

# Humphrey Carver and the Federal Government's Postwar Revival of Canadian Community Planning

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Article abstract

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# *Humphrey Carver and the Federal Government's Postwar Revival of Canadian Community Planning*

*David L.A. Gordon*

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*Humphrey S.M. Carver (1902–1995) a joué un rôle important en participant à la revitalisation par le gouvernement fédéral de la planification communautaire au Canada après la Seconde Guerre mondiale et en guidant la transformation du Canada en une nation suburbaine. Carver a été cadre supérieur à la Société centrale d'hypothèques et de logement (SCHL) de 1948 à son départ à la retraite en 1967. Bien que le travail de Carver en tant que défenseur du logement soit bien documenté, son rôle en tant que défenseur de la planification communautaire est moins connu. Il a été vice-président fondateur de l'Association canadienne d'urbanisme (ACU) en 1947, président de l'Institut canadienne d'urbanisme (ICU) de 1963–4 et vice-président de l'American Society of Planning Officials. À la SCHL, il a contribué à l'expansion rapide de la ACU et à la réanimation du ICU en 1953. Son agence a financé la création des cinq premières écoles de planification canadiennes, des centaines de bourses de planification et des millions de dollars en planification de la recherche et des études en planification.*

## *Introduction*

April 1930 was not a good time to begin a career in community planning in Canada. Humphrey Carver, recently arrived from London, found that most Toronto architectural offices were shedding staff, so he was lucky to get a job at Wilson, Bunnell, & Borgstrom, Town Planners and Landscape Architects, drawing plans of parks near Niagara Falls. The firm had been large and busy during the economic boom of the late 1920s, but its work planning streetcar systems and suburban subdivisions slowly disappeared in 1930. Carver was out of work within a year, as the Canadian planning movement collapsed during the Depression and world war that followed.<sup>1</sup>

The Depression shaped Humphrey Carver into a social reformer and advocate for affordable housing and community planning. After the war, he would emerge as a leading proponent of a more progressive national housing policy and the development of social housing, a role that is well documented in the literature.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Carver would evolve into a key player in the Canadian government's revival of community planning<sup>3</sup> in the postwar period (see figure 1). Following some background on collapse of the Canadian planning movement and national postwar reconstruction plans, this article will focus upon Humphrey Carver's role in leading the federal initiative to bring Canadian planning back to life.

## *The Collapse of the Canadian Planning Movements*

Canadian planning movements showed considerable promise in the first three decades of the twentieth century, only to collapse during the 1930s Depression and Second World War. Urban historians have amply demonstrated the emergence of planning from the urban reform movement early in the century.<sup>4</sup>

While there was much advocacy during the first decades of the twentieth century, there was little to show for all the activity: a few urban parks and a handful of affordable housing projects. In contrast, the English Garden City movement had entire planned

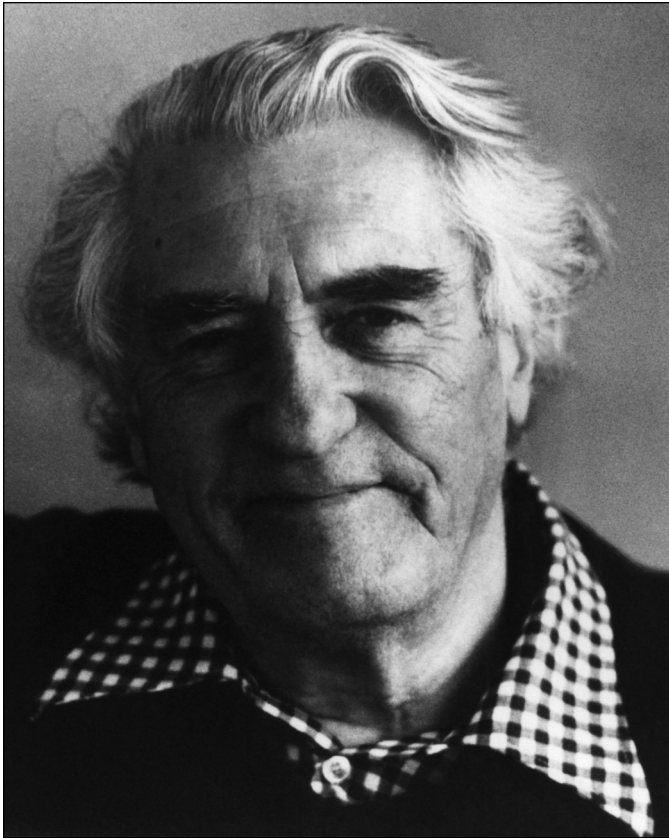


Figure 1. Humphrey Carver in 1976. Source: UBC 41.1/2353, University of British Columbia Archives

communities underway in Letchworth, Welwyn Garden City, and Hampstead Garden Suburb.<sup>5</sup>

Many social concerns were woven together in the work of the Commission for the Conservation of Natural Resources (CoC), established by the federal government in 1909. The commission expanded its mandate to include human resources while chaired by an energetic Winnipeg Cabinet minister, Clifford Sifton. The CoC then took an active interest in public health and housing issues, sponsoring the Winnipeg (1913) and Toronto (1914) planning conferences.<sup>6</sup> Thomas Adams, the noted British town planner, made a strong public impression in both conferences, and the commission scored a coup by hiring him as their town planning advisor.

Although there was plenty of activity prior to 1914, it is tempting to consider Adams's arrival as the beginning of Canadian planning, because of his reputation and his role in the international diffusion of planning ideas.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Adams (1871–1940) was a journalist, surveyor, and landscape architect, first coming to prominence as the corporate secretary for the company that built Letchworth, the first Garden City. He helped draft Britain's 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act and was a founder and first president of the (British) Town Planning Institute in 1913.<sup>8</sup>

Thomas Adams gave a tremendous boost to the Canadian planning movements from 1914 to 1923. He established a national advocacy organization, the Civic Improvement League (CIL) in 1915<sup>9</sup> and criss-crossed the country sowing new provincial legislation that allowed preparation of plans and control of suburban land subdivision. The First World War slowed the urban reform measures, but Adams was kept busy contributing to the reconstruction of Halifax's Richmond and Hydrostone neighbourhoods after they were destroyed in the 1917 explosion. He also designed federally sponsored veterans' housing in Ottawa's Lindenlea Garden Suburb (1919) and northern towns such as Timiskaming, QC (1917), Jasper, AB (1921), and Corner Brook, NL (1922).<sup>10</sup>

After the war, Adams shifted his focus from the CIL to a new professional institution for practising planners. He collaborated with the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, the Engineering Institute of Canada, and the Dominion Land Surveyors to establish the Town Planning Institute of Canada in July 1919. Adams was the TPIC's inaugural president for two terms, with Ottawa engineer-planner Noulan Cauchon as vice-president. The TPIC started with 113 members—all men, who were mostly architects, engineers, landscape architects, and surveyors.<sup>11</sup> It quickly grew to over 350 members in the mid-1920s, with energetic leadership from Cauchon, who was the chairman of the Ottawa Town Planning Commission (OTPC).<sup>12</sup>

The Commission of Conservation provided national connections, finances, and staff to support Adams's outreach activities. He edited the CoC's journal (renamed *Town Planning and the Conservation of Life*), wrote scores of articles for other publications,<sup>13</sup> and also authored a respected textbook, *Rural Planning and Development*.<sup>14</sup> The CoC offices provided administrative support for the fledgling TPIC, and Adams's personal secretary, Alfred Buckley, edited the *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (JTPIC)* from 1920 to 1931.

However, Adams's position began to unravel in Canada's uncertain postwar economy. Clifford Sifton resigned as CoC chairman in 1918, and the commission had few supporters in Arthur Meighen's new Conservative government, which was grappling with postwar recession, strikes, and a housing shortage. The CoC was wound up in 1921, but Adams continued as the federal government's town planning advisor on a contract basis, before moving to the United States in 1923.<sup>15</sup>

The fledgling Canadian planning movements saw some early results in the 1920s. The TPIC pioneers, including Adams's assistant, Horace Seymour, prepared comprehensive plans for Kitchener and Vancouver. However, the modest gains from the 1920s were quickly wiped out by the Great Depression and the Second World War. New housing construction plummeted; infrastructure projects were put on hold or cancelled; and planning commissions saw their budgets eliminated as municipal and provincial finances shrank.<sup>16</sup> The TPIC stalwarts tried to keep the institute alive while membership declined and conference travel budgets disappeared. Alfred Buckley continued

to edit the *JTPIC* and another Adams protégé, Arthur Dalzell, remained on as volunteer president from 1930 to 1932. But the *JTPIC* stopped publication in 1931 and the TPIC collapsed in 1932 for lack of fees-paying members. The TPIC's secretary-treasurer, John Kitchen, paid its corporate registration fees from 1932 to 1952, keeping its federal charter alive.<sup>17</sup>

Canada was slow to start Depression relief projects, and few required professional planning talents in the way that the Roosevelt New Deal's public housing projects and Greenbelt new towns engaged planners in the 1930s.<sup>18</sup> Landscape architects such as Frederick Todd and Carl Borstrom got small commissions for building Mount Royal's Beaver Lake and the Queen Elizabeth Way.<sup>19</sup> The early TPIC leaders were lost in this period, as Cauchon died in 1935 and Adams returned to England, passing away in 1940.<sup>20</sup> As the Second World War was winding up, only Toronto<sup>21</sup> and Montreal had planning departments (each with a part-time planner), and about twenty municipalities had zoning by-laws or plans, which were mostly outdated. The Canadian planning movements were moribund, if not close to death in 1944.

### ***Postwar Reconstruction Plans***

The federal government played a major role in the revival of the Canadian planning movements, even though it has no constitutional jurisdiction over the governance of cities and towns. Although municipalities are governed by provincial legislation, the federal government had considerable impact upon the planning and development of cities after 1945, due to its postwar reconstruction policies. The federal government was determined to avoid the problems that followed the First World War, when half a million men returned from service to social chaos, housing shortages, a weak economy, and a deadly influenza epidemic that spread through over-crowded cities.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King<sup>22</sup> appointed an Advisory Committee on Reconstruction in 1941, chaired by McGill Principal Cyril James. The Canadian economy had expanded and focused on the war effort, and the committee first examined how the military industries could be turned to peaceful jobs for returning veterans.<sup>23</sup> The committee soon became acutely concerned about the housing problem, since over a million men and women were in service at the end of the Second World War, from a country of only eleven million in population. Where would they all live upon their return to their home communities?

James established a Subcommittee on Housing and Community Planning in 1943, chaired by Queen's University economist Clifford Curtis, with staff support from McGill social scientist Leonard Marsh. The need for attention to housing was obvious, since the return of a million veterans to their home towns would be a disaster. Annual housing production had been greatly reduced since the 1928 peak of 50,000 units, and existing housing was already overcrowded in most cities.<sup>24</sup> Even if housing production immediately returned to the pre-war peak, it would take two decades to provide new homes for all the returning heroes.

After considering the situation, the subcommittee called for a massive housing construction program, anticipating a need for 600,000–1,000,000 new units in the first decade after the war, or approximately double the peak pre-war production rate. The subcommittee also concluded that it “places at the forefront of all housing projects the matter of town and country planning” but cautioned that “on account of the constitutional division of powers in Canada, town planning requires the co-operation of all levels of government in the federal system... . [W]e are convinced that action at one level of government alone, whatever it may be, will not suffice to gain results.”<sup>25</sup>

The 1944 final report of the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Planning (known as the Curtis Report) contains an entire chapter on the requirements for postwar community planning,<sup>26</sup> proposing a detailed program to establish a federal planning agency, provincial government planning bureaus, new provincial legislation, and municipal planning boards. It also recommended that federal funds be allocated for land assembly, public education, and training of community planners.<sup>27</sup>

The Curtis Report recommended that every Canadian town or city should be *required* to complete a master plan for its entire metropolitan area and that municipal master plans “be placed on a *statutory* basis.”<sup>28</sup> Prewar planning legislation *permitted* municipalities to establish town planning commissions and prepare a plan (should they so desire), but the plans only had *advisory* status. In addition, the subcommittee called for the elimination of premature suburban development of agricultural land by requiring land subdivision approvals and making the subdivider responsible for the cost of installing streets and sewers. If implemented, such legislation would place community planning as a core municipal governance function, rather than its previous status as a pet project of a few urban reformers. And while subdivision control would not eliminate sprawl, future suburbs would be planned.

Finally, the report recommended that “a specific federal agency should be set up, equipped effectively (a) to formulate and promote desirable standards of urban and rural planning; (b) to encourage and assist the provinces in passing the necessary enabling legislation for municipal planning and regional planning; and (c) to establish a competent and imaginative research and information service, concerned with both the principles and techniques of urban and rural physical planning.”<sup>29</sup>

The Curtis subcommittee anticipated that this agency would be responsible for education, information, research, and advisory services. The report particularly noted the dire shortage of trained planners in Canada and the disappearance of the TPIC in 1931. The subcommittee therefore recommended federal grants to establish planning courses at Canadian universities and development of a model planning curriculum by the new federal agency.

Given the comatose state of the Canadian planning movements in 1944, where could these strong recommendations on community planning have come from?

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The subcommittee's forceful recommendations on financing and expanding housing production were expected, but the extraordinary emphasis on community planning was stronger than comparable British or American national policy at the same time.<sup>30</sup> There are a few signs of where the impetus for community planning policy came from. First, both Cyril James and Leonard Marsh studied at the London School of Economics in the 1920s where social reform was a strong component of undergraduate education. Marsh and John Bland, McGill's director of the School of Architecture,<sup>31</sup> organized a university extension course on housing and community planning later in 1944.<sup>32</sup>

The subcommittee itself provides a few clues. Dr. Clifford A. Curtis was a professor of economics at Queen's and also had a lifetime interest in local government and planning. He was co-founder of the Queen's Institute for Local Government, served on Kingston City Council, and was elected mayor, 1948–52.<sup>33</sup> Other subcommittee members included George Mooney, a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) activist and executive director of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities; and University of Toronto professor of architecture Eric Arthur, who was also an advocate for public housing in Toronto.<sup>34</sup>

The Subcommittee on Housing and Community Planning submitted its report on 24 March 1944, and the federal government

wasted little time in putting its recommendations into legislation. A new National Housing Act was passed in August 1944 to consolidate other housing programs and lay out new fields for federal policy and spending. Access to federal funds for land purchases would be conditional on compliance with an Official Community Plan, providing an incentive for local governments to prepare comprehensive plans. Part V of the act was dedicated to "Housing Research and Community Planning,"<sup>35</sup> including provisions to improve "the understanding and adoption of community plans in Canada, ... promotion of the understanding of community and regional planning; ... community planning studies, or make arrangements for research in training in housing, land planning or community planning."<sup>36</sup>

The revised National Housing Act was to be administered by a new federal Crown corporation, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), which was established on 1 January 1946. Rather than establish a separate national planning agency, as recommended in the Curtis Report, CMHC was also given responsibility for research and community planning. Five million dollars was authorized for research and community planning—an astonishing sum in 1945, equivalent to \$73 million in 2018, adjusted for inflation.<sup>37</sup> The federal government was poised to become a major player in Canadian community planning.

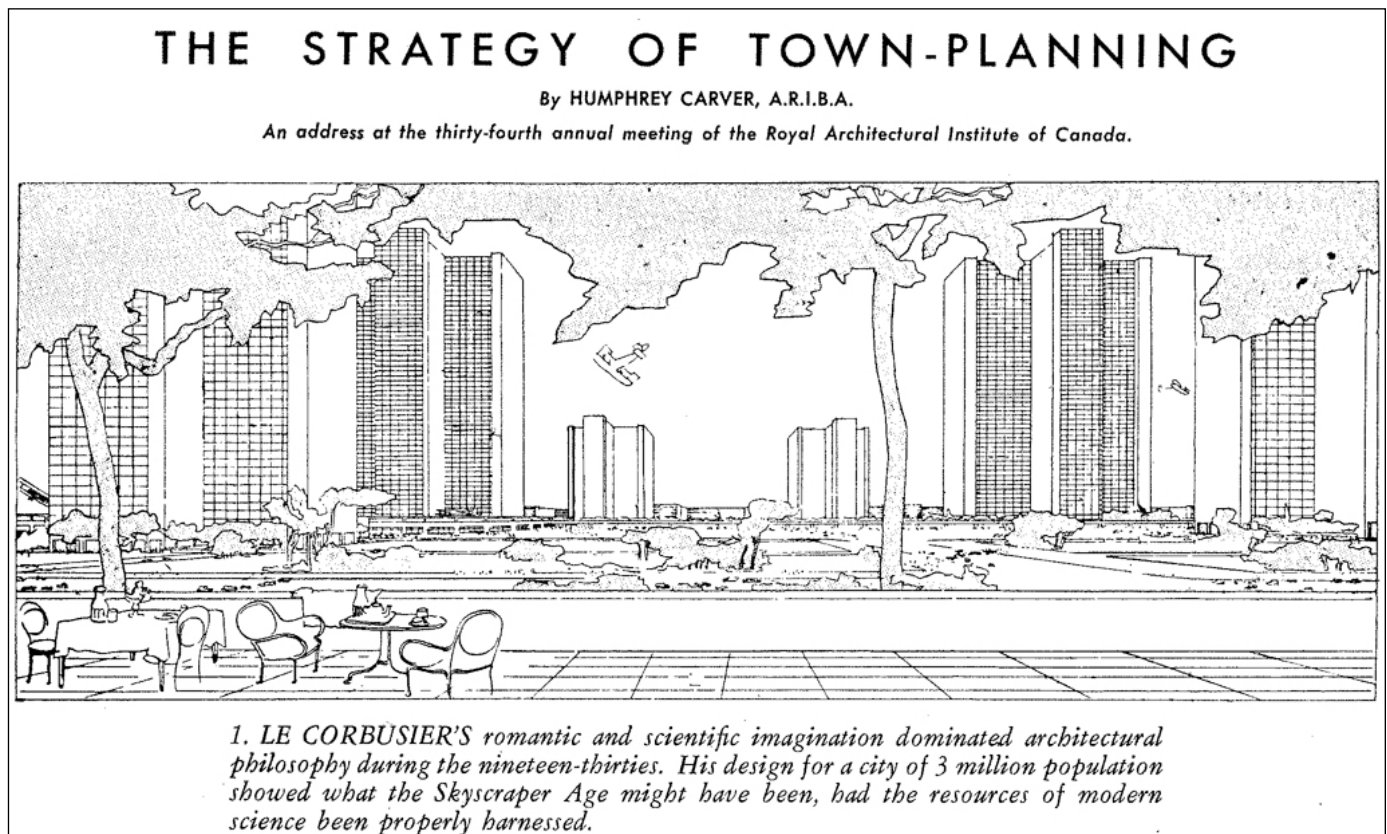


Figure 2. The strategy of town planning. Carver's community-planning philosophy combined Le Corbusier's proposals for a modern inner city and suburban development in neighbourhood units like Radburn, NJ. The lead illustration in this article, a famous image from Le Corbusier's *City of Tomorrow*, makes his commitment to modernism quite clear. Source: Carver, March 1941, figure 1, RAICJ, including his original caption.

### ***Social Reform and Community Planning***

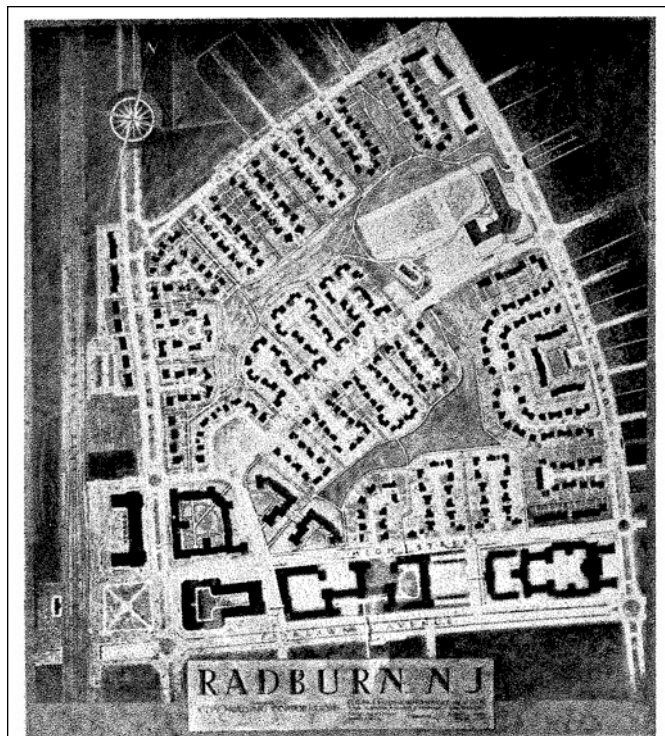
Humphrey Carver (1902–1995) had impeccable credentials as a community planning advocate and social reformer in the postwar period. Carver was born in England to an upper-middle-class family and educated at Oxford and the Architectural Association (AA) School in London. Carver entered Oxford's Corpus Christi College in 1920, but found the undergraduate curriculum irrelevant, save for stumbling across the work of Harriet Barnett of Hampstead Garden Suburb and the Garden Cities Association in an obscure library. The Garden City idea deflected Carver towards the design of housing and towns.<sup>38</sup> He studied architecture at the AA from 1924 to 1929, following the classical curriculum focused on the ancient principles of "Commoditie, Firmnesse, and Delighte," and hiked throughout England and Europe, sketching villages and towns.<sup>39</sup> More importantly, during a visit to Paris, Carver purchased *Vers une architecture* by Le Corbusier and couldn't put the book down: "It was an electrifying intellectual experience which instantly changed my whole way of looking at the world around me."<sup>40</sup> He left the AA as one of his generation's many passionate proponents of modernism in architecture and planning.

Carver appeared to have come to Canada for adventure in 1930, but Mary Gordon was certainly the reason that he stayed. They were married in 1933. Mary was the sister of King Gordon, a founder of the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR) and the CCF. Carver recalled, "The misery we saw around us called for political activism. It was my good fortune that amongst my close friends were the group that wrote the REGINA MANIFESTO in 1933 and who founded the CCF, which became the NDP. I often went to the early meetings of the CCF to hear J.S. Woodsworth."<sup>41</sup>

After planning and landscape architecture work declined in 1933, Humphrey and Mary moved into a collective settlement on Carl Borgstrom's farm in Lorne Park, ON, where they could grow their own food and eke out a meagre living during the Depression, surrounded by their artistic and political friends.<sup>42</sup>

Carver was an early member of the LSR and joined the editorial committee of its journal, *Canadian Forum*. Throughout the 1930s, he wrote numerous articles on housing, community planning, and social policy for the *Forum*, *Saturday Night*, and the *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal (RAICJ)*.<sup>43</sup> In 1935 Carver contributed the housing chapter in the LSR's influential *Social Planning for Canada*, outlining the need for a national housing program and funding for slum clearance and public housing. Even at this early stage, he combined housing and community planning advocacy, outlining the general principles of town planning in the book chapter and his articles.<sup>44</sup>

Although Carver had been educated in the classical style at the Architectural Association school, he maintained an interest in Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities through his career. Carver gravitated to the ideals of the modernist movement in the late 1920s, and his 1941 *RAICJ* article "The Strategy of Town Planning" discusses the need to clear areas of substandard



7. RADBURN, New Jersey, designed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, with cul-de-sac streets leading to the Park belt, provides a complete pedestrian circulation without using traffic streets. The main street is underpassed near the School.

Figure 3. Radburn and the neighbourhood unit. Carver advocated that new suburban developments should be built in the form of neighbourhood units similar to Clarence Stein and Henry Wright's 1929 design for Radburn, NJ. Source: Carver, figure 7, *RAICJ* March 1941, including original caption

housing in the inner city, following the modernist ideas of Le Corbusier (figure 2). But most of the article addresses the need for satellite towns in the country, with new suburbs planned in "neighbourhood units," such as those designed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in Radburn, NJ<sup>45</sup> (figure 3). Carver considered Stein the "most significant urban designer of the period."<sup>46</sup>

By 1937 Carver had emerged as one of Canada's leading advocates for housing reform, giving numerous speeches, curating a CBC Radio series, and organizing conferences on housing and planning in Ottawa in 1937 and Toronto in 1939.<sup>47</sup> Professor Eric Arthur invited him to teach in the University of Toronto's School of Architecture from 1938 to 1941. Following his war service,<sup>48</sup> Carver was appointed to the university's School of Social Work, where he managed research at the Housing Centre, producing *Houses for Canadians* with CMHC's first research grant.<sup>49</sup>

Although Carver was concerned chiefly with housing policy in the immediate postwar period, he continued to advocate for better community planning. He was a prominent participant in the first community planning conference organized by CMHC

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in June 1946.<sup>50</sup> When the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC) was formed, in January 1947 Carver was immediately appointed to the Ontario executive and then elected as vice-president of the national organization at its founding conference in October.<sup>51</sup>

So when CMHC President David Mansur<sup>52</sup> searched for a manager for the new agency's community planning and research program in 1948, it was not surprising that Humphrey Carver was offered the job.<sup>53</sup> He remained with CMHC until his retirement in 1967, leading in community planning advocacy, encouraging planning legislation, enabling planning practice, reviving the TPIC, and supporting Canadian planning education and research.

### *Federal Community Planning Advocacy*

The Curtis Report had identified the urgent need for community planning in postwar Canada but also noted the constitutional difficulty of any attempt by the federal government to mandate action for this issue, which was clearly a provincial and municipal jurisdiction. CMHC therefore decided to engage in a nation-wide planning advocacy campaign, somewhat similar to Thomas Adams's decision to organize a Civic Improvement League in 1915 to lobby for town planning, prior to the 1919 establishment of the TPIC. CMHC's first step was to convene a community planning conference in Ottawa in June 1946, with expenses paid for planning advocates from across the county to attend, including Carver. These delegates formed the core of the Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC), with Dick Davis of the Canadian Welfare Council elected as founding president and an energetic young CMHC staff member, Alan Armstrong, appointed as executive director.<sup>54</sup> Carver knew most of the CPAC founders before his CMHC appointment, and Armstrong was one of his pre-war Toronto students. Although he had to resign as CPAC vice-president upon joining CMHC, he still wielded considerable influence on the community planning campaign through his personal connections and financing the bulk of the association's activities.

The CPAC established separate divisions in most provinces in 1947 and grew remarkably quickly. Membership was open to all who were interested in community planning, and fees were low, since CMHC was paying most of the expenses.<sup>55</sup> Armstrong established a national newsletter, *Layout for Living*, in 1947, and the journal *Community Planning Review* in 1951.<sup>56</sup> Jean Cimon was hired as Quebec organiser and editor of the *Urbanisme* newsletter. The association had several thousand members by 1950, during a period when the number of practising professional planners was perhaps a score, and the TPIC was still dormant.<sup>57</sup> The CPAC was much more open to diverse viewpoints than the original TPIC, incorporating social housing advocates, urban reformers, and many women, some of whom became members of the National Council.<sup>58</sup>

CPAC branches were organized in many major cities, and members began to lobby their provincial governments for improved planning legislation and their municipal governments to establish

town planning commissions and hire planners. The CPAC Ontario Division was particularly active in Toronto, pushed by the provincial government's new Community Planning Branch. CPAC convened the Ontario Citizens' Planning Conference in 1948, with a keynote speech by Dana Porter, Ontario minister of planning and development, and the closing address by Humphrey Carver.<sup>59</sup>

CMHC's generous funding and support for CPAC indicated that the federal government may have learned from Thomas Adam's frustrating experience in the 1920s. The national agency placed more emphasis on advocacy and legislation than on professional organization in the initial stages of the new campaign for community planning.

### *Improving Community Planning Legislation*

The Curtis Report noted the weak patchwork of provincial planning laws, and the federal government signalled its interest in improved legislation in C.D. Howe's keynote speech to the CMHC Ottawa conference in June 1946. Howe was the minister responsible for the postwar reconstruction program and had strong influence in the federal Cabinet after his leadership role in mobilizing the national wartime economic effort.<sup>60</sup> The "minister of everything" wanted the provinces on board "to maintain employment and income levels, as well as to provide for the healthy building and re-building of the places where we live, we must have carefully prepared community plans. And we must have competent personnel and clear-cut legislation at local levels to give our community plans adequate and continuing effect."<sup>61</sup>

CMHC arranged for officials from all nine provinces to attend the June 1946 Ottawa conference and then funded their travel to the October 1947 CPAC founding conference in Montreal to report on the status of planning in their jurisdictions.<sup>62</sup> These invitations galvanized the natural competitiveness of provincial bureaucracies at national conferences to report progress and may have moved the establishment of community planning bureaus further up the provincial priority lists.

Harold Spence-Sales began CMHC-funded research on Canadian planning legislation at that first CPAC Conference. Spence-Sales (1907–2004) was Canada's first full-time planning professor, imported by his AA classmate John Bland to start McGill's planning program.<sup>63</sup> His 1949 final report to CHMC outlined the national patchwork of planning processes and demonstrated a need for improved legislation in every province. It was followed by a 1952 CPAC manual that described the elements for improved laws and the state of legislation in each province.<sup>64</sup>

Many provincial governments responded to CPAC lobbying and technical advice with new legislation that became the legal foundation of postwar planning. Ontario's 1946 Planning Act led the way, allowing municipalities the power to create formal and binding official plans for their jurisdictions.<sup>65</sup> BC followed in 1948, and all provinces except Quebec had revised legislation in place by 1956.<sup>66</sup>

### **Supporting Community Planning Practice**

The federal government also demonstrated its support for better community planning by setting good examples with its own programs. Prime Minister Mackenzie King was a strong advocate for better planning of the national capital region, and recalled leading French urbaniste Jacques Gréber to Ottawa to establish the National Capital Planning Service within weeks of the war's end.<sup>67</sup> King made reconstruction of the federal capital the principal memorial to Second World War service and kept a close personal watch on the emerging National Capital Plan.<sup>68</sup> Gréber and the NCPS team (including John Kitchen and Quebec's Edouard Fiset) made presentations at many early CPAC conferences, and the 1950 *National Capital Plan* became an influential example of good practice in comprehensive planning.<sup>69</sup>

At a smaller scale, CMHC ensured that federally approved housing projects demonstrated good community planning and site design. CMHC established its own planning department, which designed new neighbourhoods on federally owned lands and reviewed subdivisions that requested CMHC mortgage insurance. The agency initially imported planners from Britain and the United States to staff their national and regional offices, but these unilingual anglophones were an issue in Quebec during the 1950s. Rolf Latté, CMHC's first Quebec manager, was a unilingual anglophone educated in England, despite the appearance of his surname. He quickly acquired a working knowledge of French and became a leading advocate of community planning and a founder of the *Ordre des Urbanistes du Québec*, the professional association for planners in the province. After political pressure, CMHC began to import francophone planners from Belgium to staff the Quebec offices.<sup>70</sup> Many of the CMHC immigrants went on to careers in provincial and municipal agencies across Canada.

CMHC also encouraged better training for Canadian planners by sponsoring a 1948 McGill summer school in subdivision planning, led by Harold Spence-Sales. With the aid of a CMHC grant, the materials from this program were transformed into an attractive full-colour practice manual, *How to Subdivide* (figure 4), which was distributed by CPAC.<sup>71</sup>

Under Carver's direction, CMHC provided more advice to planners, designers, and consumers with other handbooks. *Urban Mapping*, by architect-planner Blanche Lemco, provided spatial analysis methods and graphic design standards for early local use planning studies.<sup>72</sup> *Choosing a House Design* (1952) was another example of Carver's strategy of combining housing and planning advocacy. This fifty-page monograph showcased modern house designs, but it also contained discussion of neighbourhood planning principles (figure 5). CMHC distributed over 750,000 copies of *Choosing a House Design* during the 1950s and 1960s suburban boom. It was followed by *Principles of Small House Grouping* (1954), which contained illustrations of small-scale site design, using neighbourhood unit principles (figure 6).<sup>73</sup>

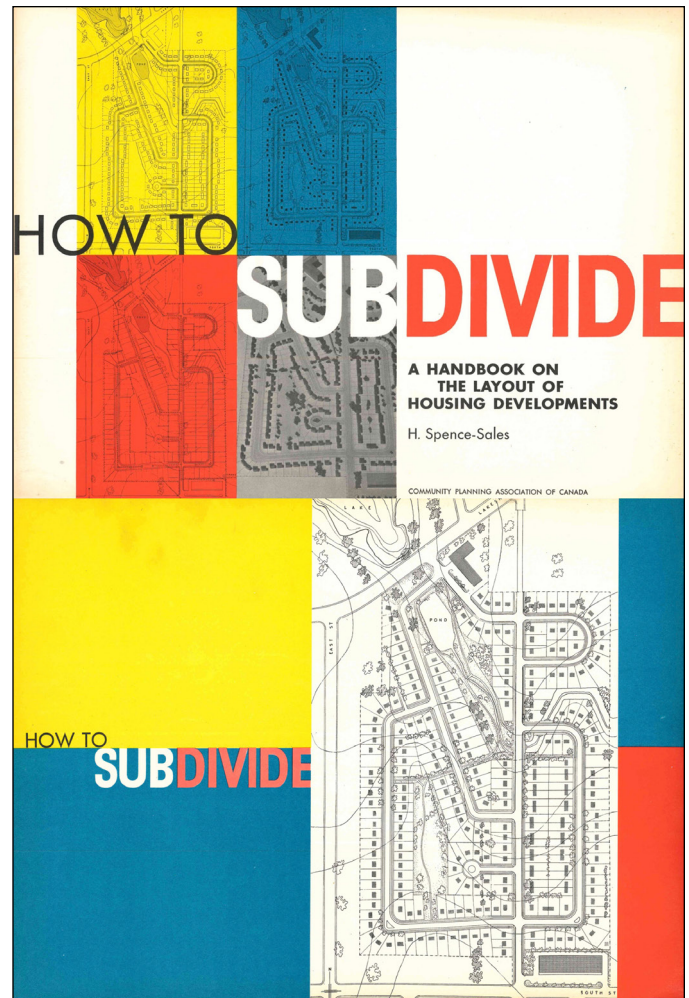


Figure 4. *How to subdivide*. The CPAC distributed thousands of copies of this thirty-six-page manual, which advocated neighbourhood-unit subdivisions rather than the gridiron style that predominated before the war. Source: Harold Spence-Sales, *How to Subdivide* (Ottawa: CPAC, 1950), front and back covers

### **Reviving Canadian Planning as a Profession**

After the collapse of the TPIC in 1932, there was no professional organization for the few practising planners in Canada. Carver was one of nine founding members of the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects in 1934, which at his suggestion was initially named the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects and Town Planners: "I argued that we should found a Society of landscape architects and town planners. There was, at that time, no Town Planning Institute in Canada. I thought that it would be a splendid Canadian achievement to found a profession which would be concerned with our whole environment of life: the built-up area and the landscape together. For a time our society was called the CSLA and TP. And I'm sorry that sectoral professional interests pulled us apart."<sup>74</sup>

However, the CSLA did not attract the handful of architects, surveyors, and engineers who were practising planning at the end



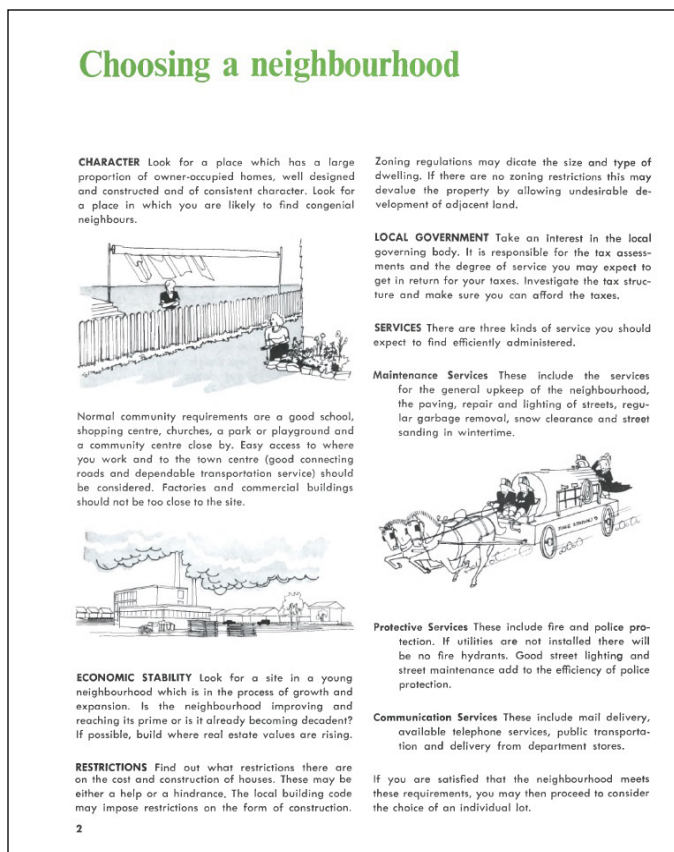


Figure 5. *Neighbourhood planning principles in Choosing a House Design. Carver personally edited this text, adding community planning principles for good neighbourhoods to what might otherwise have been a simple catalogue of modern small house designs. The "Character" section describes a neighbourhood unit with separated land uses, which are mid-century modernist planning principles for residential areas. Source: CMHC, Choosing a House Design (Ottawa: CMHC, 1952), 2*

of the war. These included Aimé Cousineau (Ville de Montréal), Tracy leMay (City of Toronto), Eric Thrift (Metropolitan Winnipeg), and Toronto planning consultant Eugene Faludi.<sup>75</sup> Instead, Thrift helped organize the CPAC, and Faludi organized the Institute of Professional Planners, which attracted a few dozen members from central Canada.

Most practising planners were associated with the CPAC in its early days, but many also yearned for an organization that focused upon practice, rather than advocacy, as their numbers slowly climbed. There was also a need for a form of certification for planning that was separate from architecture, engineering, surveying, or landscape architecture. CMHC helped sort out the competing organizations with the assistance of Alan Armstrong, CPAC's director. In 1952, it was arranged that the TPIC's national charter would be the means to bring the groups together again. Aimé Cousineau was named TPIC president, Eric Thrift was vice president, and Eugene Faludi became secretary-treasurer of the revived institute. The Institute of Professional Planners was dissolved; the CSLA removed "Town Planners" from their name,

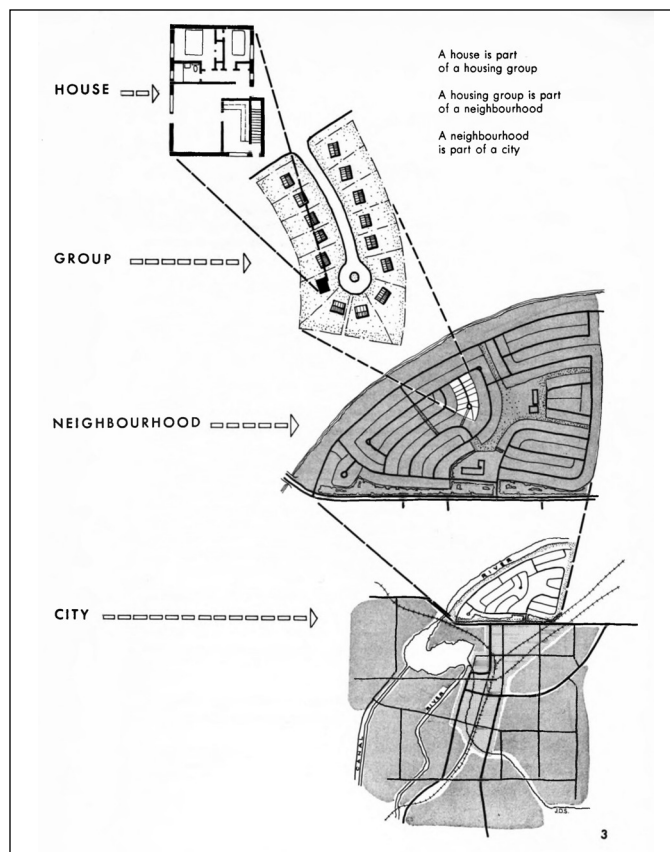


Figure 6. *Community planning ideas in Principles of Small House Grouping. Once again, CMHC adds community planning principles to a housing design manual. A city should consist of planned neighbourhood units, with each housing subdivision fitting within the plan. Note the cul-de-sac and internal greenways connecting to a school, both similar to the Radburn plan. Most pre-war subdivisions were simple grids of house lots with little community planning at any scale. Source: CMHC, Principles of Small House Grouping (Ottawa: CMHC, 1954), 2.*

and the TPIC combined some programming with the CPAC for its initial years.<sup>76</sup>

Carver stayed close to the CPAC and also participated in its counterpart in the United States, the American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO, now part of the American Planning Association). He joined ASPO's board from 1952 and hosted a joint ASPO/CPAC conference in Montreal in 1955. It attracted 1,400 delegates, thought to be the largest gathering of planning advocates to date.<sup>77</sup> Although most TPIC members also belonged to CPAC, the revived institute was funded mainly by membership dues and run by volunteers, in contrast to the CPAC's large budgets and professional staff that were funded by CMHC grants. TPIC membership grew back to pre-war level only gradually, reaching 394 in 1961.<sup>78</sup>

As the TPIC developed its own programming, Carver was a frequent speaker and was nominated to join the institute's council in 1962. He was elected TPIC president for 1963–4, when the institute was still a relatively small professional body managed by volunteers.<sup>79</sup> Carver prodded it into finally making its operations bilingual, more than a decade after the CPAC.<sup>80</sup> The

postwar TPIC was a slightly more open organization, accepting a few women as members, and Blanche Lemco as the first female TPIC councillor in 1962. Increasing diversity in the TPIC would be slow, and it was 1979 before the first woman would be elected as CIP president.<sup>81</sup>

### ***Developing Canadian Planning Education and Research***

Canadian universities did not offer even a single course in community planning in 1945, although McGill and Toronto had signalled interest with lecture series during the war. McGill established the first Canadian program, in 1947, with a one-year graduate diploma for architects, engineers, surveyors, and geographers, led by Harold Spence-Sales. In contrast, the School of Civic Design had been established at the University of Liverpool in 1909, the Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris in 1919, and Harvard began teaching planning in 1909, before establishing a planning school in 1923. CMHC had a direct role in founding the first five Canadian schools, funding half the salary of the first professors; providing scholarships for half the initial students, and funding faculty research. Canadian professors were expected to supplement their income in the summer with extra teaching or research in the early postwar era, so CMHC's support for faculty research was also support for the new planning schools.<sup>82</sup>

Carver had personal connections with most of the initial professors. The McGill founding professors were John Bland and Harold Spence-Sales, who both attended Carver's alma mater, the Architectural Association School in London. Carver and Spence-Sales became life-long friends.<sup>83</sup> Manitoba established the first master's degree in planning in 1949, staffed by Joe Kostka. UBC's founding professor was Peter Oberlander, who had been Carver's initial secretary at CMHC, before returning to Harvard to become the first graduate of their PhD program.<sup>84</sup> Toronto initially recruited Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, also from the AA, but she was not supported and left for Harvard.<sup>85</sup> Toronto got a lucky break in 1956 by recruiting Gordon Stephenson, head of Liverpool's school, after he was denied entry to the United States to head MIT, as the result of McCarthyism.<sup>86</sup>

Throughout the 1950s, the CPAC Quebec division objected that there was no francophone planning school. The provincial government assisted the Université de Montréal in establishing an Institut d'urbanisme in 1961,<sup>87</sup> and a graduate program followed with some CMHC assistance. However, the total output of the small Canadian schools remained well below the demand for planners through the booming 1960s, with more planners imported from the United Kingdom, Europe, and the United States.<sup>88</sup> Carver's preference for two-year graduate planning degrees with a core curriculum<sup>89</sup> may have slowed the development of the large four-year undergraduate degrees at Waterloo, Montréal, and Ryerson that eventually met the rapidly rising demand for planning graduates.

CMHC also reinforced planning education with graduate scholarships for research in housing and community planning.

Starting in 1947, the agency provided fellowships for about half of the graduate students in the early days of the new Canadian programs, supporting students who would go on to become leaders in the planning profession. The scholarship program was expanded as enrolment grew<sup>90</sup> and later extended to provide doctoral fellowships that developed a generation of Canadian planning professors.<sup>91</sup>

Humphrey Carver managed CMHC's research program through his twenty-year career with the agency. His initial position was chairman of CMHC's Research Committee, where he dispersed the grants to external agencies and scholars. The National Research Council was CMHC's partner for most research into house construction and building codes.<sup>92</sup> In contrast, most community-planning funding went to external agencies and individual researchers. For example, Gordon Stephenson prepared CMHC-supported planning and urban renewal studies for Halifax (1956), Kingston (1960), London, ON (1960), and Ottawa during his summer breaks from teaching at the University of Toronto.

CMHC funded \$4.79 million (\$42 million in \$2018) in research contracts from 1955 to 63, and approximately \$16 million (\$151 million in \$2018) by the time Carver retired in 1967.<sup>93</sup> One of his most ambitious projects was the Canadian Council for Urban and Regional Research (CCURR), a national clearinghouse for urban research that was funded by a \$500,000 Ford Foundation grant in 1960 (worth \$4.3 million in 2018) and matched by CMHC.<sup>94</sup>

CMHC also had an internal research program that directly supported the agency's policies and development program. It produced a steady stream of handbooks, manuals, and advisory documents for external and internal use. Carver managed the agency's research and development activity by chairing an advisory group that was CMHC's brain trust (figure 7).

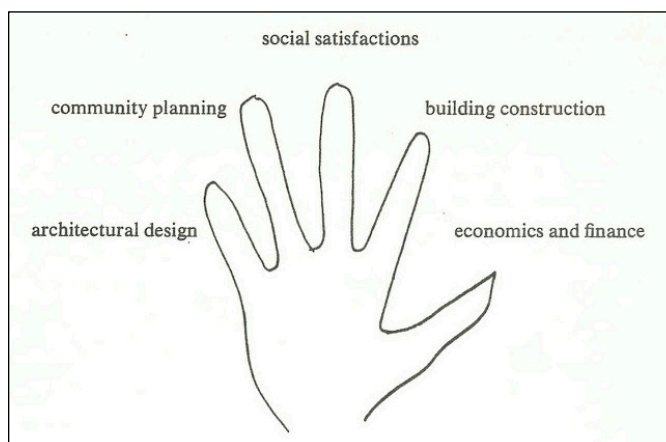


Figure 7. Multi-disciplinary thinking for national policy. Carver would draw this hand on the board during his "chalk talks" to orient new CMHC employees. The "five fingers" represent his concept for an interdisciplinary approach to urban problems and the structure of the CMHC Advisory Group that he chaired from 1955 to 1967. CPAC executive director Alan Armstrong was the community planning advisor during the early years. Source: Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 137.

Carver made a personal contribution to the research program with his *Cities in the Suburbs* (1963), written during a leave from CMHC.<sup>95</sup> He had been concerned by suburban developments that were essentially bedroom communities, and the book argues for suburban town centres that would provide jobs, services, and facilities to make more complete communities (figure 8).

### **Conclusions**

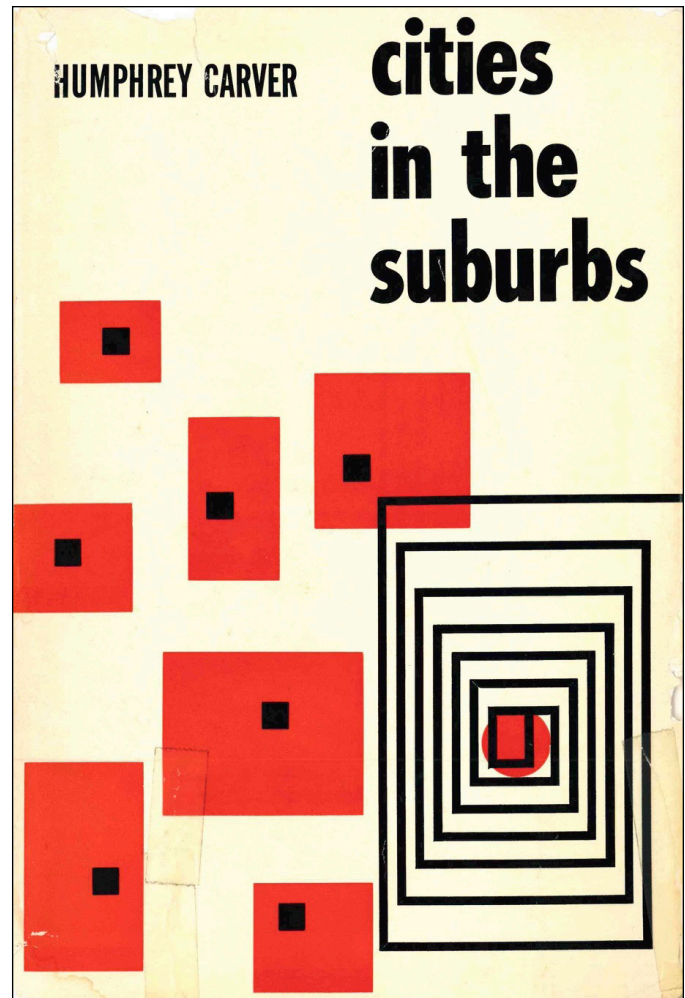
Although 1930 was a terrible time to begin a career in community planning in Canada, in 1948 Humphrey Carver had the good fortune to be in the right place and time to begin a career as a federal bureaucrat. After over a decade of advocacy, he switched to enabling community planning education, practice, and research at a scale that was unprecedented. Carver also had the advantage of operating with a clear federal mandate and generous funding.

However, many other lavishly funded federal programs targeted for provincial and municipal jurisdictions have failed, while CMHC's programs had remarkable results from 1945 to 1967. Community planning was revived as a field of practice, and millions of homes were built in planned communities. The revitalized planning practice was supported by public advocacy, better legislation, university departments, research programs, practice guidelines, and a professional institute.

Much of this progress could be attributed to many background forces at work in the immediate postwar era. There was consensus about the need for more housing, recent experience in rolling out large-scale programs during the war, strong national economic growth in a well-managed reconstruction program, sound strategy from the Curtis Report, and a good legislative mandate in Part V of the 1944 *National Housing Act*.

Carver certainly had all these advantages behind him in 1948, yet a close reading of the records indicates that personal factors accelerated progress on the federal government's objectives, as set out in the Curtis Report. CMHC probably got more than it expected when David Mansur hired Humphrey Carver to chair its Research Committee in 1948. While Mansur concentrated on changing Canadian housing finance and production systems (areas where the federal government had some jurisdiction), Carver managed the revival and national extension of community planning, a field almost completely under provincial and municipal authority. His personal characteristics may have contributed to his success when constructing a national network in this area of limited federal jurisdiction. Carver was not a lifetime federal bureaucrat, but rather an outsider with a progressive reputation and a Canada-wide web of fellow reformers. His support for the CPAC showed sensitivity to regional differences and strategic uses of federal resources that made provincial and municipal collaborations more effective.

Humphrey Carver's privileged background and character also may have assisted in implementing these national programs. Education at Oxford and the AA would have conferred



*Figure 8. Cities in the Suburbs cover. The image on the cover of Cities in the Suburbs suggests that suburban communities should have their own town centres, separate from the central business district of the metropolitan region. This idea draws from Carver's interest in Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities, transformed into satellite towns in a poly-nucleated metropolis. Source: Carver, Cities in the Suburbs, 1962. Cover design by Zoltan Kiss.*

intellectual and professional respect in the 1930s and 1940s, and a British accent was still an advantage in English Canada's post-colonial era. Given his prominence in the League for Social Reconstruction and advocacy for public housing for the poorest citizens, few would have doubted Carver's progressive intentions, even though he wore his socialism rather lightly on his sleeve.<sup>96</sup> He was known for a genial disposition and self-deprecating humour, despite his awkward French, which limited his effectiveness in Quebec.<sup>97</sup> Four honorary degrees, fellowship in the CIP (1968), and the Order of Canada (1988) are evidence of the high regard in which he was held across the disciplines that shape Canadian communities.<sup>98</sup> He was clearly regarded as the most important figure and the guiding hand of the federal government's postwar revival of community planning.

Carver stumbled into community planning at a most inauspicious time. However, if 1930 was a poor year to start a career in

Canadian planning, then by comparison, 1967 was a good year to retire as the federal official responsible for the field. Canada's Centennial year and Expo 67 were perhaps the high point in optimism about the country's future and confidence in government's ability to deliver large national projects. The discredit of urban renewal and doubts about the environmental, economic, and social sustainability of the massive suburban communities produced on his watch came after Carver's retirement.<sup>99</sup> It was only towards the end of his long life that Carver began to doubt the suburban landscapes he facilitated, noting that since he could no longer drive the freeways, "I'm practically helpless in my own habitat."<sup>100</sup> However, these doubts came a quarter-century after he retired. As Humphrey Carver toured Habitat 67, CMHC's bold, modern housing exhibit at Expo 67, he could look back with satisfaction at a career that had strongly influenced Canadian community planning.<sup>101</sup>

### Acknowledgements

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### Notes and References

#### Abbreviations for primary sources

|      |  |
|------|--|
| CHIC | Canadian Housing Information Centre, CMHC, Ottawa  |
| HC   | Humphrey Carver Archive at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, Collection 20 |
| HS - | Horace Seymour papers, MG 30 B93, LAC, Ottawa  |
| HSS  | Harold Spence-Sales papers at McGill University Library Special Collections              |
| JB   | John Bland Archive, McGill University Library Special Collections                        |
| LAC  | Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa  |
| NC   | Noulan Cauchon papers, MG 30 C105, LAC, Ottawa   |
| TPIC | Town Planning Institute of Canada fonds, MG 28 I275, LAC, Ottawa                         |
| WLMK | William Lyon Mackenzie King diary, MG 26 J6, LAC, Ottawa                                 |

#### Notes

- 1 Humphrey Carver, "Becoming a Canadian in the 1930s," in *Decades: A Personal Report on the Past Century* (self-pub., 1994), 25–37.
- 2 H. Peter Oberlander and Arthur L. Fallick, *Housing a Nation: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy*, ed. George Anderson (Vancouver: Centre for Human Settlements, University of British Columbia for Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1992); John C. Bacher, *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Humphrey Carver, *Houses for Canadians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948); Carver, *Compassionate Landscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975); Carver, "The Expanding Imagination," in *Housing a Nation: Forty Years of Achievement*, 37–48 (Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1986); John Miron, *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945–1986* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).
- 3 *Community planning* is a term used mainly in Canada to describe professional activity generally known as town planning in Britain, city planning or urban planning in the United States, or *urbanisme* in France; G. Hodge and D.L.A. Gordon, *Planning Canadian Communities: Introduction to the Principles, Practice and Participants* (Toronto: Nelson, 2014), 11–13. Widespread adoption of this term came only after the 1944 publication of the Curtis Report, described below.
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- 7 Stephen Ward, "Planning Diffusion: Agents, Mechanisms, Networks, and Theories," in *Planning History Handbook*, ed. C. Hein, 76–90 (London: Routledge, 2017); Ward, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World* (New York: Wiley, 2002); Catherine Ulmer, "Of Crossings, Conduits, Networks and Channels: The Circulation of Foreign Planning Innovations within English Canada, 1900–1914," *Urban History* 44, no. 4 (2017): 678–97; for the national campaign to bring Adams to Canada, see Catherine Ulmer, "Canadian Planning through a Transnational Lens: The Evolution of Urban Planning in Canada, 1890–1930" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2017), 83–133.
- 8 Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900–1940* (London: Alexandrine, 1985).
- 9 Ulmer, "Canadian Planning," 178–86.
- 10 Simpson, *Thomas Adams*, 71–118; Gordon Fulton, "The Hydrostone District, Halifax," Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Agenda Paper 1993–8 (1998), 233–65; Jill Delaney, "The Garden Suburb of Lindenlea, Ottawa," *Urban History Review* 19, no. 3 (1991): 151–65; Neil White, "Creating Community: Industrial Paternalism and Town Planning in Corner Brook, Newfoundland, 1923–1955," *Urban History Review* 32, no. 2 (2004): 45–58.

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- 11 "Officers and Members of the Town Planning Institute of Canada," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 1, no. 1 (October 1920): 8–10.
- 12 "Detailed Correspondence, By-laws, Constitution, Minutes, TPIC," vol. 9, Noulan Cauchon papers (hereafter NC papers), MG 30 C105, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Ottawa; Sally Coumts, "Science and Sentiment: The Planning Career of Noulan Cauchon" (MA thesis, Carleton University, 1982); "List of Members," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* (February 1927): iv.
- 13 J. David Hulchanski, "Thomas Adams: A Biographical and Bibliographic Guide," Department of Urban and Regional Planning Paper #15 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).
- 14 Thomas Adams, *Rural Planning and Development* (Ottawa: Commission of Conservation, 1917); Wayne Caldwell, ed., *Rediscovering Thomas Adams: Rural Planning and Development* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 207–11. The companion urban planning text to *Rural Planning and Development* had to wait eighteen years: Thomas Adams, *Outline of Town and City Planning* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1935).
- 15 After his Canadian sojourn ended in 1923, Adams was appointed director of the Regional Plan of New York and later taught planning at Harvard and MIT; see Canada, Commission of Conservation, *Annual Report*, 1920; Simpson, *Thomas Adams*, 119–68.
- 16 C.A. Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," *Final Reports of the Subcommittees of Canada Advisory Committee on Reconstruction* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1944), table 3, p. 32; "Detailed Correspondence, By-laws, Constitution, Minutes."
- 17 John M. Kitchen (b. 1892, Glasgow; d. 1955, Ottawa) immigrated to Canada in 1914 to work for the Munitions Board. He became the City of Ottawa's architect and planner for the Ottawa Town Planning Commission in 1921. Kitchen was secretary-treasurer of the Town Planning Institute of Canada (hereafter TPIC) from 1924 to 1951. After the Second World War, he was a planner with the National Capital Planning Service, assistant to Jacques Gréber, and a major contributor to the 1950 *Plan for the National Capital*. See "Kitchen, John Macrae," in *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1800–1950*.
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- 19 Ron Williams, *Landscape Architecture in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 362–87; Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 36–48.
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- 21 Richard White, *Planning Toronto: The Planners, the Plans, Their Legacies, 1940–80* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2016), 9–50.
- 22 King was a social policy wonk and early planning advocate. See "Principles Underlying Health" in his *Industry and Humanity*, 359–61 (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1918); King, "Town Planning as the Premier Sees It," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada* 6, no. 1 (February 1927): 33–6; David L.A. Gordon, "William Lyon Mackenzie King, Planning Advocate," *Planning Perspectives* 17, no. 2 (2002): 97–122.
- 23 Ironically, the James Committee's work on economic reconstruction was later absorbed by the Department of Finance, but its subcommittees issued reports that were influential. See Robert A. Young, "Reining in James: The Limits of the Task Force," *Canadian Public Administration* 24, no. 4 (1981): 596–611.
- 24 Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," table 3.
- 25 Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," 9–10.
- 26 The Curtis Report appears to have initiated widespread Canadian use of the term *community planning* instead of *town planning*, which had been in use since Adams's arrival in 1914. Since Leonard Marsh was already the research director for James's original committee, it seems likely that he introduced the term *community planning* into the Curtis Report. Marsh was trained in sociology at the London School of Economics and later would direct the School of Social Work at the University of British Columbia and be a founding lecturer at the UBC School of *Community and Regional Planning*.
- 27 Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," 15–17.
- 28 Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," 173.
- 29 Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," 169–70.
- 30 Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," 2. Housing Legislation in Britain" and "3. Housing Legislation in the United States," 41–80.
- 31 John Bland (1911–2002) graduated in architecture from McGill in 1933 and received a diploma in planning from the Architectural Association, London, in 1937, where he was a classmate of Harold Spence-Sales. Bland brought Spence-Sales to Canada to found the planning program at McGill in 1947, and they prepared planning studies for cities across Canada in the 1940s and 1950s. Bland was a strong supporter of modernism in architecture and planning, designing the Habitations Jeanne Mance (1958) public housing project in Montreal for CMHC. His papers and drawings are in the John Bland Archive (hereafter JB) at McGill.
- 32 McGill University, Extension Lectures, ed. John Bland, *Housing and Community Planning: A Series of Lectures Delivered at McGill University, November 2, 1943--March 21, 1944*, vol. 4 (Montreal: McGill University, 1944). Copy in the JB.
- 33 Curtis, "Housing and Community Planning," 4; M.C. Urquhart, "Clifford Austin Curtis, 1899–1981," *QED Newsletter*, (Kingston, ON: Queen's University, Department of Economics, 1981), 14.
- 34 Eric Arthur (1898–1982) was born in New Zealand and received his architectural education at the University of Liverpool, graduating in 1923. He taught at the University of Toronto from 1924 into the 1960s and was editor of the *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* from 1937 to 1959. Arthur was a fervent supporter of modernism in architecture and planning, acting as professional advisor to the international competition for Toronto's new city hall in the 1950s. See the special issue on his career in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 17, no. 2 (December 2017): 3–86.
- 35 National Housing Act, SC 1944, C-46, s 5; Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 104–5.
- 36 National Housing Act, SC 1944, C-46, ss 24–5.
- 37 Bank of Canada inflation calculator 1945–2018, based on Statistics Canada Consumer Price Index (May 1945 = 9.1; May 2018 = 133.4), <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/>.
- 38 Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 13–15. It is not clear whether Carver completed his Oxford degree before he enrolled in the AA.
- 39 Carver, *Decades*, 18–24.
- 40 Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 21.
- 41 "The FOUNDERS: Canadian Society of Landscape Architects," 9, file 20/7, Humphrey Carver Archive at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (hereafter HC).
- 42 Carver, *Decades*, 28–36; Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 36–48.
- 43 "Pre-War—Speeches, Articles," file 20/13, HC; "RAIC Journal," file 20/11, HC; also H. Carver, "Housing," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 14, no. 8 (August 1937): 144–6; Carver, "Analysis of Planning and Housing," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 14, no. 9 (September 1937): 194–5, Carver, "Paint and Politics," *Canadian Forum* (March 1936): 19. Carver's many 1930s articles in *Saturday Night* and *Canadian Forum* are

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- discussed in Kirk Niergarth, *The Dignity of Every Human Being* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 49–50.
- 44 Harry Cassidy (League for Social Reconstruction) to HC, 22 July 1933, file 20/1, HC, regarding a chapter for a book. Enclosed: "Part V, Chapter 7, Urban Land Policy and Housing"; "A Housing Programme: Making Town Planning a Reality," in *Social Planning for Canada*, League for Social Reconstruction Research Committee, 451–5 (Toronto: T. Nelson, 1935). The LSR Research Committee included Leonard Marsh and Professor Harry Cassidy, Carver's future supervisor as head of the University of Toronto School of Social Work.
- 45 *RAIC Journal* 1930s (Eric Arthur, editor), file 20/299, HC; H. Carver, "The Strategy of Town Planning," *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal* 18, no. 3 (March 1941): 35–40.
- 46 He referred to his autographed copy of Stein's book, *Towards New Towns for America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1950) as "St. Mark's gospel with the author's message to me on it." Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 109, 117–18. He later featured the book in a glowing review, "The Excellent Experiment," *Community Planning Review* 2, no. 1 (February 1952): 49–53; and Radburn in CMHC publications such as *Housing Design* (1952).
- 47 "Low Cost Housing: Texts of 6 Half-Hour CBC Broadcasts on Low Cost Housing, 1938," file 20/14, HC; "National Housing Conference: Proceedings. February 20–22, 1939," file 20/16.2, HC.
- 48 "The Wartime Generation," files 20/23 and 24, HC. Carver's service was interviewing officer candidates in the army personnel corps, only tangentially related to his housing research.
- 49 "School of Social Work, U of T," file 20/34, HC; "Communications with CMHC," file 20/35, HC; "Metropolitan Toronto Housing Research Project," file 20/36, HC; Carver, *Houses for Canadians*.
- 50 "Proceedings, Community Planning Conference, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, June 25th and 26th, 1946," file 20/45, HC. Carver reported on behalf of the Canadian Welfare Council; RAIC, TPIC, and Engineering Institute of Canada also represented.
- 51 "Community Planning Association," file 20/42, HC; "CPAC National Executive," 20/43, HC; "The CPAC 1946," file 20/45, HC.
- 52 David Mansur was CMHC's first president and ran the organization with military precision from 1946 to 1955. A graduate of the University of Manitoba in mathematics, his background had been in mortgages and financial instruments. Mansur focused on developing the financial systems to foster a Canadian mass homebuilding program. See D.B. Mansur, "A Sense of Mission," in *Housing a Nation* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1986), 1–12. Carver recalls that he had no interest in housing design or community planning, leaving the fields to him: *Decades*, 51–5; *Compassionate Landscape*, 106–9.
- 53 "CMHC 1949–1955," file 20/47, HC; Carver, *Decades*, 51–2.
- 54 "Alan Hugh Armstrong," file 20/51.1, HC; "1948–1955 Continuous Development of the Community Planning Association," file 20/47 B, HC.
- 55 "Advisor on Community Planning," speech 12 November 1956, files 20/79, HC, CPAC support since 1946: \$550,000 (\$5.39 million in \$2018). Also "Grants Made under Part V of the National Housing Act 1955–1964," file 20/84, HC, CPAC support was \$775,150 (\$6.76 million in \$2018) adjusted for inflation using Bank of Canada inflation indicator.
- 56 "The First Publications Produced by the Community Planning Association of Canada," file 20/306, HC. Alan Armstrong edited both publications, and Carver was on the editorial board of *Community Planning Review*. A complete run of both journals is in CHIC, Ottawa. The *Community Planning Review* was the de facto journal for Canadian planning in the 1950s, since the TPIC did not launch *Plan Canada* until 1960.
- 57 CPAC membership was 298 in its first year: see *Layout for Living* (October 1947) 8:4. It had divisions in all ten provinces in 1955: see *Community Planning News* 1 (1955). Membership was in the thousands during the 1950s: see Community Planning Association of Alberta, "A Brief History of the Community Planning Association of Alberta," [https://www.cpaabiz/sites/default/files/downloads/CPAA a brief history.pdf](https://www.cpaabiz/sites/default/files/downloads/CPAA%20a%20brief%20history.pdf).
- 58 Sue Hendler and Julia Markovich, "I Was the Only Woman": *Women and Planning in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 45–98.
- 59 File 20/45, HC; the conference is reported in more detail in White, *Planning Toronto*, 54–6.
- 60 Robert Bothwell, "Minister of Everything," *International Journal* 31, no. 4 (1976): 692–702.
- 61 C.D. Howe, "Community Planning in the Reconstruction Period," file 20/45, HC, speech delivered at Community Planning Conference, Ottawa, 25 June 1946, 4.
- 62 "Proceedings, Community Planning Conference, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, June 25th and 26th, 1946," file 20/45, HC.
- 63 "Planning Legislation in Canada—Draft Report, 1948," box 59, Harold Spence-Sales papers, McGill University Library Special Collections (hereafter HSS); "A Brief Presented to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems by the Quebec Division of the Community Planning Association of Canada, 1954." See also "The John Bland Archive: Reports," JB. Bland and Spence-Sales collaborated on planning reports for Edmonton, AB (1949); Sudbury, ON (1950); Prince Albert, SK (1950); Corner Brook, NL (1951); Vancouver, BC (1951); and Montreal (1956).
- 64 Harold Spence-Sales, *Planning Legislation in Canada* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1949); Norah McMurray, *Outlines of Canadian Planning Law* (Ottawa: CPAC, 1952).
- 65 Ontario had been considering an expanded role for planning in the postwar era as part of its reconstruction program since 1943. See White, *Planning Toronto*, 43–6.
- 66 *An Act Respecting Planning and Development*, 1946, SO c 71, s 25; *Town Planning Act*, RSBC, 1948, c 339, s 4; J.B. Milner, "An Introduction to Master Plan Legislation," *Canadian Bar Review* 35, no. 10 (1957): 1125–75.
- 67 Jacques Gréber, *The Planning of a National Capital* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1945).
- 68 William Lyon Mackenzie King diary (hereafter WLMK), 25 May 1948, MG 26 J6, LAC, Ottawa; King speech to House of Commons, 21 April 1944, *Hansard*, 2237–8.
- 69 "Agenda for Conference on Community Planning, Tuesday June 25, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, Ont," file 20/45, HC; "Minutes, CPAC Montreal Conference, 2–4 Oct 47," file 20/44, HC; Jacques Gréber, *Plan for the National Capital* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950).
- 70 See André Boisvert, *Aménagement et urbanisme au Québec. D'ou venons-nous? Que sommes-nous? Ou allons-nous? Témoignages de pionniers et pionnières de l'aménagement du territoire et de l'urbanisme depuis la Révolution tranquille* (Québec QC: Gid, 2014), 91–104, 662.
- 71 HSS to HMSC, 16 June 48, file 20/44, HC; Harold Spence-Sales, *How to Subdivide: A Handbook on the Layout of Housing Developments* (Ottawa: Community Planning Association of Canada, 1950).
- 72 "1948–1955 Publications Produced by My Staff," file 20/47, HC; *Urban Mapping: A Study in Urban Mapping, Standard Symbols and Methods of Representation* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1946); Blanche Lemco, principal author.
- 73 "Choosing a House Design," file 20/59, HC; CMHC, *Choosing a House Design* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1952); Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 121.
- 74 "FOUNDERS," 22.
- 75 leMay was a surveyor; Cousineau a civil engineer, and Thrift and Faludi architect-planners. See "The Phenomenon of Faludi," file 20/64, HC. Carver was a close friend of Faludi and helped him integrate into Toronto's rather closed and anti-Semitic society in the war years. Faludi prepared the 1943 Toronto Master Plan and founded Municipal Planning Consultants, which

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- grew to become the largest private firm in the immediate postwar era. White, *Planning Toronto*, 27–42.
- 76 “6th Stratford Seminar on Civic Design, July 10–12, 1966,” file 20/163, HC.
- 77 Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 124.
- 78 Murray Zides, “President’s Address, TPIC,” file 20/66, HC, given at TPIC AGM, UBC, Vancouver, 24 June 1961.
- 79 “President of Town-Planning Institute C.I.P. 1964,” file 20/66, HC.
- 80 File 20/44, HC. With CMHC funding, CPAC had a francophone organizer and the *Urbanisme* newsletter within its first year, and held its first French-language conference in Montreal in 1948. For the TPIC, see “Report of TPIC Committee on the Use of French and English Languages at the TPIC,” 15 June 1964, file 20/66, HC.
- 81 Hendler and Markovich, “*I Was the Only Woman*,” chap. 4 and table B2.
- 82 “Advisory Group: Concept,” file 20/75, HC; memo from HC to CMHC president S. Bates, 18 May 55, “Part V of the NHA.”
- 83 Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 116–20.
- 84 “1948–1955: Development of University Graduate Courses in Town Planning,” file 20/47, HC; Carver, *Compassionate Landscape*, 104, 120.
- 85 Ellen Shoskes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Transnational Life in Urban Planning and Design* (Farnham, UK: Routledge, 2013), 146–75, 179–97.
- 86 Gordon Stephenson, “An Encounter with McCarthyism,” in *On a Human Scale: A Life in City Design*, ed. Christina DeMarco, 154–71 (Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre, 1992).
- 87 Boisvert, *Aménagement et urbanisme au Québec*, 77–81, 676–83.
- 88 Gerald Hodge, *The Supply and Demand for Planners in Canada* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1972).
- 89 “TPIC Council Minutes, 9: Willis Report on Planning Education Received,” 22 November 1963, file 20/66, HC; “Minutes of Meeting between TPIC Council and Heads of Planning Schools,” 21 February 64, file 20/66, HC.
- 90 “Advisor on Community Planning,” HC Speech 12 November 1956, file 20/79, HC: fifty fellowships between 1950–1956 for \$60,000. Also “Grants Made under Part V of the National Housing Act 1955–1964,” file 20/84, HC: fellowships were \$600,350 (\$5.23 million in \$2018). In 1967, CMHC granted 97 fellowships worth \$428,000 (\$3.17 million in \$2018) adjusted for inflation with Bank of Canada inflation calculator.
- 91 The author of this article received a CMHC doctoral fellowship in 1991, during the last year of operation of the program. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council now provides federal graduate scholarships in planning and housing, but to far fewer students than the 50 per cent rate in the early years.
- 92 “House Construction,” file 20/82, HC; “National Housing Act—Part V: Funds Granted 1955–1964,” file 20/83, HC.
- 93 “Grants Made under Part V of the National Housing Act 1955–1964,” file 20/84, HC; “Federal Government Participation in Housing, April 1967,” file 20/117, HC. Inflation adjustments from Bank of Canada inflation calculator, using 1959 and 1956 as the midpoints of the periods.
- 94 “Canadian Council on Urban & Regional Research,” file 20/91, HC. Inflation adjustment from Bank of Canada inflation calculator (May 1960 = 15.5; May 2018 = 133.4).
- 95 “Cities in the Suburbs: Notes Made in the Course of Writing the Book, 1960–1962,” file 20/303, HC. Humphrey Carver, *Cities in the Suburbs* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962). File 20/303 (3), HC, includes research notes and draft text for an incomplete book on Canadian new towns (Kitimat, Elliot Lake, Oromocto, and Don Mills).
- 96 Carver joked about having the only NDP house in Ottawa’s tony suburb of Rockcliffe Park during election campaigns. See Carver *Compassionate Landscape*, chap. 15; Carver, *Decades*, 61–8.
- 97 Boisvert, *Aménagement et urbanisme au Québec*, 661–2, notes that while Carver was admired for his intellect and idealism, “Et même un spirit aussi civilisé et magnanime que Humphrey Carver, ensemble pas avoir dénoncé cette attitude condescendante.”
- 98 “Honorary Degrees,” Queen’s (LLD, 1979); TUNS (D.Eng. 1983); Guelph (LLD, 1987); Waterloo (DES, 1989), file 20/236, HC.
- 99 See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961); Michael Hough, *Cities and Natural Process* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1995); Pamela Blais, *Perverse Cities: Hidden Subsidies, Wonky Policy, and Urban Sprawl* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Jay Pitter and John Lorinc, *Subdivided: City Building in an Era of Hyper Diversity* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2016).
- 100 Carver, *Decades*, 97.
- 101 “The Question of Whether Moshe Safdie’s ‘Habitat’ Should Be Built for Expo 67,” file 20/257B, HC; Carver, “Expo and the Climax of the 1960s,” in *Decades*, 61–8.

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