in the 1970s that resulted in the preservation and adaptive re-use of these buildings, City officials have increasingly diminished the capacity of citizens and interest groups to affect change in the urban environment, and overruled the overwhelming citizen protest over a redevelopment plan that has recently destroyed these five buildings in order to create an office tower.

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INTRODUCTION

On the northern end of Halifax's waterfront is a district of heritage buildings known collectively as the "Historic Properties" (Fig. 1 and 2). Contained in roughly three downtown city blocks, these rehabilitated buildings range from large wooden and stone warehouses on the waterfront to stone commercial buildings on the streets behind them, representing Halifax's evolution from a British merchant port into a modern Canadian city. Although they are now acknowledged to be historically and architecturally significant by the city, the buildings fell into extreme disrepair following the Second World War and became the focus of urban renewal projects, directly threatened by the path of an urban expressway. It was only after long battles between the City,[1] developers, conservation groups, and citizens that the buildings were saved. To make preservation economically feasible, the buildings were adapted to accommodate several businesses and a small university campus for the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design. This adaptive re-use project garnered admiration for the city from those who valued the preservation of historic architecture and the city fabric, and produced a vibrant commercial district that has become a focal point of Halifax's tourism industry.

Situated directly on the waterfront of the Halifax harbour is a group of large stone and wooden warehouses built between 1800 and 1875 (Fig. 3). These structures were used by merchants and shipping companies during "The Golden Age of Sail," when the Halifax harbour was one of the most important ports in the British Empire. Now known as "Historic Properties" proper, this group includes the Pickford & Black Building, the Old Red Store, Collin’s/Simon’s Building, Privateers Warehouse, Wooden

[1] This form of "City" (with a capital "C") will be used to refer to City Council and staff, while the form "city" (lower case "c") will be used to refer to Halifax itself.

Storehouse/Loft, and the Carpenter's Shop. These large structures are "full of the character and excitement that defined Halifax as a port town," and are considered to be historically rich for their vital role in the civic and commercial life of early Halifax.[2] This group of buildings was designated a national historic site by the federal government in 1963.

This section is bounded on the west by Upper Water Street, separating the waterfront warehouses from the block of historic buildings that contains the five buildings that will be the subject of this project (Fig. 4, 5, 6, and 7). Until 2008, this block consisted of six buildings from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that were used variously for commercial purposes by merchants, as restaurants, and as headquarters for major industries in Halifax. The Georgian-style Morse's Teas warehouse, the only building not featured in this case study, faces the waterfront buildings on the northern end of the block. Next to this stood the Peter Martin Liquors Building, a tavern and restaurant that dated back to c.1840. Next to this is the Georgian-style Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building from the 1820s that extends through the block to Hollis Street. Its neighbour on Hollis Street is a smaller Georgian store from the same period known as the Fishwick & Company Building.[3] To the left of the Fishwick Building, on the southwest corner of the block, is a brick building called the Shaw Building, built at the beginning of the twentieth century for a Nova Scotian sugar retailer. Situated next to this, on the corner of Duke and Hollis Streets, is the Imperial Oil Building that was built in 1926 and once used as office space for the company.

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[2] Nova Scotia Historic Places Initiative, "Historic Waterfront Buildings," in *Nova Scotia Historic Places Initiative* Online database.

[3] When they are discussed in this thesis, these buildings will be referred to as the "Peter Martin Building" for Peter Martin Liquors Building, the "Harrington Building" for Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building, and the "Fishwick Building" for Fishwick & Company Building.

Facing Hollis Street on the next block are more Georgian commercial buildings, including the People's Bank Building, the Joseph Starr Merchant Building, the Hollis A. MacDougall Grocer Building, and the C.D. Hunter Merchant Building, all from the 1860s. On the west side of this block is the famous Granville Mall (Fig. 8), a historic streetscape that includes seventeen buildings with elaborate Italianate storefronts that were built in 1870, after a fire in 1857 destroyed this northern section of the street. This area was the heart of economic activity in Halifax in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries,[4] with shops that sold "many of the richest specimens of the world's manufacture," including fabric, clothing, silverware, books, and shoes. They were designed by Cyrus Pole Thomas of William Thomas & Sons of Toronto, one of the most active architectural firms before Canadian Confederation.[5] In 2007 this area was also designated a national historic site by the federal government as it provided an excellent example of architectural rehabilitation, and demonstrated that heritage conservation was a viable approach to urban planning and development.[6]

In terms of "heritage value," attention is often focused on the impressive waterfront warehouses as well as the ornate buildings on the Granville Street promenade that form one of the last remaining continuous nineteenth-century commercial districts in Canada. The block in the middle, most of which forms the focus of this study, has often been referred to as a transition point between the waterfront warehouses and Granville Street. After walking through the waterfront complex of old wooden and stone warehouses, this block provided examples of early commercial and vernacular

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[4] Nova Scotia Historic Places Initiative, "Granville Mall Streetscape," in *Nova Scotia Historic Places Initiative* Online database.

[5] Elizabeth Pacey, *Historic Halifax* (Willowdale, Ontario: Hounslow Press, 1988), 64.

[6] Maggie Holm, *Summary of Opinion of Maggie Holm, December 19, 2008. Re. Appeal by the Armour Group Limited of the refusal of a redevelopment agreement.*

architecture in the city, a contrast to the highly designed buildings of Granville Street. Within the block itself, one can identify another transition from Halifax's early commercial life, represented by the Georgian structures, to the modern industrial development in the Maritimes, represented by the early-twentieth-century headquarters for major industries in the province. In Halifax, heritage value is generally assigned to buildings constructed before 1900, however the turn of the century office building, as well as the office building from the 1930s, give this block a more expansive history architecturally and economically. Within itself, this block thus represents Halifax's early settlement and urbanization by the British and its maturation into a modern Canadian city.

In the 1960s and 70s City officials had been planning for a large expressway project to traverse the waterfront that would destroy a large number of historic buildings. Citizens and interests groups successfully protested these plans and were directly responsible for the preservation of the buildings that would become the Historic Properties. For years after their rehabilitation the Historic Properties remained a dynamic commercial and tourist district that represented the power of citizens to affect change in the planning process. Since 2007, however, this victory for citizen participation and the historic value of the buildings has been trivialized by the ability of a developer to remove the heritage designation of these five buildings in the middle of the district, and push forward a redevelopment plan that will hollow out their interiors and use the facades to front a nine-storey office tower. A contentious debate arose in response to this proposal in which citizens, City officials, and planners grappled with issues of heritage, regional identity, and commerce in order to determine what would be best for the city. The battle

was very much reminiscent of that which had occurred more than thirty years earlier, but this time the preservation of the historic buildings was seen by City Council as a detriment to the city, and redevelopment ultimately became the favoured route. This most recent battle has also come to illustrate the limited influence of citizens in capitalist urban economies, especially in planning and land use matters.

The buildings included in these development plans are not considered to be exceptional architecturally, nor are they associated with important politicians or other figures in Canadian and Nova Scotia history, thus making their official heritage designation by the city relatively unstable. Arguments for their preservation have centred around maintaining the cohesiveness of the Historic Properties heritage district, as well as the importance of retaining some of the historic fabric of the commercial district to provide a "sense of place" in a city that had undergone rapid urbanization and renewal in the post-war period. Their position in the Central Business District, however, has made them particularly vulnerable to the economic and political forces that have accompanied the various stages of Halifax's city building, thus making their preservation in the 1970s an important victory for citizens. Though their heritage value is now recognized and promoted in terms of a distant past, in a more modern context the buildings have come to represent the struggles between citizens, developers, and politicians for the right to decide what in the city is valuable, culturally and economically.

This project, while focusing on a group of heritage buildings in downtown Halifax, simultaneously looks at the process of city building in Halifax, and how many of the city's initiatives have directly affected the evolution of this group of buildings. Shaped by social, economic, and political forces, the forms and functions of these

buildings have ultimately been controlled by City officials and developers who let economic development guide decision-making at the expense of urban history. Competing discourses of "heritage" and "development" have been a central theme in Halifax city planning and design since the period following WWII, and the outcomes of this debate are articulated architecturally throughout Halifax's Central Business District. These debates have become manifest in this particular group of buildings; in the contentious phase of urban renewal they were "saved" as heritage properties, and now in the present period they are "lost" to allow new development. The outcome of this analysis will illustrate the nature of power relationships within the city, and the political context of decisions that shape the urban environment.

CHAPTER 1

A BRIEF HISTORY: THE URBANIZATION OF HALIFAX AND THE BUILDINGS IN QUESTION

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries France and Britain competed for territory along the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia.[7] While France had established a fortress city at Louisbourg on the northern tip of Nova Scotia on the Atlantic coast, Britain had the somewhat inaccessible settlement Annapolis Royal on the southern end of the province, on the opposite coast. After a number of conflicts with French forces in 1748, the British settlers in New England demanded that a military base be established on the east coast of Nova Scotia in order to protect their shipping routes and fishery.[8] It was in that same year that Lord Halifax, the president of the Board of Trade and Plantations, drew up a plan for a fortified settlement. The following year 2,576 settlers were led by Colonel Edward Cornwallis, the appointed governor of Nova Scotia, to establish the town.

After surveying the general area Cornwallis strategically chose a site on the Chebucto Peninsula next to the deep harbour. A nearby hill would act as a strong defensive point[9] by commanding "a prospect of the whole harbour and on an easy ascent with bold anchorage close to the shore."[10] By "shore" Cornwallis was referring to a particular part of the waterfront that became known as “the beach,” where supplies were

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[7] Christopher Moore, "Louisbourg," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* Online.

[8] Elizabeth Pacey, *Georgian Halifax* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press), 13.

[9] Ibid.

[10] A.F. Duffus, “Heritage Properties – Halifax,” in *Second Canadian building congress / La réhabilitation des bâtiments: deuxième congrès Canadien du bâtiment: proceedings 15-17 October 1979, Toronto*, 179-185 (Ottawa: National Research Council Canada, 1980), 181.

easily off-loaded from ships, and where the settlers began building their town.[11] In order to establish a cohesive town plan, an engineer and a surveyor were ordered to lay out the town (Fig. 9). Salter Street was made the southern limit, and Buckingham Street the northern limit, but this division was soon extended to Jacob Street,[12] or the northern boundary for the block of buildings that form the focus of this study. The thirty-five blocks that made up the original town plan were fairly small, measuring 320 by 120 feet with sixteen plots each, and the streets were just 55 feet wide.[13]

The imperial officials who planned Halifax were influenced by classical tastes for regularity and symmetry.[14] Greco-Roman classicism was fashionable in Britain at this time, and the principles of classical proportion, rationality, harmony, and measure were seen as an aesthetic ideal that was applied to town planning. These ideals, "Based on the assumption that human could control their world," justified the rational planning of newly established towns "rather than merely allowing them to evolve spontaneously."[15] The prototype that was developed, referred to as "Georgian New Town," usually took the form of a bounded grid with symmetrically arranged streets of varying widths that focused on a central square, "Parade Square" in Halifax's case. Though this Georgian layout maintained these older English traditions, Halifax was built for a military function

[11] Duffus, “Heritage Properties,” 181.

[12] William Coates Borrett, *Historic Halifax in Tales Told Under the Old Town Clock* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1948), 7.

[13] George A. Nader, *Cities of Canada: Profiles of Fifteen Metropolitan Centres*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 41-42.

[14] Gilbert A. Stelter, "The City-Building Process in Canada," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 8-9.

[15] Gilbert A. Stelter, "The Changing Imperial Context of Early Canadian Urban Development," in *Cities and Urbanization: Canadian Historical Perspectives*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1990), 27.

and thus features of the "bastide" type, or a fortified medieval town, were introduced to the plan and formalized with neo-classical principles, seen in the Citadel fortification in the middle of the city.[16]

As a form that was easy and convenient, this type of octagonal plan was established during seventeenth century and became the standard plan of colonists.[17] The regularity with which Halifax was laid out represented the purely functional motives of central control to assure that Halifax remained subservient to Britain, who would continue to determine its form and function.[18] The town's dependence on its political and economic connection with Britain was reflected in its landscape, revealing a spatial division between the elite and their activities, centred around the waterfront, and the lower classes who spread to the outskirts.[19] The Nova Scotian colonial government was dominated by this "Halifax elite," made up predominately of imperial administrative officials and the wholesale merchant class. Together they imposed a highly centralized rule over the province.[20]

The original settlers that Cornwallis brought to Halifax were from a cross section of society, and intended to build the new town as expeditiously as possible.[21] Many of the settlers quickly entered into trade in order to "make settlement viable in what was then a complete wilderness."[22] Halifax's early economy was dominated by mercantile

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[16] Stelter, "Changing Imperial Context," 27.

[17] Jean Belisle, pers. comm.

[18] Gilbert A. Stelter, "The Political Economy of Early Canadian Urban Development," in *The Canadian City*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984), 10.

[19] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 9-10.

[20] Stelter, "Early Canadian Urban Development,"14.

[21] Gordon Stephenson, *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax* (Halifax, NS: The Corporation of the City of Halifax, 1957), 1.

commercialism with an emphasis on export economy.[23] As a British colony, Halifax was merely an extension of the empire during this time, an entrepôt where the colonial elite "continued to exert direct control of the colony and its urban development during much of this 'mercantile' phase."[24] From the waterfront, Halifax's merchants carried out their business predominately with the New England states and the West Indies.[25] Trade with the West Indies was initiated shortly after Halifax was founded, and lumber and fish were exchanged for the island's rum, molasses, and sugar.[26]

During its first sixty years in operation, the Halifax waterfront passed through a rapid series of changes in ownership that resulted in the building and expanding of its wharves and storehouses. The waterfront was moulded and re-moulded by generations of merchants and shipping men, many of whom were prominent in city life and in the colonial government. It was only when the stone warehouses were built on the waterfront that permanence was established.[27] Warehouses such as Simon's Warehouse, the Old Red Store and the Carpenters' Shop served the city's booming sea trade during the mid-nineteenth century, a period referred to as "The Golden Age of Sail." Ships from Europe and the Caribbean unloaded fabrics, biscuits, liquors, and teas, and the Privateer's

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[22] Brian Cuthbertson, *Voices of Business*: *A History of Commerce in Halifax 1750-2000* (Halifax, NS: Metropolitan Halifax Chamber of Commerce, 2000), 3.

[23] Stelter, "Early Canadian Urban Development," 9

[24] Ibid.; Stelter, "City-Building Process," 4.

[25] John Boileau, *Where the Water Meets the Land: The Story of the Halifax Harbour Waterfront* (Dartmouth, NS: Saltscapes Publishing Limited, 2007), 15.

[26] Cuthbertson, *Voices of Business*, 3.

[27] Duffus, "Heritage Properties," 181.

Warehouse was used to store booty taken from enemy ships during the Napoleonic Wars by a number of privateers.[28]

By the nineteenth century, Halifax's wharves had expanded and spanned from the southern limit of the Naval Dockyard to the end of Water Street (Fig. 10). Even after the 1840s, when steamships were regularly used for transport, wooden ships continued to carry the bulk of cargoes, and this area along Water Street was described as a "forest of masts." When the ships arrived, box carts would unload their cargo and deliver it to grocery stores, merchants, and auctioneers for sale. It was common to see and hear the "rick-a-dicks," which were long trucks with shafts at one end and wheels in the centre, trucking barrels of flour and fish to dealers.[29] An architectural description of Halifax in 1830 is created in the letters from British Captain William Scarth Moorsom, who described Halifax as a mosaic of buildings:

> Picture rather to yourself Macadamized roads garnished with buildings mostly of wood, some of brick, and others of stone, of all sizes, shapes, and dimensions, from one story to three; some neatly painted, others setting the ingenuity of the colourist at nought; here, a line of shops, or, in the more fashionable phraseology of the western hemisphere, "Stores," followed by a row of good dwellings. . . .[30]

These stores that Moorsom mentions were situated throughout the streets behind the waterfront warehouses, and this district around Hollis Street and Upper Water Street would have contained a variety of Georgian stores run by merchants. Most were in the business of wholesaling, but some provided other services, such as the "Peter Martin Liquors Building," a tavern and residence (Fig. 11).

[28] Harold Kalman, "NSCAD Moves to the Waterfront," in *Rehoused in History: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design* (Halifax, NS: The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1979), 8.

[29] Cuthbertson, *Voices of Business,* 20.

[30] Moorsom's diary entry is quoted in Susan Buggey's *Halifax Waterfront Buildings Project, Historical Report*. Manuscript Report Number 95 (Ottawa: National and Historic Parks Branch, 1972), 182.

Located at the contemporary civic address 1870 Upper Water Street, the Peter Martin Building was a wooden structure, designed and constructed in a vernacular Georgian style. The Georgian era began in England in 1714 with the reign of King George I,[31] and the architecture from this period, which remains the most visible legacy of the Georgian era, used both Baroque and Palladian styles. Ornate classicism of the preceding Baroque period continued into the early part of the Georgian era, but was followed by a more restrained Palladian style that was defined by "strict symmetry, well-defined storey's divided by stringcourses, smaller top floor windows, and solid looking basement storeys of rusticated stone."[32]

The Peter Martin Building, along with the two stone Georgian buildings on this block, follow a more vernacular tradition in Palladian-inspired Georgian architecture that was found throughout Halifax in both commercial and residential buildings. Defined by a simple approach to building, this form of construction was carried out by master builders with building designs from the pattern books that were circulating at the time. The designs of many of these residential Georgian buildings, now known as the "Halifax House" style, places special emphasis on plan and form rather than ornamental details. The fronts, which are often three bays wide, are limited compared to the depths of the buildings, giving an impression of solidity and stability.[33] Although this design tends to be simplistic, decorative details can be found around entrances and storefronts in the forms of pilasters and transom windows. The Peter Martin Building follows the same

[31] E. Pacey, *Georgian Halifax*, 12.

[32] Ibid., 21.

[33] Allen Penney, *Houses of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, NS: Formac Publishing Company and The Nova Scotia Museum, 1989), 72.

pattern as the residential Georgian buildings, or the Halifax House style, with the exception of the first storey that was designed as a commercial space.

The three-storey Peter Martin Building followed the typical layout for Georgian-era shops, which were distinctly domestic and often "provided living accommodation on the upper floors while ground floor shop fronts gave a mildly commercial appearance to the building."[34] While the bottom floor was used alternately as a tavern, grocery, or restaurant, the two upper storeys functioned as living quarters, and occasionally a boarding house. Its front façade was covered in wooden shingles, and each storey on the front of the building had three flat-headed, six-over-six windows. The building's main entry had two double glazed doors featuring fanlights, and on either side were a pair of six-over-six windows with six-paned transom windows on top. The front façade had moulded wood trim, a wooden roofline cornice, and its wooden storefront had a simple entablature supported by square Tuscan pilasters.[35]

The date of the building's construction was c.1840, but it was possibly much older than that. Originally all of the buildings in Halifax were constructed in wood, but many were destroyed either by fire or to make way for newer stone buildings. Though it was certainly not a building from the first settlement, this building stood in an original town plot and was one of the few remaining wooden buildings in downtown Halifax.[36] It was named for its tenant Peter Martin who sold liquor from this location to Halifax's "steady

[34] E. Pacey, *Georgian Halifax*, 95.

[35] Halifax, Nova Scotia Planning Department, *Statement of planning criteria for the Halifax waterfront development area plan: a report prepared for Waterfront Development Corporation Limited* (Halifax, NS: Planning Department, City of Halifax, 1980), 55.

[36] Philip Pacey, *1870 Upper Water Street*, *Peter Martin Building*. Letter from the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia (April 17, 2008), 1.

supply of thirsty sailors."[37] Throughout its existence, the Peter Martin Building was occupied by businesses in the food and beverage industry, alternately occupied by restaurants, taverns, and grocery stores.[38]

Since its founding, "The City of Halifax has become the Crossroads of Empire on every occasion of war," and during the War of 1812 the city became the East Coast port of call for the British Navy.[39] Beamish Murdock, in his *History of Halifax,* provides a description of Halifax during this period: "The little capital, then occupying a restricted space, became crowded. Trade was active, prices rose…Rents of houses and buildings in the town were doubled and tripled. A constant bustle existed in our chief streets, cannons were forever noisy."[40] This period of economic prosperity for Halifax continued following the War of 1812 when, after realizing the strategic significance of Halifax's location, Britain began a massive program of public works and new initiatives to make preparations in the event of a future war.[41]

Financial prosperity allowed for an increase in building in the city; the total number of houses doubled, and the city extended to South Street in the south, and beyond Cogswell Street in the north. Province House, the seat of Nova Scotia's parliament and one of the most important historic buildings in Canada, was completed in 1819.[42] This era of building marked the transformation of Halifax from a city of wood to one of brick and

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[37] Carolyn Strange, *Making Good: law and moral regulation in Canada, 1867-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 89.

[38] P. Pacey, *1870 Upper Water Street*, 1. See Appendix A for a complete history of ownership of the Peter Martin Liquors Building.

[39] Borrett, *Historic Halifax in Tales*, 13-15.

[40] Beamish Murdock quoted in Borrett, *Historic Halifax in Tales*, 15-16.

[41] Boileau, *Water Meets the Land*, 19.

[42] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 2.

stone. The government focused on building military barracks, a courthouse, a hospital, and markets. Commercial prosperity would lead to a consolidated business district of three- and four-storey streetscapes made coherent by common heights and architectural details. Substantial changes in the methods of construction and design were also underway as larger building projects were increasingly designed by trained architects brought in from other cities. Most other buildings continued to be done by skilled local builders who would adapt designs from published pattern books in local materials.[43]

It was during this period of increased building that the Georgian neighbour to the Peter Martin Building was constructed. Now known as the "Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building," this unique freestone and granite Georgian commercial space extends through the block with fronts on both Hollis and Upper Water Streets (Fig. 12 and 13). The Harrington Building was constructed as two separate structures, which were later amalgamated and similar sandstone facades fashioned to make them into a coherent building. The buildings were both built with heavy timber construction, with granite and sandstone street facades and a sloped wood truss roof.[44] The building that fronts Upper Water Street was constructed in c.1820. This building's "palladian overtones" are evident in its small, square fourth-storey windows that contrast with the slightly larger rectangular windows of the second and third storeys. Each upper storey is separated by a raised horizontal band of bricks known as a "stringcourse." The first storey shop front features a central glazed door and large storefront windows. Four prominent granite

[43] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 16-17.

[44] Lydon Lynch Architects, "Existing Conditions Assessment of Four Buildings" in *Conditions Assessment of: D. Harrington & Co. Building, F.W. Fishwick & Co. Building, Shaw Building, Imperial Oil Building*. Report Prepared for the Armour Group Limited, Halifax, NS (December 10, 2008), 2.

pilasters with squared capitals frame the windows and central door, and visually support a wide granite entablature.[45]

The building at 1865 Hollis Street was built back-to-back with the Upper Water Street building in c.1860. While it was designed in a similar Georgian style, it is three and a half storeys instead of four, and features two wide gabled dormers instead of a Palladian upper storey. The second and third storeys each have three six-on-six windows recessed in the exterior wall. Its façade features only one stringcourse separating the second and third storeys, and only two granite pilasters support the granite entablature over the first storey shop front.[46] The exposed wall on its north side, shared by both buildings, shows the fieldstone wall construction that is typical of most stone Georgian buildings in Halifax. Its front door is situated below the far right set of windows, and its storefront features three large windows, as well as a slim rectangular window to the right of the door. As a testament to the building's vernacular construction, many of the elements, including the door, windows and dormers, do not correspond in their vertical lines.

Throughout its history, the Harrington Building has been used as commercial space for merchants and restaurants. The second and third floors were originally designed as large, open spaces for storage, while the first floor was used to carry out business. One of the first occupants of the building was grocer and wine merchant Daniel Harrington, and later the space was occupied by the Pyke Brothers brokers and manufacturing agents

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[45] E. Pacey, *Georgian Halifax*, 98.

[46] Ibid.

who used this location as a store and warehouse for over fifty years.[47] The Pyke Brothers were in the business of wholesaling, the dominant activity along the waterfront and Water Street until 1870.[48]

In 1841, approximately twenty years after the construction of the Harrington Building on Upper Water Street, Halifax was incorporated as a city. This marked the first municipal reform period that cities in Canada underwent as part of a larger initiative for responsible government in Canada. With incorporation, the province of Nova Scotia was given the responsibility of protecting the credit of the municipalities, and the civil and property rights of its citizens. These powers still stand.[49] Then in 1867, around the time of the second Harrington Building's construction on Hollis Street, the British North America Act established the Canadian federation and gave each provincial government exclusive powers in relation to "Municipal Institutions." The modern municipal government in Canadian cities is therefore a corporation created for the purposes of local government: the council is the governing body of the corporation, and the municipal government is its administrative machinery. The founding Act of this government grants the inhabitants of the city the power to hold lands and to pass regulations and by-laws. Following this is an Act that defines the boundaries of the city, and the powers vested in the governing body of the city, the council, composed of the mayor and aldermen. Some of the most

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[47] The Nova Scotia Historic Places Initiative, "Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building," *The Nova Scotia Historic Places Initiative* Online database. See Appendix A for a complete history of ownership of the Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building.

[48] Nader, *Cities of Canada*, 45.

[49] James Lightbody, "Why Study City Politics?" in *Canadian Metropolitics: Governing Our Cities*, ed. James Lightbody (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 13-14.

important of the council's powers are the authority to levy and collect taxes and to administer justice.[50]

During this phase of Halifax's growth the city won a bit of autonomy from direct imperial and provincial control.[51] The function of the Harrington Building is representative of the evolution of Halifax from a mercantile to a commercial centre as the city stopped relying on the export of staples for its subsistence, and began to focus on regional and interregional commerce.[52] Although the form of cities in the commercial era is not easily definable, there are a number of features that distinguish them from their predecessors. Foremost, there was an absence of central direction to shape the city, as there were no imperial officials or municipal officers that planned or regulated development. Instead, the form was determined by the decisions of thousands of private individuals, and occasionally private corporations.[53] This era of "privatism" produced problems in the order of the city, and eventually inspired the reform movements of the early-twentieth century that introduced "rational planning,"[54] a concept that would have enormous implications for the city of Halifax in the period following the Second World War.

The Hollis Street side of the Harrington Building neighbours an earlier Georgian store known as the "Fishwick & Company Building," at 1861 Hollis Street (Fig. 14). Like the Harrington Building on Upper Water Street, the Fishwick Building was constructed

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[50] Engin F. Isin, "The Origins of Canadian Municipal Government," in *Canadian Metropolitics: Governing Our Cities*, ed. James Lightbody (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 53-54.

[51] Stelter, "Early Canadian Urban Development," 9.

[52] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 12.

[53] Ibid., 15-16.

[54] Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan Artibise, "Urban history comes of age: A review of current research," *City Magazine* 3 no.1 (Sept.-Oct. 1977): 27.

during the 1820s building boom in Halifax. Although the two are stylistically similar, the Fishwick Building also displays many differences in its vernacular design. Like its neighbour, it too was built using heavy timber construction and wood framing, with facades finished with granite and sandstone. It is a three-storey building with two rows of four six-over-six windows with moulded surrounds. On the top storey the windows are very close to the roofline, "A feature which indicates both the early vintage and vernacular style of the structure."[55] Unlike the Harrington Building, the Fishwick Building does not have a stringcourse or ornamentation around its wooden storefront. Its entrances are found in a recessed opening on its right side that offers two separate doors. To the left of the doorway are four large, single-paned windows, with one to the right of the entrance as well. Along with the Harrington Building on Hollis, the Fishwick's symmetrical layout is also slightly askew with much more exterior wall space on its left side compared to its right, also owing to its vernacular construction.

This building was used by a number of merchants, including a clothier, grocer, and a chimney sweep office, before it became the home to F. W. Fishwick & Company, a freight express business that flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century. G. A. White remarked in his book *Halifax and its Business* (1876) that as soon as ten miles of railway track were opened for traffic in 1856, Mr. F.W. Fishwick established his freighting business. The bottom floor was likely used as a public reception for orders, and Fishwick's offices would have occupied the upper floors. Fishwick & Company shipped goods to Bedford by rail, to the interior of Nova Scotia by wagon, and to other Atlantic Provinces and "regions beyond" with his steamers *Empress* and *Emperor*.[56] The Fishwick

[55] E. Pacey, *Georgian Halifax*, 98.

Building thus provides an important link between the relatively "old" and "new" buildings within this block. Its style and form are connected with a somewhat pre-industrial past represented by the Georgian buildings, whose functions were largely domestic with residential accommodation and the sale of basic necessities. The later function of the Fishwick Building as a freighting company was facilitated by technology that was both the result of and the driving force behind the Industrial Revolution that would drastically change the way commercial activities operated on the Halifax waterfront.

For this commercial block, situated in one of Britain's most valued ports, the Industrial Revolution brought important changes in both the production and transportation of goods. By the end of the nineteenth century, ships had been replaced by steamships and trains, and factories were being constructed to manufacture and process goods for Halifax and for export. Shipping continued to be integral to Halifax's economic prosperity, but the industrial development of Canada relied heavily on the expansion of its railways,[57] which were expensive to build and required government investment. Britain wished to disengage with the provinces, and when the issue of a confederation with the other provinces became a serious topic in the 1860s, Nova Scotia held an election on the issue. The results showed that the majority of Nova Scotians were against the idea, however, Nova Scotia's leader ended up signing the agreement anyway.[58] Since

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[56] G.A. White, *Halifax and its Business, containing Historical Sketch, and Description of the City and its Institutions, also Description of Different Lines of Business, with Account of the Leading Houses of Each Line* (Halifax, NS: Nova Scotia Printing Company, 1876), 43. See Appendix A for a complete history of ownership of the Fishwick Building.

[57] Peter Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution in World History*. 3rd edition (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2007), 201.

[58] Jill Grant, *The Drama of Democracy: Contention and Dispute in Community Planning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 49.

Nova Scotia was the wealthiest of Britain's North American colonies at this time, its ability to fund the project was one of the most important reasons behind the province joining the Canadian Confederation in 1867.

The "new industrialism" that began in the 1870s became the basis for a national network of communications and transportation and effectively centralized metropolitan power in many Canadian cities, including Halifax. The political economy of the industrial era was marked by industrial capitalism that produced the industrial working class. It seemed the older commercial elite and new industrial elite merged, polarizing society into those who owned capital and purchased labour and those who sold their labour as a commodity. The second phase of industrialism after the turn of the century complicated this dichotomy with the development of corporate capitalism, and its accompanying forms of bureaucratic organization, the growth of a managerial elite and the emergence of trained experts in a variety of fields.[59] Industrialization attracted people to Halifax, and urban growth in Nova Scotia from Confederation until the turn of the century was greater than any other Maritime province.[60]

Before the railway's construction, business activity on the waterfront was still centered around the many private wharves along Water Street, including the ones directly in front of this block of buildings (Fig. 15).[61] Railroad building was part of the colonial planning system, and part of an economic plan to bring staples to central Canada from outlying regions, including Nova Scotia.[62] Small railways were already established in the

[59] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 18-19.

[60] The Carleton University History Collective, *Urban and Community Development in Atlantic Canada, 1867-1991* (Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 31.

[61] Boileau, *Water Meets the Land*, 21.

province, mostly used to transport food from outlying areas into Halifax.[63] By 1876, however, Halifax was linked to Quebec and Ontario through the railway to Montreal, marking the end of "The Golden Age of Sail."[64] The completion of the Intercolonial Railway proved to be destructive to local businesses as industries were gradually taken over by business interests in Montreal and Toronto. Halifax's merchants had hoped that the railway would open up the central Canadian markets to them, but instead the opposite occurred with salesmen flooding into Halifax from the rest of the country.[65] The industries of central Canada were rapidly expanding, and with their own cheap power and rich resources, the provinces of Ontario and Quebec "had little use for Nova Scotia goods."[66] As a city built around its harbour and port activities, Halifax had a particularly hard time adapting to this change.[67]

Though it seemed the advantages of the railway were outweighed by the devastating effects it had on the economy of this port city, the railways were also a centrepiece of economic transformation within the entire Atlantic region as improvements in transportation and communications created a much more inter-dependent economic and social system. The Intercolonial Railway expanded and integrated the railways established between 1850 and 1870 in the Maritimes, linking these major lines together and constructing branch lines to many new communities in the region that had never before been linked by effective overland communication. The

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[62] Kent Gerecke, "The history of Canadian city planning," *City Magazine* 2 no. 3 & 4 (summer 1976): 19.

[63] Paul Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax* (Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2004), 71.

[64] Cuthbertson, *Voices of Business*, 23.

[65] Boileau, *Water Meets the Land*, 21.

[66] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 2-3.

[67] Cuthbertson, *Voices of Business*, 23.

degree of rural to urban migration was greatly facilitated by the growing railway system throughout Nova Scotia. Before Confederation, Halifax was home to 15 percent of the Nova Scotian population, and by 1911 that had grown to just under 40 percent.[68] In Canada, industrialization became seen as the key to growth in the city, and had stimulated urbanization to a greater extent than commerce had. The largest growth was seen in Montreal and Toronto, while the three main cities of the Atlantic region had grown slowly, "Reflecting a decline of the old Atlantic trading system and the growth of a continental economy dominated by the central regions."[69]

As economic power became centralized in the cities of central Canada, the Atlantic provinces became "a marginal area particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of an era of corporate consolidation and rationalization."[70] The 1880s were thus a period of economic depression for the city of Halifax.[71] In spite of this adversity, an important industry was able to flourish when local capital came together to fund waterfront sugar refineries on both sides of Halifax harbour. The Nova Scotia Sugar Refinery opened in Richmond in 1881, and the Halifax Sugar Refinery in Woodside in 1884.[72] Soon after the establishment of these factories, sugar became one of Halifax's most important items for export on the Intercolonial Railway, and was transported from Richmond to New Brunswick and Quebec.[73] By the late 1880s Dartmouth's economy was booming because of this sugar factory and others like it that were turning out goods such as chocolates,

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[68] Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 28-30.

[69] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 23-24.

[70] Ibid., 20.

[71] Ibid., 25.

[72] Boileau, *Water Meets the Land*, 21.

[73] "The Sugar Trade of Halifax," *The [Halifax] Morning Herald*, 16 May 1884, p. 1, col. 6.

cocoa, molasses, and spices.[74] In 1893, the Nova Scotia Sugar Refineries at Richmond and Woodside united to form the Acadia Sugar Refinery.[75] The raw sugar that was processed was imported exclusively from the British West Indies, and regular steamers running to Halifax were mostly filled with sugar on its way to the Acadia Refineries.[76] It was in this way that the sugar refining company was able to use both modes of transportation to its advantage, importing raw sugar by steamship and exporting the finished product throughout Canada by rail.

The Acadia Sugar Refinery Company was listed for the first time in 1894-5 on the corner of Hollis and Duke Streets in the old office of the Nova Scotia Sugar Refinery.[77] A new building was built on this site in 1903 (Fig. 5), designed by architect Sydney Perry Dumaresq who came from a family of renowned Nova Scotian architects, and had constructed a number of commercial and civic buildings throughout Halifax and Nova Scotia.[78] Designed and built over eighty years after its Georgian neighbours, this building closely followed a period of time that was significant in building design and construction in Canada. Between the Canadian Confederation in 1867 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, "Canada's development from British colony to modern, largely urban, industrial and effectively self-governing nation was reflected in its architecture."[79] Architecture as a profession was rare in Canada before 1867, and only a few trained

[74] Boileau, *Water Meets the Land*, 22.

[75] Mary Jane Lawson, *History of the townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown; Halifax County, N.S.* (Halifax, NS: Morton & co., 1893), 113.

[76] "Manufacturing and Distributing Industries," *The Canadian Grocer*, 25 August 1905, p. 20.

[77] Information from reference card at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (NSARM) on Shaw building that cites "various McAlpine Halifax Directories." See Appendix A for a complete history of ownership of the Shaw Building.

[78] Dumaresq's other buildings include a number of banks throughout the Maritimes, a library, residences, and hospitals (Rosinski, "Dumaresq, Sydney Perry," in *Architects of Nova Scotia,* 239).

[79] Christopher Thomas, "Architectural History: 1867-1914," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* Online.

architects in Canada had established themselves in major Canadian towns before Confederation. Building designs were largely influenced by Victorian revivals, and like the Georgian buildings on this block, most buildings were vernacular or copied from known models.[80]

The decade from 1885 to 1895 was an architectural watershed for Canada. During this time the country experienced a period of relative prosperity that resulted in a number of large-scale building projects, and architecture became established as an organized and professional practice in the country. New building types of this period were largely influenced by developments in the United States, including the department store, the apartment house, and the tall office building. Office buildings first appeared in Canada in the 1880s, and along with this new form came the introduction of classically influenced Beaux-Arts designs from France.[81] The basics of Beaux-Arts architecture included "composition aimed at the creation of a stable harmony of balanced masses; large-scale, comprehensive, geometrically ordered planning; sound construction; and a preference for classicizing monumentality."[82] By the turn of the century, Beaux-Arts office buildings could be seen across Canada, however they differed from their American influences in their "more restrained, economic handling and . . . smaller scale."[83]

This revolution in Canadian architecture is apparent in the design of the office building created for the Acadia Sugar Refinery Company. Now referred to as the "Shaw Building," after the Shaw Steamship Company that operated at this location from 1967 to

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Susan Wagg, *Ernest Isbell Barott*: *Architecte/Architect, Une Introduction/An Introduction* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1985), 6.

[83] Ibid., 7-8.

1972, the building itself is a twentieth-century Classical Revival building that wraps around the corner of Hollis and Duke Streets. According to Halifax historian Elizabeth Pacey, this clever design reflects the development of Halifax as a sophisticated commercial centre by the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, which "was particularly evident in specialized corner buildings."[84] The Shaw Building is a three-storey brick building that is three bays wide on both Hollis and Duke Street sides. The building's brick facades have sandstone detailing, and throughout the first and second storeys are flat-headed sash windows. It displays many early-twentieth-century classical decorative elements such as a bracketed copper cornice along its flat roof, decorated brick stringcourses, and engaged pilasters that visually support them.[85]

The pilasters feature square, Tuscan capitals on the first and third storeys, and the scrolling volutes of the Ionic order on the second storey. The building's design incorporated windows directly on the corner with elongated, curved windowpanes that wrap around the building. On the Duke Street façade are four large storefront windows with transoms, while the storefront on the Hollis Street side follows a different design with one large storefront window just after the curved corner, followed by the double panel glazed doors of the main entry at 1855 Hollis. The main entry, which features an enlarged square transom window, is then followed by two more storefront windows, and finally the second, less elaborate entrance with double doors and an identical transom to the main entry.

Upon entering the building from this main entrance, one would enter a hallway that has access to four separate rooms along the Duke Street side (Fig. 17). On the corner

[84] E. Pacey, *Historic Halifax*, 102.

[85] Jennifer Phillips-Cleland, *An Evaluation and Protection System for Heritage Resources in Halifax* (Halifax, NS: Planning Department, 1977), 3: 93.

with the wrap-around windows is the "Sample Room" for the company's products. Following this is the slightly larger space labeled for "Salesman," followed by an even larger space for "Secretary," and finally the largest space, the "Board Room." If one were to turn left at the end of the hallway that runs along these four rooms they would find themselves in the "General Office" space located between the two entrances on the Hollis Street side. This space has access to the "Vault," located in the back, on the left. Next to the general office space, on the far right, is a second set of stairs that leads directly upstairs from the Hollis Street entrance. Both the main hallway and general office have access to the stairway in the back that leads to the second floor where, to the left on the Duke Street side, is the "Chemical Room." The rest of the second floor, and the entire third floor space are not designated for any particular use in the blueprint plans.[86] The spatial layout of the Shaw Building, with special offices and facilities for various functions and positions within the company, demonstrated the increasing sophistication of business operations in Halifax's downtown core during this period.

After the turn of the century, economic power and decision-making in Canadian cities was increasingly done in the boardrooms of national corporations. This had enormous implications for individual city growth, including the loss of local initiative since corporate decisions were made based on the needs of businesses rather than communities. Corporate capitalism and the monopoly of public necessities provided one of the early motivations for municipalities to acquire ownership of some utilities, including gas and power and street railways, in order to make them work more effectively in their interests. This had a boosterism factor since lower utility rates were

[86] Blueprint of Acadian Sugar Office by J.C. Dumaresq and Son Architects, April 20th, 1900. Held at NSARM.

supposed to draw new businesses to the city. The public ownership of some services, as well as the expansion of private services during this period, all put new responsibilities on civic government.

It became apparent that the existing system of government was not going to be adequate to meet these new needs, and reformers in this period called for basic changes in the structure and leadership of municipal government.[87] This initiated a second era of municipal reform, and changes introduced in this period were brought about by business leaders looking to protect their control of the municipality and allow the continued expansion of the private sector. The growing political awareness among workers resulted in businessmen devising modifications to the political system, including at-large elections, which maximized the impact of those with wealth and social prestige.[88] By operating municipal government and policies in terms of business principles, only those contributing to capital were afforded a position as a decision maker for the region. In their theory, the right voters would support the correct business-oriented policies and this might not always include organized labour or recent immigrants.[89]

Efficiency and business principles became the basis for changes, which included the use of Boards of Control, which in turn resulted in the narrowing of "the actors in the decision-making process and the range of alternatives and debate."[90] Halifax's Board of Control was introduced in 1906, and was charged with issues of planning and development.[91] One solution was to divide policy-making, thereby lessening the pressure

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[87] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 22-23.

[88] Lightbody, "Why Study City Politics?" 14.

[89] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 22-23.

[90] Ibid.

and reducing the power of amateur politicians by putting complex new technical matters under the charge of experts.[92] These reforms contributed to the depoliticizing of the city,[93] and gave some of the most important decisions with regards to city building to "professionals" rather than the citizens themselves.

These efforts were part of a growing "urban reform movement" that could be seen throughout Canadian cities where the focus on municipal reform, and increasingly on city beautification, were all part of efforts to make cities more livable. Beginning in the late 1890s the rapid growth in Canadian urban centres led urban leaders to call for solutions to the problems of the city where the "the ills of modern society were concentrated and highly visible," including "disease, crime, prostitution and general misery."[94] Like most other Canadian cities, the period between 1900 and 1920 was a period of urban crisis for Halifax as the city faced a number of serious problems brought on by industrialization and the rapid increase in population. The lack of adequate housing, rising crime rates, and increasing mortality rates from disease prompted City officials to designate the Civic Improvement League in 1905. The League was mostly concerned with civic beautification, and advocated for more trees, parks, and cheaper housing.

These suggestions had a drastic impact on the Town Planning Act of 1915 that the city adopted, which was the first in Canada to introduce proper zoning laws and by-laws

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[91] Halifax's Board of Control was "a short-lived experiment" and dissolved in 1919 due to ideological difference and in-fighting among the members. (Henry Roper, "The Halifax Board of Control: The Failure of Municipal Reform, 1906-1919," *Acadiensis* 14 no. 2 [1984-1985]: 1-3.

[92] Stelter, "City-Building Process," 22-23.

[93] Lightbody, "Why Study City Politics?" 14.

[94] Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History,* ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984), 436.

for housing.[95] Nova Scotia had been one of the first provinces to adopt planning legislation with the Town Planning Act of 1912, but the Act was redrafted in 1915 to reflect a more bureaucratic model of planning promoted by Ottawa. Citizens had limited roles to play under these early acts; unless citizens owned property they had few rights under the law. Much like today, in order for citizens to prevent "unwanted actions or ensuring desired actions required intensive lobbying of the local planning board or town council."[96] In the downtown, civic improvement had some impact on the commercial buildings on the waterfront, including the moral clean-up campaigns that sought to "purify city life," and resulted in laws being passed by the municipal authority to "stamp out immorality."[97] One effect of this was the closure of the taverns that operated in the Peter Martin and Harrington Buildings during wartime prohibition.

Halifax was hit extremely hard by the economic slump brought about by the end of the First World War. Then, in 1917, the Halifax Explosion devastated much of the residential North End neighborhoods. The city's post-war economic recession lasted for ten years, and was followed by the Great Depression in the 1930s. Buildings and infrastructure continued to deteriorate under these conditions.[98] While early legislation in Nova Scotia reflected the Progressive era's optimism that scientific management could cure the ills of urban life, this utopian hope diminished during the depression of the 1920s and 30s, and Nova Scotians abandoned planning during this period.[99] Efforts during this

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[95] Andrew Nicholson, "Dreaming "the Perfect City: The Halifax Civic Improvement League, 1905-1949" (Masters thesis, Saint Mary's University, 2000), 5.

[96] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 51

[97] Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis," 437-438.

[98] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax,* 145.

[99] Grant, *Drama of Democracy,* 53.

period for increased economic prosperity in the Atlantic region through attempts to "wrest economic concessions from Ottawa" became known as the Maritime Rights movement. Although this movement achieved less than it sought to, "It left a legacy of regional co-operation and a collective sense of regional grievance that would continue to inform public policy and public opinion."[100]

It was during this Depression that the final building in the ensemble of concern to this thesis was constructed. The Imperial Oil Building (Fig. 6), built in 1926, is separated from the neighboring Shaw Building by over twenty years and the First World War, during which time Canadian capitalism was consolidated.[101] This building is part of the wide variety of building projects across the country that were stimulated by Canada's modern industrial base, rather than the railway expansion and settlement of the pre-war period. During this period large amounts of money were invested in various mills, refineries, and new forms of energy and transport.[102] The constant development and production of new technology greatly increased demands for oil, and by the turn of the century this had become another major industry in Halifax.

Until 1880, Halifax received oil from American sailing ships in barrels that were then distributed to corner grocers, hardware stores, and other merchants all over the three Atlantic provinces.[103] It was around this time that brothers Sid and Frank Shatford set up Nova Scotia's first native oil business to compete with these American oil jobbers.[104] Oil

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[100] Margaret Conrad, "The 'Atlantic Revolution' of the 1950s," in *Beyond Anger and Longing: Community and Development in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Berkeley Fleming (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1988), 56.

[101] Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 34.

[102] Wagg, *Ernest Isbell Barott*, 11.

[103] "Project is Largest Ever Undertaken," *The [Halifax] Chronicle Herald,* 11 October 1956, p. 11.

was mainly used at this time to provide kerosene for lamps, but the needs of the "new oil age" were already becoming apparent by the turn of the century.[105] In 1894 the Shatford Brothers merged with local competition Joseph Bullock & Sons from Saint John to present a united front to their rival, the Ontario-based Imperial Oil Company who had an office in Saint John and moved oil by railway into the Atlantic Provinces. Imperial Oil steadily grew stronger in the Maritimes, and in 1898 the Shatford Brothers decided they would have to amalgamate with Imperial Oil.[106] This was reflective of a growing trend in the 1920s known as the "merger movement" which resulted in the centralization and concentration of capital, contributing to "a total and dismal collapse of the local economy" in many places.[107] This reorganization of Canadian business into monopoly form closely followed the period of industrialization, and the dominant fraction of the bourgeoisie made their money from this structure of "finance capital," the fusion of large-scale industrial and financial capital.[108] By 1946 Imperial Oil was one of the largest corporations in Canada.[109]

The Halifax headquarters for Imperial Oil at the southeast corner of Upper Water and Duke Streets was built in 1926, and designed by H.E. Gates, another renowned Nova Scotian architect who had extensive experience in civic and commercial building.[110] It is

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[104] "The Imperial Oil Saga," *The Monthly Bulletin: The Publication of the Maritime Telegraph & Telephone & Associated Companies' Employees* LIV, no. IV & V (April & May 1961): 91.

[105] "Project is Largest Ever Undertaken," *[Halifax] Chronicle Herald*, 11.

[106] "The Imperial Oil Saga," *Monthly Bulletin*, 92-93.

[107] "Introduction to Volume 4," in *The Consolidation of Capitalism, 1896-1929*, ed. Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 11.

[108] William K. Carroll, *Corporate Power and Canadian Capitalism* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), xv.

[109] Ibid., 68-69.

a two-storey building of steel frame construction with concrete floor slabs,[111] both of which were advanced building techniques and materials for this time and reflected the influence of building technology developed in Chicago and New York for high-rises in the late-nineteenth century.[112] Like the Shaw Building, it is a twentieth-century classical building in red brick, but its features and massing are quite different from its turn-of-the-century neighbour. Its symmetrical five-bay façade is divided by low-relief pilasters, while four simple windows are set in each bay, each featuring granite keystones. The central doorway, with double glazed doors, is surrounded by granite quoins, and above the doorway are seven decorative keystones arranged in a starburst design. Above the second-storey windows a horizontal band of copper transverses the building, and between this band and the dentilated roofline cornice is a granite block with the company name "Imperial Oil Ltd." inscribed.

Both the first and second storeys of this building were devoted to office functions for Imperial Oil and other companies that rented office space within the building (Fig. 19).[113] Upon entering the building from the main entrance on Upper Water Street there was an office for the "Assistant Manager" to the immediate right, followed by the office for the "Manager" in the far right corner of the building. To the left of the entrance was the small "Cashier's Office," followed by the "Shipping & Order Department" in the left corner. The vestibule at the entrance led into "Public Space," followed by a "Gate" that one would have to pass before accessing the rest of the first floor. Past this gate was the

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[110] Gates' other projects included a provincial hospital, a technical college, and two banks in Halifax. (Maude Rosinski, "Gates, Herbert E.," in *Architects of Nova Scotia,* 241).

[111] Lydon Lynch Architects, *Conditions Assessment,* 2.

[112] Carol Willis, *Form Follows Finance Skyscrapers and Skylines in New York and Chicago* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995).

[113] See Appendix A for a complete history of ownership of the Imperial Oil Building.

"General Office," and in the back left corner was the "Chief Clerk's Office." The next section includes the vault in the left corner, and to the right of this were the stairs leading to the second floor. The second floor plan consisted of a large, undivided space labeled "General Office,"[114] that was the space rented out to other businesses. Much like the Shaw Building, the differentiation of the Imperial Oil Building's space for various functions reflected its specialization and sophistication as a business, while the rental space it provided to other companies reflected the growing demand and commodification of downtown office space.

Each building in this group was built during different phases in Halifax’s economic and urban history, ranging from early commercialization to advanced industrialization. Political and economic differences in these periods produced diverging forms and functions in each of these five buildings that evoke the monumental changes in the commercial and downtown life of Halifax over the period of a hundred years. Although the Peter Martin and Harrington Buildings were largely defined by basic commercial activities, the rest of the buildings flourished in three of Atlantic Canada's four phases of urbanization. The first phase from Confederation to the closing decade of the nineteenth century saw the region integrated with the rest of Canada through the rail, a feature that the Fishwick Express was able to take advantage of. The second phase from the 1890s to World War I saw the establishment of much of the region's secondary industry, allowing the Acadia Sugar Refinery to prosper and construct its building on the corner of Hollis and Duke Streets. The third phase, from the 1920s to the 1940s, followed the collapse of the industrial core and the depression of various staple trades, contributing

[114] H.E. Gates Imperial Oil building blueprint, held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives.

to the economic decline of many Canadian cities. Imperial Oil's office building that housed the national corporation is representative of this trend as it was able to merge with a local business and concentrate capital in the central regions of Canada. The last period occurs between the 1950s and the 1990s, and was characterized by increased concentration of people in the Halifax metropolitan region and a restructuring of local political relationships, which will be explored in the next chapter in the context of the urban renewal in the downtown area and the citizen movements that fought many of the large-scale redevelopments that would disrupt the historic fabric of the city.[115]

[115] Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 25.

CHAPTER 2

POST-WAR REDEVELOPMENT AND THE CREATION OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES

The Post-War Cityscape and Planned Downtown Renewal

Nova Scotia's hopes for an economic recovery through renewed industrial development were shattered by the Great Depression in the early 1930s. As a result, the province had little capital or profits to invest in urban infrastructure or to revive hard-pressed towns and cities.[116] By 1939, however, Nova Scotia began to notice other nations where centralized state planning seemed to promote industrial development, and the province began to enact legislation that put trust in "the wisdom of local elites," and trained professionals to develop plans that would modernize the urban centre.[117] The Town Planning Act of 1939 was a major effort to promote town planning in Nova Scotia by encouraging municipalities to hire expert planning staff and to prepare plans for infrastructure and urban redevelopment. The Act entrusted the planning and development of the city to the expertise of these "professionals," assuming that citizens lacked any interest in the planning process, and "did not treat citizens as partners in the planning process."[118] The exclusion of Halifax citizens from urban redevelopment issues and the planning process would result in serious conflicts with City officials within the next thirty years as Halifax entered a period of intense renewal and redevelopment.

The declaration of the Second World War destroyed any remaining hopes for near-term urban recovery in the city of Halifax.[119] During WWII Halifax became

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[116] Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 37.

[117] Grant, *Drama of Democracy,* 53.

[118] Ibid., 51-52.

overcrowded with thousands of soldiers, sailors, and airmen who were waiting to leave for Europe or the North Atlantic.[120] Halifax's buildings and infrastructure continued to deteriorate under these stresses as houses became overcrowded and divided into apartments.[121] The downtown remained dominated by commercial and industrial uses in buildings that were showing wear, but most were not deteriorating beyond repair.[122] The Peter Martin Building was occupied by a succession of grocery stores, and by 1951 the restaurant Tom's Lunch & Coffee Shop had moved in. The Harrington Building next to it was steadily occupied by the Pyke Brothers brokers and manufacturing agents since 1905, while the Fishwick Building was used for additional space by the Imperial Oil Company from 1925 to 1956.[123] The Shaw Building was occupied by the Acadia Sugar Refinery offices until 1955, sharing the building with a number of other tenants including the offices for shipping and fish processing businesses. Imperial Oil remained in their building until 1954, along with the German, Norwegian, Danish, Spanish Consulates, and a couple of shipping firms.

Soon these buildings would be caught in the middle of the Halifax City Council's efforts to revitalize its downtown (Fig. 21), opening it up to large-scale developments in the hopes that this would increase economic prosperity. The form of cities during this post-war period was dependant on the economic structure of Fordism, or the Industrial-manufacturing-based economy. The government during this time was a regulatory and

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[119] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax,* 145.

[120] Ibid., 148.

[121] Ibid., 148, 163.

[122] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 25-27.

[123] After Imperial Oil moved the building was occupied by a number of eclectic businesses, including, but not limited to: Eastern Film Laboratories Ltd., Maritime elevator equipment Co. Ltd., X-Ray and Radium Ltd.

interventionist body, and centralized planning was imposed at national, regional, and local levels. Many cities became divided into the central city and the surrounding suburbs, and zoning became a regulatory function to determine the nature and function of space throughout the city.[124] This approach produced a number of cities throughout North America that followed a very similar formula that often gave little consideration to regional features, especially in certain proposals from land developers who wanted to build in the older, seemingly derelict parts of the city. The emerging land development industry and town planning became integral to redesigning the city in the modern era.

Though it had limited influence in the city prior to the Second World War, the field of town planning steadily grew in importance in Halifax as the population grew and the City officials looked to ways of assuring economic growth through an improved urban environment. Immediately after the War, planning became the main focus of cities throughout North America and Europe, and by 1950 it was the "chief means for controlling changes in the urban environment."[125] Increasingly using the theories of "scientific management," the planning process came to be seen as the rational or logical method of problem solving that involved empirical analysis of the situation, followed by a consideration of possible outcome, and the selection of the best option or approach.[126] In theory, the scope of urban planning embraces the whole urban environment in both two-dimensional and three-dimensional forms, with regard to the overall structure of urbanizing regions to the specifics of the settings of individual buildings. In practice,

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[124] David C. Thorns, *The Transformation of Cities: Urban Theory and Urban Life* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 71.

[125] Edward Relph, *The Modern Urban Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 138.

[126] Jill Grant, "The Planning Process," in *A Reader in Canadian Planning: Linking Theory and Practice*, ed. Jill Grant (Toronto: Nelson, 2008), 108.

however, planning was much more narrowly focused, and was primarily used as a mechanism for regulating land use and land development through zoning and subdivision control.[127]

Before the War had ended, the City of Halifax began planning for its post-war renewal by creating the Civic Planning Commission, a body charged with producing a report on how the city could rebuild and renew its downtown. Issued in 1945, their Master Plan for the city was designed to consider "a program of reconstruction and rehabilitation for the City," in order to "promote orderly growth of the municipality."[128] Ultimately the Plan called for drastic changes in both the downtown and the North End residential areas of Halifax. Plans for the downtown's revitalization included razing blighted suburbs, and the creation of both superhighways and commercial buildings in their place.[129] Items of the greatest urgency included slum clearance and housing, street changes and improvements, and the preparation of zoning by-laws.[130] The Plan assured that the changes that would have great "economic value" included slum clearance and redevelopment, which would add to the tax revenue of the city and reduce the cost of social services.[131]

On the subject of transportation, the Commission proposed a diagonal highway that would start at Water and George Street near the ferry entrance and continue northwest to Gottingen Street. It assured that "this thoroughfare would facilitate

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[127] P.J. Smith, "Urban-Planning Systems for Metropolitan Canada," in *Canadian Metropolitics: Governing Our Cities*, ed. James Lightbody (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 215.

[128] Halifax Civic Planning Commission, *Master Plan for the City of Halifax* (Halifax, 1945), 1, 5.

[129] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax*, 163-165.

[130] Halifax Civic Planning Commission, *Master Plan*, 7.

[131] Ibid., 8.

movement to and from the main business district" as a "high speed traffic route" that could handle the projected increase in vehicular traffic.[132] The Plan insisted that these improvements were beneficial to the city's downtown and the commuter: "The street improvement projects will add to the value of the properties through which they pass and at the same time be beneficial by reducing transportation costs and speeding up traffic."[133] The Commission also recommended enacting a zoning plan that would divide the city into zones that would "confirm generally to with the predominant types of land use presently existing."[134] Thus the downtown was zoned as "Commercial/Industrial," discouraging any residential occupation or building in the downtown.

As stated by the official town plan of this period, "Planning and zoning help to safeguard the predictability or profitable conversion of land values."[135] The official town plan was the main authority in terms of changes within the built environment. It exerted control over large-scale urban patterns through future development plans and intended land use, and municipalities were then given the authority to expropriate private or public property and redevelop it because of slum conditions.[136] The City produced the *Halifax 10 Year Development Plan, or Official Town Plan, 1950,* published as a cursory look at specific areas within Halifax that City Council believed needed to be cleared,

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[132] Ibid., 14.

[133] Ibid., 8.

[134] In the report the Commission assured that: "Zoning regulates the use of land, the use, height and size of buildings, and the density of population, in order to safeguard and promote the general welfare of the community. This is accomplished by dividing the municipal territory into districts or zones within which uniform restrictions apply. Zoning thus provides for the orderly growth and redevelopment of the city, including the economic expansion of public services (Halifax Civic Planning Commission, *Master Plan,* 36).

[135] Jill Grant, "Culture and Theory of Canadian Planning," in *A Reader in Canadian Planning: Linking Theory and Practice*, ed. Jill Grant (Toronto: Nelson, 2008), 49.

[136] Relph, *Modern Urban Landscape,* 140.

redeveloped, or improved for ease of transportation and economic activity. The document made particular mention of the Jacob Street residential neighborhood just north of the block of buildings containing the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings as one of the "worst slum districts in the City," stating that "Council for some years has been hoping for an opportunity to clear this area and redevelop it."[137] It was advised that once cleared, the properties should be re-sold for commercial purposes since this area is on the fringe of the business district of a city that is "continually expanding."[138] By commercial activities, City officials looked to "retail and wholesale trade, offices, financial institutions, theatres, hotels and other commercial establishments"[139] to replace residential areas in the downtown.

It had been decided by the federal government following WWII that Halifax would remain the country's most important naval port instead of becoming industrialized like the rest of the country. Before military expenditure and war-related activity completely declined, City officials felt that the province would have to act fast to commission studies for their renewal and development to beat the post-war slump that devastated cities following World War I.[140] By the 1950s, however, it became clear that Canada was in yet another war when the United States became involved in the Cold War with Russia. This was a positive development for the city since the federal government would continue to supply funding for armed services and money to help finance some of

[137] City of Halifax, *Halifax 10 Year Development Plan, or Official Town Plan, 1950* (Halifax: 1950), 7.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Halifax Civic Planning Commission, *Master Plan,* 38.

[140] Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 40-41.

the sweeping plans that had been discussed for the city's downtown.[141] Halifax City Council knew that changes were coming to the national legislation that would facilitate redevelopment of city centres, and in 1955 a motion was passed indicating Halifax's intention to start a program of slum clearance. The Council requested $12,000 from the federal government for a housing survey to determine where redevelopment should occur. The Minister of Public Works recommended University of Toronto Planning Professor Gordon Stephenson for the job.[142] Stephenson identified a large section of the downtown next to the waterfront as the "Central Redevelopment Area," and the block containing the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings was labeled block number "61" out of the 119 blocks identified by the study (Fig. 22).[143]

Stephenson focused specifically on areas that were considered "slums" in the downtown and North End residential area of the city. These areas were supposedly suffering from "blight," which was a popular term used to identify architectural decay in urban areas that also carried associations of decrepitude and disease. It was felt that by removing blight, the hierarchy, order, and beauty could be restored to the city centre.[144] Stephenson, aware that slum areas were "the only place some people can afford," also noted that they were a "drain on the public purse" and "must be cleared."[145] Stephenson's study recommended the removal of the "Jacob Street slum" on the northern edge of the small city centre. Both the City of Halifax officials and Stephenson believed that by

[141] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax,* 165.

[142] Jill Grant and Marcus Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart: Gordon Stephenson and the Redevelopment Study of Halifax, 1957" (paper to be presented at International Planning History Society meetings in Istanbul, Turkey, July, 2010), 4-5.

[143] Stephenson, "Key Map," in *Redevelopment Study,* 63.

[144] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 11.

[145] Gordon Stephenson, "Human values and urban growth," in *Community Planning Review* VIII (1958): 4-10. Quoted in Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 6.

removing the buildings that suffered from blight that they would cure the social ills of the area, but the result of their efforts merely shifted the poverty to a new location instead of recognizing and remedying the root of the problem.[146]

Stephenson was "appalled by conditions along Upper Water and north Barrington streets," which he felt would not make a proper approach from the new Angus L. MacDonald harbour bridge to "a gleaming new downtown."[147] The Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings were included in an area he described as the "worn-out and underdeveloped area between the City Hall and Jacob Street," deemed by Stephenson to be "A Forgotten Part of the City…an important part of the city centre which has been standing still."[148] Recommended for this area was an improvement to Water Street with a connection with Cogswell Street in order to "revivify the area, which suffers from access difficulties."[149] By this time the automobile had become the most important factor in determining the shape and look of the ordinary city landscape.[150] Following the wishes of Halifax City Council, Stephenson recommended that a four-lane highway be constructed joining Cogswell Street to Water Street to facilitate easy and speedy access through the downtown. It was envisioned by Stephenson to "flank" the central area, and bring Hollis Street and Water Street "into more effective use" that would in turn "stimulate the further development of the office and downtown commercial district."[151] Stephenson's "professional expertise" closely mirrored the

[146] Elizabeth Pacey, *The Battle of Citadel Hill* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1979), 25.

[147] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax,* 165.

[148] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 11, 16.

[149] Ibid., 16.

[150] Relph, *Modern Urban Landscape,* 87.

[151] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 25-26.

wishes of City staff in his recommendation for a highway that would theoretically provide easier access through downtown, but in doing so the City would destroy many buildings that generations of Halifax merchants had built to facilitate the city's commercial activities.

In the maps provided in Stephenson's report of the Redevelopment Area, surveys and studies indicated that the block containing the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings was 30 percent overcrowded,[152] and 20 percent deficient in sanitary equipment,[153] both higher than average for the Study Area. Though the formulas used by Stephenson "may have added a scientific aura to Stephenson's presentation, they depended on problematic premises and calculations."[154] While these mathematical judgments were described by Stephenson as objective, his next judgment, he admitted, was in part subjective: the condition of the residential buildings in block 61 was described as 58 percent inadequate in terms of structure, space, light, and ventilation, which was about the average for all of the blocks assessed.[155] This block was suffering from "blight" from neglect and overcrowding, but it was also believed that blight occurred in this urban area as a result of the inappropriate mixing of uses over many decades. By eliminating blight, the City would open up opportunities for commerce, and give Halifax a chance to modernize.[156] Stephenson believed that these historic, "worn-out

[152] 23.83 percent was the general average of the Study Area, with a low of 1 percent in block 23, and a high of 100 percent in block 110 (Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 46-47).

[153] 19.63 percent was the general average of the Study Area, with a low of 1 percent in five different blocks, and a high of 47 percent (Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 48-49).

[154] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 17.

[155] 47.32 percent was the general average for the Study Area. In this category there is a low of 17 percent in blocks 73 and 64, and a high of 81 percent in block 92 (Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 50-51).

[156] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 13.

blocks" in particular should be replaced by "an intensification of development."[157] His concluding recommendations for block 61 in particular were for it to change from a residential/commercial mixed-use block to one that was strictly commercial.[158]

The message of Stephenson's report, that Halifax was a "frayed historic city worn down by the years and in danger of falling behind modern times," was taken seriously by Halifax City Councilors, who promptly applied for funding to implement Stephenson's recommendations.[159] In 1958 the municipal, provincial, and federal governments announced joint plans to redevelop the downtown.[160] Under provisions of the National Housing Act of 1944, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation[161] contributed 50 percent of the cost of acquiring and clearing the land in the northern section of the downtown,[162] or the Central Redevelopment Area. By 1962 the City had evicted all of the residents of the Jacob Street slum,[163] relocating them to a modern public housing project

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[157] Stephenson, *Redevelopment Study,* 30.
[158] Ibid., 56-57.

[159] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 7, 19.

[160] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax,* 167. As early as November 5, 1958, the establishment of the Landmarks Commission, charged with identifying significant historic sites and buildings in the city, was being developed (Advisory Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings Minutes [November 18, 1969], 1).

[161] The National Housing Act was created to consolidate housing legislation and put it under the authority of the federal government ("History of the CMHC," *Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation* Online). The Act originally created the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation to assist construction of thousands of new urban and suburban homes (Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 42), particularly with regard "to house returning war veterans and to lead the nation's housing programs" ("History of the CMHC," *Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation* Online).

[162] As noted by Stephenson, Section 23 of the National Housing Act of 1954 enabled the Federal Government to enter into agreements with municipalities that would "assist in the clearance, replanning, rehabilitation and modernization of blighted or sub-standard areas" (Section 23 quoted in Stephenson, *Redevelopment*, Appendix III, 22). It was through the CMHC that a total of 48 urban renewal projects were authorized for implementation between 1948 and 1968, and the federal government invested in excess of $125 million to facilitate these projects (Graham Fraser, *Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court* [Toronto: Hakkert, 1972], 4).

[163] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax*, 167.

much further north called Mulgrave Park,[164] and with funds provided by the federal government through the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation,[165] all of the residential and commercial buildings in this area were demolished, totaling 18 acres (Fig. 23).[166] This was a common redevelopment approach in many North American cities, and has been aptly named "clean-sweep planning" to refer to the way it erases whatever existed in order to create something completely new.[167] The assumption of this approach "was that little, and possibly none, of anything old was worth saving or reproducing, and this included not only buildings but also property lines and road patterns."[168]

This wide-scale re-planning of the central city encouraged private interest to participate in the redevelopment.[169] The National Housing Act was originally "intended to aid the single-family home construction industry," but private builders profited from the Act and would dramatically change urban centres with new building projects.[170] The restructuring of cities through the provision of more single-family houses outside the city was meant to provide better accommodations for a growing population, but also to free up the central city for commercial growth. This reorganization of space allowed the land and property development industry to become a powerful tool of government as they moved residential accommodation to the peripheries of the city, and in the city centre developed high-density office buildings that would increase tax revenue for the city.

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[164] E. Pacey, *Battle of Citadel Hill*, 25.
[165] 75 percent of the funding was provided by the federal treasury, 12.5 percent from the provincial treasury, and 12.5 percent from the City treasury (Raddall, *Halifax, Warden of the North*, 327).

[166] Robert W. Collier, *Contemporary Cathedrals*: *Large-Scale Developments in Canadian Cities* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1974), 156.

[167] Alison Ravetz quoted in Relph, *Modern Urban Landscape,* 144.

[168] Relph, *Modern Urban Landscape,* 144.

[169] Grant and Paterson, "Scientific Cloak/Romantic Heart," 3.

[170] Meyer Brownstone, forward to *Contemporary Cathedrals* by Robert W. Collier, v.

Economic value governed design and development decisions in this type of commercial architecture. The high-rise office building's main function was to generate rents for the owner, so the program of these buildings is ultimately dominated by profit.[171]

In larger cities in North America, most notably Chicago and New York, innovations in engineering were creating taller buildings in downtowns. These buildings incorporated historicist, "proto-modernist," and Art Deco designs in the 1920s. This was the first development period of the high-rise, or "skyscraper" that began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continued until the Great Depression. The second period largely begins after the Second World War as new building materials and innovations in engineering technology changed building methods, but what really distinguishes this period was the hegemonic influence of modernism.[172] The "International Style" of architecture, or what is now known as Modernism, dates back to the 1920s when architects sought to find a style that would be appropriate for "mass-produced consumer machines and their buildings."[173] They designed buildings featuring undecorated surfaces, clean edges, mass-produced components, and "honest" expression of materials like glass, metal, and concrete. This style was influenced by several earlier experiments and theories but had no clear historic precedent, and so it became an original contribution to the field like classical and gothic styles.[174]

The philosophy of modernism in the 1920s was heavily influenced by a movement in European art and architecture called "Neue Sachlichkeit," or New Objectivity. Dominated by a philosophy of detachment and rationality, in architecture

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[171] Willis, *Form Follows Finance*, 19-23.

[172] Ibid., 8.

[173] Relph, *Modern Urban Landscape,* 98.

[174] Ibid.

this meant an emphasis on clean lines and the banishment of ornament, but more importantly the "systematic working out of design problems that resulted from the new machine technology and social needs."[175] One of the major principles of these New Objectivity designs was that buildings and their environment should reflect the ideals of the machine age with industrial, technical, and mass-produced characters.[176] It was believed that this "rational architecture" would "actively promote the creation of a forward-looking and rational society . . . that would not copy the mistakes of history."[177] After the Second World War, European architects Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe emigrated to the United States, where their designs were embraced by the executives of large business corporations that wanted to establish themselves in buildings that symbolized progress and prosperity.[178]

The International Style modernism became popular in large-scale institutional and corporate construction, as well as apartment buildings.[179] Following WWII, high-rises were being built in North American and European cities. There was a widespread belief held by City officials that these new developments were monuments to technology and commerce, and would bring prosperity to their cities. Accompanying this belief was a fear that any restrictions on building and redeveloping would slow down the growth rate of their cities.[180] The combination of the sleek, unornamented aesthetic of the Modern Movement with steel frame and curtain wall construction produced a cost-effective

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[175] Ibid., 114-115.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid., 98.

[178] Relph, *Modern Urban Landscape,* 118.

[179] Ibid., 98.

[180] E. Pacey, *Battle of Citadel Hill*, 7.

skyscraper. These reduced building costs and speedy construction were also factors that made Modernist buildings appealing to developers and City officials, "Who seized the opportunity to revamp town centres in the mid 1950s and 1960s as the middle class took flight to the suburbs."[181]

Throughout North America, the urban landscape that had developed in the first three decades of the twentieth century was "commercial, messy, filled with poles and wires and signs and *ad hoc* architectural styles."[182] This urban landscape was taken for granted as the background of daily life, distinguished for its lack of aesthetic self-consciousness.[183] When International Style modernism became popular in cities it was considered "international" because the designs did not take into account the context or region in which they were constructed. In this sense, buildings created in this style lack a relationship with their site or surroundings, and are "essentially interchangeable from one city to another."[184] The need for historic preservation, as perceived by many citizens in cities throughout North American at this time, emerged as old buildings and cityscapes were being destroyed to make way for new buildings that could be found anywhere in the western world. This contributed to a growing sense of the loss of local culture, and "placelessness" became a popular term that emphasized the lack of character and roots that redeveloped cities had.

Following the completion in the early 1960s of the large multi-purpose Modern development project in Montreal designed by I.M. Pei called "Place Ville Marie," competitiveness erupted among Canadian City Councils for new downtown

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[181] Diane Ghirardo, *Architecture After Modernism* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 10.

[182] Relph, *Modern Urban Landscape,* 76.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Willis, *Form Follows Finance,* 8.

developments. Nova Scotia and other provinces that were not as affluent as central Canada "felt a tremendous need to compete, worried they may be losing development to Toronto and Montreal."[185] This desire on the part of municipalities for intense commercial growth, along with the large amount of funding from the federal government and various investment and banking firms, led to the rise of the land development industry in Canada. This development industry was a joint initiative between the government and Canada's financial institutions that were able to fund the projects. Financial institutions are strictly regulated by the federal and provincial governments, and so government policy made regulations that permitted and encouraged these lenders to substantially increase the amount of investment capital for urban real estate. They loaned this money comfortably, knowing that the loan was safe if the borrower defaulted or if the property was sold for less than its value, since they were protected by insurance provided by the CMHC under the National Housing Act.[186] An emerging group of land and property developers would take advantage of this increase in grants and subsidies.

These new city-building entrepreneurs brought large-scale plans to city halls for developments that would require the demolition of several city blocks, and the relocation of public and private facilities. Two strategies were used to push these developments through: the schemes "assured" healthy increases in municipal tax revenue and urban revitalization, and the plans required immediate municipal action since the money required to build them would not be around for long.[187] Politicians saw these projects in terms of the incredible amount of new tax revenue and new jobs to attract and retain

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[185] Joan Parsons Doehler, "Scotia Square: Its Impact on the Downtown Core" (Masters thesis, Dalhousie University, 2001), 4.

[186] James Lorimer, *The Developers* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1978), 71-73.

[187] Brownstone, forward *Contemporary Cathedrals*, vi.

some of the young, skilled working population who had historically migrated to western and central Canada in search of jobs. It was also believed that these projects would be a catalyst to attract more developments and enterprises to the city.[188] By 1960, a firm of engineering consultants estimated the population of Halifax to be nearly two hundred thousand, and it was predicted that by 1980 the city would have a population of three hundred thousand.[189] All of the decisions for urban renewal and development rested on this figure of a rapidly growing population, and the facilities that Halifax would need to develop to accommodate its citizens, attract more people to the city, and to become the economic and commercial centre of the Atlantic region.

The trend of looking outside of the Maritimes for models of urban development would continue as Halifax recruited consultants, engineers, and architects from other major Canadian cities, most often Toronto, believing that outside expertise could offer a different view of the city's problems and develop solutions based on what were perceived to be successes of these other regions. Canadian Urban Economics Limited, a real-estate investment firm with headquarters in Edmonton, offered a report entitled "Summary of Additional Land-Use Demand - 1966-1986" for the Halifax Central Business District (CBD). With their projections, the report stated that apartment units would increase from 1,271 to 5,445 square feet, retail space would increase from 68,460 to 612, 630 square feet, and office space would increase 192,270 to 2,078,300 square feet.[190] This firm saw a potential market for both governmental and non-governmental office space development

[188] Collier, *Contemporary Cathedrals,* 2.

[189] Raddall, *Halifax, Warden of the North,* 326.

[190] Canadian Urban Economics Limited, *City of Halifax Central Business District*, *Economic Analysis for Re-development Planning* (Toronto: The Co., 1965), 2.

in the Central Business District as they deemed the existing office space to be "obsolete space."[191] They asserted that:

> Every effort should be made to concentrate further government office space developments within the core of the CBD. This source alone, if dilution can be prevented, represents a potential increase of approximately 1,000,000 square feet of new office space which could be located in the CBD within the next 20 years.[192]

These recommendations forecasted the building boom that hit the city by the late 1960s when the entire downtown underwent sweeping renewal, drastically changing the image of the central city.

At this point, an old building that remained standing, whether occupied or vacant, was purely a coincidence. These buildings had not yet been threatened by the location of a new business activity, a new transportation system, or because there were gaps in the demands for growth. What might be considered a "historic building" was not legally protected or subject to conscious efforts towards restoration, and the architectural or historic value of downtown buildings was not taken into account. As such, the fate of many buildings was becoming very precarious as land was recognized to be both valuable and increasingly scarce, and as calls for development were gaining momentum.[193] The few sites in Halifax that were considered to have historic value were related to either early political buildings or military fortifications, included such sites as the Royal Artillery Park, the Citadel, and the forts in Point Pleasant Park.[194]

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[191] Ibid., 63.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Allan Rodger, "Development and the Historic Waterfront Buildings: A Case Study," in Heritage Trust Archives at NSARM, 3.

[194] Halifax Civic Planning Commission, *Master Plan*, 71.

While cities were being physically restructured, so too was the form of city government which began to concentrate "enormous planning and financial powers into regional, metropolitan or single-tier government that is difficult for ordinary citizens to control."[195] James Lorimer, a critic of Canadian urban affairs and policy, referred to the post-war city as the "corporate city," a city "constructed by corporations, in ways compatible with their business interests."[196] Many began to decry the inhumane qualities of these urban development programs, often accusing local governments of having an obvious bias towards development and renewal. Lorimer asserted that, in this type of city planning, whenever there was a choice to make between either providing people with what they want and need, or pursuing a strategy that would increase short-term and long-term profits of the development corporations, the developers chose to pursue their own interests with encouragement and funding provided by City officials. As a consequence, the city became viewed as a place to maximize profits from urban land rather than to provide a humane and livable city for its residents.[197]

It was taken for granted that "cities are competitive environments where buildings are businesses and space is a commodity."[198] The prospect of businesses coming to the city to occupy office buildings in the city centre, adding jobs and outside money to the local economy was a main incentive to redevelop the downtown, and Halifax began "desperately seeking development."[199]A belief took hold in City Council that almost any area of the city was available for redevelopment, following the trend of larger cities in

[195] Lorimer, *The Developers*, 78.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Lorimer, *The Developers*, 78-79.

[198] Willis, *Form Follows Finance*, 182.

[199] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 45.

Canada and the United States. Since municipal governments rely on tax revenues as their main source of income, many of the planning decisions were meant to bring land into the "best and highest use" in order to provide income to the City. This marked the diverging views between heritage preservation, which became associated with stagnation, and development, which signaled "progress" and financial prosperity.[200] The decisions that dictated the form and use of any section of the city at this time were thus determined theories of economics that did not take a broad view of potential sources of revenue for the city.

Halifax's urban renewal got off to a slow start, particularly in the case of the Jacob Street slum clearance and its anti-climactic aftermath. The problem was that after the area was cleared, Halifax failed to generate any interest in the site for developers. Three years passed without any developers coming forward with serious offers, and the area had become "a gaping testimony to the City's failure to attract a viable development for the site."[201] According to Alan Ruffman, there was a faulty logic in Halifax that "if you tear down buildings, the developer will come."[202] Eventually Halifax developer K.C. Appleyard came forward specifically to remedy this embarrassing situation, forming "Halifax Development Limited" with ten other high-profile members of the Nova Scotia business establishment.[203] They enlisted Boston architect Karl Koch and Philadelphia planner David Crane.[204] Their proposal for the site was named "Scotia Square," a mega-

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[200] Jill Grant, "Our Relationship with Growth," in *A Reader in Canadian Planning: Linking Theory and Practice*, ed. Jill Grant (Toronto: Nelson, 2008), 367.

[201] E. Pacey, *Battle of Citadel Hill,* 28.

[202] Alan Ruffman (heritage advocate and community activist), interview with author, May 3, 2010.

[203] E. Pacey, *Battle of Citadel Hill,* 28-29.

[204] The architect would be changed to the architectural firm Allward and Guinlock of Toronto after the proposal was accepted (Collier, *Contemporary Cathedrals,* 160-162).

project that would cover the 18 acres with Modern office and apartment buildings, a trade mart, a department store, and shopping centre (Fig. 25).[205]

The two tallest office towers would be twenty storeys, another office tower coming to sixteen storeys, and a hotel at fifteen storeys. The entire concrete complex was designed in a brutalist style with entire walls of raw concrete, and no windows facing the Halifax harbour. Altogether, seven concrete towers were included in the plan,[206] all rising out of a large plaza that contained its shopping centre. The tower rising out of the plaza was another International Style design technique that severed the connection between the building and its surroundings, presenting the towers as "discrete object[s] in space, rather than part of the urban fabric."[207] Costing $29.5 million to build, the most important reason the city chose this project was that its annual tax return, projected at $1.74 million, was higher than the other proposals.[208] Public opinion about Scotia Square was mixed as some praised it as "a wave of the future and others criticizing it for unwisely obliterating the past."[209]

In that same year that the Scotia Square proposal was approved, the Maritime Museum Board was looking for a waterfront site for a museum. They approached the

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[205] Ibid., 153.

[206] E. Pacey, *Battle of Citadel Hill,* 30.

[207] Willis, *Form Follows Finance*, 134. When reviewing proposals for the site, Halifax officials, however, tried to argue that the Scotia Square development was, in fact, sensitive to its surroundings: "Scotia Square - This design acknowledges and integrates with the existing downtown area in a way which suggests that the focus of the City is still in the core area…The linked individual components are appropriately located on the site relative to the surroundings, with stress laid upon congenial pedestrian movement through contrasting scenes of human activity, accented by landscaping and vistas of the harbour. The vertical office and hotel towers give a vitality and punctuation without overdominance…The concept shows an awareness and sympathy for the City's existing character and human scale, as well as for its future potential." (Halifax Joint Staff Review Committee, *The City of Halifax Central Business District,* Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives - 102-41B).

[208] On the other hand, $17 million of public money was required for the investment (E. Pacey, *Battle of Citadel Hill,* 29).

[209] Erickson, *Historic North End Halifax,* 167.

Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) about the Old Privateer's Warehouse that was located on the waterfront, just four blocks east from the area where Scotia Square was to be constructed.[210] This marked the first attempt by a group to preserve an aspect of the "ordinary" built environment in Halifax, representing a profound shift in attitude that recognized structures connected with a commercial and industrial past, though they may be run-down, could still be culturally valuable and contribute to the sense of history and culture in the city. A growing sentiment that Nova Scotia's past was worth preserving, no matter how young or ordinary it may seem, began changing perceptions of heritage and historical value in the city.

In response to the Museum Board's request, the HSMBC sent restoration architect Peter John Stokes to Halifax so that he could investigate the site. Stokes surveyed the area and deemed that the entire group of warehouse buildings at this site, just across Upper Water Street from the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, was of national historic significance and should be conserved.[211] Included in this designation were the Simon's Building, Halifax Bank and Warehouse, Privateer Warehouse, Sail Loft, Collins Store, and the Pickford & Black Building.[212] The Halifax Waterfront Buildings National Historic Site was then designated by the Canadian Government in 1963, a decision justified by a statement from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board that declared: "The buildings represent the most significant pre-Confederation complex of maritime commercial buildings in Canada."[213]

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[210] Duffus, "Heritage Properties," 181-182.

[211] Ibid.

[212] Bernie Raine, "Wreckers Beat History: Waterfront Bid Loses," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 20 June 1969, p. 1.

A national historic site was now recognized to stand just blocks away from Scotia Square, the symbol of progress and development in the city, visually articulating the opposing discourses of heritage and development that were soon to become one of the most contentious topics in Halifax's process of Modern urbanization. Although the HMSBC themselves could not do anything to preserve the buildings, they made recommendations to the City for their preservation and use. The Minister of Indian Affairs wrote a letter to Mayor Charles Vaughan on December 22, 1964, stating: "We are prepared, as in other parts of Canada to consider proposals for preservation from any agency willing to shoulder the local responsibility for maintenance, as well as half of the capital costs of these buildings."[214] Later, this offer of financial assistance would be a determining factor in the rehabilitation of these waterfront buildings,[215] but for the next five years their historic significance and this offer of monetary assistance would not prove valuable enough for the City officials who seemed to believe the benefits of urban redevelopment far outweighed the potential of historic preservation. In downtown real estate, value is more often determined by "the intensity of use - the human traffic or the number of occupants - and the income it can generate, either as rents or in revenues from sales."[216]

The declaration of the national historic significance of these waterfront warehouses surely came as a surprise to many citizens of Halifax since the area had been

[213] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada's statement of 'Commemorative Intent' for the Halifax Waterfront Buildings, quoted by Margaret Carter in her *Report to the Status of Designations Committee: Clarification of Statement of Commemorative Intent and Clarification of Designated Place for the Halifax Waterfront Buildings NHSC* (Ottawa: Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 2004), 3.

[214] Excerpt of letter from the Minister of Indian Affairs, quoted in Rodger, *Development and the Historic Waterfront*, 4.

[215] Rodger, *Development and the Historic Waterfront,* 4.

[216] Willis, *Form Follows Finance*, 171.

deteriorating from neglect in the years following WWII. Avoided by many Halifax residents, the area was described as "a blight on the urban landscape, an uninviting area of rundown buildings and rotting wharves."[217] It was seen by many to be the "worst part of town."[218] When the City began addressing what should be done with the waterfront, ideological beliefs about the role of some "old" buildings in the city began to create polarization between architectural and heritage conservationists who believed many of these structures to be historically and culturally significant, and the land developers and many members of City Council who were in favour of redeveloping the downtown with Modern high-rises to attract businesses and the infrastructure that would serve them. By 1964 conservationists were submitting proposals to preserve and re-purpose the waterfront buildings,[219] while the City and the developers of Scotia Square were reviewing plans for the sewer lines that were designed to run through these buildings to the waterfront, as well as the construction of an expressway to service Scotia Square and the entire downtown. Two years later construction was underway on Scotia Square, the biggest development the city had ever seen, and the city seemed to be favouring the course of renewal for the "Central Redevelopment Area."

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[217] Boileau, *Water Meets the Land*, 9.

[218] Harold Kalman, "It's A Fantastic Space…But the final judgment on this college 's bold experiment will have to wait until the hammers stop," *Atlantic Advocate,* November 1977, p. 13.

[219] The preservation and rehabilitation of the waterfront properties was envisioned by Louis Collins, head of the Civic Advisory Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings, with businesses continuing to function on the interiors, while the exteriors would feature walkways to facilitate the traffic of pedestrians and the exteriors of the buildings themselves restored to evoke the "atmosphere of the past." At this time the Morse's Tea building was included with the warehouses on the waterfront in terms of historic significance, while the buildings next to it were seen to have the potential to fit in with this historical landscape (L.W. Collins, "A Brief Concerning the Preservation and Restoration of Certain Waterfront Buildings in Halifax, Nova Scotia - Submitted to the Mayor and Aldermen, Halifax City Council," August 3, 1964. From the Heritage Trust Archives held at the NSARM - MG30 Series L, Vol. 1). These plans were likely inspired by the "festival marketplace" developments Boston's Faneuil Hall Market Place, Harborplace in Baltimore and South Street Seaport in New York City. All of these required partnerships between public and private sectors to be successful (Nan Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism* [New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999], 84).

The Battle of Habour Drive

In response to what many citizens saw as the erasing of the city's architectural and cultural past, citizens' action groups formed to protest irresponsible urban renewal. Situated as they were within the Central Redevelopment Area, the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings were directly implicated in Halifax's urban renewal plans for the Central Business District, and were thus subject to the complex forces of Modern urbanization that seemed to economically and politically dominate the city in the period from the mid-1940s to the early 80s. The main threat to these buildings came in the form of a new transportation system that would quickly and easily take cars through the downtown. Since the Master Plan of 1945 had discussed the need for improved transportation routes through this area, the Council would now begin considerations for an expressway that could service its new downtown buildings.

In cities throughout the world, the automobile was increasingly determining the course of urban planning and design. Early-twentieth-century architects envisioned the city "with their gleaming towers, broad avenues, and free-flowing traffic."[220] The car became the "essential component in the modern architect's strategy to improve and re-build, re-shaping every aspect of the urban environment and the world that spread alongside the flowing new roads."[221] Since the 1939 New York World's Fair, sponsored by General Motors, "Fast roads for cars became the key to the future American city."[222] Though these visions were utopic and financially unattainable, governments went very far to realize some of these designs since the easy transportation they provided was seen

[220] Brian Ladd, *Autophobia: Love and Hate in the Automotive Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 62.

[221] Jonathan Bell, *Carchitecture: When the Car and the City Collide* (London: August; Basel: Birkhäuser, 2001), 13.

[222] Ladd, *Autophobia,* 77-78.

to be the key to growth for cities. Symbolic of progress and prosperity, travel by automobile became "one of the pillars of modernity," and highway construction became a tool of economic development.[223] After WWII, "Canada's 'permeable Fordism' led to a distinct automobile-centred, suburban complex of a production-consumption nexus that was in fact the core of the country's economy."[224]

The Scotia Square development, also seen in terms of its potential for economic growth, had become incredibly symbolic to many citizens and politicians. To many it seemed as though "the economic future of the entire Central Business District depended on this project."[225] When officials for the Scotia Square development made it clear that there would need to be "adequate transportation services,"[226] plans for the Cogswell Street interchange and an expressway called Harbour Drive were drawn up to allow greater traffic flow to Scotia Square and the rest of the downtown. While catering to the Scotia Square officials and their plans, these transportation projects were also seen to benefit the city itself. In the development of a modern urban area, transportation and urban growth are mutually dependent, since transportation routes set the boundaries for an urban area's growth and also determine the forms that the growth will take.[227]

In addition to the generous amount of housing the government was willing to subsidize, the main thrust of the federal government's grant program was directed towards transportation and compensatory benefits for various regions. As a result, towns

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[223] Ibid., 60-61.

[224] Roger Keil and Stefan Kipfer, "The Urban Experience and Globalization," in *Changing Canada: Political Economy as Transformation,* ed. Wallace Clement and Leah F. Vosko (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 344.

[225] Rodger, *Development and the Historic Waterfront,* 3.

[226] Collier, *Contemporary Cathedrals,* 152.

[227] Christopher Leo, *The Politics of Urban Development: Canadian urban expressway disputes* (Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1977), 10.

and regions that had suffered from underdevelopment were eligible for grants to fund new infrastructure that would, in theory, attract new industries to the town.[228] With this funding available, Halifax began to plan for the Harbour Drive project, hiring Toronto-based engineering firm A.D. Margison and Associates to draw up plans for the route. Their design transformed the four-lane highway described by Stephenson to a six-lane expressway that was to provide high-speed traffic access throughout the downtown district next to the waterfront (Fig. 26). It was now conceived as a free-flow arterial street from the Fairview Overpass in the north, forming a loop through the waterfront to the far south end of the city, "Connecting the Central Business District to the dormitory areas of the metropolitan district."[229] It was envisioned that the expressway would have a capacity of approximately 1,500 vehicles per hour per lane.[230]

This free flow of traffic was one of the most important aspects of Harbour Drive's design, greatly increasing its capacity for vehicles on routes that were "subject to intersectional delay." To avoid this burden of stopping at traffic lights, or "intersectional delay," the construction of interchanges was required.[231] The "Cogswell Street interchange" (Fig. 24) was developed for the intersection of Cogswell and Barrington Streets because this was considered one of the "four major points of traffic conflict" within the study area.[232] Known as the Margison Plan, this interchange design involved the destruction of around seven historic buildings and the sterilization of 12 acres of land

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[228] Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 42-44.

[229] City of Halifax, *Harbour Drive Series, Report 1: Harbour Drive General* (City of Halifax, c.1966), 5.

[230] Ibid.

[231] Ibid., 16.

[232] Ibid., 8-10.

with its large, trumpet-style interchange.[233] In total, 1,600 feet of existing commercial and marine-related activities were cleared in the blocks directly north of the block containing the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings.[234] Although the Cogswell Street interchange dramatically changed their context by placing an over-sized modern traffic facility next to them, it did not threaten to remove the buildings; it would be the next stage of Harbour Drive's construction that planned to extend the expressway south of the interchange that would pose an immediate threat to the waterfront warehouses and the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings (Fig. 27). In the Harbour Drive report produced by the City of Halifax, this area was described as having, "In large measure, outlived its economic usefulness and is being redeveloped to a higher and better use."[235]

Canadian cities during this time that were involved in expressway construction promoted the necessity of building these expressways in exceedingly general terms. Lorimer responded to these arguments in *The Citizen's Guide to City Politics*, stating that these expressways and their surrounding discourse often covered up the economic benefits reaped by large developments, such as Scotia Square, at the expense of the small, downtown businesses that were evicted by cities. Transportation planners and city politicians often used vague explanations of the necessity of constructing these sweeping expressways and complex interchanges in downtown areas, citing that they "prevent congestion" and "provide easier access to downtown."[236] Both City Manager Cyril

[233] "Overbuilt Interchange called White Elephant," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 2 December 1967, p. 6.

[234] Duffus, “Heritage Properties,” 182.

[235] City of Halifax, *Harbour Drive Series, Report 1,* 5-6.

[236] James Lorimer (Toronto: J. Lewis & Samuel, 1972), 176.

Henderson and Mayor Walter Fitzgerald over-emphasized the need for the Harbor Drive North road system to pump traffic into the downtown area. Henderson described such a route as providing the "lifeblood" to the downtown core, while the mayor warned that unless people were brought into the downtown it would eventually "die."[237]

According to Lorimer, these facilities were not actually built to make life easier for citizens or to provide construction jobs, but because they are one of the essential services required by urban property since the access they provide from one building to another is essential to the value of the buildings.[238] To the City, the expressway was best suited to the interests of the property industry since it provides easy access back to the downtown for middle- and upper-income workers and families who left the city for the suburbs in the municipally and federally sponsored exodus. The expressway supported the suburb-core planning dichotomy so they could both become economically lucrative for both developers and the City. Aside from economic benefits, however, the proposed expressway technology would drastically change the older fabric and functions of the city by removing small businesses and residents to clear a path for easy access to new urban developments. In these plans there is little hope for the small-scale businesses to be accommodated, let alone thrive in the city.[239]

Since WWII, Canadian cities have followed the lead of the United States in the planning of major urban transportation networks. The first wave of these plans were presented in a distinctly apolitical manner, following a belief that urban transportation systems were an administrative and technical matter not suited to political conflict and

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[237] Dan McSweeney, "Harbor Drive North project: Public meeting is planned," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 3 October 1972, p. 8.

[238] Lorimer, *Citizen's Guide to City Politics,* 176.

[239] Ibid., 178-179.

compromise.[240] On the other side of the argument have been a vast number of citizens who have opposed these developments because they themselves were evicted from their commercial or residential properties that were in construction paths, or have objected to them based on the damage that they have wrought in the urban fabric of cities. Beginning in 1966, with the proposed expressway through Vancouver's Chinatown, "The urban expressway battle has become a regular feature of Canadian political life."[241] Many Halifax residents were quite disillusioned with the City's plans to go through with Harbour Drive, as the expressway idea had already proven unsuccessful in many major cities in both Canada and the United States. When discussing the plans for Toronto's Spadina Expressway, Jane Jacobs thought that:

> Surely the government in so up-to-date a City Hall must know all about the expressway disaster land in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Detroit, Washington...They must certainly, we thought, have reflected upon the lesson of Los Angeles where at rush hour the cars on the great freeways crawl at ten miles an hour, the same speed the horses and buggies used to achieve, where the poor have no predictable way to reach jobs, where the exhausts have turned the air into a crisis, where expressways, interchanges and parking lots occupy some two-thirds of the drained and vacuous downtown.[242]

Jacobs is cited as providing one of the "most serious assaults on the Modern Movement"[243] in her famous polemic against the Modern urban planning, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), and was one of the few architectural critics at the time that "acknowledged the connection between development money and urban change,

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[240] Leo, *Politics of Urban Development*, 17.

[241] Ibid., 9.

[242] Jane Jacobs, "A City Getting Hooked on the Expressway Drug," in *Urban Problems: A Canadian Reader*, ed. Ralph R. Kruger and R. Charles Bryfogle (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1971), 204-205.

[243] Ghirardo, *Architecture After Modernism,* 13.

financial practices and the decay of cities."[244] Criticizing the destruction of diversity and the historic urban fabrics of American cities, her influence reached Halifax and many of her criticisms of Modern planning influenced residents and were to be used to fight Harbour Drive.[245]

In the years that followed the Second World War, federal financing and urban restructuring produced plans and landscapes that reflected modernity, prosperity, and technology. While many citizens followed and often encouraged these "exciting" new developments at the beginning of their planning, the costs soon mounted, including the public subsidies that the City used to help fund many of these developments. There were the social costs of re-housing large groups of people that the City displaced, as well as the cultural cost of losing buildings whose architecture reflected the historic development of the city. Coupled with the recognition of the waterfront's national historic significance, this cost proved to be too much for many citizens, who were then driven to protest. By the early 1970s, in cities across Canada, the "shine was off" what were considered new and exciting urban development projects, and it became "clear to many urban residents that a city pays a steep price for aspiring to look like New York."[246]

As early as 1958, following the advice of Gordon Stephenson to redevelop the area, the City of Halifax enlisted the financial help of the CMHC to acquire the fronts of a number of properties on the east side of Lower Water Street to be used for the widened roadway through downtown that was to become Harbour Drive.[247] The expressway was

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[244] Ibid.

[245] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 65.

[246] Lorimer, *The Developers*, 161-162.

[247] Haliax City Council Minutes, 14 March 1968, 218-219. Held at the Halifax Municipal Archives.

planned as a long term project that would be developed in phases: Phase I would see Lower Water Street and Hollis Streets operate as a one-way couple; Phase II would be the construction of a four-lane service road called the Waterfront Distributor through the Redevelopment Area to increase the capacity for cars in the Central Business District; In its ultimate form, Phase III, the road would be widened into a controlled-access expressway that would extend south of the Central Business District uninterrupted until it reached the North Arm Bridge on the southern end of the peninsula.[248] Harbour Drive South, referred to as the Waterfront Distributor by DeLeuw, Cather & Company, was originally meant to run along the portion of the land on the east side of Upper Water Street facing the Peter Martin, Harrington, and Imperial Oil Buildings, requiring the demolition of the fronts of the Collins Bank, Joseph Simonds Warehouse, and Pickford & Black Building.

When public backlash mounted against the destruction of these recently declared national historic buildings, the City began to seriously reconsider the route of the expressway. An alternative plan was then developed in order to save the three buildings on the east of Upper Water Street by moving the roadway farther west than originally planned, but "would necessitate demolition of Morse's Teas House and two adjacent buildings, and eventually the whole block."[249] City staff believed that it made more sense to go through the Morse's Tea Building, since this building was slated for demolition in "an undetermined number of years" for the road widening of Phase III of Habour

[248] DeLeuw, Cather & Company of Canada, *Geometric Design Study: Harbour Drive, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Preliminary Draft. Phase I - Prince Street to Devonshire Avenue* (1966), 4-5.

[249] Peter Meerburg, "Saving of Some Historic Buildings Now Possible?" *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 1 March 1968, p. 1.

Drive.[250] At a meeting of City Council, the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, and the Committee of Concern presented their report that if the historic buildings along the waterfront between Buckingham and Duke Streets were restored, "The complex would provide a reflection of the city's early maritime history, and a productive enterprise in a renewed city."[251] Proposals included renovating and re-using the buildings as spaces for boutiques, bookstores, a bank branch in the old Collin's Bank Building, restaurants, and even a public marina. No conclusion was reached at this meeting, but Council was left to consider this proposal.[252]

Four days later at the Council's meeting on March 19, 1968, the City Aldermen voted 11-2 in favour of the original plan for Harbour Drive, which meant the demolition of the three buildings to the east on Water Street, and a "lease of life" for the Morse's Tea Building from anywhere between five and twenty years.[253] Following this vote to continue with the Harbour Drive plans, both Mayor O'Brien and Louis Collins, head of the Civic Advisory Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings,[254] went to Ottawa to discuss federal aid to establish "the remaining buildings as an historic cluster."[255] Louis Collins[256] approached the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation

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[250] Peter Meerburg, "Future Still in Balance," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 15 March 1968, p. 20.

[251] Ibid.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Peter Meerburg, "Harbour Drive to Bury History: 3 Waterfront Buildings Will Be Destroyed," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 20 March 1968, p. 1.

[254] The Civic Advisory Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings was created on February 11, 1965, by the City of Halifax as an advisory body that could identify historically significant buildings, and their preservation and rehabilitation in such a way that would not create "undue difficulties to the City in carrying out development proposals including traffic improvements" (Halifax City Council minutes for February 11, 1965, quoted in Rodger, *Development and the Historic Waterfront,* 4-5).

[255] Peter Meerburg, "Harbour Drive to Bury History," 8.

[256] Louis William Collins would later win the Order of Canada in 1995 for his preservation work: "The driving force behind the Historic Properties initiative to restore the Halifax waterfront, he works

(CMHC), a joint partner and owner of these buildings, as well as the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (IAND).[257] The IAND responded quickly by commissioning Keith L. Graham and Associates, a Halifax architectural firm, to carry out a study on the feasibility of restoring the buildings, and to give recommendations for potential uses.[258]

By April 1968, the value of construction in Halifax was "the highest in history," a building boom that was described as the biggest since the city's original founding. At this point the value of new buildings and projects underway was "valued at around $200,000,000."[259] The mayor commented: "The total construction program should mean a buoyant economy in this area, and a high level of job opportunities."[260] Scotia Square, at a total cost of $35 million, was noted as the largest development in Canada, when considered in proportion to the size of the city.[261] Just two blocks east, the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia referred to the buildings on the east of Upper Water Street, the Morse's Tea Building and its block, as well as those historic buildings on Granville Street as "the last remaining group of buildings of this type and age left on the Halifax Waterfront."[262] It had been determined that, as they stood with their current businesses, they were in fact

tirelessly to protect his city's heritage and history. As Civic Historian and a research associate of the Nova Scotia Museum, he has verified the historic significance of sites, discoveries, buildings and data and has generously shared his findings with his fellow citizens through his writings and lectures" ("Honours, Order of Canada, Louis William Collins, C.M., M.A., D.F.A. (hon.)," Governor General of Canada).

[257] Within the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs was the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch of Parks Canada, responsible for acquiring and preserving buildings of historic value (Falkner, *Without Our Past?* 22).

[258] Duffus, "Heritage Properties," 182.

[259] Peter Meerburg, "Biggest Building Boom for Halifax - Construction Valued at Near $200 Million," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*. 13 April 1968, p.1.

[260] Ibid., 6.

[261] Ibid.

[262] The Committee of Concern and the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, "The Value of the Historic Halifax Waterfront District," *City Council Minutes*, 14 March 1968, p. 232. Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives - 102-1A.

generating revenue, and could "continue to generate revenue indefinitely, even if no restoration is ever undertaken."[263] But stagnation was not the course desired by the City officials and developers.

"Phase I" of the interchange construction was underway at this point, which included a bridge that was an extension of Barrington Street at Buckingham Street, terminating at Lower Water Street. The second phase included two overpasses that extended Cogswell Street to Barrington Street, and the construction of Harbour Drive from Proctor Street to Duke Street to link up with the interchange.[264] Keith L. Graham and Associates of Halifax carried out the study and presented their findings to City Council on October 17, 1968. This presentation was described as "a turning point in the struggle for restoration."[265] Recommendations to Council included moving the sewer outlet for Scotia Square that was designed to run through the historic buildings just meters to the north. Though City staff recommended to keep the original sewer design, Council voted 8-5 at their October 17, 1968 meeting to move the sewers in order to save the buildings. In principle this latest decision also accepted a narrower roadway that would allow the retention of the historic buildings threatened by Habour Drive.[266]

On June 11, 1969, Council held a meeting that was attended by representatives from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, who advised Council that the federal government would only consider participation in the preservation project of the waterfront warehouses if the buildings to the east of Water Street, including the "Pickford

[263] The Committee of Concern and the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, "The Possibilities of Restoration," *City Council Minutes*, 14 March 1968, p. 233. Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives - 102-1A.

[264] "Interchange on Schedule: Part Ready In Month," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 1 August 1968, p. 3.

[265] Rodger, *Development and the Historic Waterfront,* 8.

[266] Ibid., 9-10.

and Black Building, warehouse, the Privateer's Wharf and other buildings were to be preserved as a group."[267] They offered to pay up to 50 percent of the cost of restoring the exteriors of the buildings.[268] After some consideration by Council at a later meeting, it was decided in a 5-2 vote that the original Margison plan for Harbour Drive south would go through, and the fronts of the buildings would be destroyed.[269] The public outcry that ensued was immense, and it was just fifteen days until Council rescinded their decision to destroy the buildings. Described as "the greatest pressure from citizens and community organizations any Council has experienced in many years," the City Aldermen were "besieged by telephone and mail, and have been button-holed, often indignantly, in the corridors of City Hall and on the streets."[270] It was not long until the City cancelled plans for Harbour Drive South, stopping its construction altogether.[271]

Within the block that contains the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, the Morse's Tea Warehouse was the centerpiece - a lone structure that contended with the waterfront warehouses in discussions of heritage value during the Harbour Drive debates. It is very likely that if the Morse's Tea Building were not at the northern corner of this block, the entire area would have been cleared to accommodate the Harbour Drive roadway in the alternative plan to save the waterfront warehouses. With Morse's Tea anchoring the historic significance of the block, the remaining buildings were narrowly spared demolition.

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[267] "Session May Go Down In History," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 12 June 1969, p. 3.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Raine, "Wreckers Beat History," 1.

[270] "Council Will Reconsider Decision," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 27 June 1969, p. 4.

[271] Duffus, “Heritage Properties,” 182.

On July 2, 1969, City Council passed the resolution that A.D. Margison and Associates would design the roadways between the Court House and the Morse's Tea building so that all of the historic waterfront buildings would remain, and there would be no change in street grade in front of the buildings (Fig. 28 and 29).[272] Though the City would later complete the northern section of Harbour Drive from the Cogswell Street interchange to the Fairview Overpass in the far northern end of the city, the downtown area would not be subject to such a large expressway. In a public meeting to discuss this northern section of Harbour Drive it was reiterated that "in the downtown central business district, no major changes can take place . . . except the possible closing off of some streets for pedestrian malls as well as some improvements to existing roadways."[273] The battle of Harbour Drive was officially won by citizens and organized citizens' action groups who wanted to protect the historic buildings. Even politicians have afforded the credit to this cause alone.[274]

Rallying behind voluntary civic groups such as the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia and the Civic Advisory Committee for the Preservation of Historic Buildings who "worked throughout the entire controversy, committed to preserve and then restore the historic waterfront buildings,"[275] a number of citizens became involved with city planning and development, and were able to sway the decisions that were being made in Council according to what they believed was best for the city. The issue of preserving the

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[272] City of Halifax and A.D. Margison and Associates, *Evaluation of Alternate Proposals for the Connection of Upper Water Street to the Cogswell Street Interchange, July 1969*, Held at Halifax Regional Municipality Archives: 625.725 8 1969.

[273] Dan McSweeney, "Harbor Drive North project: Public meeting is planned," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 3 October 1972, p. 1.

[274] Ibid.

[275] Rodger, *Development and the Historic Waterfront,* 12.

waterfront buildings has been described as a grassroots movement that involved citizens from various backgrounds, who "were untypical of the protest march era of the 1960s."[276] The rise of the citizens' action groups and protests throughout the country were in response to injustices that were committed as a result of renewal initiatives; by opposing decisions that adversely affected them and destroyed historical parts of the city, these groups sought more power at City Hall and were therefore seen as a threat to the power of industry figures and City officials.[277] Since "control over land is the weightiest power that city hall can exercise,"[278] and provides the City with its main source of income, politicians were not immediately willing to give up their control.

Enough protest and political battles fought within city hall began to change the nature of council control over the planning process. Planners and city officials were being blamed for cultural dislocation, disempowerment of the poor, and the insensitive modernization of the city. In response, planners redefined the problems and solutions of urban planning by allowing for greater public participation in the decision making process. Their role significantly changed from that of an expert who told the council what to do, to that of a facilitator of the public participation process.[279] Planning would reach a point where, as a "super-managerial discipline," it would become a practice that dealt with "little more than the allocation of land use and the logistics of distribution."[280] A

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[276] Ibid.

[277] Lorimer, *Citizen's Guide to City Politics,* 192, 194.

[278] Donald Higgins, "Progressive city politics and the citizen movement: A status report," in *After the Developers*, ed. James Lorimer and Carolyn MacGregor (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981), 94.

[279] Grant, "Planning Canadian Communities," 14.

[280] Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983), 24.

revised Nova Scotia Planning Act in 1969 reflected the changing nature of interaction between planners and citizens of the community.

Under this new Act, citizens were afforded "greater rights to information and participation in the planning process."[281] This often took the form of public meetings and discussions, and appointed citizens planning boards.[282] The law made planning mandatory, and also imposed regional planning on the city. The province sought to control citizen action by channeling it into more "productive avenues." The regional planning process encouraged the formation of a coalition of citizen's groups that were involved in diverse topics including welfare rights, heritage, and community planning. Known as MOVEment for Citizen's Voice and Action, they received a grant from the province and were able to hire staff.[283] At the meeting of the Metropolitan Area Planning Committee on December 2, 1970, it was decided that a public information and involvement program would be initiated to discuss the proposed development program for the Halifax-Dartmouth Metro Area. These information sessions would allow the general public to review the plans and "open up opportunities for involvement by the public and by private organizations to help shape the form of the development program."[284] It was in this way that public participation and citizen action were thus institutionalized in the planning process.

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[281] Grant, *Drama of Democracy,* 52-53.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Grant, *Drama of Democracy,* 62-63.

[284] City Engineer, *Proposed Development Program - Halifax-Dartmouth Metro Area; Report to Councils and Provincial Government on Activities of the Metropolitan Area Planning Committee; Program for Development: Halifax-Dartmouth Metropolitan Area.* (1971), 1. Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives - 711.4097 16225 M 1971.

The Rehabilitation Project: The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design & Historic Properties

With the passionate reactions of many citizens, and examples of rehabilitated districts including Vancouver's Gastown district, Baltimore's Harbourside, and many of New York's preservation efforts serving as examples of profitable tourist attractions, it was decided that Halifax's waterfront preservation would have to be done in such a way that could generate money for the City in the form of taxes and tourist dollars. Their plans for rehabilitation reflected the need for functional commercial spaces on the interior, while preserving a semblance of the original exteriors in order to create an atmosphere in the city that suggested an original historical environment. Having received federal heritage designation, the buildings directly on the waterfront were in a privileged position in terms of their recognized heritage value, but would require the nearby blocks to make the project feasible. The City had acquired title to all of the waterfront buildings on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board list by 1968, including the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, in order to create the transportation route. Both the CMHC and the City of Halifax were convinced to undertake the intended urban renewal of the area, but it would be conducted with the intention of heritage conservation rather than modern redevelopment.

By October of 1969, all parties were in agreement, and the historic waterfront area was identified as an independent Urban Renewal District that was redeveloped under special agreements that would cover both the land and the buildings. Legal control was thus asserted over not just the individual buildings, like most heritage designations at this time, but over what Mayor O'Brien had called the "environmental atmosphere."[285] A

[285] Carter, *Report to the Status of Designations,* 10-11.

proposal call was also sent out across Canada and the United States in 1971 for the restoration project of the buildings. In the end, the Halifax Landmarks Commission chose a Halifax development group led by John Fiske[286] who would later call themselves "Historic Properties Limited."[287] A few months after winning the rights to restore the waterfront buildings, Fiske's company announced its plans to expand the project to include the acquisition and renovation of the historic buildings on Granville and Hollis Streets as well. During this time a silent property war was occurring in the area with Halifax Developments Limited, of the Scotia Square development, gaining control of many properties on the west side of Granville, while Historic Properties Limited began quietly buying up properties on both east and west sides of the street.[288] There was not a sense of urgency to purchase the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, which were later acquired by Historic Properties Limited in 1972. To keep all of the buildings, however, Historic Properties would need to find a large number of tenants for the project.

Architectural firm Duffus, Romans, Kundzins and Rounsefell was hired to carry out the rehabilitations, and it was soon realized that the refurbishment of the neglected buildings required a lot of investment. The Government of Canada, through the IAND, fulfilled their initial promise to participate in the restoration of the waterfront properties

[286] John Fiske would also win an Order of Canada award in 1987 for his preservation work: "As the developer of the impressive Historic Properties in Halifax, he has proven that the preservation and restoration of heritage buildings can be undertaken economically. His revitalization projects, carried out with imagination and foresight, are models for cities and towns across Canada" ("Order of Canada - John R. Fiske, C.M., D.Eng., P.Eng., F.C.A.E.," Governor General of Canada).

[287] Armour (Ben) McCrae, the current president of the Armour Group, would act as the company's vice-president and general manager.

[288] Harry Bruce, "Rescuing old Halifax and giving it new life," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 May 1973, p. 7; Historic Properties Ltd. obtained all of the buildings on the east side of Granville Street, and a building moratorium initiated by the City stopped Halifax Development Ltd.'s plans to build a high-rise on the west side of the street ("City gets chance to look ahead," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 14 August 1972, sec. 1, p. 3).

by offering a 50 percent cost-sharing compensation to help out with the costs of acquisition and exterior restoration.[289] While the Agreement to Lease was signed in 1972, due to complications in settling the remaining finances it was not until 1974 that the Agreement to Restore was finally signed.[290] Eventually a unique agreement was reached involving cost-sharing by the IAND, the CMHC, the City of Halifax, and the developer.[291] The City of Halifax was the major landowner, and put together a development plan that emphasized a warm, market-like appearance. Historic Properties made an agreement with the City that the buildings would be restored and run as tax-paying businesses.[292] Even with the generous governmental funding that was offered, the financing for the restoration of the buildings still did not look as though it would be feasible.

Fortunately, a major tenant was looking to rent most of the rehabilitated buildings upon their completion. As early as the summer of 1970, Gary Neill Kennedy, President of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD) expressed the interest of the College officials in re-locating the entire campus to the "Waterfront Historic Buildings as a possible site."[293] At this time the College occupied a Modern building next to the Dalhousie University campus in the south end of the city. This building had become inadequate for the space requirements of the school, and the Board of Governors at the College set up a planning committee to examine solutions to the problem in the most

[289] Duffus, "Heritage Properties," 182; Carter, *Report to the Status of Designations,* 6.

[290] "Waterfront Restoration, Halifax, NS (archives of the Heritage Trust)," 15. Held in Heritage Trust Archives at NSARM in MG30 Series L, Vol. 1. File: "Waterfront Restoration."

[291] "Waterfront Restoration, Halifax, NS (archives of the Heritage Trust)," 15. Held in Heritage Trust Archives at NSARM in MG30 Series L, Vol. 1. File: "Waterfront Restoration."

[292] Bruce, "Rescuing old Halifax," 7.

[293] L.W. Collins, "A Personal Outline and Commentary by L.W. Collins," 19 August 1970, p. 1. Held in Heritage Trust Archives in NSARM in MG30 Series O, Vol. 1. File 21.

economical way possible. A creative answer came from Bob Parker and Bill Smith, two architect-planners who had just joined the faculty, who suggested that the entire school move downtown into the old buildings on Granville and Hollis Streets. This "radical concept" to renovate and re-use historic building stock made economic sense, since the buildings could be fixed up for a fraction of the cost of new construction and the university would be saving the old buildings from redevelopment.[294]

In the early planning stages for the College's move to the waterfront, it was clear that NSCAD's Board of Directors were particularly interested in all of the buildings on the east side of Granville Street and the Morse's Teas Building. The College's re-location plans were contingent on the Harbour Drive development,[295] but when the Harbour Drive plans were officially dropped both John Fiske and Gary Neill Kennedy made a joint announcement on April 27, 1972, that the college would be the main tenant of the rehabilitation project.[296] Kennedy stated that moving the College to the central city would place them "in the heart of the community we are attempting to serve," adding that "as a school of art and design, we believe it is vital that we play an active role in preserving and protecting our province's heritage."[297] NSCAD's decision to become a major tenant in the Historic Properties restoration project was "the essential ingredient to make the entire restoration project economically feasible."[298] Like the waterfront buildings, the restoration would carry a similar $2.8 million price tag, but would not receive federal

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[294] Kalman, “NSCAD Moves to the Waterfront,” 9

[295] Collins, "A Personal Outline and Commentary," 2-3.

[296] "Art College Moving to Waterfront," *The [Halifax] Mail-Star*, 27 April 1972, p. 1.

[297] Nova Scotia College of Art and Design Information Office, "For Release: Immediately, Date: Apr. 21, 1972," p. 2. Held in NSCAD archives at NSARM in Box 18, file: "President's office press clippings, 1971-1975: NSCAD's move to the waterfront."

[298] Duffus, “Heritage Properties,” 183.

government help.[299] Instead, NSCAD's rent was guaranteed by the Nova Scotia Government, which was fundamental to securing a mortgage company to invest in the entire Historic Properties project.[300] It was in this way that the two groups of buildings helped to save each other - the waterfront buildings, which had originally saved these two blocks from redevelopment through historic association, were then saved themselves by the economic assistance the NSCAD blocks were able to receive.

The Morse's Teas and Granville block of buildings were the first priority for the Art College. In the beginning stages of planning for the re-location, the school was not certain how many buildings could be economically acquired to fulfill their space needs, and so space studies were conducted by students and staff to determine the number of buildings, and their uses.[301] NSCAD agreed to lease all of the buildings on the east side of Granville Street between Cogswell and Duke Streets, along with the Morse's Teas, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings for thirty-five years upon their rehabilitation (Fig. 30 and 31). Restoration work on the entire district began in June 1973, with priority placed on the College’s buildings on Granville and Hollis Streets, and structural work on the waterfront buildings to repair foundations, masonry walls, and remove all alterations and additions.[302] Architects Duffus, Romans, Kundzins and Rounsefell proceeded to gut the interiors of the old buildings to reveal brick walls, timber beams, and plank floors. New electrical systems, plumbing, and sprinklers were all

[299] Barbara Hinds, "Historic building restoration gathers tempo," *The [Halifax] Chronicle-Herald*, 27 November 1973, p. 12.

[300] Duffus, “Heritage Properties,” 183.

[301] Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, "nscad: urban commitment," p. iii. Held in Heritage Trust Archives at NSARM in MG30 Series O, Vol. 1. File: #21; Reports for the project were called "Space Needs Study" and were carried out by the students at NSCAD to assess the space they needed and where departments and studios would be located.

[302] Duffus, “Heritage Properties,” 183.

installed, and everything was left exposed. Owing to the tight budget, "The studios have no frills. They may be plain, but . . . they are friendly lofts, not antiseptic classrooms."[303] Doorways were pushed through the walls to allow corridors throughout the upper floors of the building for circulation.[304] On the exteriors of the buildings, the stone and brick facades were sandblasted, and new sections were "carefully blended with the old, so that additions and new openings conform to the original style."[305]

Though NSCAD moved into their new campus in the fall of 1974 (Fig. 32), moving Art Education into the Morse's Tea block was one of the first stages of moving downtown on May 1, 1973.[306] The Harrington, Fishwick, and Imperial Oil Buildings were renovated so that their second floors all interconnected as one large complex (Fig. 33, 34, and 35). Other than this structural work, building renovations were limited. The second floor of the Imperial Oil Building had sinks installed for the darkroom, new tiling, and special electrical work done for a kiln. The Fishwick and Harrington Buildings also had carpet and tiles installed, and a "rough-in apartment" conversion.[307] Like the buildings on Granville Street, their ground floors continued to be used as commercial spaces, and have been rented to a variety of businesses since their restoration.[308] The Peter Martin Building was not included in NSCAD's lease, but was restored and continued to function as a commercial space in the Historic Properties district, becoming

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[303] Kalman, "NSCAD Moves to the Waterfront," 11-2.

[304] Bruce, "Rescuing old Halifax," 7.

[305] "Government cooperates in restoration of Victorian architecture: $6 million plan rescues historic area from wrecker," *Daily Commercial News and Construction Record*, 19 March 1974, sec. B.

[306] Duffus, "Heritage Properties," 183; "Nova Scotia College of Art and Design: Schedule of Dates for Moving Downtown." Held in NSCAD archives at NSARM in Box 19. File 2: Deans' Office Planning Committee, 1969-1979.

[307] From "Special Improvements" list of renovations to calculate total cost. Held in NSCAD archives at NSARM in Box 19. File 2: Deans' Office Planning Committee, 1969-1979.

[308] See Appendix B for a list of tenants since the restoration.

home to several restaurants.[309] The Shaw Building was not part of the Art Education building, and there was no access until the teacher's union took over the top floor.[310]

The upper levels of the four buildings were interconnected through a stairway in the front of the Fishwick Building.[311] The Fishwick's second floor space was divided into a large entry area and a studio on the Hollis side of the building. The second floor of the Imperial Oil Building was a large space, divided into a number of different offices, studios and classrooms. The Harrington Building was similarly divided, providing space for four Art Education offices and a seminar room on the Hollis side of the building. The third and fourth floors of the Harrington Building were also used by the Art Education Department. Access to the third floor was provided through a staircase from the Upper Water Street side of the Harrington Building. The third floor contained two more Art Education offices and two seminar rooms on both the Hollis and Upper Water Street sides. The fourth floor was not divided, but left as one large seminar and studio space for the Art Education Department called "Lismer 400."[312] The third floor of the Fishwick Building was also renovated as an apartment space to be used by used by visiting artists and lecturers, and featured "an open-plan living room and kitchen and modern sleeping loft above."[313]

The result of creating a complex for studios, classrooms, and offices out of three very different buildings created a space that was eccentric, according to Nick Webb, an

[309] Most notably the Sweet Basil restaurant, which operated in this location for 15 years. It was evicted for the building's demolition in 2008.

[310] Nick Webb (Art Education professor at NSCAD), interview with the author, May 11, 2010.

[311] Lydon Lynch Architects, *Conditions Assessment*, 1.

[312] Nick Webb, interview with the author.

[313] "Government cooperates in restoration," *Daily Commercial News*, sec. B.

Art Education professor who has worked at NSCAD since 1981. There were also clues as to the previous uses of the buildings, such as the Harrington Building that was supposed to have stored molasses since one of the offices on the second floor would drip molasses on rainy days. The air quality was also bad since it was built as a warehouse without adequate seal between floors, and it was drafty and full of mice. When they started putting restaurants in the bottom floors the smells would permeate the classrooms. All things considered, when asked what it was like working in these spaces Webb replied, "We loved it." Visitors would often tell them: "You're so lucky to be teaching in spaces *like this*."[314]

When the restoration project on this district of historic buildings was completed it featured the restored waterfront warehouses, the restored block of buildings on the west side of Upper Water Street containing the Morse's Tea, Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, and the restored buildings on the east side of Granville Street. While NSCAD occupied the east Granville buildings and those on the west of Upper Water Street, the waterfront warehouses, including the Pickford & Black Building, the Old Red Store, Collin's/Simon's Building, Privateers Warehouse, Wooden Storehouse/Loft, and the Carpenter's Shop were occupied by various stores and restaurants that catered to tourists.[315] These waterfront buildings are referred to as the "Historic Properties," but the cluster of historic buildings in these three blocks, essentially preserved as a group is also referred to by that title.

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[314] Nick Webb, interview with the author. Italics represent Webb's emphasis.

[315] "Most of the waterfront stores are specialty shops dealing in handicrafts, imported woolens, kitchenware and the like" (Kalman, "It's A Fantastic Space," 13). The restaurant Clipper Cay was located next to the water where a replica of the Bluenose was occasionally docked.

The project to restore Historic Properties on the waterfront and the NSCAD campus are often referred to as a "preservation" project since the buildings were saved from renewal projects in such a way that assured their continued existence in their original location with no interference to their appearance or structures. Because the buildings were purchased by a developer from their original owners and then worked on in such a way that changed their interior layouts and functions, however, it is more appropriate to define the Historic Properties as a "rehabilitation" project. This practice of rehabilitation and then the promotion of the architectural object as a genuine historic artifact is often criticized for "rewriting or inventing the past since buildings and district are 'renovated,' 'restored,' or 'rehabilitated' to correspond to ideal visions of the past and to satisfy contemporary needs and tastes by incorporating new technologies, floor plans, and more."[316] The Historic Properties on the waterfront, which capitalized on the "seafaring traditions" of Nova Scotians, participated in the invention or re-writing of histories in order to create interest for tourists. NSCAD, on the other hand, was not required to exploit cultural stereotypes to attract tourists because its continued use as an Art College was assured. Pubs and restaurants moved into some of the first floors of the buildings, and the rest were occupied by studios and the Anna Leonowens Gallery, named for the woman who started the Art School in 1887.

The entire complex of buildings, though ultimately developed for different purposes, has become a testament to the ability of citizens to stop developments that were seen to rob the city of its history. Until this period, the involvement of citizens in the planning of the city had been negligible - the power to make these decisions had historically been in the hands of the City Council and the professionals who were credited

[316] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism*, 82-83.

with the wisdom to decide what was right for the city. The widescale redevelopment of many of the city's landmarks stimulated a heritage consciousness in the city, however, resulting in the involvement of a number of citizens in interest groups and campaigns to save what they believed to be valuable to the city and their local culture. The district of buildings that became Historic Properties would be the last cohesive area of historic buildings in this area, standing to remind the city of both its earlier history, as well as the power of its citizens.

CHAPTER 3

FROM HERITAGE PROPERTIES TO OFFICE COMPLEX

The Historic Properties preservation district proved to be a huge success for both tourists and Halifax residents. The City of Halifax began to realize that buildings affected by "blight" could be rehabilitated and refurbished to offer some of the character of the region that was previously threatened by unimaginative office buildings or transportation routes. Most importantly for City officials, historic buildings contributed to the cultural landscape of the city, bringing tourist money into the province. As a result, Halifax and the province were convinced that preservation was a desirable and profitable course of action that could produce more jobs and generate more money than the renewal projects that caused contention in the community. Interest in the preservation of historic architecture as a means of tourist development took off, and in the 1970s and 80s tourism would become the most important industry in the region.[317] Planning legislation began to reflect this new direction in the city with large sections devoted to "Heritage" objectives and policies in the Municipal Development Plans of the 1970s and 80s, and with the Heritage Property Act of 1980 the province began a program of legally protecting these structures through heritage registration.

Postmodern City Planning in the Global Era

This new approach to architecture and history in the city was part of the Postmodern turn that is broadly defined by its rejection of the modern values that

[317] Carleton U. History Collective, *Urban and Community Development,* 46.

promoted unity of form and ideology.[318] Jane Jacobs, an important influence for many heritage activists in Halifax, represented one stream of Postmodernist thought on architecture that promoted "a renewed appreciation for visual variety in the cityscape."[319] This conception of the urban landscape proved to be revolutionary in the field of urban design as practitioners began to experiment with juxtaposing different elements, such as old and new buildings.[320] Postmodernism thus recast urban design theory between 1960 and 1980, which began to emphasize historicism and heritage preservation, the importance of place and context, the character and identity of regions, and mixed-use zoning.[321] Instead of permanent solutions, architects and planners focused on "dynamic unity,"[322] seen in Halifax in the attempts to marry heritage and development in urban design and economic strategies.

A number of studies were undertaken in the city to identify which buildings were worthy of "historic" designation in the downtown district (Fig. 36). In a letter from the City Planning Committee to the City Manager, titled "Evaluation of Historic Building Sites in Relation to Development Potential of Halifax's Central Business District," a diagram of Halifax's downtown shows that the Morse's Tea, Harrington, and Fishwick Buildings were identified as "First Priority," and the Shaw Building as "Third Priority" for registration and protection as heritage properties.[323] These ordinary commercial

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[318] Ghirardo, *Architecture After Modernism,* 7.

[319] Ibid., 13-14.

[320] Ibid.

[321] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism*, 111.

[322] Ibid., 112-113.

[323] City Planning Committee, September 19, 1973. Letter to Mayor and City Planning Committee. From C. McC. Henderson, city manager. "Evaluation of Historic Building Sites in Relation to Development Potential of Halifax's Central Business District." Held in Heritage Trust Archives at NSARM in MG30 Series O, Vol. 1. File: #9.

buildings were then considered historically important, and a priority for protection in the city. The Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia played a central role in the development of preservation standards, and advocated for the preservation of buildings that were of local significance, stating:

> In addition to these clearly identified elements of our national treasure there exists a great mass of architecture where the value of individual structures or collections of structures is primarily of local or regional significance. These are the buildings and areas which make up the local historic and cultural legacy of the community, and moreover, promote the important social value of a "sense of place."[324]

The Heritage Trust helped to identify the "total urban fabric" as part of Halifax's heritage.[325] A similar situation was seen throughout the county as the less familiar environments that were created during the period of Modernization fueled the nostalgia for the past, to the point where the familiar and ordinary became treasured and worthy of preservation along with the more monumental structures.[326]

In 1977, the official City of Halifax report entitled *An Evaluation and Protection System for Heritage Resources in Halifax* was published and made specific recommendations for the retention of heritage buildings, how to assess the value of individual buildings and areas, and identified a number of buildings throughout Halifax that should be designated or considered for landmark status.[327] In this document a "Heritage Building" was defined as: "A building deemed to be representative of the social, cultural, economic, military, or political history of the City, Province, or Nation,

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[324] Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, *Preservation for Use* (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1972), 3.

[325] Harry Parnass and General Urban Systems Corporation, *Halifax Waterfront Urban Design Criteria: For the Metropolitan Area Planning Commission* (Toronto, ON: General Urban Systems Corporation, 1975), 183.

[326] David Lowenthal, "Caring for the Past: Changing Attitudes," in *Our Past Before Us: Why Do We Save It?* ed. David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney (London : T. Smith, 1981), 19.

[327] Phillips-Cleland, 1: 2-4.

or to have special architectural merit."[328] To be considered for protection, individual buildings would have to be evaluated and scored according to certain criteria including "Age," "Relationship to important occasion, institutions, personages, era," "Relationship to surrounding area," and "Aesthetic/architectural merit."[329] In this report the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, and Shaw Buildings managed to score high enough on the rating system, and were recommended for protection, but not the Imperial Oil Building, which was likely considered to be too young for heritage status.

Conservation areas were scored according to these standards as well as additional criteria that took into account the area's surroundings and atmosphere. Their criteria included: "Importance and number of the individual buildings," "Creation of the atmosphere of a past era," and "Compatibility of the buildings in the area,"[330] It identified the Historic Properties district as a "Conservation area." Its "Historic associations" come from the fact that: "The buildings are related to various stages of the early commercial advancement of Halifax during the nineteenth century."[331] The "Architectural comments" include: "Rather than displaying a particular era of the past commercial life of the City, this area shows a transition of commercial architectural styles from the simple Georgian warehouses on the waterfront to the elaborate Italianate structures of Granville Street."[332] In this description, the block in the middle containing the Morse's Tea, Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings were integral to this stylistic and functional transition. They were not quite as representative of the commercial period as

[328] Ibid., 2: 3.

[329] Ibid., 3: 267-268.

[330] Ibid., 3: 263-264.

[331] Ibid.

[332] Ibid.

the Granville Buildings, but also not as representative of "The Golden Age of Sail" like the waterfront warehouses. Without a strong identity within Halifax's heritage scheme they were not highly valued, and their position in the Central Business District more precarious.

Nova Scotia's Heritage Property Act was passed in 1980, giving the heritage designations throughout the city a more legal dimension for protection from demolition or significant alteration. The Act provided for "the identification, designation, protection and rehabilitation of buildings, structures, areas, and districts of heritage value; and aims to encourage the continued use of these cultural resources."[333] Under the Act, municipalities were given the authority to establish a registry of properties of local or regional significance, establish heritage conservation districts, and provide financial assistance to heritage property owners.[334] Although the Historic Properties were collectively recognized as a historic district and qualified for registration as a "heritage conservation area," according to *An Evaluation and Protection System for Heritage Resources*, they were not officially designated or protected as such. When it came time for Council to pass motions to register these buildings under the Heritage Property Act, staff advised it would be more appropriate to register them individually as they were concerned whether "area" was properly enabled by the Act.[335] The Peter Martin,

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[333] Heritage Unit of Nova Scotia Department of Housing & Municipal Affairs, *Heritage Grant Programs* (Halifax NS, 1999), 7.

[334] Ibid.

[335] "A decade later, the Act was amended to allow registration of 'heritage conservation districts.' The rules for these are actually stronger than for individual heritage properties. HRM now has a policy to consider Heritage Properties as a 'district,' but that is too late for these buildings" (Philip Pacey, e-mail message to author, July 13, 2010); Historic districts are treated differently than individual buildings because the entire group of buildings is taken into consideration in planning decisions. Although plans vary depending on the situation, property and business owners are often encouraged to develop properties in accordance with an overall plan for the district to ensure the preservation of its character ("Barrington Street Historical District: Property and Business Owner's Guide," *Downtown Halifax Business Commission*).

Harrington, Fishwick, and Shaw Buildings were registered under the Act in 1981, and the Imperial Oil Building was later registered in 1985.

Originally a concept used to encourage the protection of Halifax's threatened urban landscape, "heritage" soon proved to hold a lot of currency for the tourism industry as well. By 1973 it was recognized that "the importance of tourism to Nova Scotia's economy [was] increasing."[336] Visitor expenditure in Nova Scotia in 1971 of nearly $56 million doubled that of 1966, putting the industry on par with other major industries in the province such as agriculture and fishing.[337] Tourist studies were undertaken to survey visitors and assess what they enjoyed about their experience in Nova Scotia, and furthermore what they *wanted* to see in the province. This information was used by cabinets, planners, and treasury boards in order "to evaluate the tourist industry as a development tool, and to judge its importance relative to other industries for achieving the economic and social goals of a province or region."[338] As a growing industry throughout the world, tourism became a competition between nation states and regions, largely based on the attractiveness of their cultural sites. These sites then became subject to interpretations by the local population and businesses based on what they thought the tourist wanted to see or experience.

The province began a process of manipulating and emphasizing certain aspects of Nova Scotian and Halifax regional culture that would appeal to the tourist crowd, often emphasizing a folksy Scottish cultural inheritance represented by bagpipes, fiddles, and tartans, as well as emphasizing the seafaring and privateering past represented by old

[336] Alan Rodger, "Introduction," in *Some Aspects of the Tourist Industry in Nova Scotia: a summary of data obtained from automobile exit surveys and the tourist census* (Halifax, NS: Department of Tourism, 1973).

[337] Ibid.

[338] Ibid., ii.

sailboats and the waterfront warehouses of the Historic Properties. The promotion of this pre-industrial past was the antithesis of the modern growth model of progress and innovation that others wanted for the province, but nonetheless proved to be incredibly lucrative and therefore valuable to the City's development goals. The heritage strategies offered in Halifax try to be as apolitical as possible in order to appease both conservationists and developers, but this brand of heritage "usually ends up accentuating the banes of capitalist urban development rather than checking its excesses," and ultimately allows marketing to dominate in this "contemporary brand of historicism."[339] This type of historic cultural selection and manipulation led Ian McKay to comment: "The past has become the property of the tourism industry in Nova Scotia. This colonization of the past by capital and the capitalist state in the interests of increasing tourism revenue poses a threat to the honest dialogue between past and present."[340] The heritage movement became a part of the Halifax's marketing strategy,[341] and only buildings that contributed to the city's historic profile were protected.

While Halifax was developing its heritage-tourism industry, citizen participation also became institutionalized in a fashion that was meant to limit its power over development in the city. By the mid-1970s, Halifax was actively engaging citizens in preparing neighbourhood plans, embracing them as active partners in the planning process.[342] In 1974 Halifax set out on a "full-blown planning process" in which citizens,

[339] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism*, 183.

[340] Ian McKay, "Twilight at Peggy's Cove: Toward a Geneaology of Maritimicity," *Border/Lines* (summer 1988): 30.

[341] Interest groups like the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, on the other hand, continued to work outside of this popular stream, frequently taking a leading role in battles against development projects that threaten heritage buildings.

[342] Grant, "The Planning Process," 109.

politicians, and staff worked together to develop a municipal plan that everyone could agree on.[343] After weeks of meetings, a Municipal Development Plan was developed with a large amount of citizen input. City staff now believed that the citizen view was made official, which also meant that any further protests were met with occasionally hostile reception, and these people were treated as "anti-development."[344] While the approach of planning seemed to be changing to become more democratic, "The basic national goals of growth and rational development remained paramount."[345]

Urban design principles of mixed-use zoning and development in the city were included in the Municipal Development Plan of 1978, which encouraged development to occur on "lands that can physically and safely accommodate such development while enhancing and enriching the social, economic, environmental and physical characteristics of the Municipality as a whole."[346] In accordance with this Postmodern trend in urban design, development was to exist alongside preserved areas, whose conditions for protection became another major aspect of this plan: "Council shall encourage the protection and enhancement of the natural and man-made features of the Municipality," which included, "Archaeological sites and historic sites and structures," and "the social and cultural fabric of the settlements of the area."[347]

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[343] Grant, *Drama of Democracy,* 70.

[344] Ibid., 72.

[345] Jill Grant, "Shaped by Planning: The Canadian City Through Time," in *Canadian Cities in Transition: Local Through Global Perspectives*, ed. Trudi Bunting and Pierre Filion (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press Canada, 2006), 329.

[346] Project Planning Consultants Limited and Halifax NS Municipality, *Municipal Development Plan: Staff Draft* 1 no. 2 (Halifax, NS: Municipality of the County of Halifax, 1978), 15.

[347] Project Planning Consultants, *Municipal Development Plan*, 37. These principles would continue to appear in each Municipal Development Plan for the City of Halifax until the last publication of this type in 1994.

These new regulations for development came at an important time in Halifax's urban development. By the mid-1970s, Atlantic Canada's economic expansion was improved in almost all areas including employment, population, and income as a result of the urban core playing a leadership role in the economy. Halifax-Dartmouth in particular emerged as the prime service centre for the Atlantic Region, and in Halifax there was a marked expansion in finance, insurance, and business services as many national firms had established themselves in the city.[348] The shift from an industrial to an information-based society at this time "led to the growth of a new managerial professional and business class and the increased significance of real estate."[349] In the City of Halifax, the building boom that occurred between 1971 and 1981 saw the bulk of retail and office development concentrated in the Central Business District. Approximately two-thirds of the building permits were classified as new construction, and about two-thirds of all construction were undertaken by private sector developers.[350]

The building boom in Halifax during this period was largely the result of the economic slump that began to form by the early 1970s when Western economies were "exhibiting the symptoms of an epochal change."[351] Changes were most readily apparent in the deindustrialization of the labour force and the shift to a service-oriented economy, but economic growth in general had been slowing down as profit rates were falling and inflation was rising. Petroleum prices quadrupled in 1973, causing a system shock that

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[348] C.D. Burke and D.J. Ireland, *An Urban/Economic Development Strategy for the Atlantic Region.* (Ottawa: Published by Macmillan of Canada for the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1976), 27-34.

[349] Thorns, *Transformation of Cities*, 74.

[350] John Heseltine, *Economic Development in the City of Halifax 1971 through 1981*. Municipal Development Plan Review: Discussion Paper no. 2 (City of Halifax: Planning Department, 1983), 1-2.

[351] Paul L. Knox, "Capital, Material Culture and Socio-Spatial Differentiation," in *The Restless Urban Landscape*, ed. Paul L. Knox (Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1993), 4.

required the corporate world to develop new strategies in order to survive. One profitable outlet during this time of financial instability became switching investments from the "primary capital" of industrial production to the "secondary circuit" of capital assets that would eventually aid production, which included investing in factories, offices, and roads. This is known as "speculative investment" in the built environment, and accounted for much of the property boom in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[352] In this period, elements of the built environment became an investment field for surplus capital.[353]

In 1981, the year of the last major office high-rise development in downtown Halifax,[354] James Lorimer declared: "Canada's cities have entered a new period in their history. The era of developers . . . is over . . . the country has moved on."[355] Lorimer, referring to the absence of large-scale development projects in Canada's downtowns, assured readers that this was not the result of the citizens groups and reform movement, but due to the drastic changes in economic circumstances. The development strategy that Canadian growth after WWII depended on was no longer working, and the architecture and planning forms from this period became outdated because of changes in the cost of energy. While the speculative property boom was felt into the early 1980s, the decline in growth prospects for most cities reduced the power that major developers had held in urban economies.[356] The planning and architecture of the previous phase were being

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[352] Ibid.

[353] Paul Walker Clarke, "The Economic Currency of Architectural Aesthetics," in *Restructuring Architectural Theory*, ed. Marco Diani and Catherine Ingraham (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1989), 49.

[354] The last high-rise in Halifax was the "Maritime Centre" at the bottom of Spring Garden Road, controversial for its broad design that obstructed the view from this major thoroughfare to the Halifax Harbour (Lorimer, *The Developers*, 161).

[355] "Introduction: The post-developer era for Canada's cities begins," in *After the Developers,* ed. James Lorimer and Carolyn MacGregor (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981), 6.

[356] Ibid.

"quietly abandoned," and taking their place in the downtowns of cities were new medium- and high-density housing for upper-middle-income consumers.[357]

Throughout this period, Halifax's municipal politicians often accused the 1969 Planning Act to be "exceedingly 'liberal' in the rights it gave citizens to appeal Council and staff decisions."[358] The City consequently had many decisions appealed, and developers began to complain that their projects were being delayed in a process that "limited their property rights."[359] By the late 1970s, many of the initiatives of the participatory planning were under attack by government and developers. Although citizen involvement had dramatically declined, developers continued to argue that citizens were delaying viable projects, and the government investment that funded urban development programs contributed to debt levels and increased taxes. The shift in the political climate of the late 1970s and early 80s saw conservative opinions grow in influence, undermining support for citizen participation in planning. In Halifax the intensity of land-use disputes decreased as citizens increasingly saw these as hopeless battles, and with tighter economic times, developers were proposing fewer development projects in general.[360]

Nova Scotia passed another Planning Act in 1983 that reflected the conservative national climate. It constrained the rights of citizens to appeal decisions, and gave the City Council more room to make land-use decisions without opposition. The Act still included "public participation programs," but often used these as a formality while increasing the authority of planners to implement plans with limited interference from

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[357] Ibid., 8.

[358] Grant, *Drama of Democracy,* 52-53.

[359] Ibid.

[360] Ibid., 75.

either Council or citizens.[361] The 1983 Act firmly established the roles of decision makers in the planning process: the citizens could advise Council on policy development, Council then fixed policies and made judgments, and the planner implemented the plans. Through this scheme the Act was able to reinforce the dominant political and social structure in Nova Scotia, and as a result establish a stable climate for the development of land and properties.[362]

This Act recognized that the city was operating in "an era of competition," and had to react accordingly in its planning and land development.[363] Following the crisis of the 1970s, a group of trends emerged in Western economics that have been labeled "post-industrial," "post-Fordist," or "globalized." While the Fordism of the preceding period relied on a state-regulated system of mass production and consumption that was undergirded by welfare and social security, post-Fordism became a system of flexible accumulation and niche market consumption. This new system is primarily characterized by its "flexibility," which can be seen in the smaller and more specialized firms that have emerged, more general skills on the part of workers, and more temporary and part-time labour. The post-Fordist, global economy also consists of transnational cultural, population, and information flows, with a steady movement of business people that seek out new, competitive locations that can offer them new markets or cheap labour. Post-Fordism and flexibility are reflected in new commercial architecture, which is rarely designed for a specific business or operation, but as space that can be easily adapted to

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[361] Grant, *Drama of Democracy,* 53.

[362] Ibid., 54.

[363] Heseltine, *Economic Development*, 34.

new tenants.[364] The terms used to describe office real estate reflect this flexibility as they do not refer to ownership but to the quality of the space as "Class A," "Class B," and so on.[365]

This period of flexibility is also reflected in the government de-regulation of economic activities, neo-liberalism or privatization, and the competitive stance between nations and regions for business interests.[366] With the economic recession and debt crisis of the 1980s and 90s, a new form of planning known as "strategic planning" was introduced, replacing comprehensive planning. Modeled on business approaches, strategic planning involved concepts like "stakeholder engagement" and "conflict management," and in this scheme citizens now had "interests" that had to be managed. The context of urban planning thus changed dramatically in Halifax as the government yielded authority to market forces.[367] The 1990s also saw a new kind of regional planning that reflected the region's need to make cities more competitive and more effective players in an increasingly global economy. The province of Nova Scotia strengthened their regional planning initiative, amalgamating Halifax's outlying areas to create the Halifax Regional Municipality.[368] Halifax, no longer an incorporated city, became a community of the Municipality. The objective of the Regional Municipal Planning Strategy is clearly stated at the outset:

> The Regional Municipal Planning Strategy . . . is a guide for the future development of the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM). It represents a significant step forward in integrated land use planning and long-term

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[364] Ghirardo, *Architecture After Modernism*, 37-38.

[365] Willis, *Form Follows Finance*, 149.

[366] Thorns, *Transformation of Cities*, 71.

[367] Grant, "Shaped by Planning," 329; Grant, "The Planning Process," 108-109.

[368] Grant, "Culture and Theory," 54-55.

> coordination. It is a framework that outlines how future sustainable growth should take place in the HRM, in a way that preserves the environment while at the same time maintain a strong economy.[369]

The Planning Strategy distances itself from the planning and development of the post-war period by referring to future development as "sustainable growth," advocating an approach that is appropriate and beneficial to the community. Known as "smart growth," this approach acknowledges different strategies so "that communities could manage growth to get the best from it while minimizing its negative impacts."[370]

A document created by Nova Scotia Economic Development entitled *Toward Prosperity: Developing an Economic Development Strategy for Nova Scotia* states that the province of Nova Scotia "faces unparalleled opportunities for growth in the new economy."[371] Published in 2000, the economic development study group identified this period as a unique and potentially profitable moment in the history of Nova Scotia, a time when the province could take advantage of the global economy with opportunities such as "an exploding information economy, a global marketplace, a reinvigorated resource industry, a booming tourist sector."[372] The document also identifies globalization as a challenge for Halifax as it must become more competitive with cities around the world, particularly in the United States and Europe, to attract investment.[373] Partnerships between communities, the private sector, and governments were promoted as critical to the economic development of the province to support innovation and commercialization,

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[369] Halifax Regional Municipality, *Regional municipal planning strategy: Adopted by Regional Council* (Halifax, NS: Halifax Regional Municipality, 2006), 10

[370] Grant, "Relationship with Growth," 367-368.

[371] Nova Scotia Economic Development (Halifax, NS: Nova Scotia Economic Development, 2000), 1.

[372] Ibid., 5.

[373] Ibid.,15.

improve the climate for business, and encourage both local and foreign investment.[374] Most importantly, these new plans for the city's economic prosperity identify the need for the government to take a less active role in order to allow entrepreneurs and private sector firms to provide employment opportunities and economic growth.[375] Nova Scotia's economic development strategy, called "Opportunities for Prosperity," was instituted soon after and based itself on these principles.

These plans for economic prosperity in the province heavily promote neoliberalism by prioritizing the role of private business in the provincial economy while urging minimal government intervention. Neoliberalism, with its principles of efficiency, responsible government spending, and flexible and free markets, has become the unchallenged policy code in Canada with the provincial governments in Atlantic Canada having "enthusiastically embraced every aspect of the neoliberal agenda."[376] The Nova Scotian government is primarily concerned with making the climate good for business as it recognizes that the post-Fordist, global economy has been largely defined by a greater level of global activity, especially with the rise of the transnational institution that has no ties to particular regions.[377] In planning the "competitive city," policy is generally made to package cities for global customers. A large amount of public spending is now committed to "quality-of-life amenities, such as arts and culture, expensive urban design projects, monumental architecture, and greater concern for the environment, are features

[374] Ibid., 2.

[375] Ibid., 8.

[376] Thom W. Workman, *Social Torment: Globalization in Atlantic Canada* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 2003), 138, 29.

[377] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 50; Thorns, *Transformation of Cities,* 70-72.

deemed essential to attracting new business and residents."[378] These initiatives are new ways of marketing places to attract foreign businesses.[379]

While economics is the most dominant discourse surrounding globalization, the second focuses on culture and the threat that global, homogenizing culture poses for regional heritage.[380] In the next phase of development for the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, the economic and cultural impact of globalizing forces were explored by City officials as they confronted a new project that proposed to redevelopment them into an office building.

The Waterside Centre and the Contemporary Struggle for Historic Properties

For almost thirty years, the Historic Properties district remained relatively unchanged; a variety of restaurants and shops occupied the waterfront and the Hollis and Granville Street buildings, and NSCAD operated within its rented buildings on Hollis and Granville Streets. In 2007, NSCAD's thirty-five year lease of the buildings was coming to an end. With the near completion of their new Port Campus, the directors of the school decided it no longer required the space provided by the Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings. As the owner of the buildings, the Armour Group was preparing for this situation, and over the course of the previous year had developed a plan for the site.[381] An entirely new development was envisioned that would largely demolish the

[378] Trudi Bunting and Tod Rutherford, "Transitions in an Era of Globalization and World City Growth," in *Canadian Cities in Transition: Local Through Global Perspectives,* ed. Trudi Bunting and Pierre Filion (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2006), 75.

[379] Ibid.

[380] Thorns, *Transformation of Cities,* 85-86.

[381] Andrew MacDonald, "McCrea Plans Downtown Highrise at Historic Properties" (November 26, 2007), story featured in "News" section of Armour Group Company website: www.armourgroup.com.

existing buildings to create a nine-storey, glass office tower called the "Waterside Centre," designed by Lydon Lynch Architects of Halifax (Fig. 37 and 38). The proposed development of the four heritage buildings into an office building was announced on February 8, 2008. According to the chairman of the Armour Group, Ben McCrea, "the time is right to give new life to the property."[382]

In the assessment of the buildings completed for the Armour Group,[383] the professional opinion was that: "This complex of buildings do not meet the requirements of current Building Codes," and that any intervention to meet "the standards of current codes may be impossible. These buildings are functionally obsolete."[384] In the costs analysis of preservation/rehabilitation, it was concluded that:

> It is not economically feasible to preserve/rehabilitate these buildings in their entirety. The details of this assessment support the conclusion that these existing buildings will not meet cost effective goals if heritage preservation of the complete structure or current Building Codes and/or Alternate Compliance Methods are to be met."[385]

Throughout the thirty-five years that they were part of NSCAD's campus, there were few repairs or restorations completed on the buildings, perhaps contributing to their state of disrepair at the time of the assessments.[386] As a result, the report's consultants supported the Armour Group's desire to convert the buildings to an office complex that would be up

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[382] Steven Proctor, "Plan will fuse history: business Armour Group Chairman Outlines Redevelopment of Heritage buildings," *The Halifax Chronicle Herald*, February 9, 2008.

[383] The building assessment was completed by a number of professional firms including Lydon Lynch Architects, Douglas G. White Building Code Consultant, Campbell Comeau Engineering Ltd., Chebucto Engineering Ltd., Donald T. Matheson Engineering Ltd.

[384] "Introduction," *Conditions Assessment of: D. Harrington & Co. Building, F.W. Fishwick & Co. Building, Shaw Building, Imperial Oil Building*. Report prepared for Armour Group Limited, Halifax. Dec. 10, 2008.

[385] Ibid.

[386] Nick Webb, interview with the author.

to building code standards, and a far more lucrative space that could be rented out to higher-paying business firms, including the "influx of financial firms from Bermuda."[387]

As the buildings stood, occupying space in a prime location in the city's Central Business District, they were seen by Armour to be preventing the realization of the location's value. The predominant view of urban development in the global period, followed by the Armour Group and the City, is that "cities will atrophy if not redeveloped to facilitate and reinforce capitalist production and consumption. Otherwise investment will move elsewhere."[388] This concept has been integral to the free market economy, and has resulted in the building and rebuilding of cities, with each new construction adding value to the urban matrix. This process is known as "creative destruction" where intentional destruction of the built environment is seen as integral to the accumulation of capital.[389] As a result, these economic structures and beliefs in the city are realized through planning that continues to encourage growth, and architecture that mediates "economic power by both conforming to and structuring norms of market-driven investment, production, and consumption."[390] While planning strategies call for mixed-use development, it is only a certain type of development that the city prefers to advance its economic goals.

While the initiative to preserve these buildings was part of an early stage of Postmodern urbanism, later strategies would produce new designs for buildings that incorporated many of the design elements that Modernism cast off, including historically-

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[387] MacDonald, "McCrea Plans Downtown Highrise."

[388] Clarke, "Economic Currency," 49.

[389] Ibid.

[390] Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 39.

inspired decorations, stylistic eclecticism, and irregularity. This approach was popularized by architects such as Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, who urged designers to "take into consideration and even to celebrate what already existed rather than attempt to impose a visionary utopia of their own fantasy."[391] Venturi, Brown and other architectural theorists equated Postmodernism with "a medley of different styles and approaches," that often tended to privileged the "sign"[392] over the architecture. In *Learning from Las Vegas*, Venturi remarks: "The sign at the front is a vulgar extravaganza, the building at the back, a modest necessity."[393] Many felt that Postmodern architecture had seen the elevation of images over ideology and social concerns, which in turn "allowed an unprecedented complicity with the marketplace."[394] Postmodernism, like the Modernism that preceded it, became another style absorbed into corporate architectural spheres.

Charles Jencks, one of the most prolific theorists on the subject of Postmodern architecture, took a different view of this style that he describes as being:

> Committed to pluralism, the heterogeneity of our cities and global culture, and it acknowledges the variety of taste cultures and visual codes of the users . . . It sends complex messages, ones that often carry ironic, dissenting or critical messages, those that challenge the status quo.[395]

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[391] Ghirardo, *Architecture After Modernism,* 17.

[392] Venturi was referring to Roland Barthes' theory of semiotics where the sign, which can be a discrete object or image, communicates meaning to the viewer. The architectural sign in Postmodern architecture involves aspects of decoration or even entire building facades that are explored for symbolic cultural meaning.

[393] Robert Venturi, *Learning from Las Vega,s* quoted in Diane Morgan, "Postmodernism and Architecture," in *The Routledge Critical Dictionary of Postmodern Thought*, ed. Stuart Sim (New York: Routledge, 1999), 86.

[394] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism,* 183-184.

[395] Charles Jencks, *The New Paradigm in Architecture: The Language of Post-Modernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 2.

Postmodernism responded to Modernism's iconography of "corporate power, respectability and anonymity," and through this new Postmodern canons were able to emerge that involved the aforementioned stylistic pluralism and emphasis on decorative and contextual properties of the surrounding built environment, defined by Jencks as "double-coding" since it often involves the combination of Modernist styling with historic or vernacular motifs.[396] The Armour Group's Waterside Centre design uses a more literal double-coding in that it does not design historic motifs, but rather was designed to integrate the outer walls of the Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings as an ornamental facade.

Double-coding, or double articulation, are new urban design strategies that seek "to reconcile constant change and diversification on the one hand with some sense of order and predictability on the other."[397] This type of Postmodern architecture is meant to negotiate a renewed respect for the local and the traditional, while also trying to meet the challenges of globalization that threaten to erode "place,"[398] and its regional culture. As globalization decreases the space between places and increases the transmission of hegemonic culture, the distinctiveness of place is increasingly destroyed.[399] According to Ben McCrea, Chairman of the Armour Group, the integration of these facades into the new glass building "fuses Halifax history and our collective 'sense of place' with contemporary requirements of modern businesses."[400] Knowing that redeveloping this

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[396] Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), quoted in Knox in "Capital, Material Culture," 14.

[397] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism,* 8.

[398] Morgan, "Postmodernism and Architecture," 83.

[399] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power,* 12.

[400] Ben McCrea, "About Historic Properties Waterside Centre," *Armour Group: Historic Properties*

site would be a point of contention for heritage advocates in the city, this design strategy was presented as a compromise, an accession to citizens interested in retaining a piece of Halifax's urban history that would also allow the developer to reap more profit from the land the buildings occupy.

This strategy of incorporating historic facades as decoration on new developments has now become a fairly common approach in commercial redevelopments. Disparagingly referred to as "facadism," it is seen to be "a poor compromise that results in an unhappy splicing of old and new, and is an approach that is better resisted."[401] Façadism is a simple response to one of the principle features of Postmodern urbanism referred to as "contextualism," which includes the historical, physical, and social aspects of the site. The architect and developer responded to the idea of context by assuming the older walls would afford the district the same continuity and cohesiveness while allowing them to bring the land into higher use and value. The contextualism offered by the Waterside Centre is unsuccessful as it more readily shows that the developer is "paying lip service to contextualism while pursuing more personal goals."[402] What has become explicit in the Waterside Centre's plans to integrate these historic elements is a manipulation of the concept of "heritage" and architectural preservation, where historic character and value become distorted by powerful market forces and reduced to a building's exterior walls.[403]

Waterside Centre, on company website: www.armourgroup.com.

[401] Johannes Cramer and Stefan Breitling, *Architecture in Existing Fabric: Planning, Design, Building* (Basel, Switzerland; Boston: Birkhäuser, 2007), 134-135.

[402] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism,* 185.

[403] Deborah E.B. Weiner, "The erasure of history: From Victorian asylum to 'Princess Park Manor'," in *Architecture as Experience: Radical change in spatial practice*, ed. Dana Arnold and Andrew Ballantyne (New York: Routledge, 2004), 190.

The design for the Waterside Centre was conceived by Andy Lynch, a popular Halifax architect who has designed a number of commercial and institutional buildings in the Modernist style. The design for the Waterside Centre shows a collaboration between the developer and the architect, as many of Lynch's other buildings demonstrate a Modern design ethic with little or no ornamentation, symmetrical forms, and minimal extraneous design elements. The Waterside Centre, however, is designed much like the Founder's Square development that the Armour Group completed on Hollis Street in 1986, another office complex that retained the facades of the older buildings where it was constructed.

This collaboration between architect and developer is also evocative of the epochal changes in the political economy that have affected the architect's profession. Their previous status as master builders has been forfeited. Now architects are clients of the developers who impose tight specifications on the final design, often specifying that the building project be singular and attention-grabbing to create a distinctive image for the building's occupants.[404] The more commercial examples of Postmodern architecture, of which the Waterside Centre is a part, show a reduction of the architectural practice to "large-scale packaging," where the developer determines the substance of the building, and the architect produces a shell. While Modern urbanism saw the subjugation of urban design to market forces, this has become increasingly noticeable since the 1970s with the emergence of flexible accumulation, the increasing support of cities by global economies, and the corporatization of the architectural profession. These conditions combined have produced designs that are apolitical and represent the decline in creativity.[405]

[404] Knox, "Capital, Material Culture," 14-15.

[405] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism*, 184-185.

The Postmodern canons that have emerged since 1970 are "part of a wider reconfiguration of socio-cultural values that has proceeded in tandem with the reconfiguration of the political economy."[406] Two streams have been identified within this tradition: there are Postmodernisms of resistance that seek to undermine the canons of Modernity and the status quo, and then there are Postmodernisms of reaction, which are more superficial reactions to the same phenomena, and seek to displace one style or system of practices with another. The Postmodernisms of reaction are the most predominant, and merely look to displace or compete with the universalistic and rationalistic motifs of Modernity with playful, spectacular, and combinational motifs.[407] NSCAD's adaptive re-use of the Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings represented a Postmodernism of resistance that posed challenges to the status quo in Halifax during the period of uncritical urban renewal by offering a "sensitive intervention" that rehabilitated the aging buildings, and renovated their interiors with minimal interference in their basic structures. The project fulfilled what architects and conservationists see to be the aim of planning, which "should on the one hand be to maintain and build upon the identity of the building in its structure and plan, and on the other to improve its usability and make it more attractive through well-chosen, selected interventions."[408]

The Waterside Centre, on the other hand, is part of the later stream, reacting to the tenants of Modern urbanism by promoting a "sense of place," but in actuality reducing place to building facades. The difference between these design solutions lie in their

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[406] Knox, "Capital, Material Culture," 16.

[407] Ibid.

[408] Cramer and Breitling, *Architecture in Existing Fabric*, 106.

motivations. With the Waterside Centre we see the conservative tendency that, while promoting sensitivity to place and local values, also clings to the reigning power structure by developing to best and highest use like in the earlier Modern tradition.[409] As a commercial building, the Waterside Centre was designed primarily to make money for its developer and the City through taxes, an approach that does not produce "effective architecture," according to Jencks. Furthermore, the heritage buildings were approached as an impediment to development, and integrated in order to appease heritage concerns in the city. They are considered "problems," and facadism offers a solution. Jencks also notes: "It is quite clear why 'problems' do not produce architecture. They produce instead 'rational' solutions to over-simplified questions in a chaste style."[410] The formal pluralism of Postmodern architectures seek to reflect social pluralism,[411] yet the Waterside's design only reflects this in the thin gesture of preserving exterior walls, while the large monument designed to fill them speaks to greater goals of capital accumulation in the built environment. The Waterside Centre is therefore not offering what could be described as a critical Postmodern approach.

According to the Armour Group's official company statement, "The company has focused on quality developments that create a 'sense of place' and thus allows for a long term view of economically sustainable buildings of enduring value within the community."[412] "Place," however, is a very broad concept that encompasses a number of interpretations. Along with the traditional definition of "place" as a geographical location,

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[409] Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism,* 18.

[410] Jencks, *New Paradigm in Architecture*, 11.

[411] Ibid., 49.

[412] Armour (Ben) McCrea, "About Us," on Armour Group company website: www.armourgroup.com.

the concept also includes the specificities of certain concentrations of people and economic activity, a form of local society that is rendered special by its economy and demography. A third definition of place is: "A cultural artifact of social conflict and cohesion."[413] Halifax is a place produced by the layers of experience and change brought on by capital investment and labour organization, and spatially expresses how a group of people and local government have mediated the demands of cultural identity and capital accumulation.[414] Rather than a sense of Halifax history and regional identity that is transmitted through commercial building facades, Armour Group's project in execution emits the sense of place that is created through social conflict and economic development as the project's proposal became a major battle between heritage concerns and business development in City Hall, now a mainstay of Halifax's urban development.

When the Waterside Centre's proposal became official it brought about another fight to save these historic buildings from "modern" urban design projects, but this time the conditions and options for renewal had changed, reflecting the different circumstances within the city. The first contentious point was the plan for the Peter Martin Building, which according to the Armour Group, would have to be demolished for the new plan to go forward "because it is an obsolete, wood-framed building that cannot be viably incorporated into the redevelopment."[415] As early as 2006, the Armour Group had contested the heritage designation of the Peter Martin Building, claiming that its registration was invalid due to a clerical error that registered the wrong civic address.[416] Without heritage status the Armour Group were free to redevelop the site with no legal

[413] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, 12.

[414] Ibid.

[415] MacDonald, "McCrea Plans Downtown Highrise."

[416] Ibid.

repercussions. The error in registration was confirmed by the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia in late March 2008, resulting in the removal of the building's heritage status and a demolition permit for the property awarded to McCrea.

This proved to be a victory for the Armour Group, but at this time the company was also contending with Halifax City Council, the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, and the citizens of Halifax who were opposed to the new development. In accordance with the Heritage Property Act, developers must wait a year after applying to de-register a heritage building for the purpose of redevelopment to enable "'sober second thought' and negotiation of alternatives."[417] None of the alternatives offered were of interest to the Armour Group, who remained steadfast in their plans for the redevelopment. The Armour Group's proposal to redevelop the block was raised at a hearing held in Halifax City Hall on September 16 and 30, 2008, where the public was allowed to speak on the matter. Fourteen people spoke in favour of the development, while forty-seven spoke against. The disapproval of the project was enormous, and influenced a 9-9 tie-vote with City Councilors, which was considered a defeat.[418]

This narrow rejection of the project inspired a heated debate concerning the place of heritage in the city and the role of development. Those who were in favour of the redevelopment were concerned that Nova Scotia was hindering its own economic progress and competitiveness in the global market by stopping these plans, and even the Nova Scotian Premier Rodney MacDonald stepped in to remark that the decision to

[417] Barrington Street Heritage District Steering Committee, "Barrington Street Heritage District Revitalization Plan" (2004).

[418] Amy Pugsley Fraser, "No decision on Waterside Centre at Historic Properties," *The [Halifax] Chronicle-Herald*, 17 September 2008, sec. B5.

preserve the buildings was "stifling growth at a critical time."[419] The CEO of Nova Scotia Business Incorporated commented that City Council's rejection of the project was, "embarrassing," and "a step back" for the city.[420] Following the hearing and defeat of his development plans, McCrea stated that the Armour Group would not continue to support the buildings as they stood, and it became clear that since the company could not go forward with their development plans they considered the complete demolition of the buildings to be their only other option.[421]

The Municipal Government Act for Halifax permits appeals to the Nova Scotia Utility and Review Board (NSUARB), an independent quasi-judicial body in the city,[422] for "decisions of heritage officers or municipal councils relating to heritage properties, pursuant to the Heritage Property Act."[423] Ben McCrea initially stated that the Armour Group would not pursue this option to appeal the decision to the NSUARB, however they felt encouraged by the "public backlash" against the City's decision, as well as from the "many members of the business community" who urged the group to appeal.[424] During this time the Armour Group also began making preparations to tear down the Peter Martin Building, which was then quickly demolished on the morning of November 2, 2008 (Fig. 39). Armour Group President Doug MacIsaac denied that there was any

[419] Jennifer Taplin and Lindsay Jones, "N.S. needs Waterside: Premier, Office space would have given fuel to economic engine, MacDonald says," *Metro News Halifax*, 23 October 2008. Story featured in "News" section of Armour Group Company website: www.armourgroup.com.

[420] Lindsay Jones, "NSBI Head calls project halt 'step back'," *Metro News Halifax*, 23 October 2008. Story featured in "News" section of Armour Group Company website: www.armourgroup.com.

[421] "Developer mulls options after office tower rejected," *CBC News - Nova Scotia* Online, 22 October 2008.

[422] Nova Scotia Utility and Review Board, "About Us - History and Jurisdiction," NSUARB website: www.nsuarb.ca.

[423] Nova Scotia Utility and Review Board, "Planning," NSUARB website: www.nsuarb.ca.

[424] Lindsay Jones, "Waterside Centre is going to an appeal," *Metro News Halifax*, 31 October 2008. Story featured in "News" section of Armour Group Company website: www.armourgroup.com.

connection between the demolition of the Peter Martin Building and the defeat of his project in Halifax City Council,[425] though many suspected otherwise.

The NSUARB for the case consisted of a three-member panel that heard the appeal for eight days, beginning on January 19, 2009. The Armour Group presented their case for the development of the block and its economic benefits for the City, while the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia presented a case for the conservation of these historic buildings in order to preserve the heritage value of the district. On March 26, 2009, the Board found that the earlier decision of the City Council "failed to reasonably carry out the intent of the MPS (Municipal Planning Strategy)" and that, in their opinion, the Waterside Centre did "reasonably carry out the intent of the MPS."[426] It seemed they were of the opinion that the Waterside Centre was an appropriate intervention in the urban landscape that was able to properly balance economic growth and the historic environment. Shortly after, the Halifax City Council[427] voted again on the matter, and approved the Waterside Centre development by a vote of 13-1.[428]

Despite their interest in the continued preservation these buildings, the Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia was not left with a sufficient amount of time following City Council's decision in order to find a viable alternative to the development and appeal this second ruling. This, on top of the great amount of money that the process of appeal

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[425] Lindsay Jones, "Sweet Basil Bistro dining room facing demolition," *Metro News Halifax*, 31 October 2008. Story featured in "News" section of Armour Group Company website: www.armourgroup.com.

[426] Claire Mellor, "Armour Group gets approval for development," *The [Halifax] Chronicle-Herald*, 26 March 2009. Story featured in "News" section of Armour Group Company website: www.armourgroup.com.

[427] Members on this City Council had changed from the previous group that voted down the Waterside Development following a municipal election (Judy Myrden, "Council says yes to Waterside," *The [Halifax] Chronicle-Herald*, 8 April 2009).

[428] Mellor, "Armour Group gets approval for development," *[Halifax] Chronicle-Herald*, 26 March 2009.

requires, has made it an incredible strain on interest groups and citizens to protest or affect significant change in these matters. Though the earlier meeting of City Hall over the development proposal saw an overwhelming majority of citizens speak against the redevelopment, the Nova Scotia planning legislation, which limits the rights of citizens to affect outcomes in the planning process, only gives them the right to receive information and give presentations. The politicians and planners are not required to take any direction from citizens, and ultimately, "Planners and politicians have the power to make all decisions about the use of land."[429]

The late-twentieth-century urban landscape, a social, cultural, and political product of creative destruction, is a fragile compromise between the market and "place." The landscapes shaped by developers and some politicians have an ingrained belief in markets, which represent free movement and impersonal judgment, but market culture also "poses most danger to the cultural values of place."[430] Real estate developers and City officials work within a matrix of governmental institutions and local preferences, tying their decisions to market forces and the attachments of place.[431] City officials, faced with this decision, ultimately chose to be complicit with the market and develop for economic benefit rather than support a group of old commercial buildings that did not seem to contribute to the economy or heritage culture of the region.

It was in direct opposition to this sort absolute control that Council has over the city that led to the growth of citizen's movements in the 1960s and 70s. The preservation of Historic Properties was a victory for many people in Halifax at that time, but the fights

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[429] Grant, *Drama of Democracy*, 34.

[430] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power,* 5.

[431] Ibid., 42

that the Waterside Centre provoked show that the city will not easily forfeit its control over the development of land, even in spite of great citizen protest. The collective cooperation that saved the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, and created the Historic Properties district restored the public realm of the city, and attempted to stop the shredding of Halifax's urban fabric,[432] but over time, the project has either lost its relevance or is remembered as a novel exercise, seen by some as increasingly impractical to a growing city. The once lauded preservation project has become a history that is increasingly taken for granted, and forgotten. It is an unfortunate outcome since this project, and its history of citizen action could provide a more relatable history than that of a far-removed, and somewhat fabricated, seafaring past. It is "only the continual addition of more recent history prevents the past we revise from becoming marooned in even remoter antiquity."[433]

Halifax continues to promote itself as a city that is open to growth and new economic strategies. With the approval of the Waterside Centre, the first office development in Halifax's Central Business District since the 1980s, the City is sending a message that it is not afraid to sacrifice buildings that are not particularly outstanding to tourists in order to modernize and attract transnational firms. Since its approval, however, the project has encountered unforeseen difficulties. As a property built for rental space, or a "speculative building,"[434] the Waterside Centre was largely relying on American firms interested in setting up offices in the new building, such as the Bermudian financial firms

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[432] Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 4.

[433] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 362.

[434] Willis, *Form Follows Finance*, 155-157.

that needed office space in the downtown. The project was first proposed in summer 2007, before the financial crisis in the United States had truly taken effect, which has since significantly reduced the expansion projects of American businesses. Because of the cyclical nature of the real estate industry, the timing of a project is crucial to its success as the amount of money the property can generate in rent depends on when in the cycle the building comes into the market.[435] Unfortunately for the Armour Group, the timing of this project was not good. Though construction began to hollow out the buildings in the early spring of 2010, by the summer, 2010, the buildings still require tenants, and construction seems to have reached a standstill. Facades now line Hollis, Duke, and Upper Water Street, with nothing to fill them (Fig. 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44).

[435] Ibid., 158.

CONCLUSION

Located on one of the oldest city blocks in Halifax, the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings have been altered by the myriad forces of urbanization and city building at work in Halifax. The names alone that have been assigned to this area reflect the dominant theories of urbanization: from town centre to city centre, the section containing these buildings became the "Central Redevelopment Area" during the Modern period, followed by the "Historic Properties" district in the Postmodern period. In the current period, the focus has shifted to these five buildings in particular, and their conversion into an office building for international business firms. Reflecting the City's response to globalization and the neoliberal economic strategies that have prevailed over heritage concerns, it has been decided that these buildings will have to be sacrificed in order to open up the Central Business District again and allow this redevelopment to give the city a competitive edge. The trends in urbanism have proven to be fluid and sometimes contradictory, but ultimately favour the scheme that seems most compatible with economic development.

My previous chapters have illustrated that the form of Halifax's downtown district has been determined by large-scale economic, political, and social forces, but also by a multitude of individual, community, and corporate decisions. In the period following the Second World War the activity of city building became one of the most powerful engines of economic growth as investments went into planning and development, building houses and transportation infrastructures.[436] The chosen method to renew cities at this time was to redevelop sites to their best and highest use, and in the Central Business District this

[436] Gilbert A. Stelter, "Introduction," in *Cities and Urbanization: Canadian Historical Perspectives*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1990), 4.

meant that many blocks of older buildings were cleared for the high-rise plans proposed by land developers and corporations. This particular block, containing the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings became a site for redevelopment with the proposal of the Harbour Drive expressway that would have run along the waterfront.

In response to the city's renewal in the 1960s and 70s, a heritage movement grew to fight redevelopment in the downtown area, which was recognized to have the highest concentration of heritage buildings. Citizens fought to preserve a "sense of place," which in this case was conveyed by certain architectural and cultural qualities of these historic buildings. The most viable response to the preservation of these buildings was to rehabilitate the structures, with old industrial warehouses converted into boutiques and restaurants, and the establishment of a new campus for the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design in the Granville Street buildings and the Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings, which were converted into a complex for the Art Education Department. This system worked for the city as it was able to attract tourist dollars and produce a commercial and institutional district within the downtown that proved heritage and new developments could complement one another.

Since the creation of the Historic Properties district, the conditions for renewal have changed drastically. Though the city can no longer support large-scale renewal or development, many ideas from the post-war period have prevailed. The decisions of land developers and City officials continue to be tied to market forces and the local population's attachment to place,[437] and City Council is left to negotiate these opposing forces and make the final decision on land use. As new projects come to City Council it

[437] Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*, 42.

becomes clear that although planning and development promote citizen involvement and strong recommendations for heritage protection, they are not strong enough to contend with development projects.

Following the Waterside Centre's proposal a long discussion took place both inside and outside of City Hall. City officials, the developer, the Heritage Trust, and citizens tried to address issues of economic development and heritage preservation, and find solutions that could save the buildings and maintain the cohesiveness of the Historic Properties district. Alternatives to the new building were offered by heritage advocates in a bid to preserve the buildings as they stood, but the developer was unwavering, and ultimately gained the support of City officials. With the approval of the Waterside Centre, the City has demonstrated that its main concerns are now competitive city building. As a city that has been searching for methods and new ways to encourage economic prosperity for over a century, Halifax has not been a city that easily accommodates alternative plans or land uses to the status quo. Halifax wants strategies that encourage the most capital accumulation.

The group of buildings, once composed of a wooden Georgian building neighbouring two stone Georgian buildings, and finally two Classical brick office buildings from the early-twentieth century, formed a diverse mixture of styles and commercial functions. On all counts of heritage evaluation, the buildings seem to earn recognition for their age, architectural features, and a few tenuous connections to local heroes and merchants, but are not considered to be highly valuable. Heritage in the city has been granted to those structures with strong historical associations, along with unique decoration and iconic styles. Unfortunately this has resulted in a heritage inventory that

tends to display the same "historic" values, but does not take into account more recent pasts that are more relevant to current day social activities in the urban sphere and inclusive planning practices. The fight to save the buildings that would become Historic Properties was a landmark victory for the interest groups and citizens who worked against the city and its "modernizing" attempts, and *won*. This has not happened often in Halifax's past or present, and deserves more recognition than it has been afforded.

At the time of their constructions, over the period of a hundred years, these five buildings were symbolic of the forces of urbanization and city building in Halifax. In the Modern period they were considered obsolete. Then, with the burgeoning heritage movement, they became valued works of architecture that warranted conservation. Now, as the heritage movement and its values have become more entrenched, Halifax seems to know what heritage it wants to promote, and these buildings have become inadequate now that a more economically viable solution is presented. By studying these buildings and their history in the business district of a small city, a history of city building in the modern period can be read, and the conclusion is often clear: located in what has historically been the centre of trade and commerce, the potential for capital accumulation has taken precedence in determining the form of this downtown space, demonstrating the hegemony of a spatial order that encourages private and corporate investment.

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APPENDIX A

OWNERSHIP OF BUILDINGS BEFORE 1972

The Peter Martin Liquors Building, 1870 Upper Water Street
1856 – Matthew Mooney (Merchant) to Daniel Bird (Master Mariner)
1870 – Daniel Bird (Master Mariner) to Peter Martin (Trader)
1870-1879 – Peter Martin (Grocery & Liquors)
1879-1884 – Daniel J. McIntosh (Liquors)
1883 – Francis H. Doull (Merchant)
1884-1886 – Louis Mejan (Boarding house)
1887-1890 – Louis Mejan (Restaurant)
1890-1892 – James Leary (Restaurant)
1892-1893 – Abraham Young (Boarding house)
1893-1896 – Clement Parsons, fireman (Boarding house)
1900-1906 – John L. Gooley (Liquor)
1906-1907 – Hagan & Foley (Liquor)
1907-1908 – Foley's Place (Liquor)
1915 – Mary Gooley (Grocer)
1929-1939 – Emilie Longfils (Cigars, tobacco, and confectionary)
1949-1950 – Hilda's Grocery
1951-1968 – Tom's Lunch & Coffee Shop (Restaurant)
1970-1972 – The Provincial Realty Co.

The Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building, 1865 Hollis Street
1863-1885 – W.M. Harrington & Co. (Grocers & Liquors)
1885-1895 – S. Oland & Sons Co. (Brewers)
1896-1900 – H. Stanway & Co. (Liquors)
1900-1903 – C.W. Howard & Company (Bottling)
1903-1904 – Alex Robertson (Chief guager)
1905-1910 – Pyke Brothers (Grocers, Brokers)
C.E. Choat (Grocery brokers)
1910-1915 – Pyke Brothers
Ganong Brothers Ltd.
St. Croix Soap Manufacturing Co.
1915-1924 – Pyke Brothers
St. Croix Soap
Ganong Brothers
Christie, Brown & Co.
1924-1930 – Pyke Brothers
Ganong Brothers
Christie, Brown & Co.
1930-1958 – Pyke Brothers
MacDonald Tobacco
1951-1958 – Briggs & Co. Tobacco

1960-1968 – Pyke Brothers
MacDonald Tobacco
Briggs & Co. Tobacco
Vincent Brokerage Co.
1970 – Pyke Brothers
MacDonald Tobacco Marketing Ltd.
Kehoe P.J. Investment Ltd.

The Harrington MacDonald-Briggs, 1855 Upper Water Street
1863-1885 – William M. Harrington (Grocers & Liquors)
1885-1894 – S. Oland and Sons Co.
1894-1895 – Maritime Brewing Co.
1896-1900 – H. Stanway & Co.
1900-1903 – Hayward & Co.
1904-1906 – George C. Cook (Warehouse)
1906-1959 – Pyke Brothers

The Fishwick & Company Building, 1861 Hollis Street
1855 – James Leddy (Clothier)
1863 – Chimney Sweep Office
Employment Office for male and female servants
1866 – Owen Donahue (Grocer)
1866 – Frederick W. Fishwick (Gentleman)
1869 – F.W. Fishwick, Colonial Express
1880-1890 – Intercolonial Express Co.
Intercolonial Railway ticket office
Fishwick's Steamboat Line
1890-1895 – Canadian Express office
American Express office
Fishwick's Express office
1895-1907 – Canadian Express Co.
American Express
1908 – Purchased from Fishwicks by Charles Aucoin (Merchant)
1910 – Scott & Johnson (Merchants)
1917 – Captain C. A. Mosher (Oils & gasoline)
1925 – Purchased from heirs of Charles Aucoin by Imperial Oil Limited. Used by Imperial Oil as a stationary branch until 1955
1956-1958 – Eastern Film Laboratories
1961-1962 – Maritime elevator equipment Co.
1963-1964 – X-Ray and Radium
1966-1972 – Union of NS Municipalities

The Fishwick & Company Building, 1863 Hollis Street
1875-1880 – Fishwick Express
Robert Dalrymple (Teamster)

1883-1886 – Intercolonial Express
Fishwick's Express
1886-1891 – Fishwick's Express
1891-1895 – Fishwick's Express
Canadian Express
American Express
1895-1899 – William Power (Resident)
1899-1900 – American Express Co.
1904-1908 – James Coody (Resident)
1905-1907 – John Sheffield (Resident)
1908-1909 – John Reid (Resident)
1910-1911 – Shelah Evans (Resident)
1911-1913 – John Doonan (Resident)
1913-1916 – Ship Masters Association of Canada
1916-1919 – Joanna Williams (Resident)
1919-1920 – Simon Potty (Resident)
1929-1930 – Archibald Motor Co. (Warehouse)
1933-1954 – Imperial Oil (Storage)
1956-1958 – Eastern Film Lab Co.

The Shaw Building, 1855 Hollis Street
1900-1955 – Acadia Sugar Refinery
1925-1935 – CNR Division Freight office
1940-1949 – Imperial Oil Ltd. Sales office
1956-1966 – Minnesota Mining Manufacturing Co.
C.F. Abbott Real Estate
1968 – Shaw Steamship Co.
Mayhaven Shipping
1970 – Mayhaven Shipping

The Shaw Building, 1859 Hollis Street
1896-1944 – Acadia Sugar Refinery
1944-1956 – Acadia Atlantic Sugar Refinery
1956-1968 – British Columbia Packers (Fish processing)
Canadian Atlantic Saltfish Exporters
N.S. Fish Packers Association
Atlantic Fisheries By-product Association

The Imperial Oil Building, 1860 Upper Water Street
1927-1954 – Imperial Oil
1949 – Neil & Eileen Townsend (Residents)
1954-1958 – North Atlantic Agencies (Insurance)
1959-1966 – Mathers Steamship Agent
German, Norwegian, Danish, Spanish Consulates
Montreal Shipping

1968-1972 – Sauguenay Shipping

(Ownership history provided by Heather Salsman, Title Researcher, from the Halifax Registry of Deeds and G. Edward MacFarlane, *Granville Street* (Halifax, NS: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, n.d.). In Nova Scotia College of Art and Design Archives held at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management - Box 18)

APPENDIX B

OWNERSHIP OF BUILDINGS AFTER 1972

<u>The Peter Martin Liquors Building, 1870 Upper Water Street</u>
1972 – Purchased from Violet Clarke by Historic Properties Ltd.
1981 – Became a municipally registered heritage property
1981-1990 – Historic Properties restoring buildings, various tenants including
Fawcett/Bradshaw goldsmiths, Silver Spoon desserts
1993 – Café Scanway
1994-2008 – Sweet Basil Bistro
2008 – Building demolished

<u>The Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building, 1865 Hollis Street</u>
1972 – Purchased by Historic Properties Ltd.
1973 – Hebert L. Paul Associates (Architects)
1981 – Became a municipally registered heritage property
1985-89 – Silver Spoon favorites and dessert
1991-1995 – Nemo's Restaurant
1999 – Sweet Lou's Restaurant
Nemo's Restaurant

<u>The Harrington MacDonald-Briggs, 1855 Upper Water Street</u>
1972 – Purchased by Historic Properties Ltd.
1972-1990 – Historic Properties office
1981 – Became a municipally registered heritage property
1993 – Café Scanway
Atlantic Craft Market
1994-2008 – Sweet Basil Bistro

<u>The Fishwick & Company Building, 1861 Hollis Street</u>
1972 – Purchased from Franklin Service Company by Historic Properties Ltd.
1976-2007 – Art Education Building of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design
1981 – Became municipally registered heritage property

<u>The Shaw Building, 1855 Hollis Street</u>
1972 – Purchased from Shaw Steamship Company by Historic Properties Ltd.
1974-1975 – Historic Properties Limited,
Duffus Romans Kundzins & Rounsfell (Architects)
1980-1990 – Ridgewell's Clothing
1985 – Became municipally registered heritage property
1993-2009 – Subway Restaurant

The Shaw Building, 1859 Hollis
1972 – Purchased from Shaw Steamship Co. by Historic Properties Ltd.
1973 – Duffus Romans Kundzins & Rounsfell (Architects)
1974-1980 – George Brandys & Associates (Engineers)
1981 – Sanford's Second Storey (Construction engineers)
1985 - Became municipally registered heritage property
1982-1990 – Miguel's Tailor Shop
1991-1992 – Nova Scotia College of Art and Design staff lounge

The Imperial Oil Building, 1860 Upper Water Street
1972 – Purchased by Historic Properties Ltd.
1974 – Nova Scotia College of Art and Design
1985 – Became a municipally registered heritage property
1991-2009– O'Carroll's Restaurant

(Information on ownership history provided by Heather Salsman, Title Researcher, from the Halifax Registry of Deeds)

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Recent aerial view of Halifax from harbour showing the Historic Properties district.

("Aerial view of Halifax Harbour." *Natural Resources Canada* Online. http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/halifax/images/harbour-2-1 [accessed November 15, 2009].)

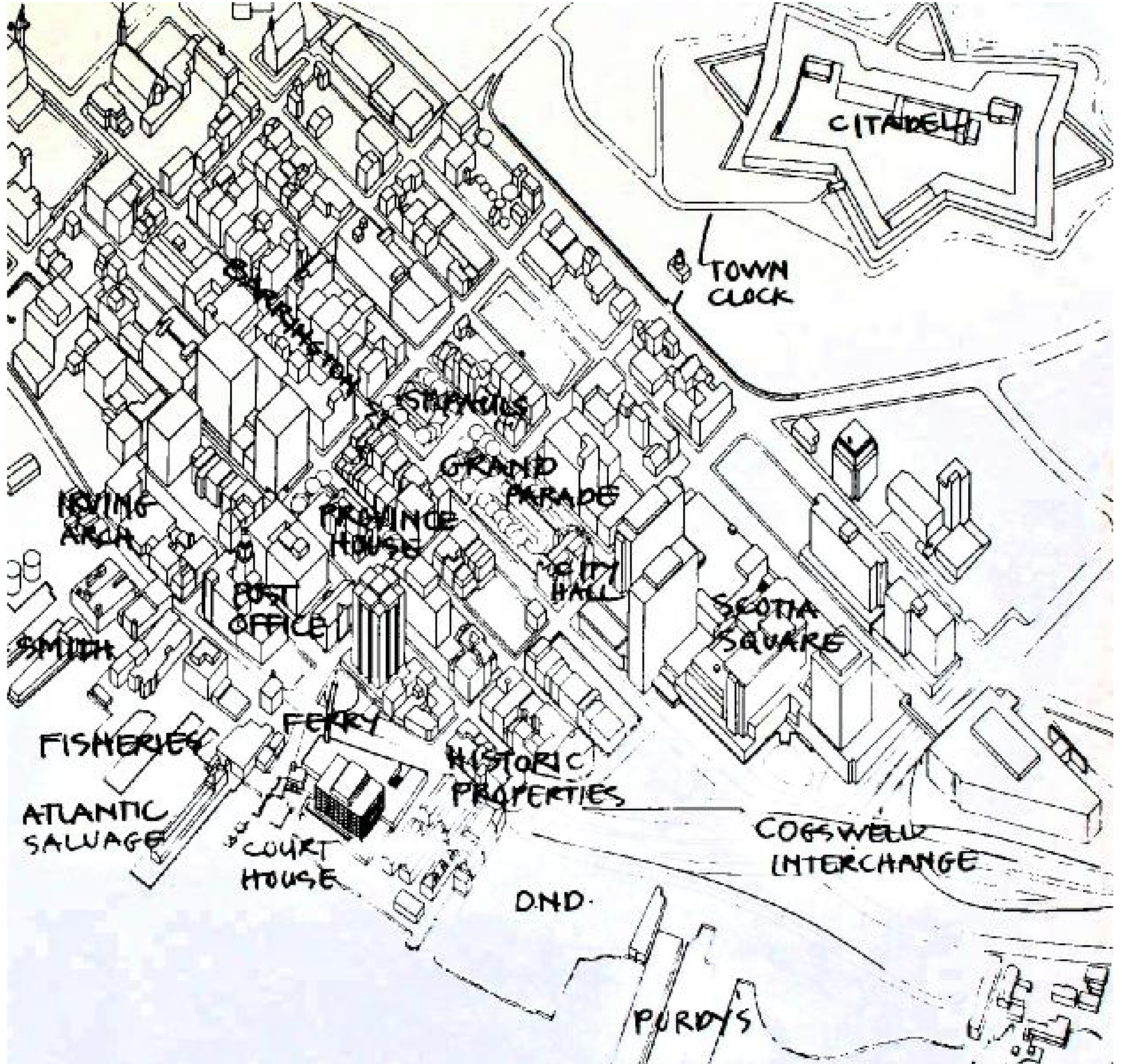

Figure 2: Map of landmarks in the Historic Properties area of downtown Halifax.

(Parnass, Harry, and General Urban Systems Corp. "Identification." In *Halifax Waterfront Urban Design Criteria: For the Metropolitan Area Planning Commission*. Toronto, ON: General Urban Systems Corporation, 1975.)

Figure 3: Entrance to the Historic Properties waterfront warehouses.

("Privateers Wharf." *Trip Advisor – Historic Properties*. http://media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-s/01/21/2d/d7/privateers-wharf.jpg [accessed November 15, 2009].)

Figure 4: View of buildings on Hollis Street. *Left to right,* Harrington Building, Fishwick Building, and west side of Shaw Building.

(Personal photograph Philip Pacey, August 15, 2008).

Figure 5: View of buildings from the corner of Hollis and Duke Streets. *Left*, Harrington and Fishwick Buildings; *centre,* the Shaw Building; *right,* the south side of the Imperial Oil Building.

(Personal photograph by author, October 15, 2009).

Figure 6: View of buildings on Upper Water Street. *Left,* south side of Shaw Building; *centre,* Imperial Oil Building; *right,* the Harrington Building.

(Personal photograph by author, October 15, 2009).

Figure 7: On Upper Water Street - *From right,* Peter Martin Building, the Harrington Building, and the Imperial Oil Building.

(Personal photograph by Philip Pacey, August 15, 2008).

Figure 8: Granville Streetscape. Buildings occupied by NSCAD, part of Historic Properties.

(“Granville Mall.” *Special Event Sites – Halifax Regional Municipality* Online. http://halifax.ca/Film/GranvilleMall5.jpg [accessed October 16, 2010].)

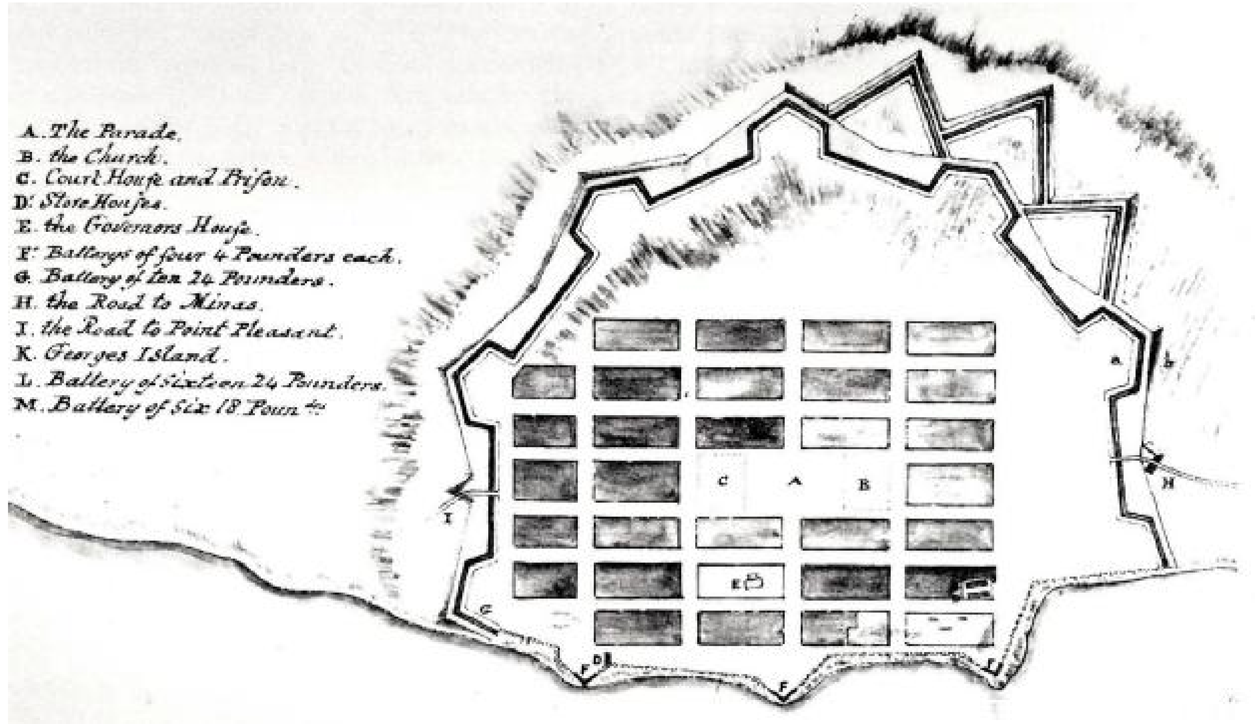

Figure 9: First plan for the city of Halifax by engineer John Bruce, 1749.
In the centre of the plan, "A" designates Parade square and "B" would be where Province House now stands, making the street on the right current-day Duke Street, and the third street down what is now referred to as Upper Water Street. The block in the bottom-right corner would then correspond to the block that this project documents, establishing it as one of the first settled blocks in the town of Halifax.

(Pacey, Elizabeth. *Georgian Halifax*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1987: 15.)

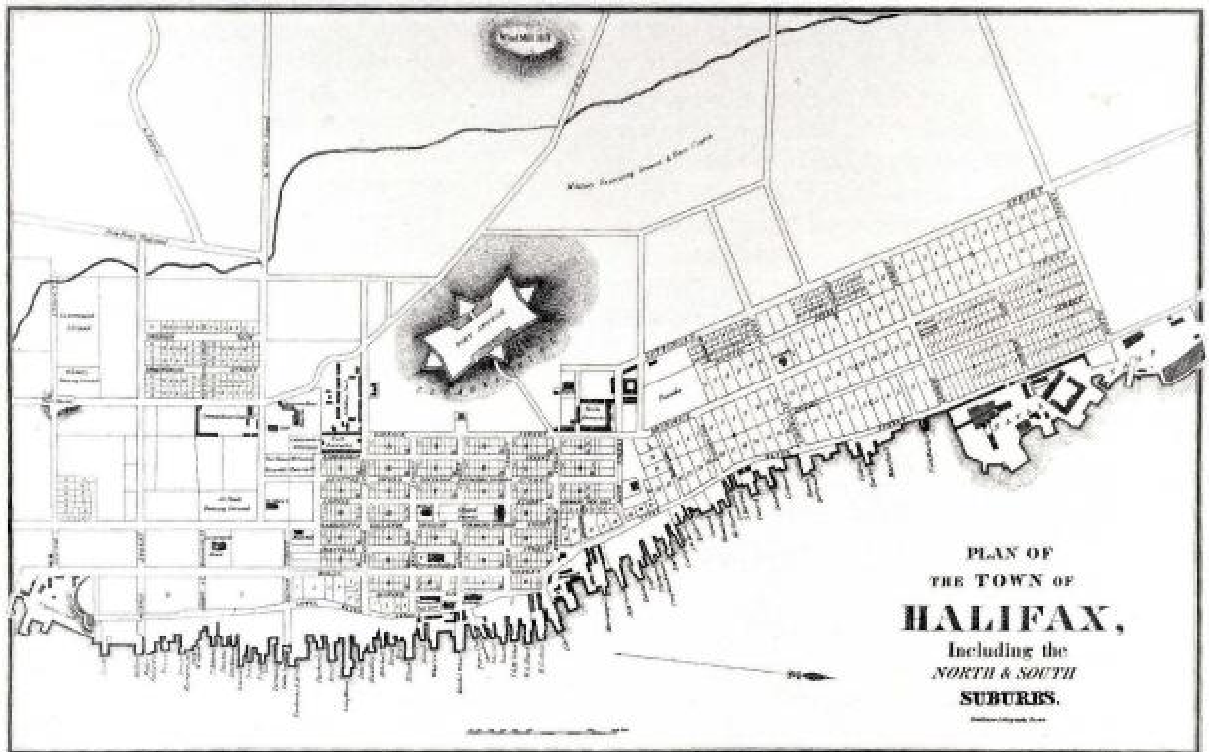

Figure 10: A plan of Halifax from 1831 that illustrates the residential neighborhoods that were built to the north of downtown, as well as the wharves that spanned the waterfront at this time.

(Pacey, Elizabeth. *Georgian Halifax*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1987: 20.)

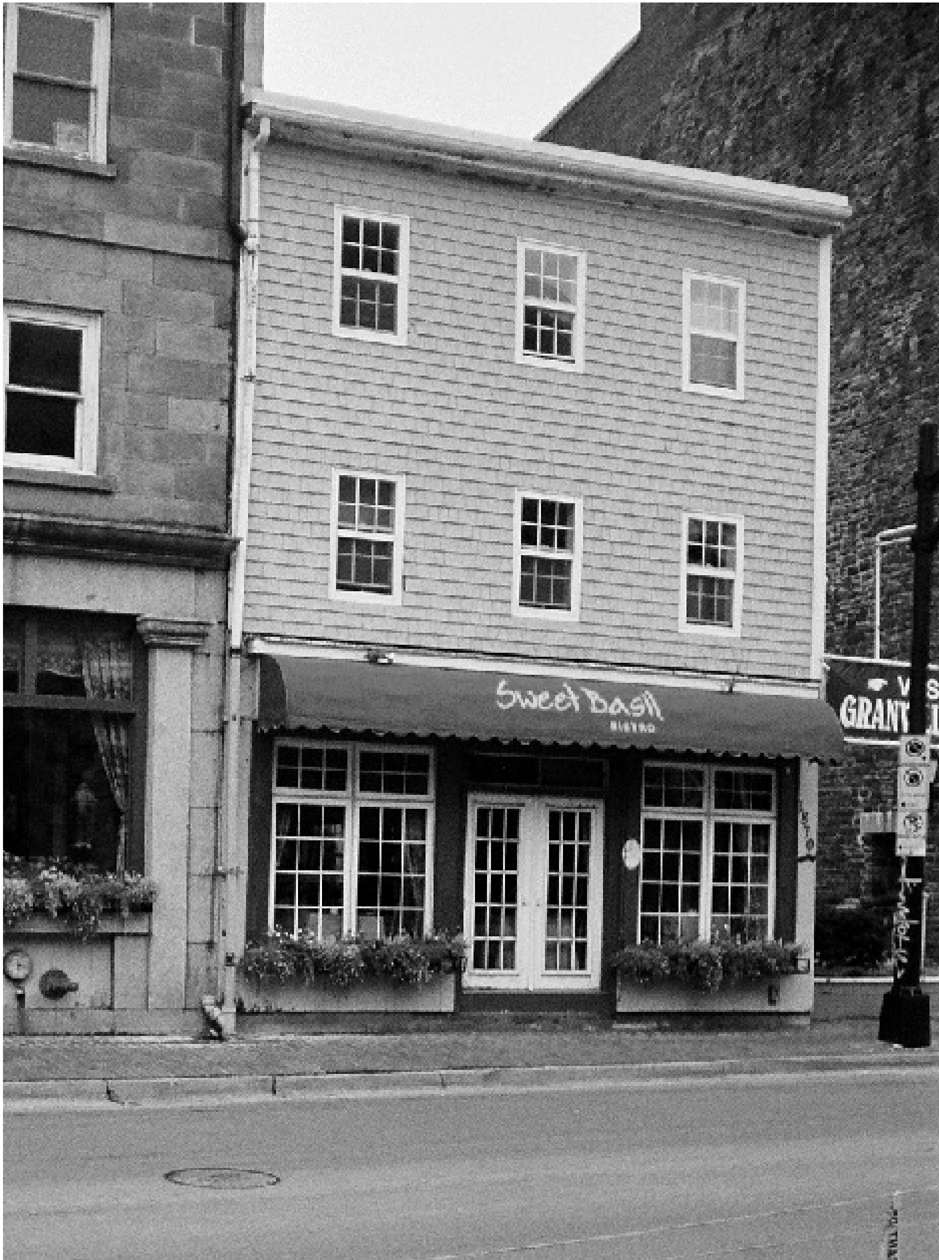

Figure 11: Peter Martin Liquors Building.

(Personal photograph by Philip Pacey, August 15, 2008).

Figure 12: The Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building, 1855 Upper Water Street.

(Personal photograph by author, October 15, 2009).

Figure 13: The Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building, 1865 Hollis Street.

(Personal photograph by author, October 15, 2009).

Figure 14: The Fishwick & Company Building, 1861 & 1863 Hollis Street.

(Personal photograph by author, October 15, 2009).

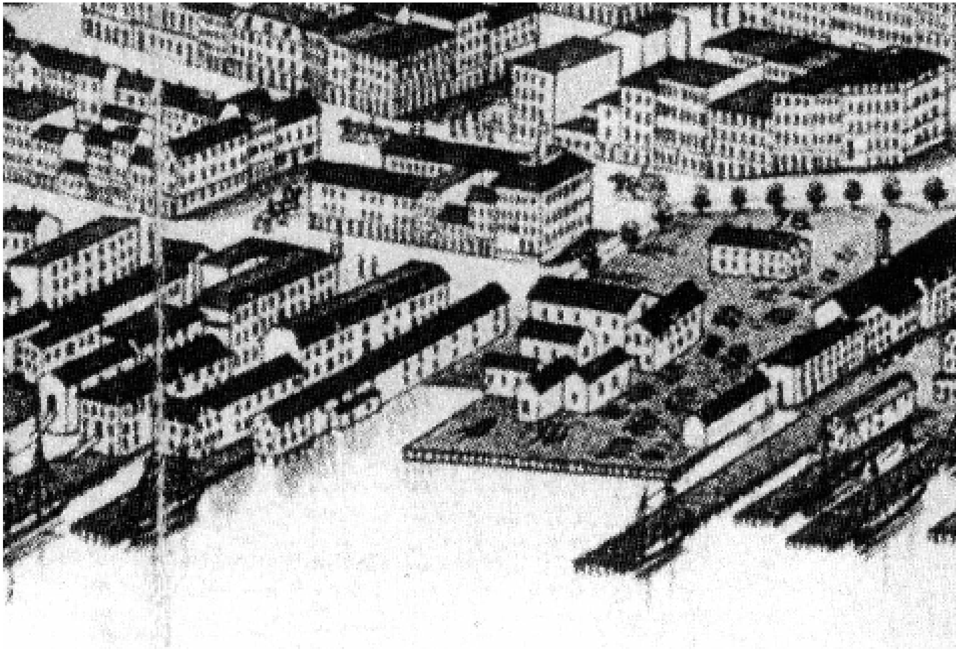

Figure 15: Part of a cartographic illustration of the City of Halifax.
Downtown Halifax at this time appears to have been largely made up of Georgian buildings of varying sizes and shapes, the "mosaic" described by Captain Moorsom. In the block behind the waterfront warehouses can be identified, from right to left, the Morse's Teas Warehouse, a Georgian shop that no longer exists, the diminutive Peter Martin Building, the Harrington Building, and the Great Pontac Inn (where the Imperial Oil Building will be later constructed).

(Currie, D. P. "The City of Halifax, 1879." Cartographic illustration held at The National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.)

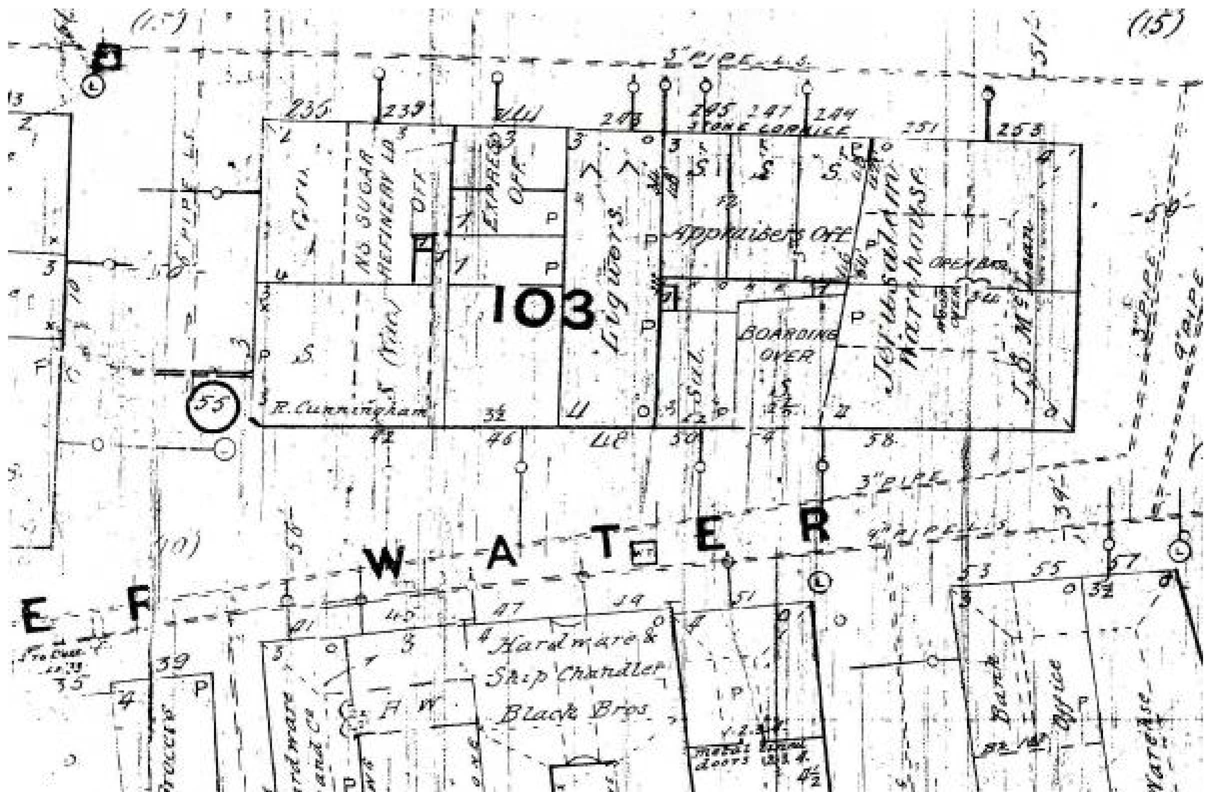

Figure 16: Goad's Insurance plan for the city of Halifax from 1889.
From this Insurance plan we can see the Peter Martin Liquors building at 50 Water Street listed as "Sal." for saloon, followed by the Harrington MacDonald Briggs building at 48 Water Street listed as "Liquors," and the Fishwick building at 241 Hollis listed as "Express."

(Goad, Chas E. *Map of Halifax city*. Montreal: Chas E. Goad Co., 1889. Held at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.)

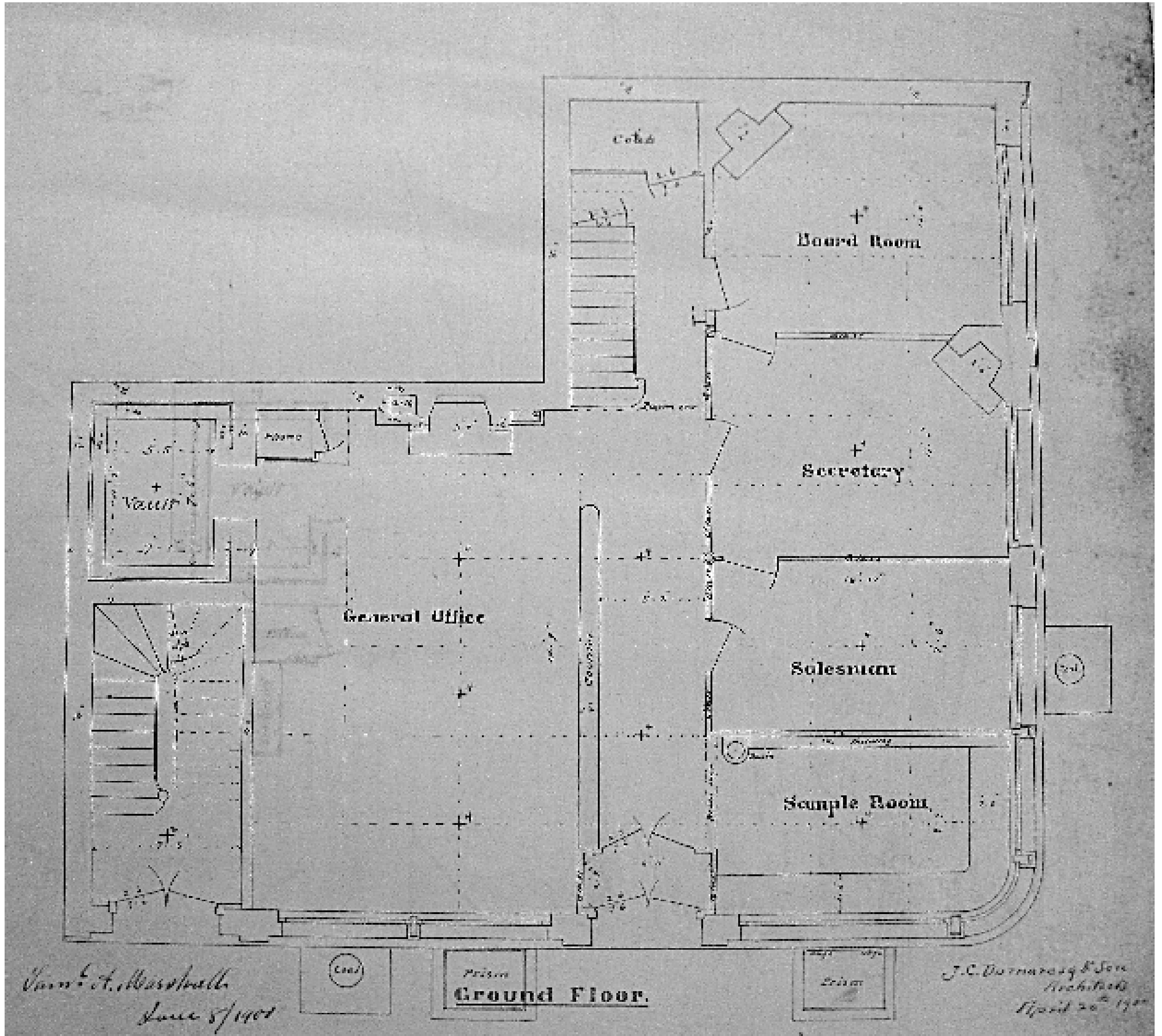

Figure 17: Shaw Building blueprint, first floor.

(Held at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.)

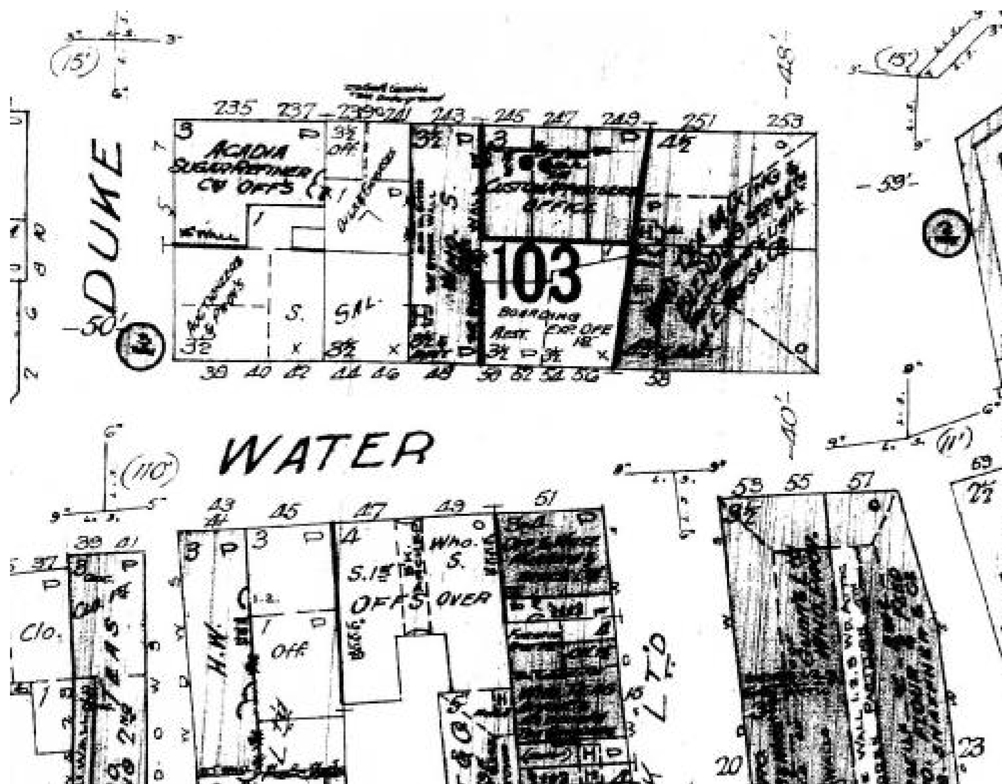

Figure 18: Section of Goad's Insurance plan for the city of Halifax from 1914 showing the block with the Peter Martin ("Boarding," "Rest." for restaurant), Harrington, Fishwick ("Off." for offices), Shaw ("Acadia Sugar Refiner C.& Off's").

(Goad, Chas E. *Insurance plan of Halifax, N.S*. Toronto: Chas E. Goad Co., 1914. Held at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.)

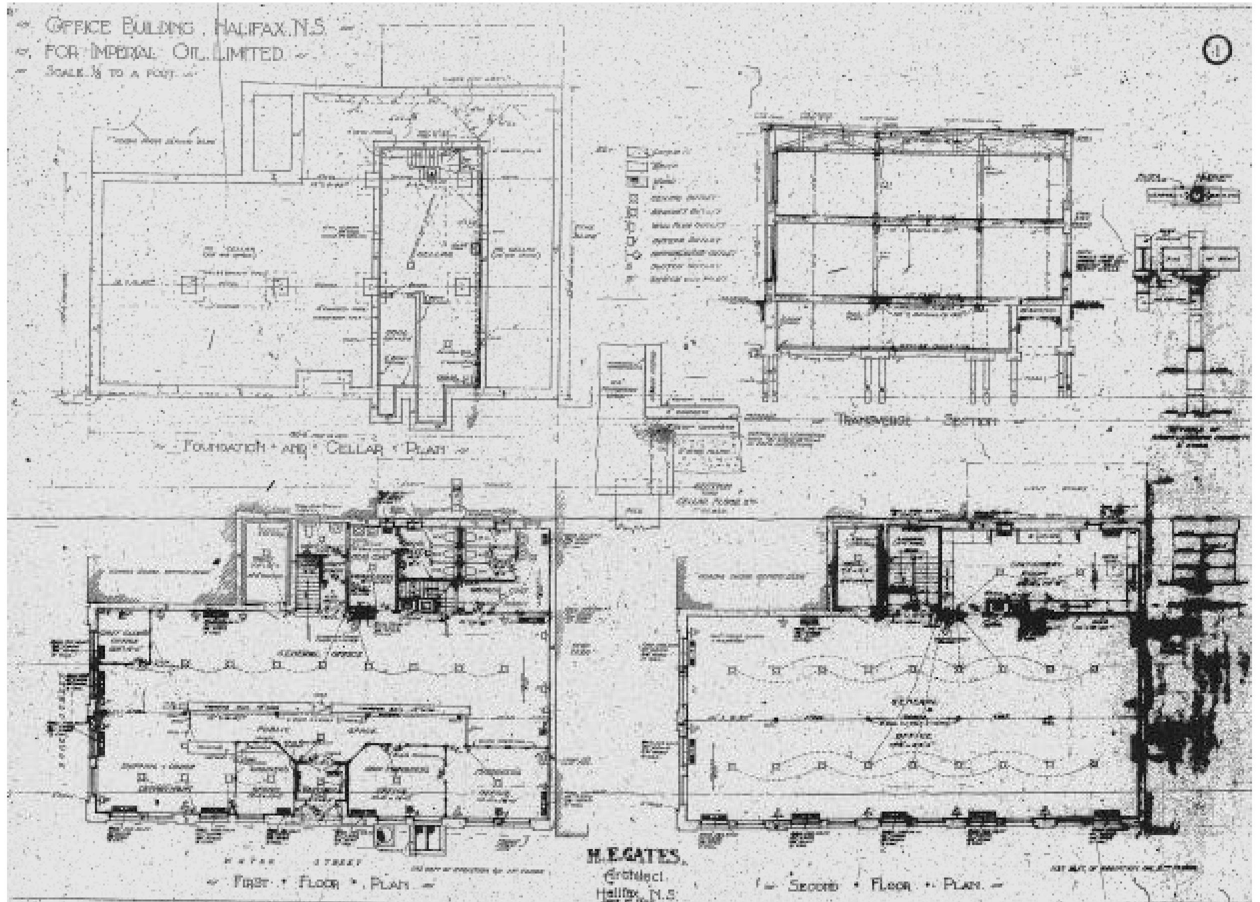

Figure 19: The Imperial Oil Building blueprints: cellar, first, and second floorplans, as well as sectional views.

(Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives.)

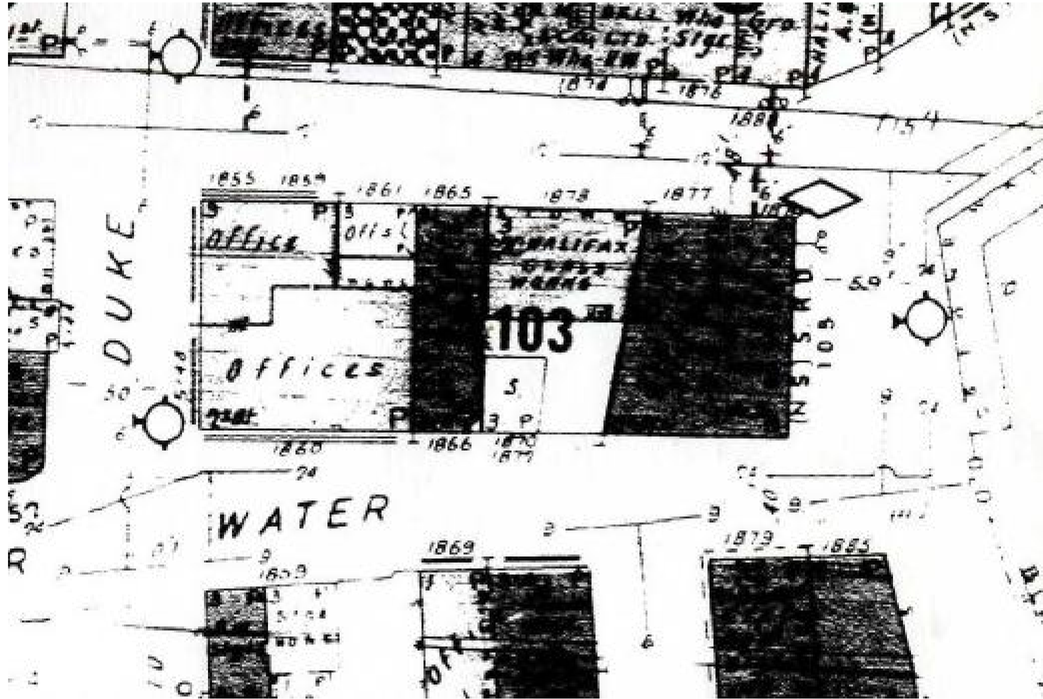

Figure 20: Section of the Halifax Insurance Plan from 1964.
From this plan we can see the block as it stands today, although the building listed as "Halifax Glass Works" no longer exists. Peter Martin Liquors is still classified under "S." for saloon, the Fishwick Building "Offs" for offices, the Shaw Building "Offics" for offices, and the Imperial Oil Building listed as "Offices."

(*Insurance Plan of the City of Halifax Underwriters' Survey Board*. Plan dated August 1952, revised 1964. Held at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management.)

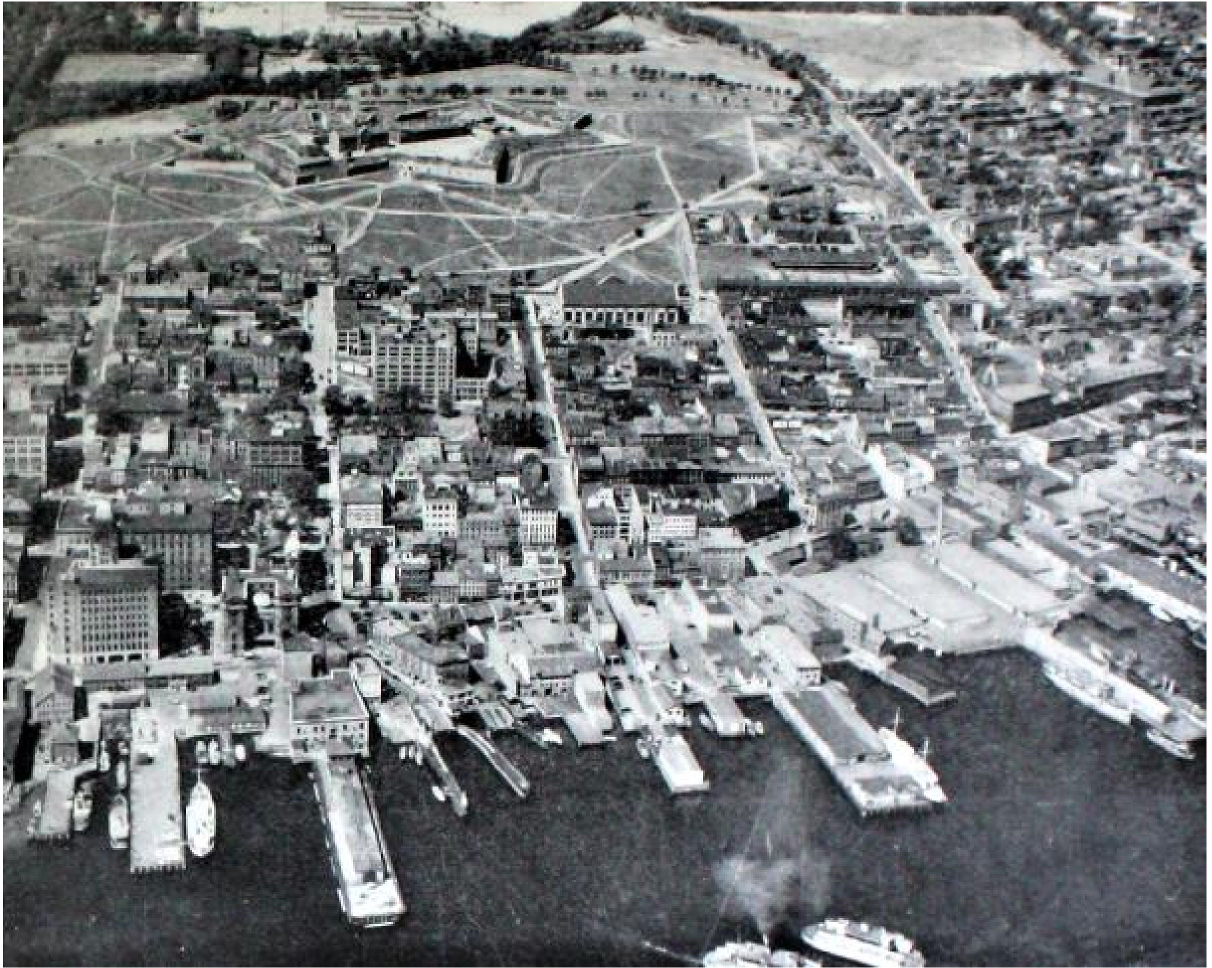

Figure 21: An aerial photo of Halifax from the harbour, c. 1935. The block containing the Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw and Imperial Oil Buildings can be identified behind the wharves and waterfront warehouses in the third column of blocks, from the lefthand-side of the photograph.

(Stephenson, Gordon. “Air View of City Centre Towards the West,” in *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax.* Halifax, NS: The Corporation of the City of Halifax, 1957: 11.)

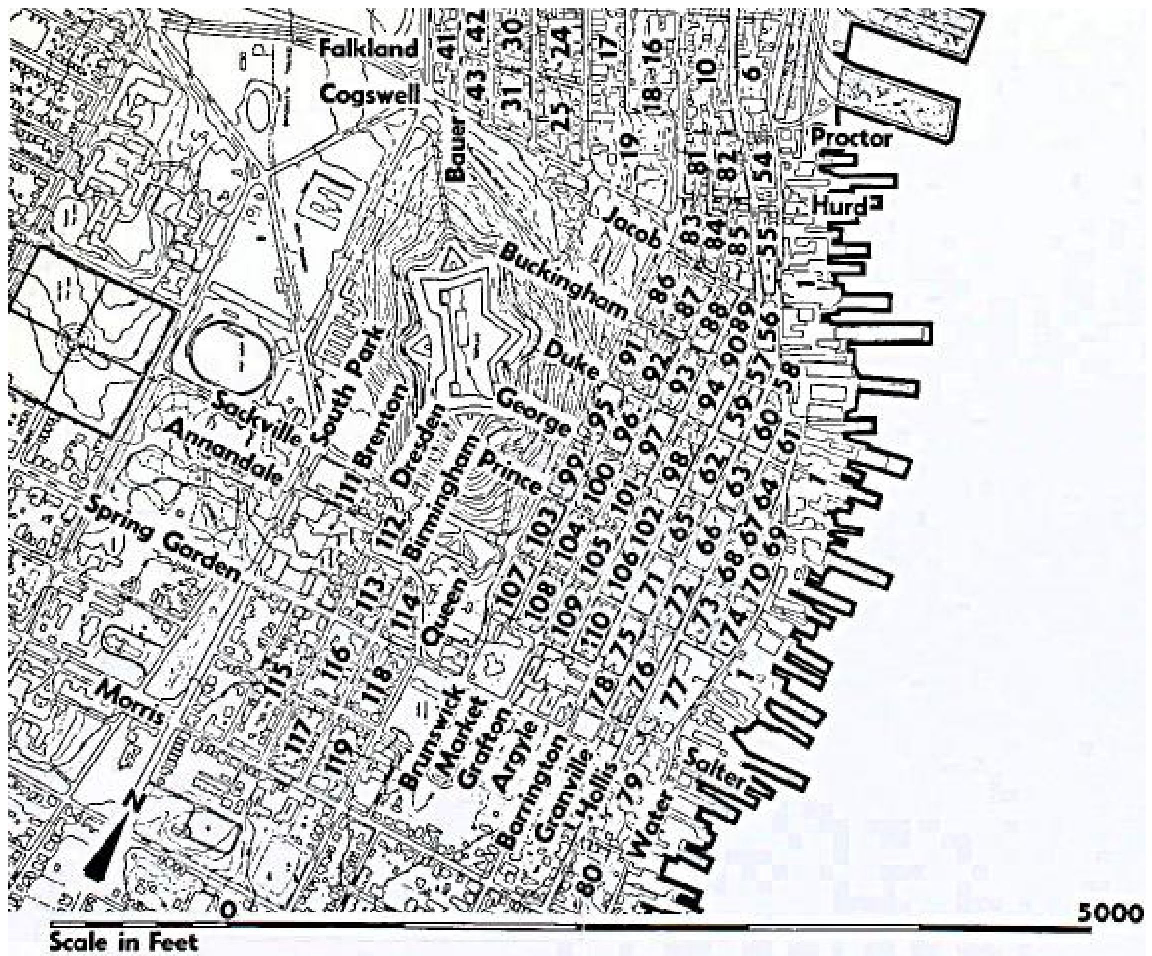

Figure 22: Numbered blocks of Central Redevelopment Area from Gordon Stephenson's Redevelopment Study. Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings are in block "61."

(Stephenson, Gordon. “MAP 15,” in *A Redevelopment Study of Halifax.* Halifax, NS: The Corporation of the City of Halifax, 1957.)

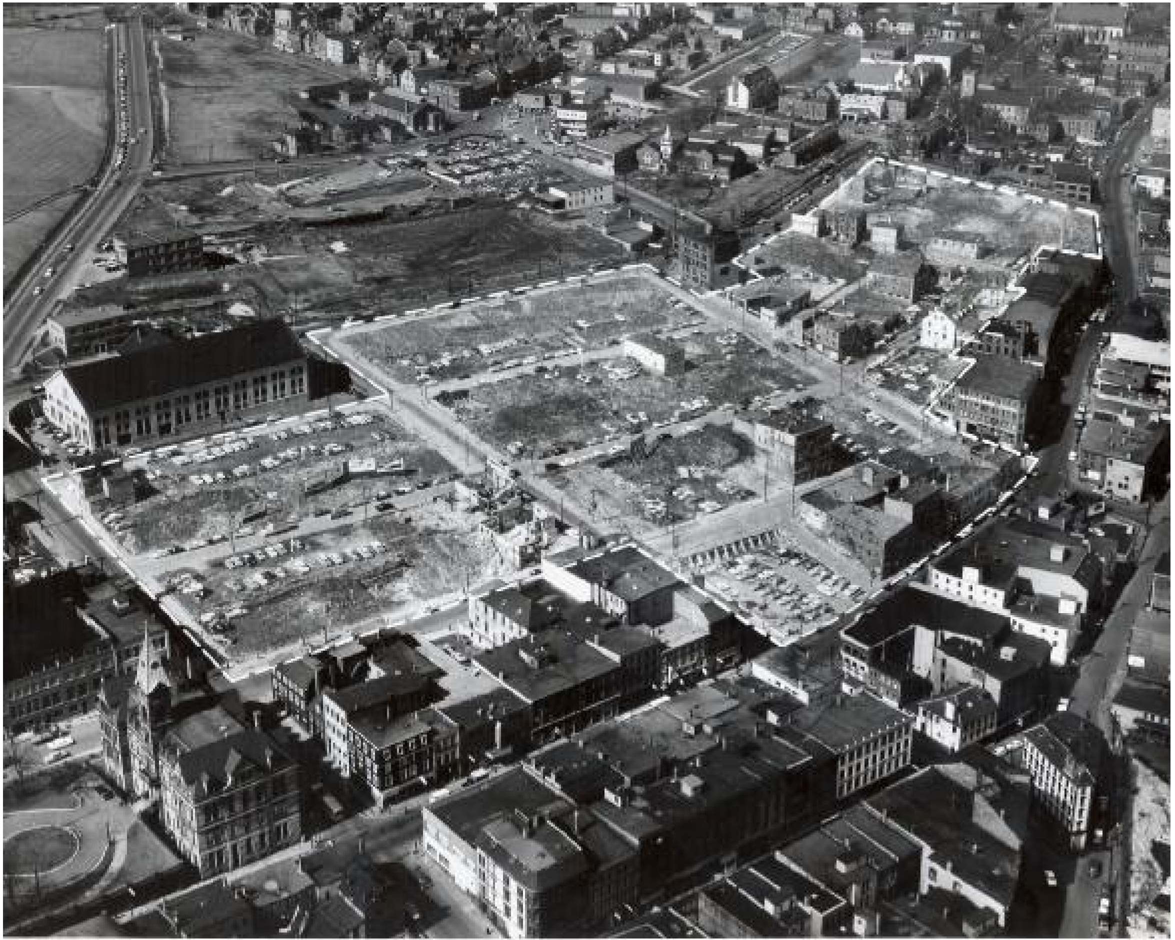

Figure 23: An aerial photo showing the clearance of buildings, and outlining and the plot of land where the Scotia Square development will be constructed.

(Photo from Halifax Regional Municipality Community Development files, date unknown.)

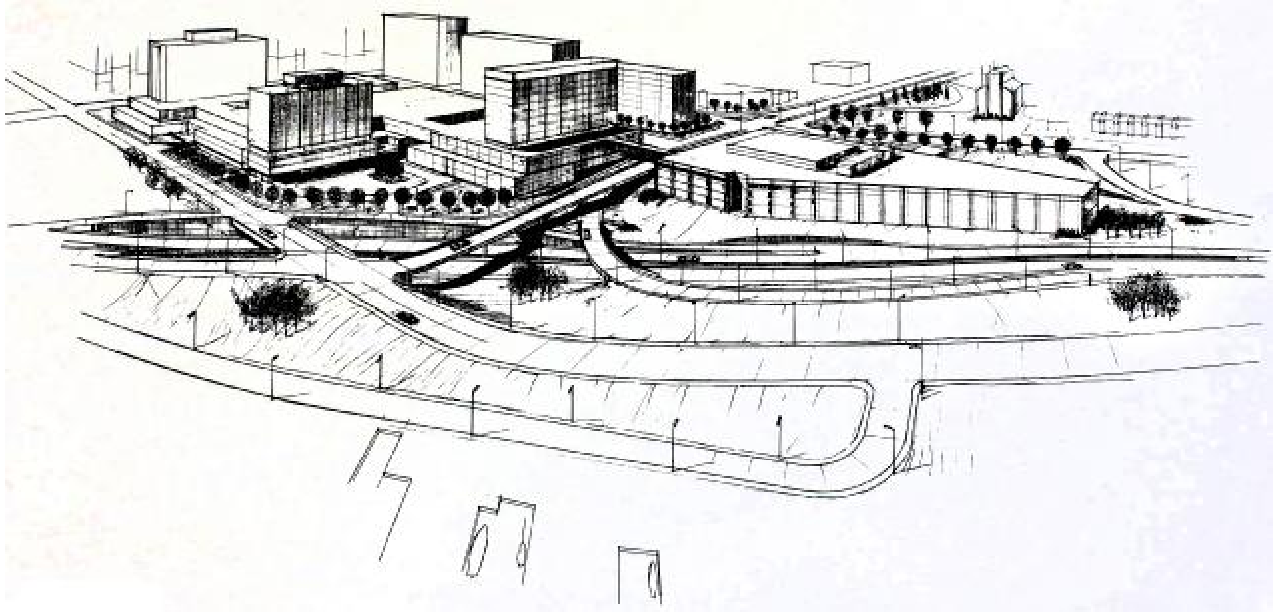

Figure 24: Engineer's drawing of Cogswell Street interchange with the Scotia Square development.

(A.D. Margison and Associates. “City of Halifax: Cogswell Street Interchange, Perspective View of Interchange. July 1967.” Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives – 625.725 1967.)

Figure 25: The towers of the Scotia Square development behind the buildings that will become part of "Historic Properties."

(From the Halifax Regional Municipality Community Development files, date unknown.)

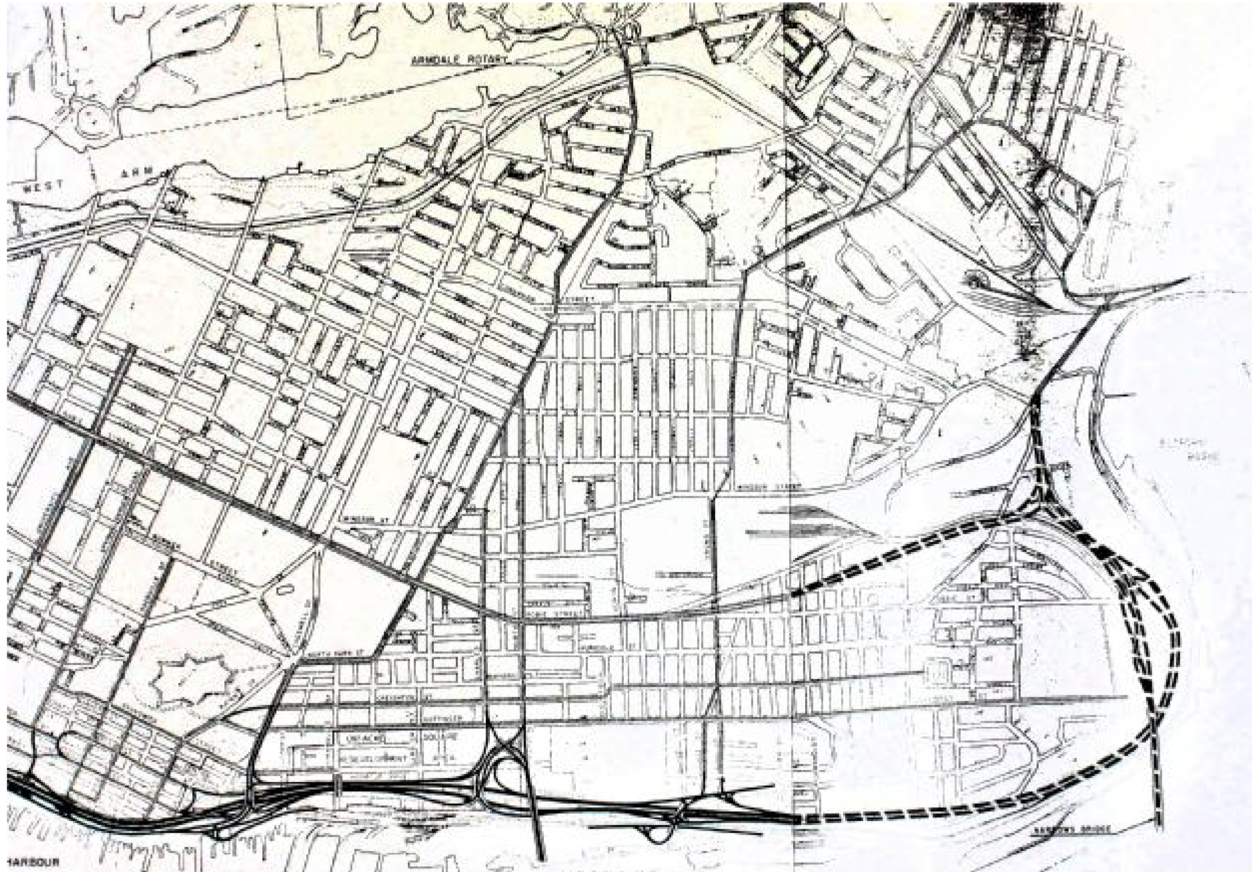

Figure 26: Plan showing the Harbour Drive expressway, traversing the city along the waterfront.

(De Leuw Cather & Company. “City of Halifax: Harbour Drive: Operational Plan.” Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives – 711.409716225F 1965.)

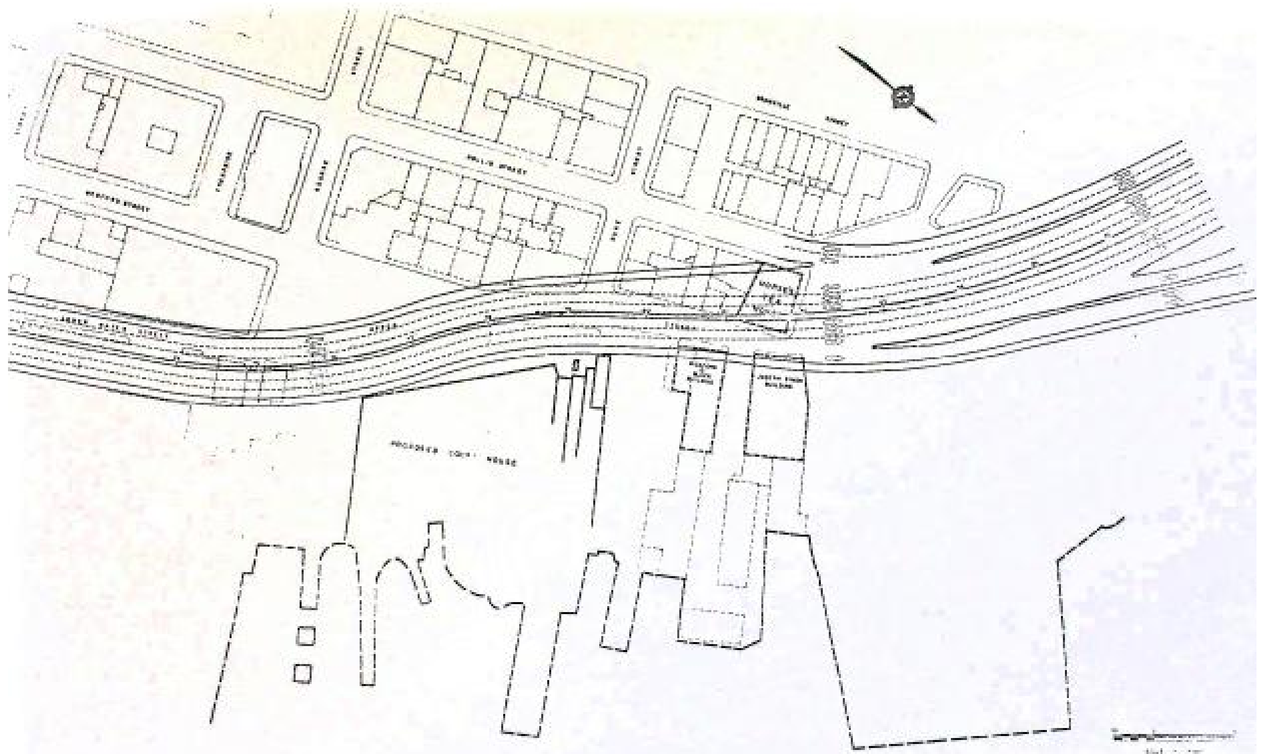

Figure 27: The originally proposed route of Harbour Drive - through Morse's Teas, Peter Martin, Harrington, and Imperial Oil Buildings, as well as the fronts of the Joseph Simon and Pickford & Black Buildings on the east of Upper Water Street. It seems to just narrowly miss the Fishwick and Shaw buildings.

(A.M. Margison and Associates Ltd. *Evaluation of Alternate Proposals for the Connection of Upper Water Street to the Cogswell Street Interchange, July 1968.* Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives – 625.725 1969.)

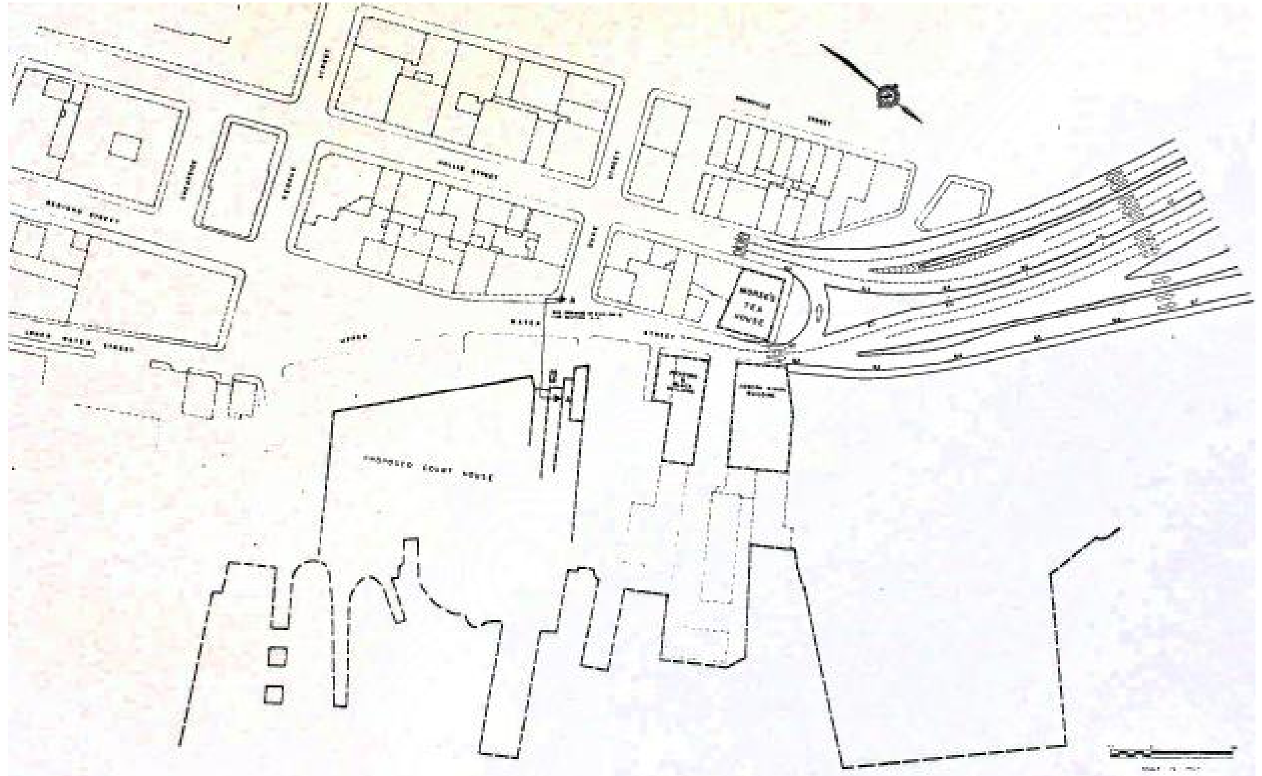

Figure 28: The "compromised" route of Harbour Drive in order to protect the historic buildings.

(A.M. Margison and Associates Ltd. *Evaluation of Alternate Proposals for the Connection of Upper Water Street to the Cogswell Street Interchange, July 1968.* Held at the Halifax Regional Municipality Archives – 625.725 1969.)

Figure 29: The Cogswell Street interchange after its completion. Without the Harbour Drive project, the interchange was downgraded to feed traffic onto Hollis Street so that drivers pass through the middle of the heritage district, with the Harrington, Fishwick, and Shaw Buildings to their left.

(Photo from Halifax Regional Municipality Community Development files, date unknown.)

Figure 30: Photograph of buildings from the corner of Hollis and Duke Streets. *Left,* Harrington and Fishwick Buildings; *centre,* the Shaw Building; *right,* the south side of the Imperial Oil Building.

(From the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design archives held at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management – 1990-392, Box 18, File 19.)

Figure 31: Photograph of buildings from Upper Water Street. *Left,* south side of Shaw Building; *centre,* Imperial Oil Building; *right,* Harrington and Peter Martin Buildings.

(From the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design archives held at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management – 1990-392, Box 7.)

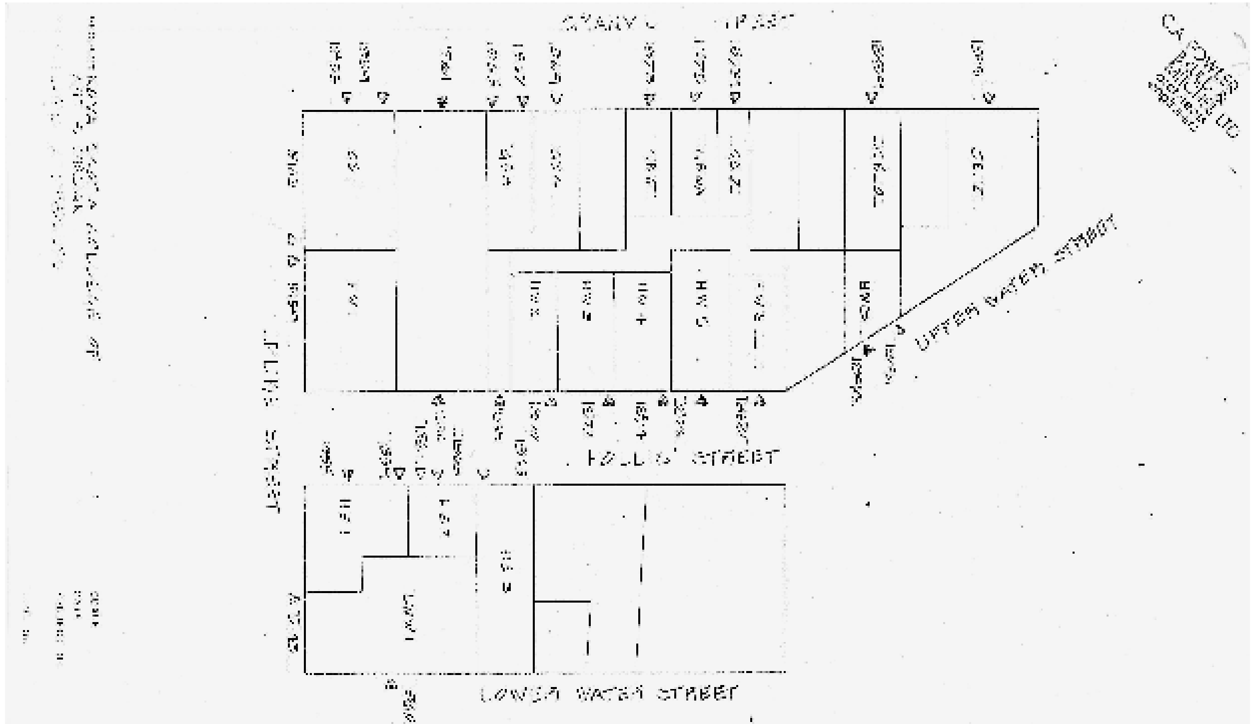

Figure 32: The map of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design campus on Granville and Hollis Streets. The block on the bottom contains the Harrington (HE 3), Fishwick (HE 2), and Imperial Oil Buildings (LWW1) converted into the "Lismer Building."

(Drawing by C.A. Fowler Bauld & Mitchell Ltd., Architects and Engineers. From the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design archives held at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management – 1990-392, Box 18, File 19.)

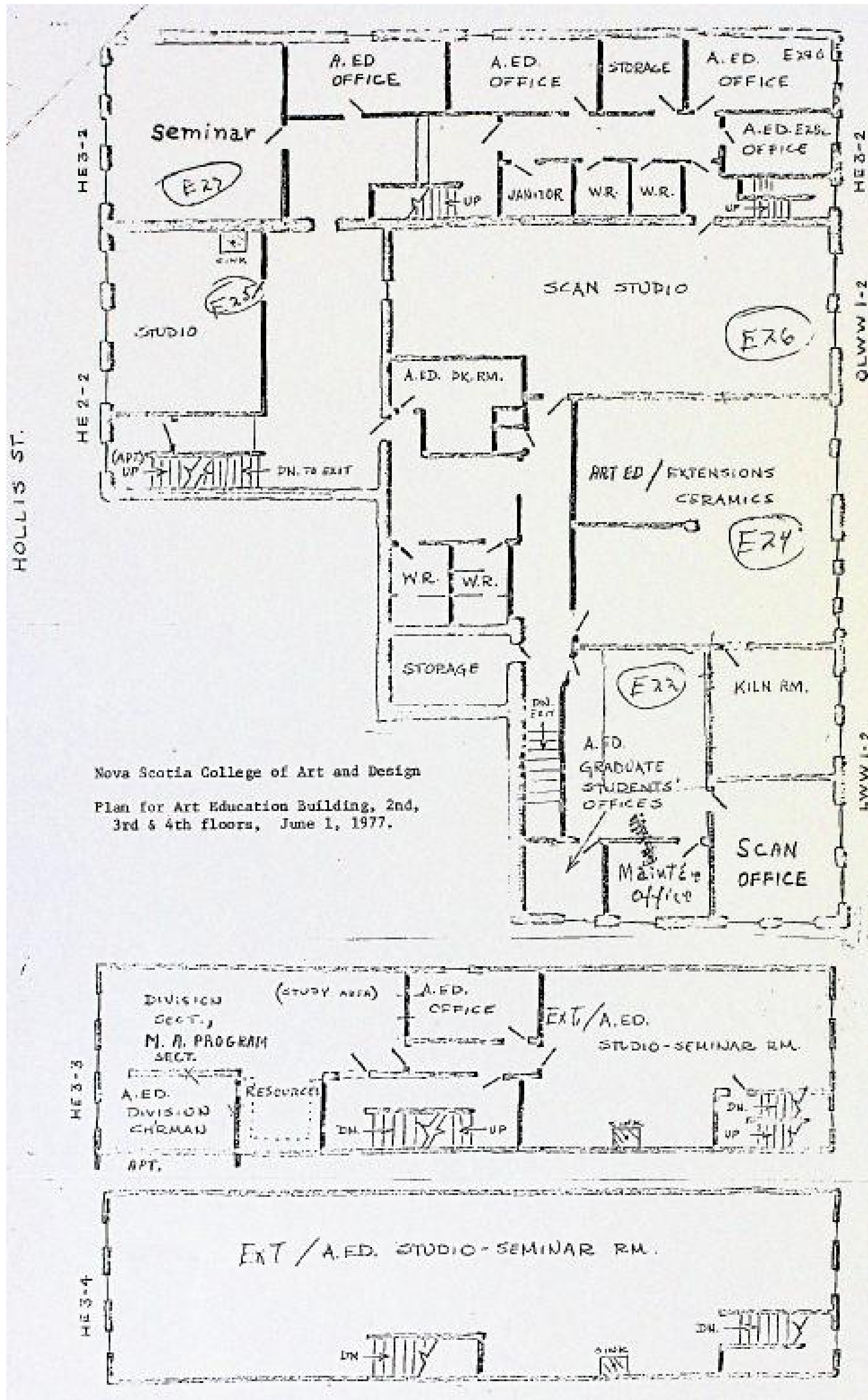

Figure 33: General plan of the Harrington, Fishwick, and Imperial Oil Buildings converted into the "Lismer Building."
(From the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design archives held at the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management – 1990-392, Box 18, File 19.)

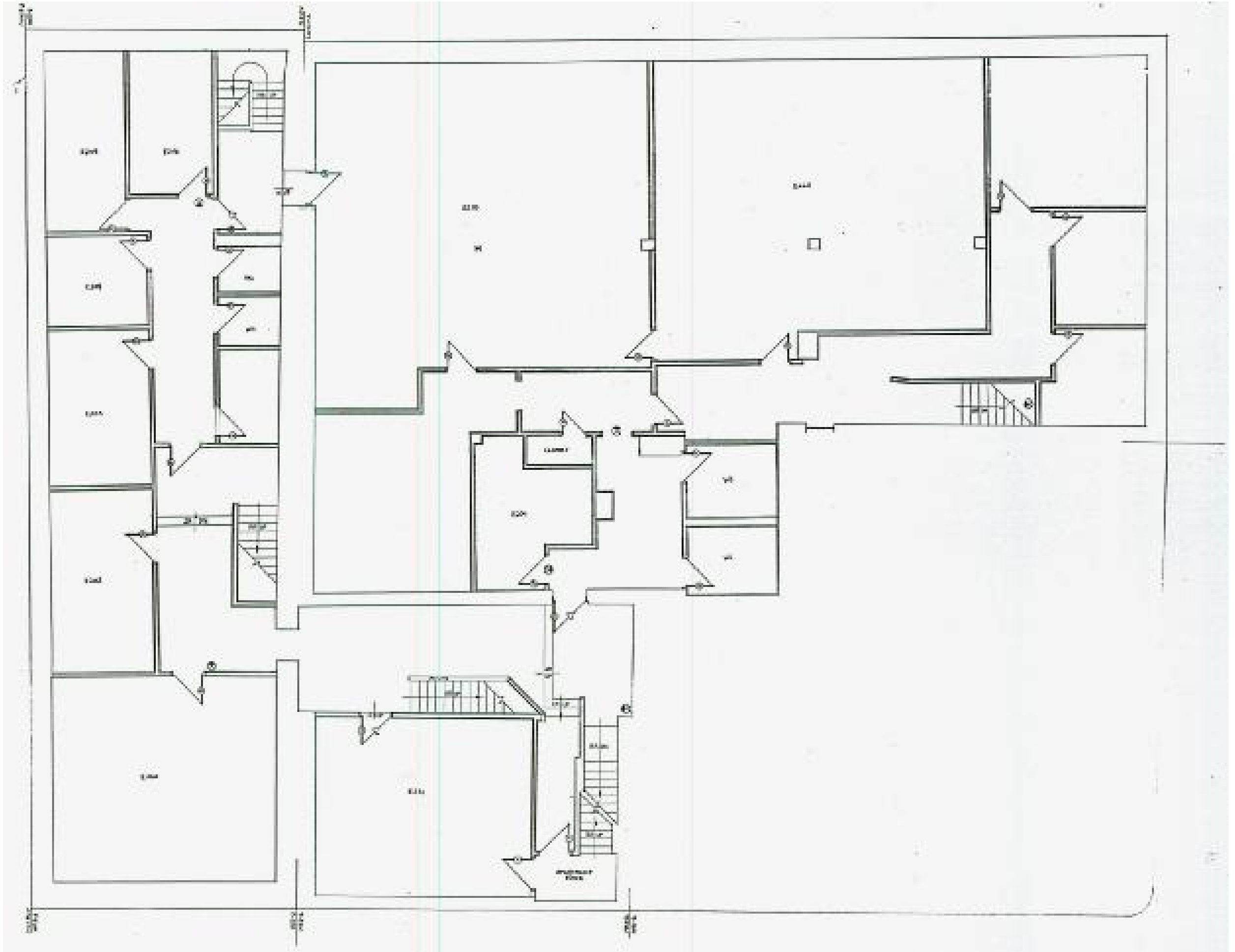

Figure 34: Second floor of the “Lismer Building.”
(Files of Fowler Bauld & Mitchell Architects, Halifax, Nova Scotia.)

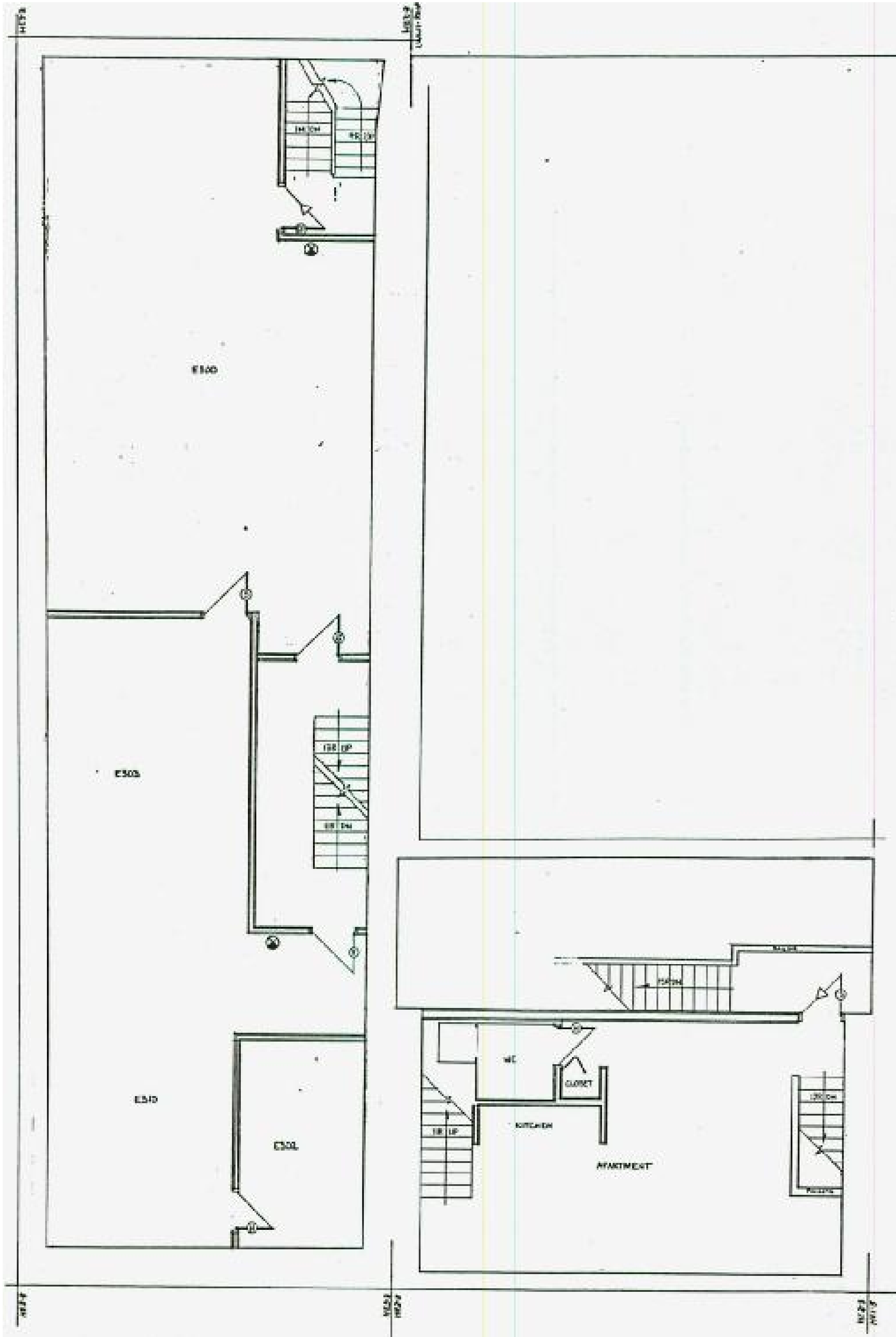

Figure 35: Third floor of the “Lismer Building.”
(Files of Fowler Bauld & Mitchell Architects, Halifax, Nova Scotia.)

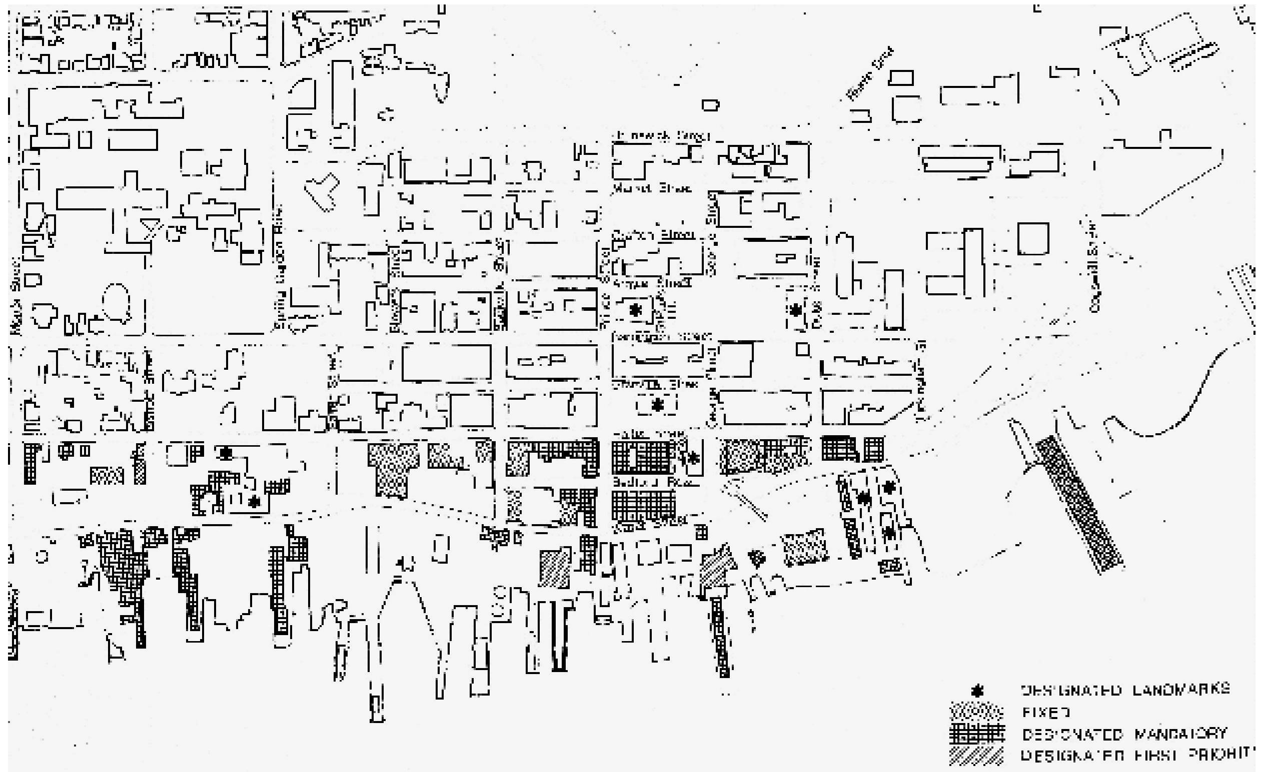

Figure 36: Sites in downtown Halifax that were designated, or awaiting designation. The Peter Martin, Harrington, Fishwick, Shaw, and Imperial Oil Buildings are all "Designated Mandatory."

(Parnass, Harry and General Urban Systems Corp. "17 Retention." In *Halifax Waterfront Urban Design Criteria: For the Metropolitan Area Planning Commission.* Toronto: General Urban Systems Corporation, 1975.)

Figure 37: The architect's drawing for the Waterside Centre.

(Lydon Lynch Architects. "Historic Properties Waterside Centre." *Armour Group: Properties* Online. http://armourgroup.com/building_detail.php?building_id=19 [accessed August 16, 2009].)

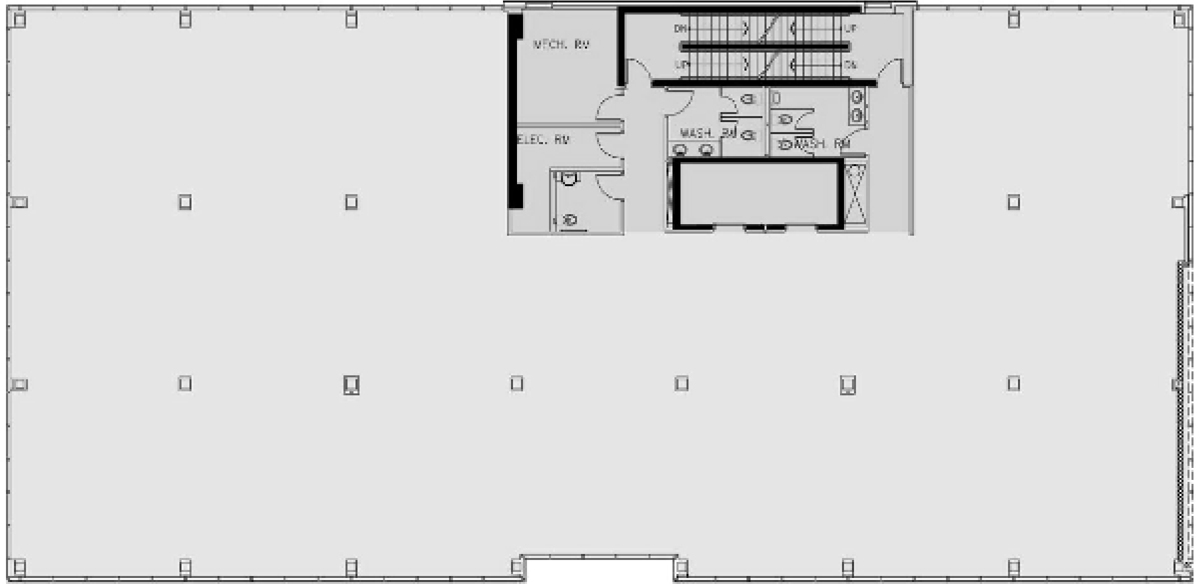

Figure 38: The general floor plan of the Waterside Centre. This particular floor plan is from the fifth floor, though it is largely interchangeable with any of the other eight upper-storeys of the Waterside Center.

(Lydon Lynch Architects and the Armour Group. “Building: 5th Floor.” *Waterside Centre – Building* Online. http://www.hpwatersidecentre.ca/building#floors [accessed July 2, 2010].)

Figure 39: The demolition of the Peter Martin Liquors Building, November 2, 2008.

(Personal photograph by Tiffany Naugler, November 2, 2008.)

Figure 40: Remaining walls of the buildings from Hollis Street. *Left,* Harrington Building; *centre,* Fishwick Building; *right,* section of west side of Shaw Building.

(Personal photograph by author, May 11, 2010).

Figure 41: The Harrington Building (*left*), and the Fishwick Building (*right*).

(Personal photograph by author, June 14, 2010.)

Figure 42: The buildings from the corner of Hollis and Duke Streets. *Left,* Harrington and Fishwick Buildings; *centre,* the Shaw Building; *right,* section of the Imperial Oil Building.

(Personal photograph by author, April 16, 2010.)

Figure 43: The buildings from Upper Water Streets. *Left,* south side of the Shaw Building; *centre,* the Imperial Oil Building; *right,* the Harrington Building.

(Personal photograph by author, May 11, 2010.)

Figure 44: The Harrington MacDonald-Briggs Building.

(Personal photograph by author, May 11, 2010.)