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DEVELOPMENT AND DESTRUCTION IN DOWNTOWN ST. JOHN'S
The Embodiment of Cultural Values in Architecture: A Case Study of Urban
Development and Heritage Preservation in St. John's, Newfoundland,
1977-1997.

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Abstract

Architecture is often interpreted as a reflection of the cultural values of the society that produced it (Gloag, 1975; King, 1980; Meinig, 1979; Penning-Rowsell and Lowenthal, 1986). Change in the architecture of the townscape is seen as indicative of change in the cultural constitution of a society. This study seeks to answer the question: What cultural values are embodied in the architecture of St. John's, Newfoundland – specifically, in the architectural changes evident in the construction of large-scale commercial architecture in downtown St. John's in the period 1977 to 1997. This most dramatic recent change in the townscape of St. John's is characterized by two main physical results— development and destruction – as represented by the advent of large-scale commercial architecture and the concurrent complement of vacant sites and parking lots.

The starting point of this study is the present state of the townscape – the physical reality of the city. In order to gain an understanding of the cultural values underlying this physical reality, the decisions made leading to that present state, and the context in which they were made, are examined. Through this study an attempt is made to *read* the physical reality of the city to determine what cultural values may be embodied therein. This is done through an examination of the case study sites of development and non-development in downtown St. John's in the time period given. Data, in the form of interviews and documentary sources, relating to the case study sites, were collected and compiled in case study reports. These case studies were then analyzed with a view to identifying the influences, motivations, and constraints affecting the decisions made about building and the context in which those decisions were made. Frequently recurring themes were identified, and the implications of those themes interpreted as to their importance with respect to the cultural values these decisions reflect.

On the basis of this research, it is concluded that a predilection for the new over the preservation of the past is demonstrated through the case study sites of development and non-development in downtown St. John's. The primacy of progress, as identified with new development, is evident through the histories of the case study sites examined, taken together and in context.

The debates over development that emerged during this period were resolved in favour of development, despite the opposition of those advocating the preservation of older architecture. It is concluded that the primacy of progress represents a cultural value that is embodied in the architecture of St. John's as examined in this study.

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INTRODUCTION

Architecture is often interpreted as a reflection of the cultural values of the society that produced it (Gloag, 1975; King, 1980; Meinig, 1979; Penning-Rowsell and Lowenthal, 1986). Change in the architecture of the townscape is seen as indicative of change in the cultural constitution of a society. Social, economic, and political influences are interpreted to be reflected in the state of building at a particular point in time (Mumford, 1938). "... architecture is not only a prime determinant of the visual and textural qualities of townscape, but is also a highly visible and often easily read expression of dominant cultural values" (Sharpe, 1986, p. 57).

Cultural values are those shared beliefs, attitudes, and mores that determine what is seen as 'good' or 'bad', desirable or undesirable, in a society (Jakle and Wilson, 1992, p. 32). Individual freedom, self-improvement, commitment to the family or community, for instance, are cultural values which, shared by the members of a society, validate or repudiate individual behavior (Jakle and Wilson, 1992, p 34). Individual actions are judged, as are cultural products like architecture, with reference to cultural values as a means of determining desirability. The production of architecture, therefore, represents decisions made about its desirability in the context formed by cultural values.

Given that architecture can be interpreted as a reflection of cultural values, and that change in the state of building reflects change effected in the broader society, this study seeks to answer the question: What cultural values are embodied in the architecture of St. John's,

Newfoundland – specifically, in architectural changes evident in the construction of large-scale commercial architecture in downtown St. John's in the period from 1977 to 1997?

Large-scale commercial architecture is examined here because it represents the most dramatic recent change in the townscape of St. John's. This change has taken two main forms: development and non-development. Development is represented by the construction of built form. Non-development refers to the absence of construction, resulting, for example, in vacant sites or parking lots. By examining both of these physical features – development and non-development – an attempt is made to assemble a more complete picture of the dynamic of urban change observed in downtown St. John's than would be given by an evaluation of new development alone. In fact, in St. John's, all new development from 1977 to 1997 actually represents the *re-development* of sites cleared of existing built form. The term *development* is used throughout this thesis, in reference to St. John's, for all case study sites where construction took place. Development, then, is contrasted with non-development, which refers to sites on which no new construction was undertaken, resulting in vacant sites or parking lots.

Typically, architecture is thought of as that building which is the product of the professional design activity of architects alone. For the purposes of this thesis, a somewhat broader definition of architecture is adopted. Derived from the conventional division of urban form into plan, built form, and use, employed in morphological analysis (Conzen 1969; Larkham 1995; Whitehand and Larkham 1992), this broader definition of architecture permits the inclusion all built form of which the city is composed. Architecture, here, is interpreted as that

component of urban form – built form – which is the product of the decision-making process related to building whether by architects or by other individuals involved in the building process.

The starting point of this study is the present state of the townscape – the physical reality of the city. In order to gain an understanding of the cultural values underlying this physical reality, the decisions made leading to that present state, and the context in which they were made, are examined. The factors that guided those decisions are best seen by those involved in the building process – the decision-makers. Following calls for research that focuses upon the individual decision-maker (Carter, 1981; Gordon, 1984; Goss, 1988; Mayer, 1960; Sharpe, 1986; Whitehand and Larkham, 1992), this study examines the decisions of those involved in the building process as a means of evaluating the physical changes observed in St. John's – namely the advent of large-scale commercial architecture and the concurrent complement of vacant spaces and parking lots. Through this study, an attempt is made to "read" (Lewis, 1979; Mumford, 1938; Sharpe, 1986) the physical reality of the city to determine the cultural values embodied therein. This is done through an examination of the case study sites of development and non-development in downtown St. John's in the time period given. Data, in the form of interviews and documentary sources (see Chapter 4), relating to each of the case study sites were collected and compiled in case study reports. These case studies were then analyzed with a view to identifying the influences, motivations, and constraints affecting the decisions made about building and the context in which those decisions were made. Frequently recurring themes were

identified, and the implications of those themes interpreted as to their importance with respect to the cultural values these decisions reflect.

On the basis of this research, it is concluded that a predilection for the new over the preservation of the past is demonstrated through the case study sites of development and non-development in downtown St. John's. The primacy of progress, as identified with new development, is evident through the histories of the case study sites examined, taken together and in context. The debates over development that emerged during this period were resolved in favour of development, despite the opposition of those advocating the preservation of older architecture. It is concluded that the primacy of progress represents a cultural value that is embodied in the architecture of St. John's as examined in this study.

In Chapter 1, theoretical background concerning the interpretation of architecture as a cultural artifact is presented, including a discussion of cultural values and their link to architecture. The research question is also presented and defined in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 reviews existing literature relating to two major themes governing architectural change: heritage preservation and speculative development. Chapter 3 provides background on the context of recent development in St. John's and a description of the methodology used in this thesis, including a detailed discussion of data sources. The case study reports presenting the data for the case study sites examined are presented in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, the case study reports are analyzed and the main themes influencing development or non-development in downtown St. John's are identified. In Chapter 6, implications of these findings are considered and final conclusions are

drawn, on the basis of the case study sites examined, concerning the embodiment of cultural values.

CHAPTER 1 ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURAL VALUES

1.1 Architecture as a Cultural Artifact

In the state of building at any period, one may discover, in legible script, the complicated processes and changes that are taking place within civilization itself.

(Lewis Mumford, 1938, p. 403)

Central to modern understanding of urban form has been the interpretation of the architecture of the past as a cultural artifact – as a reflection of the cultures of the past. The creation of an architecture that represented "the spirit of the times" or *Zeitgeist* (Knox, 1987, p. 363) was fundamental to the Modernist architectural movement of the early twentieth century, and has remained the prime objective of the creative act for architects ever since. "Urban forms are, after all, a direct outcome of processes and in a real sense the embodiment of the attitudes pertaining at the time and in the place of their creation" (Whitehand, 1967, p. 59).

The built form of the city not only serves as a record of the forces that operate within a society, but also structures the way those forces operate (Dear, 1986; Pred, 1982). On the simplest level architecture constrains and accommodates the actions of individuals, and thus has a formative effect upon everyday lives (Goss, 1988). On the more complex level, the architecture is a means to the generation of economic activity in its own right (Knox, 1987a). Architecture represents a concentration of wealth and facilitates the further

generation of wealth. The demand for housing, for example, commands a substantial portion of the productive capacity of any society.

Architecture forms the basis for several industries associated with its production, and effects a profound integration with world financial structures through the function of the real estate market (Zukin, 1991, p. 39).

Architecture has always served as a repository of meaning (Knox, 1987, p. 366-368). Society has attributed to it symbolic value, historical associations, and ideological interpretations. Meaning derives from these kinds of associations and from an understanding of how the spatial structures of society are produced. Those who create architecture imbue its form with symbols of its purpose and ownership. Architecture becomes associated with individuals, institutions, or social organizations, as well as with uses, wealth, and, conversely, poverty. Architecture reproduces these social relations in that its creation and existence perpetuate the social organizations that give rise to it (Pred, 1982). Architecture, like all art, carries with it an entire history of references and associations that are employed consciously and unconsciously by those who create it, and by those who experience it, to conjure perceptions of meaning like appropriateness, identity, authority, and status. The symbolic content of the built environment is therefore multi-layered and culturally specific. It invests architecture with meaning that is deeper than, but not divorced from, that derived from use and economic function.

Cultural values are often interpreted to be visible in ecclesiastical and domestic architecture, in both the functional and symbolic spheres. The frequency and relative size of churches found in rural

Newfoundland, for instance, can be seen as evidence of the centrality of religious institutions to the life of its communities. Ecclesiastical architecture has also often been interpreted to be a reflection of religious beliefs. For example, Gothic architecture is seen not only as an indication of the importance of the church to Medieval European society, but also as a manifestation of the spiritual aspirations or concepts of its followers (Panofsky, 1957). In this manner, ecclesiastical architecture can be said to reflect the religious values of the culture.

Domestic architecture is interpreted to be indicative of the structure of the domestic economy at a given place and time (Pocius, 1991). The relative size and distribution of rooms, houses, and outbuildings, for example, give clues as to the wealth, status, and occupations of the inhabitants. The importance of farming or, in the case of Newfoundland, fishing activity can be judged by the allocation of space and elaborateness of the facilities given to the practice of this form of economy.

1.2 Architecture, Cultural Values, And The Individual

Given that architecture is interpreted as a cultural artifact; that is, that it embodies the cultural values of the society that produced it, the question that this study sets out to answer is: What cultural values are embodied in the architecture of St. John's, Newfoundland?

Following Mumford's (1938) observation that change in the state of building reflects change in the broader society, this study examines changes in the urban environment of downtown St. John's, Newfoundland in the past two decades (1977-1997).

"The task of morphological studies is to identify and explore the major periods of morphological adaptation when radical changes intrude upon the conditional equilibrium that prevails in the interludes" (Sharpe, 1986, p. 54). Since, in St. John's, these changes have involved primarily large-scale commercial architecture (Sharpe, 1985; Sharpe, 1990), commercial architecture will be the focus of this study.

Commercial architecture cannot be as easily interpreted as having cultural significance beyond its economic character as can, for example, ecclesiastical or domestic architecture. Commercial architecture does not typically have a direct association with a set of values, as does ecclesiastical architecture, that is expressed in its physical form. Also, unlike domestic architecture, it does not show, in its physical form, a direct relationship to the individual inhabitants and their use of space (Knox, 1987, p. 367-368). Therefore, we must examine other aspects of this type of architecture, beyond merely its physical form, for evidence of the embodiment of cultural values. In the discussion that follows, we will consider one component in the process of creating architecture that is argued to be crucial to the understanding and creation of urban form; namely, the role of the individual in the building process (Whitehand and Larkham, 1992; Goss, 1988; Gordon, 1984).

Whitehand and Larkham observe that urban morphological research has begun to focus upon the "individuals, organizations, and processes" (Whitehand and Larkham, 1992, p. 2) that shape urban form rather than upon the physical form itself. They commented on "the virtual absence of analytical studies of those who initiated and designed changes to the physical fabric", and noted new directions in

morphological research as a response to this deficiency. They suggested that research should "set individual decision-makers into a wider framework of morphogenetic, economic, property interests and artistic considerations" (Whitehand, 1988, p. 288).

More recent research in townscape management has reconstructed the processes of decision-making, interviewed agents where possible, and examined management policies (Whitehand and Larkham, 1992, p. 8). In order to assemble a picture of human agency involved in the generation of urban form, John Goss called for research to focus on "the intent (conscious or unconscious) of the producer" (Goss, 1988, p. 400). Gordon notes that Carter, basing research on an analysis of decision-making, "argued that the interpretation of any town plan was only possible in terms of the values and decision-making characteristics of the society that gave rise to them" (Gordon, 1984, p. 2). "Plan, in brief" said Carter, "is the outcome of the perceptions, principles and policies of those individuals or groups who can effectively exercise the necessary power, within any constraints operated by the larger society of which they form a part" (Carter, 1981, p. 164). Similarly, "Mayer argued that morphological analysis should adopt a decision-making approach since the city was a human creation, the product of many decisions, whether by individuals or groups, private or public" (Gordon, 1984, p. 2).

In this kind of research, the individual, the decisions made, and the influences upon and motivations for those decisions are explored in an attempt to identify the "formative, generative, and adaptive processes" that give rise to urban form (Gordon, 1984, p. 1). "The focal point of [this] morphological research is still an attempt to gain an

understanding of the city as an artifact. The starting point is still the pattern, but man is not seen as a passive inhabitant, and narrations of man's actions are considered as well as, or perhaps in addition to, an interpretation of attitudes and ideologies" (Sharpe, 1986, p. 55).

A feasible starting point, then, for investigating the influences affecting the development of recent commercial architecture in St. John's, is to examine the decisions made by the individuals involved in the building process. The factors influencing those decisions can in turn be interpreted in terms of what they reflect about the values upon which the decisions were based – namely cultural values. While the building process is neither singular in its imperatives nor simple in execution, the demarcation of priorities, prerogative, and responsibilities is best seen through those decisions. It is here that inquiry is focused. This research aims to examine the intent of the producer (Goss, 1988) and identify the perceptions and principles of those involved in the building process (Gordon, 1984) in the context of the policies and regulations that influenced the decisions made about built form. It does this by investigating the influences, motivations and constraints that guided decisions leading to the creation of built form or to its destruction, with a view to identifying what cultural values may be inferred to have influenced those decisions in St. John's.

1.3 Agents And The Decision-Making Process

The contribution of the individual in the production of architecture is important to an understanding of its cultural significance. Even the most rudimentary building represents the assemblage of material, an allocation of space, and the expenditure of work and money

for the creation of a built environment that reflects individual tastes, needs, and resources. The amassing of capital that building in general represents calls for the exercise of power and influence and the command of confidence that is profoundly linked to individual action. Meaning, in architecture, is dependent upon the choices of those who create it and upon the conditions and perceptions that influence those choices. "In our highly institutionalized world we all too often forget that many cities, large and small, reflect in their morphology the dreams, ambitions, and foibles of individual actors" (Sharpe, 1986, p. 57).

In considering the role of the "human agency" involved in the creation of urban form, Conzen noted that "two kinds of social motivation and corresponding social action operate simultaneously in the development of the townscape; the corporate or public and the individual or private" (Conzen, 1988, p. 262). Mediating between these are the real estate market, the structure of regulations, sources of capital funding, fashion and cultural predisposition. Pred (1982) strenuously argued that the contemplation of the dialectic between society and the individual was central to human geography, calling for an exploration of "the relation between the individual and the collective, one and the many, subject and object" (Pred, 1982, p. 157). The creation of the collective product that is the city, through the actions of the multitude of individual actors that contribute to its formation, is a dynamic of just such tension.

Gordon (1984) places these agents or actors on a stage of "contextual factors", in an attempt to incorporate the analysis of decision-making in the more traditional form-based morphological

analysis (Gordon, 1984, p. 3). The examination of the decisions made in the building process, and the context in which those decisions were made, is an attempt "to explain the physical fabric of the city, taking into account the role played by man as an agent of landscape change . . . to allow an interpretation of a town plan in terms of the values and decision-making characteristics of the society that gave rise to it" (Sharpe, 1986, p. 54).

1.4 Cultural Values and Value in Architecture

1.4.1 Cultural Values

Values denote a peoples' basic assumptions about good and bad, proper and improper. They provide selective orientation toward experience, implying deep commitment or repudiation. Values are not held in isolation, but as components of value systems ordered in hierarchies of meaning. They form a set of rules whereby contexts for action are identified and choices ordered. Values direct peoples' thoughts about what should or ought to exist in a given situation, as well as their empirical beliefs about what actually does exist.

(Jakle and Wilson, 1992, p. 33)

The circumscription of human activity by cultural values, then, is neither precise nor direct. Within a particular society, broadly held cultural values affect the most minute judgments. They help structure the way decisions are made in daily life. They colour the very intimate choices of personal action by placing them in a context of social acceptability. The "rightness" or "goodness" of a personal action is judged in reference to the broader cultural values (Jakle and Wilson, 1992, p. 32). In this way, cultural values influence the direction of personal decisions and help ascribe value.

Cultural values vary from place to place and from society to society (Lewis, 1979, p.17). They are the product of a complex array of influences and conventions that condition the environment in which daily lives are spent. They are the moral, ethical, and practical perceptions upon which judgments are based and form the background against which decisions are made. A value system is called upon each

time an individual is obliged to make a choice between one mode of action and another. The system or set of values that an individual holds is the product of a dynamic of influences that include religious, ethnic, national, and moral conventions. The conventional aspect of the functioning of cultural values is essential to their definition. While the individual is the site of moral or practical action, it is the conditioning or context within which that action or choice is taken that is constructed by the conventional perceptions of the broader society.

Jakle and Wilson identify self-improvement, community, freedom of action, and civil liberty as cultural values in America (Jakle and Wilson, 1992, p. 34). They see them as interrelated in that community, freedom of action, and civil liberty, are the context in which self-improvement is fulfilled. Elsewhere, community may hold greater value than individual freedom and self-improvement, as values vary from culture to culture. A set of cultural values may arise for the smallest of cultural entities, for segments of a society, or within social affiliations. For each, shared values or perceptions constitute a cultural hegemony. No matter how fragmented a society or how many cultures may exist within it, the creation of a set of cultural values is dependent upon some degree of conventional perception. For the individual this kind of cultural conditioning is often effected subconsciously and lacking rigorous consistency. Cultural values are, for members of a society, often intangible, protean entities that evolve with time and change as the political, demographic, cultural, and religious environment changes. Moral and ethical decisions are often made without conscious reference to a rigid code of behavior, employing an innate or conditioned sense of right and wrong. Practical decisions,

carrying less moral or ethical weight, are even more likely to be taken in the absence of any conscious assessment relative to broader cultural values.

The translation of sometimes intangible cultural values into regulations, laws, codes, constraints and incentives is a process by which the conventions of a society are outwardly manifested in prescriptions of acceptable action and behavior (Jakle and Wilson, 1992, p. 33). Defining what action or behavior is illegal is an example of how conventional perceptions are translated into proscriptive regulations. An individual action may be judged acceptable in one cultural context and unacceptable in another. Respective societies place differing value on individual attributes, artifacts, and behaviours. Fundamental concepts of desirability or acceptability, of good and bad, are products of consensus. The subjective assessment of these attributes in a given cultural milieu constitutes the domain of individual choice.

Cultural values are not in and of themselves judged to be "good" or "bad"; they are a framework from which good and bad are judged with reference to societal conventions that ascribe notions of acceptability and desirability. Decisions are subject to a prioritization that is culturally specific and implicit in the social milieu and constitutes the action of social consensus. It reflects the valuation prescribed by a system of beliefs that is shared by a given population. Convention – that which most or many within a society agree upon – is central to the construction of a set of cultural values. Consensus defines the realm in which cultural values operate.

1.4.2 Value

Value is the product of the process of valuation that places value on one thing relative to others by making judgments with reference to conventional perceptions of good and bad as prescribed by cultural values. Things are valued for many reasons. The material from which an object is made and the craftsmanship employed in its production or its age and rarity often contribute to the value of an object.

Associations made with objects or places constitute a means of ascribing value that is not derived from the particulars of the physical object or place itself. The construction of value marries these assessments of the attributes of a thing, place or building with the appreciation of worth derived from the more practical aspects of an object (Marchand, 1982, p. 235).

Baurillard posits four types of value: use value, exchange value, sign value, and symbolic value (Baudrillard, 1981; Goss, 1988; Marchand, 1982). Exchange and use value lie thoroughly in the pragmatic sphere while sign and symbolic value operate in the realm of meaning. Exchange value is expressed as an equivalence between two things. It is a quantitative assessment of the worth of an object expressed in terms of another commodity, such as currency units, and is dependent upon the recognition of value by others. Use value, on the other hand, derives from the peculiarities of an object and is based upon its pragmatic usefulness to an individual in comparison to other objects (Marchand, 1982, p. 237). Exchange and use value, while opposite, cannot be separated from one another, as their respective meaning is bound up in the function of their opposite. Exchange and use value are

determined to some degree by an equivalence between one another (Baudrillard, 1981, p. 131) – exchange value reflecting the usefulness of an object for a particular purpose, and use value often being dependent upon the determination of exchange value.

Sign value, like exchange value, is a construct of social convention and derives meaning through the collective recognition of a group of people. "By expressing in an architectural language the wealth, taste, and upbringing of a landlord or the occupant of a building, sign value 'tells' us about social quality as expressed by quantity. As such, sign value is nothing but the synthesis between use and exchange value, as it retains both of these elements in dialectical opposition, and transcends them into a new equilibrium—namely, money" (Marchand, 1982, p. 236-7).

Symbolic value, like use value, has meaning only for the individual. It relies upon memory and association and derives from personal experience and as such may change from time to time in a person's life. Symbolic value configures the appreciation of the other forms of value through the personal effect of images, ideas and desires.

[Symbolic value] is present in exchange value, as it contributes to the determination of the price one is willing to pay by adding attractive or repulsive constituents to the decision process. It is present in use value, since it adds a whole galaxy of feelings to the practical aspects of a dwelling. Finally, it is present in sign value, since it imbues nearly all signs of wealth, success, culture, and taste with unconscious 'connotations' which radically change the meaning of an architectural message. (Marchand, 1982, p. 238)

The translation of the conventional perception of value into the concept of monetary value is a synthesis of the various types of value ascribed to a thing (Marchand, 1982, p.235). Value is the sum of the various interpretations of meaning, appreciated simultaneously, individually, or with the weighting of social class, self-interest, or familiarity. Value in architecture similarly resides both in the pragmatic function of built form and in the appreciation of its symbolic embodiment of the intangibles of meaning. The determination of value occupies the space between the universal and the specific – the everyday, the pragmatic and the mundane.

The assessment of what is a good place or bad place, a "good" building or a "bad" building, is a product of conventional perception. The value of built form in a society, then, is bound to the conventional determination of desirability. The series of decisions involved in the building process is circumscribed by cultural values in the same way that any personal action is circumscribed by concepts of social acceptability. Built form, then, as a cultural product, reflects the cultural values that influenced decisions made in the building process.

1.4.3 Value in Architecture: The Real Estate Market

We owe the clearest cultural map of structural change not to novelists or literary critics, but to architects and designers. Their products, their social roles as cultural producers, and the organization of consumption in which they intervene create shifting landscapes in the most material sense. As both objects of desire and structural forms, their work bridges space and time. It also directly mediates economic power by both conforming to and structuring norms of market-driven investment, production, and consumption.

(Zukin, 1991, p. 39)

The integration of the various assessments of the value of architecture takes place in the real estate market. The real estate market combines the sign and symbolic values of architecture with use value to determine exchange value and, thereby, price. "The value of a building is determined by its relative location (accessibility), the site (physical characteristics, amenity), social setting (neighbourhood status), and architecture (size, fashionability, and facilities)" (Goss, 1988, p. 395). The real estate market relies upon the conventional assessment of these attributes of architecture and is not independent of the value of land itself. "The nature of buildings at least partly determines the value of the land beneath and surrounding them as well as other contiguous buildings. Land value in turn will also determine, in part, the nature of construction upon it. Therefore, geographical variation in land value will be reflected in different architectural styles and forms, and different architectural styles and forms will affect variation in land values" (Goss, 1988, p. 395). The recognition of intangibles like status and fashionability in the construction of value for architecture reflects

the conventional nature of value attribution in the real estate market. Land and buildings are assessed as to their desirability according to the collective perception of sign and symbolic values as well as by their physical attributes.

Historic preservation and speculative development are the translation of different concepts of valuation— appreciation of the past and anticipation of the future—into the functioning of the real estate market. The appreciation of the past is one means of creating and sustaining value in built form. The valuation of the past may involve historical, political, and cultural forces. These social forces are given a physical manifestation through the association of events or meanings with particular architecture. Sign and symbolic value reside in the architectural attributes and attendant associations that accompany well-known landmarks and architectural styles. Often the age of an individual building or its architectural character is the focus of appreciation (Goss, 1988, p. 400). Cycles of urban decay and rejuvenation and the economic benefit seen in tourist development also figure prominently in the rediscovery of architectural environments that had previously been under-valued. Changes in fashion and taste, demographics or the political environment may place older architecture in a new light. The building of a social consensus with regard to identity and legitimacy, especially in the context of a political or cultural constituency, has often relied upon the valuation of the past and its architectural products. The rise of nationalist sentiment and a renewed focus on architectural symbols as an expression of cultural identity often increases the value of architecture in a society. Romanticism for the physical environments of the past and the

increasing rarity of remaining structures often encourage the ascription of value to the built form of earlier societies.

Speculative development is a manifestation of the anticipation of future. It is dependent upon the collective anticipation of the future benefit accruing from investment, without it no increase in value can be maintained. "Real estate profit originates from human labour employed in its production, but as with other inherently limited commodities, also derives from speculation upon value, which rises with investment by other owners of capital" (Goss, 1992, p. 163). Often this speculation is based upon the anticipation of incremental increase in land value alone. Speculative real estate development postulates profit to be gained from the sale or lease of new buildings that, in turn, often also produces an increase land value itself.

CHAPTER 2 PRESERVATION, SPECULATION AND URBAN FORM

Preservation and speculative development constitute influences upon the decisions involved in the creation of architecture or that lead to its destruction. These two themes represent opposite conceptions of value in architecture – appreciation of the past and anticipation of the future. Changes in the global economic environment have had an effect on speculative real estate development throughout the world. As this thesis will show, trends in preservation and speculative development have had an effect on the real estate development industry in St. John's. The following survey discusses facets of both that have relevance in the St. John's context.

2.1 Historic Preservation

2.1.1 Valuation of the Past in the Modern Era

The valuation of the past is a mechanism by which built form is given value derived from an association with past experience or history. The past as seen in the extant architectural products of a previous era contains meaning that flows from memory and human experience. The derivation of value for the built form of the past is associative and relies on an expression of collective knowledge (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p. 117). This is achieved, according to Rowntree and Conkey, through "the creation of shared symbolic structures that validate if not actually define, social claims to space and time" (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980, p. 459). The process of symbolization, they assert, is a response to the stress occasioned by the conditions of present day life. "The value of the past, or the future, in contemporary landscapes may be [seen] as reference points for coping with the present. One way of meeting contemporary stress has been through increased investment in a familiar past" (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980, p. 462).

Advocacy for the preservation of elements of the built urban legacy is a relatively recent phenomenon (Hunter in Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p. 22-31). Although expressions of admiration for and appreciation of the remnants of antiquity had played a role throughout Western history (Larkham, 1996, p. 33), the advent of the modern era and the attendant disruption to social life and environmental conditions occasioned by the industrial revolution gave impetus to the movement for preservation. New technologies assaulted the city and the countryside with changes both physical and social that had not been

experienced before on such a scale (Larkham, 1996, p. 63).

Reservations about the pace of change and the loss of architectural and other landscape features encouraged an advocacy for preservation.

Rowntree and Conkey cite the incursion of railway lines into the center of Salzburg in the mid-nineteenth century as the impetus for the initial preservation movement in that city (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980, p. 468). A debate arose between the *progressives* – those who wished to proceed with the destruction of the city gates and fortifications to allow the construction of the railway – and the *traditionalists* – the advocates of preservation. Baron Haussmann's equally destructive project to construct the boulevards of Paris (Jordan, 1995) signaled the arrival of the modern era there. Baudelaire's contemporary depiction of traffic along the new boulevards as "moving chaos" (Berman, 1982, p. 159) reflects the anxiety produced throughout French society by nineteenth century population migrations and transportation innovations (Dupeux, 1976). Similar patterns persisted across Europe during the nineteenth century and produced even greater challenges to the urban fabric in the wake of the proliferation of the automobile in the twentieth (Economist 96/6/22).

The rise of preservation sentiment in the social and historical context of the nineteenth century is demonstrative of the thesis advanced by Rowntree and Conkey of the symbolization of artifacts and forms as a means of countering cultural stress. "Historic preservation is a process whereby certain attributes or features of past landscapes are selected for preservation and are imbued with symbolic significance for the present landscape and its participants" (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980, p. 460). The augmentation of early efforts for the protection of historic

sites and monuments in Europe during the nineteenth century by more broad ranging legislation in the twentieth demonstrates increasing attachment to the symbols of the past in response to the unpredictable advance of "modern" life (Larkham, 1996).

A link with the burgeoning of nationalist identity in Europe in the nineteenth century gave the preservation of antiquities and architecture of the regional past an importance derived from an association with the collective culture (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p. 28). The broadened appeal of preservation made more artifacts and buildings valued for their cultural associations and increased the political acceptance of protective legislation. Efforts towards the preservation of individual historic sites and monuments proliferated throughout Europe in the nineteenth century (Larkham, 1996, p. 32-39, 66). However, it was not until the mid-twentieth century that preservation moved from the selection of individual structures to the more comprehensive area conservation (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980, p. 470-472).

In 1967 the first *area* conservation legislation instituted in Central Europe was put in place to protect the Salzburg Altstadt. It came a century after the initial efforts to protect the Old City and represented this shift in the focus of preservation. Similar legislation was subsequently adopted throughout Europe and existing legislation was updated and strengthened to counteract what was increasingly seen as "the destructive effects of urban renewal and highway construction" (Larkham, 1996, p. 43). More recently Hareven and Langenbach cite shifts in the attention of preservationists to include the remnants of the immediate industrial past and vernacular architecture as an indication of the valuation of the "common" heritage (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981,

p. 109). They note that in these efforts "buildings are [seen as] 'historical' not only because they are associated with the lives of elites, or because they are public monuments. Buildings become important because of their association with the private work and family lives of large numbers of common people" (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p. 120).

Ironically, as the value of the common architectural heritage has been increasingly recognized, public support for and financing of preservation efforts, generally, have been curtailed by governments under greater economic pressures. During the 1980s, particularly in the United States but also in Britain and Europe, economic recession and fiscally and ideologically conservative administrations continued to reduce funding to preservation efforts and encouraged greater private financing of conservation and restoration projects (Larkham, 1996, p. 44-55). As a matter of ideological policy, governments sought to reduce the expenditure of public money on public services generally, including civic amenities such as museums and historic preservation programs of which the preservation of the common architectural heritage had become a part. The costs of renovating the large number of buildings entailed in area conservation made wholesale public funding untenable. During this period legislation was also modified to reduce the perceived infringement upon individual property rights that area conservation represented and to reduce the amount of government interference in development controls (Larkham, 1996 p. 45).

Larkham notes that this shift reflects the "dominant ideology thesis" advanced by Marx and Engels wherein the "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Larkham, 1996, p.

31). The pressure for revenue generation and demands for profitability in the late twentieth century moved the character of preservation activity from the public funding of the preservation of the private past to the private funding of the preservation of the public past. This interpretation raises questions about the mechanism by which value is placed upon or in the architectural remnants of the past and the manner in which allocation of resources are determined within this process of valuation.

2.1.2 Preservation and Destruction

The value placed on architecture is different in different places. The built environment has traditionally been held in higher esteem in Europe than in North America. "European cities like to do things differently, partly because they have less space and partly because they have more pride in their heritage" (Milbank, 1995, p. 20).¹ In Europe the city has been viewed as a repository of cultural commodity and collective civilization. With this has come a sense of collective ownership, a concept of cultural property that gives the population an attachment to their surroundings as the physical manifestations of a civic history (Slater, 1988, p. 301). The embodiment of cultural history in the physical manifestations of the society, a concept called "the objectification of the spirit", has a long history in European thought appearing first in the work of the German philosopher Schwind. "In the present context it relates to the fact that urban landscapes embody not only the efforts and aspirations of the people occupying them at

¹ Because this thesis set out to examine the embodiment of cultural values in architecture through an analysis of recent change in the urban form of downtown St. John's, commentary in the media on urban and architectural issues was useful to developing an understanding of the contemporary context in which decisions about building were made. Therefore, references to sources like newspapers and magazines where these issues were discussed are used within this thesis.

present but also those of their predecessors: they are conditioned by culture and history" (Whitehand, 1994, p. 4).

The history of war in Europe has also tempered the value placed upon the built urban environment. Not only did the origin of the fortified town arise out of preparation for war but the history of destruction visited upon urban centers in Europe during the Second World War placed a premium upon the physical and symbolic attributes of both surviving and destroyed architecture (Larkham, 1995, p. 120). The value of the built environment to European society is demonstrated in the reconstruction that followed the Second World War wherein "highly valued places or structures...[were] rebuilt to replicate their prewar appearance" (Hewitt, 1983, p. 277). The psychological reaction to the destruction of war appears to have manifested itself in a heightened sense of value for the familiar built environment and, in particular, an attachment to that which was destroyed. The value of the built world, Hewitt asserts, is exercised through such examples of cultural ownership. "Just as biological life may be called a set of activities intended to resist death so our place and world are at least partly a means to resist psychological and cultural dissolution" (Hewitt, 1983, p. 258). As the single defining feature of the European experience that distinguishes the history of preservation in Europe from that in North America, the Second World War serves as both a touchstone and a watershed. It represents both the single largest moment of destruction throughout urban Europe and ushered in an equally destructive era of rebuilding and redevelopment after 1945.

The attribution of cultural significance to the physical environment and particularly to architecture has had greater legitimacy,

historically and intellectually, in central Europe than in Britain (Slater and Shaw, 1988, p. 301). In Britain such an attachment to the physical environment was heightened by the experience of Post-War rebuilding. The character of British inner cities was radically changed by Post-War urban renewal. "In Britain at least, interest in conservation seems also to be a reaction against the trend in Post Second World War town planning towards comprehensive clearance and redevelopment, whereby large areas of historical town cores were redeveloped at a scale rarely seen before except after natural or man-made disaster. The effects of this comprehensive redevelopment have, in fact, been compared directly, and unfavorably, to the devastation of war" (Larkham, 1996, p. 63). The alienating and inhospitable scale of much comprehensive redevelopment transformed many central areas (Whitehand, 1994, p. 14). The loss of vitality associated with modernist redevelopment of the inner city prompted a call for a return to the more human scale and amenity of the older urban fabric. "The current concern with conservation appears to be strongly allied with the Post-Modern reaction in architecture against bland Modernism, which has been seen by many critics as eroding the unique attributes of places by the imposition of uniform building types" (Larkham, 1996, p. 63). This sense of dissociation from the physical environment engendered by the architectural products of the Modern Movement and the monolithic mode assumed by Post-War urban redevelopment, is analogous to the sense of loss that inspired the emotional and psychological attachments to the familiar following the destruction of War in Central Europe.

A reaction against the threats and impositions of the Modern era and particularly the results of the Post-War period of rebuilding

engendered an enthusiastic advocacy for preservation in Europe. Even during the rebuilding period itself preservation had various levels of influence on the shape of reconstruction. Different forms and interpretations arose throughout the continent with the past assuming a greater or lesser degree of importance depending upon the extent of devastation experienced during the war and the cultural environment in which the rebuilding took place. For countries that suffered the kind of physical destruction that Germany and Poland experienced during the Second World War, the historical city held great symbolic value. Unlike the Modernist reinvention of the commercial core practiced in Britain, the prime objective of the rebuilding efforts in these countries after the War was the reconstruction of destroyed urban fabric. In Post-War rebuilding in the cities of Central Europe the historical urban environment was seen as a compendium of cultural history and a symbolic record of cultural life.

Both sides in the War recognized this character of the European conception of civic society as symbolically important city centers were targeted for bombing as much for their psychological impact as for their economic importance. In Germany and Poland the destruction of large portions of historic inner cities during the War was viewed, perhaps because of the extent of the damage and arguably in direct proportion to it, as a loss of cultural identity. "Much of this destruction was deliberate, with the intent of breaking the spirit of a particular cultural group (in this instance a nation) and the rebuilding, though often in conflict with the underlying political tenets of the government, has been undertaken to renew and enhance that national spirit" (Slater and Shaw, 1988, p. 301). The determination to rebuild or reconstruct

exact replicas of the pre-war streetscapes to counteract this sense of cultural loss is demonstrative of the close association of cultural identity with architectural commodity in Europe.

Larkham cites this "resistance to change" in Post-War German rebuilding as demonstrative of the "psychological argument for conservation" that a direct connection with or manifestation of the familiar past is important to cultural identity (Larkham, 1996, p. 41). He sees the re-creative nature of much German rebuilding after the War and the arguments of national identity given for Poland's program of extensive reconstruction as proof of the need for the identity of a cultural group or society to be grounded in memory and experience that is reaffirmed by tangible physical evidence in the present. Slater and Shaw credit Lowenthal with the assertion that the psychological aspects of cultural identity are closely tied to a tendency for the preservation of the urban environment, arguing that the impulse for such activity may be explained in terms of society's "collective psyche" (Slater and Shaw, 1988, p. 300). This tendency reiterates the thesis that Rowntree and Conkey advance for the process of symbolization as a counter to stress (see section 2.1.1).

2.1.3 Preservation and Economic Decline

In North America, preservation has often been inspired by the threat of destruction posed by urban renewal and road construction schemes. The advent of the destructive tendencies of the urban renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s was presaged in most North American inner cities by a prolonged economic decline resulting in the physical deterioration of much urban form. Many older inner city areas in

North America experienced, in the post-war era, a flight of capital and higher income residents at a time when the urban fabric of the central areas was in rapid decay and enormous capital expenditure was required to maintain infrastructure. The loss of tax revenue that these trends represented coincided with the battle between urban renewal schemes that proposed wholesale demolition and urban rejuvenation that advocated the restoration of existing fabric. The re-valuation of older inner city architecture through historic preservation districts reflected both the sentiment that the architecture itself held intrinsic worth and the recognition of potential profit through capital reinvestment in older neighbourhoods (Ford, 1994; Knox, 1987).

Typically, North American preservation has involved "small, carefully delineated districts" within the central core of the downtown (Ford, 1979, p. 212). Two early exceptions are Charleston, South Carolina in 1931 and New Orleans, Louisiana in 1937 (Gale, 1991, p. 325). These two cities nevertheless demonstrate a pattern characteristic of historic preservation in the United States in that typically areas selected for preservation have been retrieved from economic stagnation. Charleston experienced a period of stagnation following the American Civil War that spared the city from the industrial pressures of the late nineteenth century. "Poverty saved Charleston's architecture from modification by changing tastes and demolition as the Civil War left the city destitute...Poverty also left the city with an architectural purity rare in North America" (Ford, 1979, p. 213). New Orleans' French Quarter likewise experienced post-Civil War stagnation and benefited later from the recognition of architectural rarity in the form of area conservation.

Throughout North America segments of the older urban fabric that had fallen into neglect and economic stagnation have been rejuvenated by the attention of preservationists. Areas that had once functioned as viable economic centers, often the former location of commerce and industry in the old downtown, diminished in importance as the focus of commercial activity migrated slowly to new locations in the central core. While Charleston and New Orleans are exceptional examples of architectural integrity preserved by default through lack of economic pressure and neglect, the cycle of prominence, decay, and rejuvenation is typical of the North American experience.

2.1.4 Zone of Discard and Zone of Assimilation

Ford identifies a *zone of discard* and a *zone of assimilation* adjacent to or surrounding the central core of most American cities (Ford, 1994, p. 65-87; Murphy, 1966, p. 305). Historically the central business district or commercial core of the American city has had a tendency to migrate from its original location, often near the waterfront where industrial activities were initially established, to a new location some distance away. This process occurred gradually as the center of commercial activity (banks, offices etc.) sought real estate further from the exclusively industrial precincts. This migration of high-end commercial occupancies left, in its wake, the former city center surrounded by industrial areas not considered suitable for commercial or residential uses.

The vertical concentration of commercial functions brought on by the advent of the high-rise office tower near the end of the nineteenth century combined with concurrent suburban expansion led to an

increasingly isolated central core. The further intensification of this trend throughout the twentieth century, combined with the flight of residential occupancies from the downtown, transformed the American city into an areal distribution of functions with a 'doughnut' configuration. The concentration of activity and occupancy at *peak land value intersection* (Ford, 1994, p. 64) in the center of the downtown core left a surrounding perimeter of underutilized or vacant buildings and vacant lots between the core and the suburbs. As the residential suburbs expanded away from the center the commercial core continued to shrink in area resulting in an intermediate wasteland or 'transition zone'.

The zone of discard is that area of this transition zone that lies in the wake of the progressive movement of the central core – the region that has been abandoned as the site of the peak land value. The region on the leading edge of this movement is referred to as the zone of assimilation where property values are in the ascendancy and the area is populated by a mixture of residences, retail outlets and business offices. Typically the path along which the central core has migrated has remained a spine of retail and lower level commercial occupancy with the former downtown anchoring one end. The zone of assimilation integrates this retail spine through its proximity to the central core while the former downtown has historically slid into disrepair and under-utilization (Ford, 1994, p. 86).

2.1.5 Transportation and Suburbanization

The expansion of transportation networks throughout North America in the Post-War era exacerbated the tendency for inner city

decline to lead to demolition. It was in reaction to the comprehensive destruction of inner city urban form in service of road-works and urban renewal that much preservation sentiment emerged. "The vast modernization of urban fabric – urban renewal, new highway systems, urban redevelopment—represented a concentrated program of rebuilding after the inactivity of the Depression and World War Two ... the idiom of reconstruction was the 1920s vision of the freeway, high-rise city. Resistance to this program was a resistance to both form and process, to both the alienating style of modernism and the destructive effects of modernization upon the existing urban landscape" (Ley and Mills, 1993, p. 268).

In collusion with inner city decline and the intrusion of freeways into central areas, the replacement of urban fabric with monolithic Modern buildings and vast tracts of parking further contributed to the sense of desolation and isolation that became associated with the American downtown (Larkham, 1995, p. 113). Ford sees this peripheral destruction as seminal to the emergence of the zone of discard surrounding American downtowns. The combination of high land values at its core and obsolescent buildings made the inner city the target of redevelopment schemes that also provided the opportunity for wholesale clearance (Ford, 1979, p. 216). Modern urban renewal eventually came to be seen as a kind of urban blight in its own right. The "offensive juxtapositions" proffered by the modern approach to urban redevelopment meant that "what seemed like enlightened comprehensive planning by local authorities in the 1960s now looks like vandalism" (Whitehand, 1994, p. 14).

In North America suburban sprawl facilitated by the advent of the automobile following the dispersive effects of streetcars and railways lead to the emergence of a whole new economy and a transformation of social life. These effects, accommodated by the vast expanses of space for development found in North America, took a different form and were felt to a greater extent than in Europe. What Paul Knox called "the sprawling masses as opposed to the huddled ones" (Knox, 1987a, p. 359) became the main focus of infrastructural investment and urban planning in North American cities. A preoccupation with the accommodation of the automobile has characterized North American urbanism throughout the twentieth century.

While the suburbs grew, the costs of maintaining the inner city have increased, and the sources of revenue available to it have typically decreased as the economic status of its residents and the value of its real estate declines. Also, the discrepancy between the taxation rates applied to the inner city and those found in suburban areas greatly favours the outlying communities. Thus the abandonment of the inner city has produced suburbs that are enclaves where the affluent pay fewer taxes. This economic differential has been exacerbated by the relocation of factories to suburban sites from inner cities in search of similar tax benefits and in pursuit of proximity to the pool of inexpensive (and primarily female) labour found there. On a social level these movements have produced a suburban entity of unrelieved racial and economic homogeneity that is reflected in the characteristic monotony of its physical form (Neuman, 1991, p. 346; Whitehand 94, p.14).

2.1.6 Gentrification and Social Displacement

The economic and social decline of areas of the inner city not only makes urban fabric the target of pressure for redevelopment but also places a vulnerable segment of the society under further stress. The remaining inhabitants of the abandoned areas of the North American inner city are victims of the process of disinvestment and reinvestment. The poorer residents of the downtown have become increasingly marginalized and find themselves assaulted on both sides by the opposing pressures for preservation and redevelopment. The move to encourage preservation and reinvestment in the aging inner city as a response to the threat of redevelopment typically took the character of social upgrading as well as physical upgrading. The displacement of the existing residents was an inevitable consequence, if not one of the objectives, of the upgrading of inner city areas in the name of preservation. The invasion of a "well-educated, vociferous, elite" (Larkham, 1996, p. 66) as the vanguard of the preservation movement in the 1960s and 1970s did as much to cause social stress in areas that had fallen into economic decline as it did to increase property values in such areas. The gentrification of residential and commercial areas as well as industrial properties left fewer and fewer premises in former downtown areas within the economic range of the lower-income residents.

Ford recognizes the inner city as a site for conflict between the agents of change and the advocates for continuity (Ford, 1994, p. 90). The debate between the "progressives" and the "traditionalists" in mid-nineteenth century Salzburg arose out of a conflict over a vision of the future and of future society that was reflected in the form of the

modern city. The contemporary debate over the social makeup of the inner city is similarly about the idea of the modern and involves the arbiters of change in a debate between the agitators for change and those who wish to see the effects of change attenuated through attempts to maintain physical and social continuity.

The conception of the kind of change that should take place and the form that the resultant city assumes is articulated by two differing views of what constitutes modern "progress". One view postulates a future that is complemented by the physical manifestations of the cultural past while the other sees the path to the future as being cleared of cultural accretion. Challenged by the pressure for redevelopment, the civic institutions align themselves with one view or the other or are obliged to mediate between them. Either way the political and financial institutions are not inactive and more often than not are the prime actors in the process of the generation of urban form.

2.1.7 Financial Institutions and the Decline of the Inner City

Throughout North America the inner city has suffered economically relative to the rest of the urban entity. "Most of these areas had experienced declining or stagnant values in the Post-War II era due to disinvestment, housing abandonment, high crime rates, or other pernicious influences" (Gale, 1991, p. 326). This was the product of the combination of influences like the economy, demographics, and the geographical redistribution of population, as well as the consequence of official policy (Knox, 1993, p. 21). Typical, was the besieged center of Seattle prior to the redevelopment of the Pioneer Square historic district in Seattle, the location of the urban enclave from which the term

skid row originated. "The City Council had long neglected the district, making little attempt to provide even minimum maintenance of such things as streets and sidewalks. In addition, well-known plans for demolition prior to freeway construction discouraged most private investment. As in most cities, Seattle's strict interpretation of fire and building codes not only made renovation difficult and financially infeasible, but also caused a number of buildings to be closed and abandoned" (Ford, 1979, p. 219). The collusion of the financial industries in this kind of discouragement aggravates the deterioration of inner cities suffering from economic and physical decline. Common throughout North America is the delineation of inner city neighbourhoods under the practice of "red-lining" whereby areas with populations considered marginal and building fabric deemed obsolete are identified by banks and insurance companies as being of such high-risk as to be ineligible for assistance (Feagin, 1983, p. 49; Ford, 1994, p. 68). This kind of policy discrimination combined with official neglect or planning directions that are antagonistic to residential continuity or rehabilitation, have often pushed precarious inner city areas into precipitous decline. The experience of Pioneer Square prior to designation demonstrates this effect. "Not only did the city make renovation difficult and expensive but lending institutions made it impossible to finance. Before [designation in] 1971, loans for mortgages and maintenance as well as for renovation were rare indeed in Pioneer Square. As late as 1972, only one major savings and loan institution was making loans for major renovation and then only 75 per cent of what was needed. Owners still needed to invest far more from their own pockets than they would need for new suburban construction.

In this way the money market encouraged inner city disinvestment. Insurance rates also played a role in discouraging renovation. Owners of older buildings, especially those not up to code standards, paid significantly higher rates year after year even while improvements were under way" (Ford, 1979, p. 220).

In this context, the move to convert buildings to new uses was led by small independent firms of designers, architects and others who, because they saw virtue in the architectural attributes of inner city buildings, were prepared to make an investment in renovation in non-conventional locations (Ford, 1979, p. 219). In San Francisco the rehabilitation of Victorian architecture in the 1960s and 1970s by a largely gay population demonstrated that marginality seemed to be an essential character of the inner city even during the process of gentrification (Law and Wolch, 1993 p. 179-180). Innovative business tenancies were complemented by the conversion of residential stock by equally marginal but wealthier segments of society than those that previously inhabited the downtown. Displacement continued as the appreciation of inner city real estate followed this incremental social and physical upgrading and other sectors of society recognized the attraction of the older urban neighbourhoods. "Since the near downtown streets are smaller scale than those in the more recently developed suburban districts, the ambiance is right for side walk cafés, boutiques, and a sense of street life" (Ford, 1994, p. 88). This kind of activity, increasingly concentrated in the historic downtown in North America, made historic district preservation synonymous with social displacement, middle-class invasion and tourism.

2.1.8 Regulation

Along with the effects of policies that discourage reinvestment in older buildings in the inner city, regulations designed to ensure the safety of the inhabitants often indirectly place older architecture at risk for abandonment and demolition. Fire and building codes are intended to prevent injury to inhabitants and guarantee standards of construction. Under these kinds of standards obsolescence generally derives from structural and constructional deficiencies in aging buildings. "Many of our building codes and land use standards still reflect a Victorian conscience. Regulations about minimum floor space, separation between buildings, height restrictions and setbacks from streets are based on our reaction to Dickensian squalor and congestion" (Leung, 1994, p. 15). Consequently, these kinds of assessments place older building stock in jeopardy as condemnation according to modern building codes threaten demolition in the name of public safety. Such inflexible technocratic assessments of building worth and desirability were applied throughout North America as inner city building stock aged. This mode of valuation and assessment for built form arises out of the remedial nature of much urban regulation. Some urban planners maintain "that wise planning is fundamentally negative in its mission. It is to stop bad things from happening, rather than imposing good things on our cities" (Leung, 1994, p. 16).

The positivist scientific revolution that proliferated after the Second World War also exacerbated this tendency for technocratic assessments of building worth. Confident in the possibilities of science and the forms of Architectural Modernism, Post-War society sought to quantify the quality of urban life in terms of a system of regulations that

controlled construction technique and configuration. Urban Planning as a field was very much a part of this "positivist" revolution, attempting to quantify the nature and character of neighbourhoods as much as to rationalize the functional aspects of city design. Paul Knox concurs with John Sillince's observation that "planning practice is still pervaded by rationality and by scientific methodologies that make policies seem self-evidently justified while hiding questionable assumptions," adding "this rationality is widely trusted...so long as it avoids questions of value" (Knox, 1987b, p. 544).

Value and cultural significance are altogether different than constructional integrity and they are at the core of the preservationist movement. "One block that preservationists in Britain repeatedly face is the belief, dating from the 1950s and 1960s but still fixed in the minds of many senior officials and managers, that modern architecture aided by science and technology can in a matter of decades provide mankind with a wholly satisfactory new environment" (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p. 204). The continual destruction of the existing built environment in pursuit of this improved world advances with little regard for the cost to cultural continuity that it exacts. Resistance to this destruction forms the basis for much preservation activity.

Many attempts to halt the demolition of historic urban form have as an objective the generation of legislation that not only protects older buildings and neighbourhoods but also relieves the pressure for continual redevelopment and upgrading. The performance of regulatory agencies with regard to the interpretation of codes bearing upon older buildings has been key to the success or failure of the preservation movement in North America. Changing institutional

attitudes towards the value of the historic built environment and establishing ways to ensure safety while encouraging gradual and non-destructive upgrading has been important in preserving much of the urban environment. In Seattle, Larry Ford notes that "the city's building department interpreted codes flexibly and worked with, instead of against, owners interested in renovation. For example, owners were encouraged to work together and to renovate several buildings at once in order to share fire stairs, exits, and structural bracing. Old buildings did not have to be brought fully up to code standard, they only needed to be safe. Since unoccupied buildings can present serious threats to safety, the policy of gradual improvement has served to make the district safer than inflexible code requirements which seemed to encourage abandonment and underutilization" (Ford, 1979, p. 223). The method of regulation has been an important target of those who wish to preserve and rehabilitate aging building stock as well as the nature of what is regulated. "In general terms all physical change in urban areas is constrained to some extent. Many countries have legal restrictions that, at the simplest level, zone acceptable land uses, and at the most complex, determine acceptable aesthetic criteria for new development proposals" (Larkham, 1995, p. 112).

Aesthetic control has been a key ingredient of preservation legislation. Such regulation attempts to recognize the character and scale as well as architectural attributes of an area of historic interest, often in contrast to that of the surrounding and newer districts. While there has long been an acceptance of building regulation governing aspects of safety, aesthetic control relies upon the common recognition of esoteric qualities like cultural identity, national heritage, and

architectural integrity. The appeal of historic district designation in the United States has, in some cases, been as a means of asserting aesthetic control where resistance to such regulation would ordinarily be quite strenuous. Using designation as a sort of "surrogate plan" (Gale, 1991, p.338), "planners may view historic district designation as the only viable way to impose aesthetic controls—thereby enhancing neighbourhood reinvestment—over private property" (Gale, 1991, p. 338). The acceptance of such impositions depends on the realization of benefit accruing to private property owners through designation as well as upon the appreciation of the collective virtues of preservation.

In Quebec City, the capital of the Province of Quebec, Canada, the political and cultural environment has created a social context in which wholesale preservation of the Old City was made possible. The provincial government sees the Old City as the quintessential physical embodiment of Quebec national culture and of Francophone history in North America. It has been accorded the kind of state support and control that has enabled the rehabilitation and reconstruction of much of the physical fabric within the boundaries of the fortification walls (Piché, 1986, p. 64). Its symbolic importance as an expression of cultural identity and history has ensured the commitment of several levels of government to the success of the preservation project.

"A number of initiatives have been undertaken to encourage individuals and businesses to settle in Old Quebec. All of them are aimed at reducing the obstacles which discourage people from doing so" (Piché, 1986, p. 64). These measures include guidelines on the types and location of businesses to ensure the diversity and vitality of street life, grants and incentives for development and literature on renovation

techniques (Ville de Quebec, 1991, 1988). The City of Quebec also employs a simplified approval process in the Old City that places the planning department, instead of a separate building department, in charge of building permits to ensure compatibility with planning objectives in the preservation area. Policies designed to ensure the continued vitality of the area are complemented by the location of government offices within the historic district. These policies combined with state investment in public spaces and infrastructure and a vigorous tourist trade throughout the year enable the historic Old City of Quebec to maintain its centrality in the urban life of Quebec.

Throughout the United States similar policies have been used as incentives to rehabilitation. Central to the success of American historic district designation has been the existence of a federal income tax credit for investment in the renovation of listed historic properties. In place since 1976, this federal program allowed investors to claim a portion of their investment in renovation as a credit when calculating income tax (Gale, 1991, p. 338). While the benefits of the program were curtailed somewhat in 1986, the direct personal income tax credit fueled much preservation, renovation, and physical upgrading. Gale notes that the tax credit program enhanced the status of historic district designation and the popularity of preservation to the point where "In some communities, it seems, the tax credit tail has come to wag the historic designation dog" (Gale, 1991, p. 338).

Generally, the older sections of North American cities are located near or on the periphery of the central business district. The pressure for development and the cost of central city real estate often makes the renovation of dilapidated inner city building stock unattractive, if not

infeasible, for owners or investors who seek to profit from the leasing of commercial space. The cost of renovating a historic building relative to the revenues that would be generated by the limited amount of space available to lease after renovation, compares unfavourably with the kind of revenues to be attained from the construction of new high-rise facilities. "Old buildings, no matter how valuable and profitable, are simply too small to remain competitively on a lot where massive structures are permitted" (Ford, 1979, p. 216). The integration of new high-rise structures with older historic structures in a single scheme allows for the development of a site and the simultaneous preservation of portions of the historic fabric even when all that is maintained is the street facade. Such *air space development*, though not always the most desirable solution, permits the preservation of valuable streetscape and pattern of street activity as well as block development while allowing the realization of the full potential profitability of the site.

Minimum maintenance order legislation is used throughout North America to prohibit the often deliberate neglect of historic properties by owners who wish to demolish protected buildings. A minimum maintenance ordinance allows the City to order needed repairs to buildings when neglect has allowed deterioration to proceed to unsafe or structurally damaging levels. Such legislation allows the City to perform such repairs if compliance is not secured and to recover the costs from the owners. This kind of legislation is very important to the maintenance of a program of historic rehabilitation where pressure for redevelopment exists and where resistance to control over private property, aesthetic or physical, is strong. It is also important that a commitment to preservation and the means to ensure rehabilitation

exists on the part of state authorities in order that such powers are not merely used to secure renovation, or worse, demolition at public expense when neglect has advanced so far that historic urban fabric is threatened.

The precedents for control of the aesthetic quality of the city have been reinforced by the preservation legislation of the twentieth century (Larkham, 1996, p. 42). Nevertheless the influences that are brought to bear upon that legislation and the nature of its enforcement are diverse and represent a myriad of interests. "What gets built is strongly conditioned by the structure and dynamics of political power in society. How and where it gets built is subject to a host of laws, codes, standards and regulations that reflect the interests of political powers and pressure groups" (Knox, 1987a, p. 362). The social and historical context also has a significant influence upon the kinds of regulations that are enacted to govern the creation of architecture. When building takes place, what is constructed and what is conserved, as well as what regulations are seen as acceptable and desirable is socially determined and often place specific. The form and regulatory structure of the city are integrally related. Preservation efforts recognize that the scale and amenity manifested in the urban design of the past may be maintained only when change is exacted upon the rules by which the physical and aesthetic aspects of the city are controlled. It may be observed that preservation often initiates a wave of urban revival and that renovation activity regularly precedes historic district designation rather than the other way around (Lowenthal and Binney, 1981, p. 211; Gale, 1991, p. 337). Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the regulatory role in the

construction of an urban environment is central and not peripheral to the outcome.

2.1.9 Modernism vs. Post-Modernism

Concurrent with the rise of the preservation movement in North America and, arguably, seminal to it, was the advent of the Post-Modern movement in the arts and philosophy. The main principle of the Post-Modern revolution was a critique of the hegemony of the Modern movement. Central to this Post-Modern re-evaluation is an assessment of the conventions of twentieth century art, literature, and science that sought to establish which or *whose* paradigm or frame of reference was implicit in the styles and methods that dominated social and intellectual discourse. Through the "deconstruction" of "totalizing metanarratives" (Harvey, 1990, p. 45-49) alternatives to the search for universals that Modern science and art had proffered were explored. This was taken up as much out of dissatisfaction with the exclusive nature of Modernist paradigms, as from disaffection with the products of the Modern project. It became apparent that there were inherent contradictions in the kind of over-arching theories that formed the basis of much Modern interpretation of reality. In science, art, and in the social/political realm, it became evident that Modernism provided internally consistent models of interpretation only when aspects of reality that could not be explained within the paradigm were excluded. Marginalized as anomalies, statistically insignificant, or socially unimportant, the variety of experience or scientific inquiry was narrowly interpreted to provide rationalizations that sought "universal" or "repeatable" conclusions. Universal truths were sought as much in

art as in science and the mathematical was idolized as objective to the point where the social became "scientific."

Fundamental to the Post-Modern impulse is the social context of rapid change and increasingly diverse and unpredictable influences. During the 1960s and 1970s, the diversity and inequity of American society impinged upon intellectual life in such a way that the previous methods of inquiry and explanation ceased to seem adequate. The assertion of the validity of "other voices" and demands for the incorporation of the excluded overwhelmed and challenged the conventions of science, social interpretation, and politics. The critique of patriarchy, the rise of the Women's movement, the Civil Rights movement, and a host of other social changes dominated the late twentieth century. Parallel to this social reconstruction was the emergence of a Post-Modern movement in architecture of which the rise of the preservation movement was a part.

The publication of the seminal book "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture" (Venturi, 1966) marked the beginning of the critique of the hegemony of Modernist architecture. It advanced the notion, contrary to the ideological fundamentals of the Modern Movement, that variety, inconsistency, and contextualism, were valid architectural modes of expression. This revolutionary and iconoclastic challenge to modernism's *scientific functionalism* can be seen to be contemporary with and analogous to the redefining social messages of the Post-Modern intellectual movement in America. Concomitant with Venturi's argument for eclecticism in architecture was a validification of the vernacular and the simultaneous re-valuation of historicism and historical contextualism.

A Post-Modernism of reaction . . . is essentially an affective, cosmetic or therapeutic response, often involving an engagement with subjectivity and local context and characterized by attempts to restore meaning, rootedness, human proportions and decoration. A Post-Modernism of resistance, on the other hand, seeks to deconstruct Modernism in order to challenge or oppose the dominant ideas (rationalism, Fordism) that it represents.

(Knox, 1987b, p. 543)

Profoundly pluralistic, Post-Modernism in the architectural realm sought to be inclusive. The variety of architectural modes of expression that blossomed after the phase of late Modernism, co-existed in a kind of intellectual and aesthetic relativism that gave philosophical legitimacy to all, even including, ultimately, a phalanx of neo-modernists. Late Modernism, the direct descendant of the corporate high-rise Modernism of the 1950s and 1960s, fetishized technological construction techniques to the point where mass production techniques were imitated even when highly customized craft was employed. More evident than such internal inconsistencies, however, were Modernism's failings in the urban sphere. "Modern architecture for all its ability to create beautiful buildings left an awful legacy in city planning...The Modern movement failed at creating cities, even while it succeeded at making buildings that where beautiful objects poised in space" (Goldberger, 1995, p. 47). Conversely, Post-Modernism sought to assert qualities of urban space, contextual allusion, and decoration that it found in the architecture and urban environments of the past.

The emergence of a Post-Modernism has challenged the attachment of symbols to places and has globalized architectural

vocabulary in a manner similar to the earlier dissemination of the Modernist International Style. In the same way that Modernism moved from the style of a socialist technological futurism to the epitome of corporate internationalism, the forms given by the Post-Modern criticism of late capitalism have been co-opted by amorphous multinational corporations that do not have local attachments or the basis for the pretension to symbolic contextualism. The disassociation of form and meaning arising in the appropriation of contextual allusion, historicism, and neo-humanist urbanism have been used by the very corporate modernism that they were advanced to counter.

2.2 Speculative Development And Economic Restructuring

Changes that have affected the real estate development industry throughout the world have affected St. John's no less than other North American cities. A matter of scale differentiates the St. John's experience from larger cities of North America and Europe. Patterns that have emerged globally in the real estate development industry reiterate themselves in the local context. Those patterns have been influenced greatly by the currents of global economic restructuring witnessed in the past two decades.

2.2.1 Global Economic Restructuring

Global restructuring is the economic analog to the advent of Post-Modern thought in the arts and philosophy. The emergence of a Post-Industrial economy in the aftermath of the oil crisis of 1973 is roughly concurrent with the development of Post-Modernism and is seen as the economic underpinning of observable cultural shifts (Harvey, 1990). Changes in the economies of Western industrialized nations could be observed as early as the 1960s when the Post-Modern critique began to emerge. The shock of the oil crisis brought what Harvey describes as the "crisis of over accumulation" (Knox, 1993, p. 4) to the forefront of corporate economic strategies. The rigidities of the hegemony of Fordism, or Fordist mass production, the predominant mode of production in the post-war period, gave way subsequent to the challenges experienced during the late capitalist era of the 1970s. Fordism was predicated upon the symbiotic relationship between capital and labour or, more specifically, between production wage and demand.

Under Fordism, growth was limited by a dependence on growth in income to increase demand. When the limits of wage growth and productivity were reached, demand began to be curtailed and manufacturers sought new efficiencies and new markets. The advent of a more "flexible regime of accumulation" (Harvey, 1990, p. 147) in the wake of the oil-crisis and declining demand for mass produced goods dramatically altered the relationship between labour and production as well as between the state and the control of international finance. In an attempt to reduce the costs of production, large transnational corporations removed production facilities to the Third World and to developing countries to take advantage of lower labour costs and reduced state control of labour and environmental practices. The advent of new computer and information technologies allowed the segmentation and the separation of design and production functions accommodating the further dispersal of production. Simultaneously, advances in production itself deriving from new technology enabled rapid adjustments to changing consumer demand and increasingly segmented markets.

At the same time, the Fordist regime of regulation began to succumb to inherent contradictions produced by the inertia of inflexible mass production and the finite size of domestic markets, as well as limits to the growth of wage labour. New demand was created through market segmentation, product differentiation, accelerated aesthetic obsolescence, and niche marketing. The new regime of flexible accumulation internationalized production and distribution by taking advantage of new technologies to expand markets, reduce costs, and circumvent regulation in order to increase profits.

2.2.2 The Globalization of Finance

The internationalization of production under flexible or "disorganized capitalism" (Goss, 1992, p. 163) had a parallel in financial terms, as capital as well as production became increasingly footloose and borderless, finding a combination of information technology and state deregulation conducive to the avoidance of state control. The 1971 collapse of the Bretton-Woods agreement, which had, since 1944, made the U.S. dollar the world's reserve currency (Harvey, 1990 p. 137, p. 141), marked the end of the Fordist hegemony that dominated the Post-War economic boom. The deregulation that followed allowed the liberalization of financial markets (O' Brien, 1992, p. 18). The subsequent devaluation of the dollar and the emergence of a global capital market with floating exchange rates (Harvey, 1990, p. 141; O' Brien, 1992, p. 41) provided an even greater source of excess capital for investment under globalized flexible accumulation. Technology affected the globalization of finance in the same way that it encouraged the internationalization of production, allowing for more rapid and continuous trading across borders without temporal limitations.

2.2.3 Insurance Companies and Integration

"According to Harvey such a crisis [of overaccumulation] can only be resolved through the temporary switching of investment from the 'primary circuit' of industrial production to the 'secondary circuit' of capital assets...Speculative investment in the built environment, as the major component of the secondary circuit, can thus be seen to account for much of the property boom in the larger cities of Europe, North America, and Australia during the late 1970s and the 1980s" (Knox, 1993, p. 4). As the object of investors seeking to increase their capital assets, real estate became an attractive destination for Harvey's "excess" capital. The search for places to invest surplus capital led to the expansion of the activities of financial institutions in areas such as real estate development, where they had not previously been involved (Feagin, 1983, p. 45).

"Two other factors have changed the capital markets and encouraged greater globalization. The first is the growing concentration of market power in the hands of institutions such as pension funds and insurance companies, which increasingly trade securities across borders...The second factor is financial innovation" (Economist, 1995/10/7 Survey p. 9). Changes in the organization of the development industry and deregulation in the financial markets facilitated this shift to investment in real estate by financial institutions such as insurance companies and pension funds. Feagin noted in 1983 that "life insurance companies are putting the money they hold from clients and from pension funds they control into office towers, shopping centres, apartment complexes, and industrial parks so fast that at the current rate they and similar financial institutions may own the majority

of such real estate by the twenty-first century. In 1981 an estimated 90% of commercial property sold was reportedly being bought by life insurance companies" (Feagin, 1983, p. 53).

Besides becoming a major source of investment capital, financial institutions became directly involved in real estate development through partnerships and subsidiaries. Insurance companies in particular made forays into real estate development by collaborating with development companies and other real estate investors. They became part owners or the primary investors in speculative real estate in a more active way, adding to their importance as an immense source of surplus capital. "The establishment of financial subsidiaries by development firms, the creation of long-term financial partnerships between developers and insurance companies...has been accompanied by various forms of horizontal integration, blurring the traditional distinctions between developers and financiers" (Logan, 1993, p. 45). This combined with financial innovation increased the international nature of the development industry and encouraged investment in speculative real estate development by those outside of the local market. This "restructuring and repositioning" in the real estate industry led to an ever increasing concentration in large transnational corporations and a proclivity for mega-structure and prestigious mixed-use developments (Knox, 1993, p. 223).

2.2.4 Leveraging and Global Real Estate Development

Olympia and York (O&Y) was typical of the kind of integrated international development corporation that emerged in the 1980s, specializing in highly leveraged speculative mega-structure development

financed primarily through funds raised on the international capital markets. The practice of leveraged funding, wherein outside capital is used for development costs, has been the *modus operandi* for the real estate industry for some time. As Logan notes "development firms have traditionally operated with little of their own capital, borrowing instead against the value of their projects at completion" (Logan, 1993, p. 37). What emerged in the 1980s was the tendency for the development firms to be truly international or *transnational* in their sourcing of capital in world financial markets and in the global nature of their field of operations.

The enormous Canary Wharf development, initiated by O&Y on abandoned industrial wasteland in London's East End, exemplified the kind of massive capital infusion, involving both extensive private and public leveraging that was typical of the new transnational real estate development. Such mega-structure developments epitomized the "search for profitable outlets for surplus capital, product diversification, tax benefits, and the use of surplus land" (Feagin, 1983, p. 45) that emerged under the new environment of flexible accumulation.

Canary Wharf exacerbated the tendency for development corporations to circumvent or distort local planning priorities while at the same time demanding enormous commitments of public infrastructural investment, tax abatements, and public subsidies (Crilley, 1993). Imrie and Thomas note the same accommodation through public sector leveraging in the redevelopment of the former industrial docklands of Cardiff, South Wales. "In particular, the leverage model is premised on the utilization of public subsidies to stimulate weak

and/or declining property markets to create confidence in localities characterized by large tracts of abandoned and semi-derelict land" (Imrie and Thomas, 1993, p. 89). Even where surplus land is not a major ingredient in the motivation for such redevelopment strategies, substantial public infrastructural investment and tax incentives were employed to facilitate construction. This kind of leveraging was employed in New York City for another O&Y mega project named Battery Park City, where the site was the result of the extension of the waterfront perimeter over a landfill that replaced piers abandoned in the 1960s. Willingness to accommodate such developments with extensive leveraging of public funds, directly or indirectly, is a product of the "defensive, hostage mentality" that "grips city governments in an area of heightened capital mobility, with its attendant threat of fiscal crisis" (Crilley, 1993, p. 133).

2.2.5 Local vs. Non-Local

In such an environment, corporations who are fundamentally non-local and whose operations are multi-national and inherently footloose use the promise of development and the threat of the loss of economic activity attendant their withdrawal to demand concessions from the authorities of local control. Cloaked in the rhetoric of 'public good,' such developments and the necessity of public subsidy are often portrayed as of great benefit to the population at large and essential to the future economic well-being and competitive positioning of the city (Boyer, 1993, p. 115). This often places the agencies of local control in a position where the directives and demands of non-local developers become the priorities of local planning despite conflicts with indigenous

needs. The globalization of real estate development heightened the conflict between local priorities and non-local pressures.

According to Christine Boyer, the "new corporate headquarters glittering in the downtown centers of our cities are subsidized by local governments through tax write-offs, grants of special financial powers and abilities to override local land-use regulations, including a general disregard or lack of accountability to the public for the way these projects obtain and allocate their revenues ... They have" she maintains "in many different ways privatized public decision-making" (Boyer, 1993, p. 115). Often the concessions made on the part of the local authority depend upon the private provision of a hitherto *public* amenity or a semi-public urban space (an atrium arboretum, a performance space, or shopping mall) in order to solicit public acceptance of such large-scale development (Boyer, 1993, p. 113).

In an even more leveraged arrangement, the promise to construct, in collaboration with the City and often with substantial public underwriting, a state-subsidized convention centre or sporting facility is used as the public carrot at the end of the private development stick (Boyer, 1993, p. 126). Paul Knox complains that in this new hyper-leveraged environment planning has abandoned "over-arching notions of rationality or criteria of public good" (Knox, 1993, p. 12) to pursue, of necessity, their new role as mediators between local politicians and outside developers managing tax abatements and zoning concessions to facilitate investment. "Economic development is so highly valued by elected officials that planners, even if they were not to share this ideology of growth, would find it difficult, if not impossible, to oppose the state's complicity. The result has been a peculiar form of non-

planning in which planners participate in individual projects, often attempting to temper the most egregious negative externalities, while failing to place these projects in a broader framework of urban development" (Beauregard, 1989, p. 387-388).

Knowledge of the "local" market has always been essential to the success of real estate investment, giving local developers an inherent advantage (Logan, 1993, p. 37). Nevertheless, the entrance of outside developers into a particular urban setting heightens the value of local amelioration and places a premium on local contacts and accommodation. "Real estate investors have traditionally been very active in local politics. Their business often requires government approvals and concessions: to build at higher density than current law allows, to get sewers or sidewalks installed at public expense, to receive loan subsidies from municipal or county agencies" (Logan, 1993, p. 35). The role of local government in co-ordination aimed at the facilitation of real estate development has increased in the era of footloose development corporations and demands for increased public leveraging.

Imrie and Thomas observe that, despite the rhetoric of free-market entrepreneurialism in which this kind of real estate development has been propagated, public sector contributions are often substantial. In order to encourage development, governments often carry out costly infrastructural improvements and assemble land for development through the powers of public expropriation (Imrie and Thomas, 1993, p. 98). They conclude that, given this kind of public-private sector collaboration, "property developers cannot act independently of the local state or of the specific social relations embodied in civil societies . . . [and] are dependent on the realignment of the local planning

framework and significant inputs of public investment in basic infrastructure." They observe that private-sector redevelopment "necessarily favours public-sector mediation, co-ordination, and formal control of key aspects of the development process" (Imrie and Thomas, 1993, p. 101).

In the context of this type of development, the state becomes "an important agent in its own right as a site of conflict or co-operation" (Knox, 1993, p.9), as developers most often call upon government to perform as mediator in the attenuation of existing regulations. Tax concessions, zoning allowances, land assembly and compulsory acquisition, even direct financial underwriting through infrastructural investment is most commonly what real estate developers require of local authorities, especially in an environment conditioned by the exigences of post-Fordist restructuring and deregulation. Knox notes that such trends have had a tendency to diminish the power of the state on a local level to respond to or assert the concerns and priorities of the local population. "The significance of these giant [development] corporations lies in their potential for removing much of the debate and control over patterns of development from local arenas of municipal government...and from the voice of neighbourhood and environmental groups" (Knox, 1993, p. 7). Feagin cautions that the dissociation of local control from the form that the urban environment ultimately takes is endemic to the development process itself. "To a surprising degree cities are shaped by people who are relatively unknown, not elected, and largely beyond the control of the electorate" (Feagin, 1983, p. 48). The Post-Modern city, predicated upon the ever-changing economic reality of flexible accumulation, has produced on a political level, that which

has already been observed in the aesthetic world, an intensified disassociation between form and society, between form and cultural meaning.

2.2.6 Form and Rhetoric in the Postmodern City

Flexible accumulation has a profound impact upon the cities of the advanced capitalist world. As they lose population and employment, and suffer a relative divestment of capital, tax revenues decrease, while the costs of urban service provision and maintenance of the deteriorating built environment escalate. At the same time central governments have reduced support in an attempt to curb both their own expenditures and the political power of cities. [Cities] must compete to attract increasingly footloose and speculative private capital, and one strategy has been to subsidize the development of urban space into office complexes, festival markets, convention centres and sports stadia to provide the work and play spaces of the new middle class who are attracted to the central city by prospects of employment in information and financial services, residence in gentrified or redeveloped districts and recreation in the restored bohemia.

(Goss, 1992, p. 170.)

The landscape of flexible accumulation has proffered an array of social schisms as dramatic as the physical juxtapositions that it presents. The social tensions that arise out of the changes wrought by restructuring throughout the economy have been exacerbated by the tendency for governments to attract investment through concessions under the new regime of accumulation. As a result of the emergence of new sectors of the economy," new fractions and changing patterns of vulnerable and disadvantaged households have appeared" (Knox, 1993,

p. 21). The postmodern urban economic milieu is typified by dramatic increases in high-income employment in producer services and high-tech industries and low-income employment in the traditional service industries, accentuated by the increased employment of women and immigrant minorities at the lower end (Soja, 1989, p. 192; Law and Wolch, 1993). This dynamic combined with the disappearance of employment in industrial occupations has made the postmodern landscape a tableau of increasingly stark contrasts as some urban areas are abandoned and left to decay while others are dramatically reconfigured.

The depiction of the kind of massive urban redevelopment that has taken place under flexible accumulation as a form of urban salvation masks the social displacement and disruption that such physical intervention often represents. Developers use several techniques to position projects as social and economic benefits to counter criticism that they are responsible for deleterious physical change and social displacement. Through the incorporation of public amenity space and a token association with the contextual historic built environment, developers attempt to solicit approval and acceptance for developments.

The mere size of some of the developments witnessed in the 1980s qualify them as traumatic physical change, as demonstrated by the projects of Olympia and York. The impact of land assembly and clearance, even for much smaller projects, exacts social damage through the displacement of residential and commercial space. The tactics used by developers to secure land for redevelopment, besides the solicitation of government assistance in expropriation or the distortion of planning directives to accommodate development, often removes residential stock

before active plans for redevelopment are known. "To displace a whole neighbourhood of homeowners [a developer] may buy a few houses here and there and let them run down or bulldoze them and replace them with noisy parking lots. Eventually other residents will be forced to leave by the adjacent deterioration" (Feagin, 1983, p. 41).

Even where direct destruction of residential stock was not required, as at Canary Wharf, the intense focus on the accommodation of the wishes and desires of the new developers by the national government put the surrounding community, both politically and literally, in the shadow of the enormous undertaking. The demotion of the priorities of the local neighbourhood to a position of subservience meant that most infrastructural improvements were geared towards the needs of incoming office workers rather than the upgrading of the general Docklands area. The stark contrast that exists between areas of redevelopment and underdevelopment that often stand side by side has a depressant effect upon the surrounding area that is analogous to the dynamic that produces Ford's zone of discard. The residents and businesses of such adjacent areas, and of the areas to be redeveloped, are often portrayed as substandard preparatory to the commencement of land assembly activities in an effort to soften resistance to the proposed development. Portrayed as "low-grade, low-value" (Imrie and Thomas, 1993, p. 96), the inhabitants, commercial and residential, of the targeted area are rhetorically presented as dispensable in the interests of the social and economic upgrading attendant redevelopment.

Having displaced the residents of older neighbourhoods, the retention of some remnant of the physical fabric has often been portrayed as a validation of the well-intentioned motives of the

developers. This fragment of the past architecture often also figures prominently in the promotion of the attractiveness of the project as a destination for the kind of up-market clientele that is sought. Employing a "new encoding of the locality" developers present "a selected reading of [the] historical antecedents" (Imrie and Thomas, 1993, p. 96) to justify and promote their transformation of the physical environment. In what Boyer calls a "backward binding gesture" (Boyer 1993, p. 121) the developers of such projects attempt to re-create the "genuine popular texture of city life" (Crilley, 1993, p. 127) through allusion and association. In Battery Park City in New York the existing street patterns were emulated to create the "illusion that this [new] space of New York was always there" (Boyer, 1993, p. 121). Such an attempt to camouflage some of the more egregious aspects of the comprehensive mega-project is the epitome of the disassociative Post-Modern ploy of contextual allusion.

Changes in the economy at large as well as restructuring within the real estate development industry itself are writ large in the kind of architecture produced in the post-Fordist era and in the process by which capital is funneled into building. The built environment is diagrammatic of the economic forces that have shaped the generation of urban form under flexible accumulation. "The politics of space is never more vividly manifested than during periods of crisis and restructuring, when inherited spatial structures become the arena for contending forces of preservation and transformation" (Soja, 1987, p. 191).

2.3 Urban Form/Built Form

2.3.1 Plan, Built Form, and Use

Before we consider the St. John's situation we must first consider the terms used to describe urban form. It has become a convention to divide urban form into three constituent parts: built form, town plan, and land use (Larkham, 1995, p. 112; Whitehand and Larkham, 1992, p. 6). This conventional subdivision derives from seminal work carried out by M.R.G. Conzen on the English town of Alnwick first published in 1960 (Whitehand, 1981 p. 13; Conzen, 1969). The study, based upon a detailed analysis of the town plan, advanced several important concepts in the study of urban form. First among them is this tripartite division of urban form. "It is the axiom of urban morphology that everywhere in the townscape the systematic form complexes are nested hierarchically in a physical sense, so that the town plan 'contains' or harbours, and through its plot pattern forms the physical frame of, the land utilization and the land use units, each within its own plot, in turn contain the building fabric" (Conzen, 1988, p. 260). This interpretation serves to provide a method of reading the totality of urban form in a way that simplifies and yet reflects the structural relationships between a city's constituent parts. "The subdivision of the town plan for analytical purposes into streets and their arrangement in a street system, plots and their aggregation in street-blocks, and buildings, or more precisely their block-plans, has become a further standard way of reducing the complexity of reality to more manageable proportions" (Whitehand, 1981 p. 13).

2.3.2 Morphological Frame and Differential Change

Other concepts advanced by Conzen include the idea of a morphological frame and recognizable morphological periods. Conzen theorized that the framework provided by the streets and street system as well as by the plot and plot patterns forms a kind of morphological frame that structures and constrains urban growth (Whitehand, 1981, p. 14). Conzen asserted the primacy of the town plan in the analysis of urban form on the basis that it "forms the inescapable framework for the other man-made features" (Whitehand, 1981 p. 13).

The persistence of the town plan or its resistance to change also distinguishes it from other urban features. Of the three form complexes outlined by Conzen the town plan is identified as being the most conservative in terms of change. Thus, it is primarily town plan features that constitute the morphological frame. Differential rates of change demonstrate that the three strata of urban form respond differently to pressures for redevelopment or are subject to such forces to different degrees or at different times (Larkham, 1995, p. 112). Built form and land use are more or less continuously subject to piecemeal change as functional requirements change and physical modification takes place. The town plan, on the other hand, responds only slowly or rarely to impetus for change, accommodating functional change usually within existing form. The difficulty of modifying the town plan, typically involving the intervention of the state authority, also contributes substantially to its inherent conservatism. Conzen maintains that the town plan represents a "fixed commitment of the whole urban community" in that it imposes a "degree of discipline" upon access (i.e. use) and plot patterns (Conzen, 1988, p. 255).

Built form also shows resistance to change since modification occurs sporadically and usually follows changes in use. However, "buildings are preserved in their original state only rarely, most often when there is continuity of the original use. What is more common is preservation in part, where fashion or changing use has led to modifications" (Larkham, 1995, p. 112). Conzen argues that, like morphological frame, built form exhibits "considerable persistence of forms" and in doing so reflects "patterns of past ownership and fixed capital" (Conzen, 1988, p. 255). In forming a template for future growth built form and town plan exert influence, in some cases for centuries, over the development of a city. As artifact, urban form provides a record of periods of past development.

2.3.3 Morphological Period

Morphological period as defined by Conzen is "a phase of social or cultural history creating distinctive material forms in the cultural landscape" (Whitehand, 1981, p. 14). Change in built form typically follows changes in use, which occur more frequently. While both are often piecemeal, periods of intensity in the rate of change occur. It is during periods of rapid growth that characteristics considered typical of a particular *morphological period* arise. Social forces, technological advances or economic vagaries may bring about rapid growth or intensive change in built form. Sometimes changes in the mode of production throughout the whole of the economy or specifically in the realm of architecture, such as fashion or technology, produce a morphological period. Cycles in the economy or in the way buildings

are financed often are responsible for changes in the pace of development and redevelopment.

2.3.4 Catastrophic Change, Destruction, and Development

Catastrophe and the built response to the concomitant destruction modify the built environment dramatically and in a short period of time (Larkham, 1995, p. 114). Fires, floods, earthquakes, and wars all provide impetus for rebuilding. The result, because catastrophe is time specific and because rebuilding is often initiated simultaneously, constitutes a recognizable morphological period. Responses to catastrophic destruction vary as demonstrated by Post-War rebuilding in Europe but the effect of large-scale destruction on a city is profound.

The destruction of built form that is not catastrophic is also a significant morphological event in its own right. Throughout the history of a town or city the replacement or removal of buildings alters urban form significantly and modifies the context in which change takes place. More importantly, the destruction of built form often signifies pressure for change and represents the influence of powerful interests in the urban milieu. "Destruction and demolition, expropriation and rapid changes in use and as a result of speculation and obsolescence, are the most recognizable signs of urban dynamics" (Rossi, 1982a, p. 22).

While the destruction of built form is necessary for the redevelopment of a particular site to take place, the clearance of other sites in the vicinity of a new building often accompanies new construction. A relationship between intensive redevelopment and collateral underdevelopment may be observed in most contemporary urban environments where sectors of solid and void, development and

underdevelopment, exist side by side. Conzen used the term "urban fallow" to describe "the temporary urban wasteland caused by socio-economic changes leading to building clearance." He felt that "those parts of the townscape that have been removed are as important to a theory of townscape development as those that have survived" (Whitehand, 1981 p. 13-14).

CHAPTER 3 CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

This section outlines aspects of the history of the development of urban form in St. John's, Newfoundland, that are relevant to the case study sites considered in this thesis.

3.1 Downtown St. John's

3.1.1 Fire 1892

In 1892, a fire consumed most of the East End of the City of St. John's. Such fires were common to many North American cities at the time and were a recurrent event in St. John's throughout the nineteenth century. The 1892 fire was particularly devastating. It destroyed most of the institutional and commercial buildings of the Old City and almost all the residential stock in the eastern half of the city. It began on the outskirts of the built-up area of the nineteenth century city, at the intersection of Freshwater and Pennywell Roads, and proceeded eastward down Long's Hill and into its lower regions. It eventually destroyed all but the very perimeter of the East End of the Old City, leaving only the institutions and residential streets that stood on the crests of the hills that surround it and areas to the east of Ordnance Street. The West end of the city was untouched (Oliver, 1983, p. 107-127).

Rebuilding following the Great Fire of 1892 was done rapidly and entailed only minor changes to the street plan of the city. Primarily, certain streets were straightened and widened while some small streets were extended to form fire breaks (Oliver, 1983, p. 127-

142). Essentially the city rose in a form very similar to that which had preceded the fire. Throughout the downtown, continuous streetscapes are formed by attached row houses uniformly constructed of wood. Tenure patterns reflecting the persistence of existing property ownership and the need for immediate shelter played a significant role in discouraging substantial deviation from historical precedent in the rebuilding of St. John's (Oliver, 1983, p. 197).

This turn of the century city remained essentially intact one hundred years later. Most of the residential stock of inner city St. John's today is made up of buildings constructed during the post-fire rebuilding of 1892-93.² Streetscapes, as well as building material and form, derive their character from this period of construction constituting a recognizable *morphological period* (see section 2.3.3).

3.1.2 Development and Destruction in the 1980s

During the 1980s, there was increased urban redevelopment activity in downtown St. John's (see Fig. 1, p. A01, Appendix A) resulting in the destruction of built form. Prior to that decade, commercial development requiring large-scale lot consolidation and clearance was rare (Howley, 1993, p. 13). Beginning in the late 1970s, large blocks of property on Water and Duckworth Streets were purchased for the construction of speculative office developments, and the pace of development increased during the early 1980s, fuelled by offshore oil-related speculation (Sharpe, 1985, 1990). While piecemeal

²The focus of this study is the advent of large-scale commercial architecture and the attendant complement of vacant spaces and parking lots in downtown St. John's. Recent changes in the residential architecture of downtown St. John's are not discussed here. For a discussion of issues related to the residential architecture of downtown St. John's, including the Heritage By-Law and the St. John's Municipal Plan (1984), see Sharpe 1993 and Howley 1993.

replacement and renovation had gone on throughout the century, a great many facades remained from the years immediately following the Great Fire. For the first time in almost a century, large-scale urban redevelopment was based upon the destruction of substantial portions of the urban fabric in the downtown. This wave of building left St. John's, by the end of the decade, with several large new commercial developments and an array of vacant lots scattered throughout the downtown. Much of this under-utilized property remained vacant into the 1990s, as negative economic pressures prevented the fulfillment of investment plans (Sharpe, 1990; Evening Telegram, Sept. 10, 1994). Most commercial development in the downtown occurred in rapid succession in the 1980s (Sharpe, 1990, p. 32). Meanwhile, ancillary activity like the accommodation of parking and traffic demands represented a further consumption of built form in the inner city (Sharpe, 1990, p. 33).

3.1.3 Fire 1992

In December 1992, another catastrophic fire destroyed a portion of inner city St. John's (see Fig. 2, p. A02, Appendix A). It began in the same area of the city as the Great Fire of 1892, involving buildings to the east of the Freshwater Road and Parade Street intersection. It consumed buildings on both sides of Harvey Road north of Long's Hill. On the north side of Harvey Road, the building in which the fire began, the Church Lads' Brigade (CLB) Armoury, and the buildings to either side of it were destroyed.

3.1.4 Suburban Expansion

Churchill Park was the first planned suburb in St. John's. Between 1944 and 1950, the Churchill Park development was constructed on land north of the contemporary city boundaries (Shrimpton and Lewis, 1984) in the form of an ex-urban garden-city village based upon British and European experience (Sharpe, 1997). It marked the first major planned expansion of the built-up area of the city outside of its historical boundaries. Churchill Park was initiated in response to concern about the state of many of the residential dwellings in the downtown area, inhabited by the city's poorer residents. It was intended to partially alleviate the egregious living conditions found there and was linked to eventual slum clearance. Ultimately, however, the scheme had little effect upon the downtown and conditions there were not substantially addressed until after Post-Confederation suburban growth in the 1960s.

The city grew in a centrifugal expansion of its residential and institutional features along the radial thoroughfares leading outward from the harbour, incorporating suburban areas, in most cases, after they had been developed. The first such expansion occurred in 1945 when the city annexed the Churchill Park area (see Fig. 3, p. A03, Appendix A). The next major expansion did not occur until 1963 when the perimeter boundary was moved to incorporate the new site of Memorial University north of Churchill Park and to include substantial areas of the east and west ends of the city that had since been developed as residential suburbs. The city was not expanded substantially again until 1985, when the largest accretion ever to the area of the city was made with the addition of suburban residential communities to the

northeast and southwest (Kilbride). Substantial undeveloped regions to the north (Pippy Park) and northwest, as well as largely uninhabited terrain to the south, were also added at this time. In 1992, other residential suburbs in the vicinity of the municipal area were annexed to the city (the Goulds, Wedgewood Park), (Fig. 3, p. A03, Appendix A).

These boundary changes reflect substantial growth in the population of the city and its peripheral regions from the 1960s to the 1980s. Post-War economic and demographic growth, spurred by Confederation with Canada in 1949, resulted in a population increase in St. John's of over two-thirds between 1951 and 1971. "The majority of this increase resulted from peripheral expansion, with substantial outward revision of the city limits" (Shrimpton, 1979 a, p. 93). Through expansions of administrative jurisdiction, the City of St. John's effectively attempted to catch up with the growth of its suburban areas. Communities that today remain outside the City's jurisdiction also demonstrated dramatic population growth from the 1960s to the 1980s and account for large increases in commuter traffic into the city core. "Between 1971 and 1976 the population of the City fell by 2.1%, while the rest of the CMA [Census Metropolitan Area] experienced a population increase of 30.9%. Some of this change is attributable to a movement of people from the City to new housing in [suburban areas such as] Mount Pearl, Wedgewood Park, Paradise, Kilbride, etc." (Shrimpton, 1979b, p. 1).

In a pattern typical of most of North America (Ford, 1994), the relative growth of suburban regions had a corollary in sharp inner city population decline during the same time frame. The decade of the 1970s was particularly devastating for downtown St. John's as a virtual

demographic decompression occurred, wherein the inner city was abandoned for peripheral suburban communities that offered "cheap residential land and low tax rates" (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981, p. 1). While a population loss was experienced for the City as a whole relative to the greater CMA, it is a fraction of the loss experienced in the inner city for the same period. There, the population dropped by 1/4 within the decade, making it the greatest percentage loss for any Canadian inner city with a particularly dramatic total population loss of 43% for the eastern portion of the downtown area between the years 1971 and 1980 (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981, p. 9).

The political structure of the City came to reflect the shifting demographics of the greater St. John's area as the incorporation of larger area added population to its jurisdiction. The long-standing allocation of seven councillors was increased to nine in 1969 for the second Council after the 1963 areal expansion. To account for the subsequent changes in geographical area represented by the city after the second major boundary expansion in 1981, a partial ward system was re-introduced, having not existed in St. John's since the nineteenth century³. The number of Councillors was not increased, however, until 1992 when two wards were added for the amalgamation of the suburban

³A ward system existed in St. John's from the first municipal election in 1888 until the municipal election of 1896. It was dropped from 1902 onward. A ward system was re-introduced in 1981 when four wards were combined with four at-large council seats (i. e. At-large Councillors are not elected by a specific geographic area or ward but by a City wide vote) and the position of mayor for a total of nine council seats. In 1992 two wards were added when the suburban areas of Wedgewood Park and the Goulds were amalgamated with the City of St. John's. In 1992 Wedgewood Park became part of Ward 1 and the total remains at five wards in 2000. At-large council seats remained at four, in addition to the position of mayor, giving a total of nine Council seats (see p. D02, Appendix D). Only Ward 2 represents inner city St. John's, including a largely uninhabited area south of the city comprised of several small outlying communities. The main bulk of the population in this ward resides in the downtown portion of the ward. The other surrounding wards represent substantial suburban populations (see p. D01, Appendix D).

communities of Wedgewood Park and the Goulds (see p. D02, Appendix D).

3.1.5 Planning Control

In 1973, a proposal for the construction of a large-scale development on Water Street called Atlantic Place was first presented. Atlantic Place was a significant departure from the kind of architecture that characterized the largely undisturbed streetscape of Water Street. The original proposal incorporated a hotel in two eight-storey towers atop a monolithic ten-storey base, housing offices (Sharpe, 1979, p. 101). Its sheer scale was such a challenge to the existing urban context that alarm was raised at the destructive and obstructive potential of such large-scale development (Howley, 1993, p. 14-16). Ultimately, only a nine-storey base portion and a separate eight-storey parking garage were constructed, despite the fact that no regulation existed at the time to limit the height of the development or to protect the row of nineteenth century buildings it replaced.

In the controversy that erupted over the Atlantic Place development, the entire planning staff of the City of St. John's resigned in protest, leaving the City without any professional planning advice from 1973 to 1978 (Sharpe, 1986, p. 6). In the intervening years, the Council was content to rely upon the limited stipulations of an earlier zoning by-law, giving rise to demands for some form of legislation that would protect the scale and character of the downtown.

Contemporary with that development was the construction of an arterial highway that entered the downtown at the western end of the harbour near the old railway station from a path along the Southside

Hills (Molgaard, J., 1981). Objections to that project as well as organized lobbying in opposition to Atlantic Place raised an awareness that led to the development of heritage preservation legislation (Howley, 1993, p. 15).

3.1.6 Heritage By-Law

The Heritage By-Law, introduced in 1977, attempted to control building in the central residential and commercial districts of downtown. It established a Heritage Conservation Area in the central downtown area in which the controls of the By-Law would apply. The St. John's Heritage Conservation Area represented the largest single area protected under this kind of legislation in Canada (Howley, 1993, p.19). The Heritage By-Law was not, however, supported by new zoning legislation and, in the wake of the Atlantic Place controversy, no planning department existed to carry out a review of the existing Zoning By-Law. The Heritage By-Law thus existed in a "policy vacuum" (Howley, 1993, p. 20) that would not begin to be filled until the re-establishment of the planning department in 1978. The belated review of the existing legislation was further complicated by the concurrent application to develop two office towers (Duffett Building, Scotia Centre) that exceeded the suggested limits within the newly designated conservation area.

In 1980 a report commissioned by the City in order to assist the review of the existing Zoning By-Law was presented by the firm A. J. Diamond Planners Ltd. (A. J. Diamond Planners Ltd. 1980). The Diamond Report recommended a four-storey limit in the primary commercial district of downtown and a maximum floor area ratio

(FAR) of 3.0 (Sharpe, 1981, p.21). In April of that year a committee was appointed by the City to review the Heritage By-Law. Subsequent to its recommendations the Heritage Conservation Area was further articulated into three specific precincts, dividing the downtown into residential, historic/institutional, and commercial designations (See Fig.4, p. A04, Appendix A); maximum floor area ratios (FAR) ranging from 3.0 to 6.0 were permitted in the commercial areas and building height was set at a maximum of ten storeys (Sharpe 1986, p. 14). It was in the commercial precincts that the height limitations imposed by the legislation were challenged by high-rise development.

3.1.7 The Municipal Plan

The first municipal plan for the City of St. John's was adopted in 1984. Until that time, Council's approach to development, particularly in the downtown, could be characterized as 'laissez-faire' or 'ad hoc' (Sharpe, 1993, p. 25). Discussions towards the development of the Municipal Plan began in the early 1980s and a Draft Municipal Plan was prepared in 1982 and subjected to review (Sharpe, 1993, p.25).

Subsequent to changes proposed by the review committee, a second draft was prepared and presented at a series of public hearings in 1983, as required by the Provincial Urban and Rural Planning Act. Prior to that, what little development control existed in St. John's was embodied in the 1977 Heritage By-Law and the City's Zoning By-Laws, which were neither integrated nor supported by a broader policy document.

The 1984 Municipal Plan gave the various control mechanisms a policy framework for the first time and placed them in the legislative context of an overall plan for the development of the city. Criticism of

the Plan claimed that it allowed Council to do what it wished with regard to development within the downtown (Sharpe, 1992, p.67). This perception was fueled by the previous actions of Council with regard to the exercise of discretionary authority when it came to development controls. Council frequently invoked discretionary power to override the development controls embodied in the Heritage By-Law⁴. The effectiveness of development controls was further compromised by the fact that no independent review was required when changes to the legislation were made, and the recommendations of the Heritage Advisory Committee, established by the legislation, were not binding upon Council (Howley, 1993).

The historical *modus operandi* of Council with regard to development decisions was challenged in an application for amendment to allow the construction of a 12-storey speculative condominium project named Holloway House within the Heritage Conservation Area. The Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs denied approval for this amendment, and Council was, for the first time, forced to conform to its own legislated planning controls. The Holloway House controversy demonstrated the importance of third party review of amendments to the development control legislation to the integrity of planning controls in general.

Most high-rise development in downtown St. John's occurred after 1980 and before the adoption of the 1984 Municipal Plan. It occurred in clusters ranging from just outside the eastern perimeter of the residential area to its western border along the commercial flank of

⁴Throughout the period 1977 to 1997, Heritage Conservation was supported by some members of City Council, most notably Suzanne (Shannie) Duff, who also served as Mayor from 1990 to 1993; however these views remained in the minority on Council with respect to decisions concerning development (de Jong, personal interview, June 7, 1999).

the downtown area bordering on the harbour (Sharpe, 1985). Development at either extremity of the downtown residential area had been anticipated and encouraged by the City's Planning Department. A large site adjacent to City Hall in the west end of downtown had been cleared prior to the 1970s, and plans for a thirty-six-storey complex by Trizec Corporation had been approved in 1974 (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1980, p. 102). The Trizec project ultimately fell through and the site remained vacant until the Cabot Place Development, consisting of a Hotel and two office towers, proceeded in 1986. The site of the Newfoundland Hotel on the eastern perimeter of the downtown residential area was zoned as commercial prior to 1980. The adjacent sites of the Baine Johnston Centre and the NewTel Building were included in this zoning and sat on properties that had historically served non-residential purposes.

3.1.8 Summary

Two patterns evident in the context described above are the destruction of urban form and the construction of several large-scale high-rise developments. In this section, the motivations for and implications of these patterns are discussed and elaborated upon.

The uniform aging of the downtown urban fabric, which was largely the product of the re-building after the Great Fire of 1892, led to its collective obsolescence in the early 1980s when development pressures began to mount. Throughout the downtown, buildings that had stood for the better part of a century were demolished to accommodate development or to provide parking for adjacent developments and in anticipation of further speculative construction.

A long history of decline in the importance of downtown as a residential location set the stage for the pressure for destruction and development that emerged in the 1980s. In the 1960s and 1970s, this decline in the residential population, relative to the greater St. John's region, was paralleled by economic decline (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1981). By the 1980s, the original population had been replaced by a concoction of the socially disadvantaged and the highly educated (Sharpe, 1993, p.13). In this context, the aims of heritage preservation were increasingly identified with the advocacy of the socially privileged (O'Dea, 1981, p.4).

As the residential population shifted to the periphery of the metropolitan area, an increase in the number of suburban councillors reflected that growth (see p.D02, Appendix D). As is typical throughout North America, the inner city consequently became increasingly politically marginalized, as the cycle of residential displacement and economic decline was exacerbated by disinvestment and neglect (Ford, 1994). A decline in influence, both economic and political, conspired to encourage City Council to place a premium upon commercial development in the downtown, to the detriment of the preservation of its residential and historic character. A perception of the downtown as the historical center of commercial activity on the part of the residents of the greater metropolitan area, given the increase in the political representation of suburban areas, also contributed to the prioritization of commercial development in the downtown and compromised attempts to fend off the encroachment of commercial development into the historically vital residential quarter of downtown⁵.

⁵Vociferous public opposition to various developments in the downtown was, at times, expressed. One of the most vocal supporters of historic preservation on Council was Councillor Suzanne (Shannie) Duff. Duff notes that there were others on Council who, from time to time, gave support

Furthermore, the increasing significance of suburban retail and commercial developments relative to the economic decline of the downtown area during the period of the 1960s and 1970s, added an air of urgency to Council's accommodation of downtown commercial development, and attendant destruction. Between 1961 and 1971 Statistics Canada recorded a 29 percent drop in the number of retail establishments in the inner city, as well as a corresponding decrease in its relative economic importance in comparison with the greater CMA (Shrimpton and Sharpe, 1980, p. 99). The loss of the downtown's former importance as the center of retail and commercial activity to suburban malls and industrial parks exacerbated this tendency to encourage development in the face of perceived competition from other municipalities (Evening Telegram, Jan. 21, 1982). The idea that downtown St. John's, without development, would lose out to other centres was fuelled by the rapid expansion of the suburban bedroom community of Mount Pearl.

The dynamic of recent urban development in St. John's followed the patterns exhibited throughout North America; however, the prolonged economic stagnation of much of the indigenous economy

for heritage preservation (e.g. Councillors Ray O'Neill and Frances Innis) but these views were not held consistently by other Council members and were, more often than not, in the minority. Councillors John Murphy, Dorothy Wyatt, and Andrew Wells, all of whom at one time or other have served as mayor, were most consistently pro-development (Duff, personal interview, June 1, 1999). It is clear from the make-up of successive councils between 1977 and 1997 (see p. D02, Appendix D) that pro-development councillors, Murphy, Wells and Wyatt remained consistently part of the complexion of Council. Dr. Peter Boswell, specialist in St. John's municipal politics, notes that heritage preservation never became "an important (or even salient)" issue in municipal elections in the City (Boswell, Department of Political Science of Memorial University, personal communication). Duff also recounted that heritage preservation was never an election issue per sé, offering, by way of explanation, the fact that most of the controversies that erupted over particular developments occurred at mid-term and were resolved by the time of the next municipal election. Her pro-heritage stance, however, she asserts was often an issue and considered a liability for her personally during elections. A contemporary commentator wrote in 1981: "It is very clear that, despite what may have been hoped for or felt, the idea of a heritage area never had the support of the general populace nor any thoughtful commitment from the politicians or business people. Part of the problem here is that they did not know what conservation entailed and could not be told because they were not sufficiently interested" (O'Dea, 1981, p. 9).

during the 1970s and 1980s delayed their advent in St. John's. Another factor that cannot be overlooked is the incorporation of Newfoundland in the Canadian confederation in 1949. Prior to this political integration, Newfoundland was effectively isolated from the movements of North American urban development and, as a result, has a slightly different chronology with respect to the advent of such influences in St. John's. Substantial suburban expansion in St. John's, for example, did not occur until after Confederation, despite the start of the construction of Churchill Park in 1944 (Shrimpton and Lewis, 1984). The city did not experience the kind of urban renewal that was typical of North America in the 1950s and 1960s (Howley, 1993, p. 13), and the wave of high-rise construction that took place in St. John's in the 1980s lagged behind similar tendencies throughout North America by about a decade.

All the above mentioned factors – obsolescence of built form, decline in the role of the downtown core (residential, economic and political), a perception of the downtown as primarily commercial, as well as the influence of architectural trends in North America – set the stage for the patterns of destruction and development manifested in the architecture of downtown St. John's.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Study Area: Downtown St. John's

The area in which this study was carried out is the historic downtown of St. John's. The study area is roughly bounded by the following streets: Cook's Hill, Factory Lane, Forest Road to where King's Bridge Road meets Military Road at Cavendish Square, Military Road, Bonaventure Avenue, Merrymeeting Road, Parade Street, Harvey Road, LeMarchant Road, and Patrick Street, forming a loop with Water Street on the harbour side (see Fig. 5, p. A05, Appendix A). The particular case study sites examined within this loop are outlined below.

Most recent large-scale commercial development in St. John's has been concentrated along Water and Duckworth Streets, which run parallel to the waterfront in the central commercial portion of downtown, and on New Gower Street in the west end. Also, a collection of vacant sites and parking lots are scattered throughout the study area in the vicinity of recent developments. The study area also includes areas cleared of built form to accommodate road improvements as well as the site of the 1992 fire, which sits within the perimeter of the northern loop of the streets north of Harvey Road (Bonaventure Avenue, Merrymeeting Road, and Parade Street).

3.2.2 Case Study Sites

The object of this study is to "read" the physical reality the city – the townscape as it actually exists – in order to determine what cultural values may be embodied therein. This is done through an examination of the decisions made in the building process and the context in which they were made. Those involved directly with the building process experience the influences upon those decisions most directly. Case study analysis allows the examination of the present state of the city on a case by case basis wherein decision-making may be investigated in relation to its physical result with a view towards determining what cultural values may have influenced those decisions.

The case study sites are grouped according to location and development status. Case study sites of development and non-development for downtown and following the 1992 fire are categorized separately, resulting in four groupings. Data relating to these case study sites are presented later in the case study reports.

3.2.2.1 Downtown Development

Downtown development consists of case study sites where new building replaced built form, typically, commercial office developments that involved lot consolidation and clearance. Such development in the downtown after 1980 began with the Duffett Building/TD Bank at Prescott and Water/Duckworth Streets, and was followed by the construction of Ayre's/Scotia Centre at Water Street and Ayre's Cove/McBride's Hill (see section 4.1). New construction also occurred at the east end of Duckworth Street where the Hotel Newfoundland and the Baine Johnson Centre were built, and in the west end near City Hall

where the Cabot Place Development was erected. All four case study sites of downtown development involved the demolition of existing structures prior to development. Although there are only four case study sites in this category, these case study sites represent all the large-scale commercial development in the study area for the period examined.

3.2.2.2 Downtown Non-Development

Downtown non-development refers to case study sites where built form was removed in the downtown area but was not replaced by new building. This includes space converted for use as parking. Indeed, much inner city destruction was initially carried out for the provision of parking for adjacent developments or cleared for the construction of access roads (see section 4.2). Other sites that were cleared in anticipation of development have remained empty for so long that interim use for parking has become semi-permanent. Downtown non-development case study sites are as follows: Cochrane Street/132-146 Duckworth Street; Carino Site/147-149 Duckworth Street; King's Road/147-149 Duckworth Street; Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street; Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street (including 3-15, 22-26 Prescott Street and 2-10 Victoria Street); Evening Telegram Site – 154 Water Street; Marshall Building Site – 123-127 Water Street; Mechanics Hall Site – 96-98 Water Street; Bell Street/332-338 Duckworth Street (including 4-12, 3, 11, 17, 21 Bell Street); York Theatre Site – 366-372 Water Street; Hamilton Avenue (1-33 Hamilton Avenue); Water Street West – Newfoundland Railway Yard; Plymouth Road/10-22 Duckworth Street (including 23, 29, 31, 45 Plymouth Road); Holloway House Site.

3.2.2.3 Post-Fire Development

Post-fire development includes rebuilding that has replaced properties destroyed by fire on December 21, 1992 in the vicinity of Harvey Road and Long's Hill: the CLB (Church Lads' Brigade) Armoury; the Big R/Johnny's Restaurant; Collette Nap Business/Residence; Tim Horton's. The Post-Fire situation was examined in this study because it provided an opportunity to explore the motivations for development that arise following the destruction of built form in circumstances that contrast with those found in the case study sites of downtown development.

3.2.2.4 Post-Fire Non-Development

Post-fire non-development refers to case study sites left vacant when properties were destroyed by the December 1992 fire, upon which no rebuilding has taken place and for which there are no immediate plans for development: the Dominion Site and sites between Harvey Road and Long's Hill formerly owned by Rock 'n' Leather, Ziggy Peelgood's, and Roma Pizzeria. The post-fire non-development case study sites were examined so that the constraints that prevented rebuilding in these circumstances could be explored and compared to the motivations experienced in the post-fire development case study sites. The post-fire non-development case study sites also provide a contrast to the downtown non-development case study sites examined.

3.2.3 Time Frame

The time frame covered in this study is from 1977 to 1997 – beginning with the adoption of the Heritage By-Law for St. John's in 1977. Most of the recent change in the urban fabric in downtown St. John's occurred within this time frame. Prior to the adoption of the Heritage By-Law, there was no legislative protection for the architectural fabric of the historic downtown core of St. John's beyond the controls stipulated in the Downtown Zoning By-Law. This study looks at changes that occurred after the advent of the legislative protection of historic architecture in downtown St. John's.

3.2.4 Built Form

According to Mumford (1938), change in the state of building at a given time may be read as reflecting change in civilization itself (see section 1.1). Evaluating change in built form, then, should permit inferences to be made about change in contemporary society that, by extension, may be interpreted as reflecting contemporary cultural values embodied therein. For the purposes of this thesis, architecture is interpreted broadly as built form. This definition arises out of the theoretical division of urban form into the three component parts: town plan, built form, and land use that is a convention of morphological analysis (Larkham, 1995, p. 143; Whitehand and Larkham, 1992, p. 6).

Typically, architecture is thought of as that building which is the product of the professional design activity of architects alone. Here, architecture is interpreted as that component of urban form – built form – which is the product of a decision-making process related to building whether by architects or other individuals involved in the building

process. The broader definition of architecture adopted here allows the analysis of all building of which a city is composed.

3.2.5 Development and Destruction

This study focuses on case study sites of both development and non-development following the destruction of built form in downtown St. John's in order to enable the assemblage of a more complete picture of the dynamic of the production of built form. The destruction of built form that gives rise to vacant sites is an important physical result in its own right (Whitehand 81, p. 13). Referring specifically to the vacant sites that are created by the demolition of buildings within a streetscape, destruction is seen as integral to the process of the generation of built form, in that it is either preparatory to development or provides the motivation for development when rebuilding efforts are precipitated by catastrophic destruction.

This thesis takes as its starting point the physical reality of the city – the townscape as it actually exists. Destruction is viewed as an element of the townscape, that is, as a product, not a process. Therefore, the focus is upon the existence of this physical result and what it may be interpreted to represent. The focus is not upon the buildings that no longer exist, but upon the complementary existence of the two physical results of recent change: development and destruction.

3.3 Data

As explained above (see section 1.2), this study will examine the decisions of individuals involved in the building process in order to determine what cultural values may have influenced those decisions and hence may be seen to be embodied in the architecture of St. John's. Therefore, the individuals who had first hand knowledge of the developments on the case study sites are the focus of this study. Interviews, called site-specific interviews here (see section 3.3.1.1), were chosen because they provided the best means of accessing the knowledge of those directly involved in the building process. Interviews also provided the flexibility necessary to cover the wide range of topics and concerns that arose as a result of the diversity of case study sites covered.

Those involved in the building process, either as owners of property that was developed or as initiators of development plans, have a particular knowledge of contemporary events. For this reason, owners were the first to whom requests for interviews were extended. Where owners were not available, others involved in management of the subject property were contacted. In some cases, no individual directly involved with the development of the site was available, in which case former owners of the property developed were interviewed or information from general interviews, described below (see section 3.3.1.2), was complemented by data taken from documentary sources. Architects were interviewed regarding aspects of individual properties (the CLB Armoury, Hotel Newfoundland) in order to provide information about design decisions that had a bearing upon the choices made by their clients and about technical information that could only be

provided by a design professional. Contractors or construction companies involved in the building of the subject properties were not interviewed because, while contractors carry out the construction plans, they are usually not the primary decision-makers.

Given the focus of this study upon the decisions made in the building process, interviews were not conducted with those outside the building process. Interviews were conducted with those who made decisions related to building on the case study sites examined or had some input into those decisions or who could recount elements of the context in which those decisions were made. Interviews were not conducted with representatives of companies outside of Newfoundland that were involved in development in St. John's, but with individuals with experience of the local context. Generally, interviews were not conducted where building did not occur, except in the case of the post-fire case study sites (see sections 3.2.2.3 and 3.2.2.4).

Since the 1992 Harvey Road Fire affected a large number of properties at one time and the decision to rebuild or not to rebuild took place in the immediacy of post-fire circumstances, the decisions made at that time represent choices made about building by various individuals facing similar circumstances regardless of whether rebuilding took place or not. These individuals were locally available to be interviewed and had a recent experience of the context in which their decisions were made. Therefore, interviews were conducted for both the post-fire development and non-development case study sites allowing a comparison between both results.

There was a total of twenty six case study sites; four downtown development, fourteen downtown non-development, four post-fire

development and four post-fire non-development. Reflecting the focus on decision-making related to building, site-specific interviews were conducted primarily for the case study sites of development, except where post-fire non-development reflected decision-making about potential rebuilding. Three interviews were conducted for the four cases of downtown development. There was a single interview for downtown non-development (Mechanics Hall Site).⁶ Six interviews were conducted for the four case study sites of post-fire development and four interviews were conducted for the post-fire non-development sites. Three general interviews were conducted.

(see Table 2, p. C01, Appendix C, for a list of interviews)

This study set out to evaluate the embodiment of cultural values in the architecture of St. John's through an examination of the decisions made in relation to the physical changes observed in the city in the period from 1977 to 1997, which primarily involve commercial architecture. Therefore, no attempt was made to survey the attitudes of the general public.

The interviews were conducted with the intent of identifying the influences, motivations, and constraints that had a bearing upon the building process. Therefore, in the interview data, particular focus was paid to comments relating to these factors. Documentary evidence, described below (see section 3.3.1.4), which supplemented these comments or that provided background to the events described was also examined. Taken together, the interview and documentary sources help

⁶A site-specific interview was conducted for the Mechanics Hall Site, which serves as a parking lot. This interview was conducted because the site represented the unfulfilled development plans of a local developer, the current owner of the property Danny Williams (see section 4.2.8), and because the property was purchased on the condition that the structure be removed in anticipation of development. The site, therefore, demonstrates decision-making related to planned building which subsequently did not materialize.

construct a picture of the context in which decisions were made in the building process, with a view to interpreting what cultural values may be reflected in those decisions.

3.3.1 Data Collection

All forms of data used in this study are described below and, where relevant, their limitations discussed.

3.3.1.1 Site-Specific Interviews

Site-specific interviews were those that took place with the individuals who were directly involved in the decision-making related to the development of a specific site. Each interview was guided by a discussion outline targeted to the type of case study site – development or non-development (see Appendix C for sample). Not all points in the given discussion outline could be raised with each interviewee since the individual conditions varied from site to site; however, the same general themes were explored in each: purpose (i.e. motivation for development), time frame, use, ownership, design, cost, codes and regulations, status of plans for future development. Where a site-specific interview was not possible with the owner/developer of a particular site, an interview was conducted with the former owners of the properties which were later developed by others. A single interview was conducted with each interviewee and consent was attained at the time of the interview. Where permission was given, these were audio-taped and later transcribed for analysis. Not all interviews were recorded and in two cases, they were declined (Johnny's Restaurant and the Duffett Building).⁷

While the discussion outlines were useful for guiding interviews with respect to certain topics, the nature of conversations with individuals about their recollections is such that fruitful digressions

⁷Information for these two case study sites was gathered through other means: general interviews, personal communication, documentary sources and secondary sources.

from the path of the outline can often be explored. Interviewees often expand upon an issue raised in a particular discussion outline and provide more information this way. Similarly, some individuals were willing to talk about certain issues identified in the discussion outline, such as finance and private business arrangements, in general terms but not in specific ones. Interviews permitted the gathering of information from such unstructured portions of the conversation.

(See Table 2, p. C01, Appendix C for a list of site-specific interviews.)

3.3.1.2 General Interviews

General interviews did not focus on particular case study sites, but inquired about the circumstances at that time surrounding the developments under study. The general interviews were conducted with a particular focus on a given subject (e.g. the city planning context, the political context) and were guided by a discussion outline. General interviews were also audio-taped.

(See Table 2, p. C01, Appendix C for a list of general interviews.)

3.3.1.3 Personal Communication

Personal communication provided information related to a specific subject matter (e. g. parking, building regulations, building inspection, and planning) through informal communication, without a discussion outline and without electronic recording. Personal communication provided supplementary information such as building regulations, city maps, and planning documents identified in the site-specific and general interviews (for a list of personal communication sources related to individual case study sites see Appendix B).

The information gathered using the above methodology, relating to the period of time and subject properties studied, was compared to and corroborated with documentary sources.

3.3.1.4 Documentary Sources

Documentary sources (for a list of documentary sources related to individual case study sites see Appendix B) were used to provide the main data on case study sites of non-development. They were also used to corroborate information relating to case study sites of development, especially when site-specific interviews were not possible or where only general interviews were conducted.

Non-development sites were often owned by development companies, investors, and in the case of public parking sites, by the City. Where no individual was available to discuss a non-development site, documentary evidence was used to determine information such as when the site originally became vacant, the ownership of the site, the current use of the site, and how long the site has remained vacant and under the current use. Information about several sites of non-development and City owned parking areas was also attained through personal communication with City officials.

The documentary sources used in this research were: City of St. John's Planning Documents, files from the City of St. John's Archives, City of St. John's Municipal Council Minutes, City of St. John's Assessment Rolls, the Provincial Registry of Deeds, the National Building Code of Canada, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Building Accessibility Regulations, architects' drawings and survey

plans of individual properties and newspaper articles. The information provided in each of these documents is described below.

The City of St. John's Planning Documents provided records of the controls placed upon building in St. John's during the period of time discussed in this study, and demonstrated changes to these controls over time. Planning documents provided a record of the planning regulations as they applied to a building at a particular point in time; however, their evolution through the public hearing processes was not evident in the documents themselves. This information was available through other secondary sources and through the general interviews.

Files from the City of St. John's Archives provided information on demolition permits and property ownership and a record of correspondence related to individual properties. These files have strengths and weaknesses. While a great deal of information is available, the method of recording often makes site by site retrieval difficult. Also, the method of recording varies from source to source; for example, a series of files from the Department of the City Clerk that collected correspondence relating to individual addresses was filed according to civic number address only, not by owner name or date. Ownership, dates of ownership change, and dates of demolition were retrieved from this source, especially for case study sites of non-development.

Demolition permits, on the other hand, are recorded amongst all other building permits issued by the City according to date, address, and name of the individual or company to whom the permit was issued. Demolition permits are not always issued to the owner of the property, but are often registered to the company contracted to carry out the

demolition. Often, more than one demolition permit was issued for an individual property, as new permits were issued for properties that were not demolished under a previous, expired permit. The dates of demolition, then, were determined by a combination of sources: permit registration, other archival files and, occasionally, newspaper reports.

City of St. John's Municipal Council Minutes were used to determine dates of approval for development and demolition and to provide a record of the debates that took place amongst Council members as they related to individual developments. Much of this debate took place, however, in special *in camera* meetings of Council. This presents a limitation to the record of debate surrounding some of the more controversial developments that took place in downtown St. John's during the period examined.

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls were used to find the current ownership of subject properties and this information, combined with the Provincial Registry of Deeds, helped determine the history of ownership. The City of St. John's Assessment Rolls record all business occupants of a property, without specifying ownership. Verification of the identity of the owner must be sought through other sources like the Registry of Deeds.

The Provincial Registry of Deeds records all deeds related to the conveyance (sale) of a property, as well as any mortgages held on that property. Conveyance and mortgage deeds are recorded amongst all other deeds according to the name of the owner. Therefore, following the history of ownership for a particular property requires the search of owner names over a period of time, as a property was conveyed from one owner to another. Clear provenance is not always easy to ascertain.

Often property is registered in the name of one spouse while the family business operates at the same address under the name of the other. In the case of investment property, for example, ownership is often held "in trust" for the developer by their appointees (i.e. accountants, lawyers). In this case, it was necessary to verify the ownership not by individual name, but by other corroborating factors like mailing addresses and sources such as correspondence.

Development companies often have several branches that operate in different spheres of the business, separating property acquisition from property development and property management, for example. Property ownership may be registered under several different names throughout the various stages of development. Representatives of the development firm often acquire property under the name of smaller firms that eventually transfer ownership to the larger development company prior or subsequent to construction. This makes the verification of property ownership through the use of the Registry of Deeds problematic. Ascertaining property ownership was possible through the combination of sources described above. The Registry of Deeds was sometimes also a source for survey plans of subject properties.⁸

The National Building Code of Canada stipulates the life safety and building construction standards that must be adhered to in new construction in Canada. The City of St. John's Building Department adheres to these standards in their building inspection and approvals. The National Building Code stipulations are minimum standards that have an element of interpretation within them with regard to actual

⁸Deeds of conveyance are normally registered with attached survey plans and are available at the Provincial Registry of Deeds.

application. A variation in materials and construction techniques are permitted within the requirements of the code. Part of the role of the City's Building Department is the interpretation of the regulations outlined in the National Building Code as it applies the construction of individual buildings under their jurisdiction (Carol Kirkland, personal communication). The City may also have requirements supplementary to those outlined in the National Building Code. Handicapped access regulations, for example, are specified in the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Building Accessibility Regulations that is employed in conjunction with the National Building Code and is administered by the Provincial Department of Government Lands and Services (John Hannaford, personal communication).

Architects' drawings sometimes represent buildings not as they were constructed, but perhaps as they were designed. Sometimes final design and detail drawings were not available, but the intentions of the owner and designer are evident from those drawings that were available.⁹ In some cases, complete sets of drawings were not available, but plans and elevations as submitted to the City's Building Department were.

⁹Architects' drawings are the property of the architect and the owner of the building designed. Therefore they are not reproduced here.

3.3.2 Data Analysis

The collection of data through the above sources was intended to contribute to an understanding of the decisions made about building and to provide insight into the context in which these decisions were made, with a view to permitting an interpretation regarding the cultural values that are reflected in those decisions. Therefore, in interpreting these data, what was highlighted was information relating to decisions and context, especially that which explained the motivations, influences and constraints guiding those decisions.

3.3.2.1 Site-Specific Interview Analysis

The important points obtained from the site-specific interviews were: why a particular development was initiated, what sources of funding or business arrangement contributed to its development, what constraints were experienced with regard to the proposals for development, and what regulations and policies had an influence upon the shape of the development. In other words, what was extracted from these interviews was information about money, policy, and regulation that had an influence upon the development.

3.3.2.2 General Interview Analysis

Since general interviews had a particular area of focus related to the experience or expertise of the individual interviewed, the information pertaining to these particular issues related to the case study sites was highlighted in these interviews. More general information regarding the context (e. g. planning, political) surrounding development was also of importance in terms of providing an

understanding of the environment in which decisions were made. Priorities identified by interviewees, difficulties experienced in achieving objectives in their field of experience, observations about the priorities and objectives of others involved were also important points that were highlighted and extracted from the interviews. General interviews were reviewed with attention to the recollections of debates and controversy and the chronology of events surrounding individual developments. This information together with that taken from site-specific interviews was used to inform the record of the individual subject properties in this thesis.

3.3.2.3 Case Study Analysis

Data from the above sources was compiled in the form of case study reports that are presented in the next chapter. In order to identify factors influencing the decisions made with regard to the individual subject properties, the case studies were analyzed in the following way.

The case study reports were reviewed to identify the most important themes that arose in the case study sites examined, as determined by the frequency of occurrence of particular patterns. First, the factors influencing the development or non-development of each site were listed. Factors for each case study site were then compared and recurring patterns were identified and ranked according to the frequency of occurrence. Patterns that recurred in a number of sites within the case study groupings were considered to be more important than those appearing in only one or two case study sites. It should be noted that in the study area, there is a relatively small number of sites in the given case study groupings during the period studied. For

example, there were only four case study sites in both the downtown and post-fire development groupings. Nevertheless, the patterns that emerge represent all the large-scale commercial and post-fire development that occurred in the study area during this period.

CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDIES

The following case study reports describe the history and context of the case study sites of development and non-development in downtown St. John's (see section 3.2.1). The data presented in this section will be interpreted in terms of the research question posed in section 1.2, in the discussion and conclusion sections in Chapter 6.

4.1 Downtown Development

The case study sites of downtown development are recounted in the following order: The Duffett Building/TD Bank, The Ayre's/Scotia Centre, The Cabot Place Development, and The Newfoundland Hotel.

4.1.1 Duffett Building/TD Bank

(see Fig. 6, p. A06, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B01, Appendix B.¹⁰

The Duffett Building at 140 Water Street was a project of the development division of the Sobey family – Atlantic Capital Corporation of Stellarton, Nova Scotia. The Toronto Dominion Bank became the prime tenants of the building after the development was initiated by Atlantic Capital Corporation.¹¹ Over a period of several years in the late 1970s, Atlantic Capital Corporation anonymously acquired properties in downtown St. John's for the purpose of speculative development. Harold Duffett, the local agent for Atlantic Capital Corporation, acquired land for the construction of the building at the corner of Prescott and Duckworth Streets and also for off-site parking in its vicinity through several different companies (e. g. Business Services Ltd., Scotia Developments Ltd., Atlantic Holdings Ltd., Eastern Capital Corporation).

The project became known as the Duffett Building because of this initial activity by the various agencies of Harold Duffett. It only became public knowledge that the proponents of the development were Atlantic Capital Corporation after the application for the construction of the 12-storey office tower in the Heritage Conservation Area was submitted. Prior to his advocacy on behalf of Sobeys, Harold Duffett

¹⁰For a detailed discussion of the events surrounding the Duffett Building, see Sharpe, 1981 and Sharpe 1986.

¹¹Atlantic Capital Corporation employed architect William J. Neish of Toronto as the principle design architect in conjunction with Newfoundland Engineering and Construction Co. Ltd. (NECCO) as the local project managers and structural consultants (John Young, Property Manager, Toronto Dominion Bank, telephone interview, Feb. 28, 2000).

had served as the finance chair of the St. John's Heritage Foundation and his involvement in this development was seen as a defection (Howley, 1993, p. 24; Sharpe, 1986, p. 9).

The Heritage By-Law required that the "bulk, size, height, design and external appearance or any of them of ...a proposed building in a Heritage Area shall be compatible with the environment and other buildings in the locality in which ... the proposed building is to be developed" (Section 13(1), City of St. John's Heritage By-Law). The Duffett Building proposal was in clear violation of the intent of the legislation and required the demolition of the buildings within the Heritage Conservation Area (the former premises of the Royal Stores). "Unfortunately, the wording of the Bylaw was so weak and imprecise that the controls which it appeared to impose were later found to be unenforceable" (Sharpe, 1986, p.6).

The proposal solicited enormous opposition from a remarkable diversity of community groups including citizen and neighbourhood coalitions, agencies representing several levels of governments, churches, business and professional groups. Inhabitants of the residential areas of the downtown which overlook the commercial streets where the construction of this building was proposed objected to the obstruction of views that its height represented and to the impact of increased demand for parking in the area that it would entail.

The majority of Council considered the objections of those opposed as irrelevant. "Control devices such as the Heritage By-Law were criticized as symbols of an anti-development, even anti-progress, attitude fostered by the affluent elite" (Sharpe, 1986, p. 6). In a

concession to the developers, Council¹² allowed the construction of a ten-storey building, following the elimination of two storeys of parking, on the condition that parking be provided at ancillary sites. This concession exacerbated the impact of increased parking demands created by the construction of the office tower itself, by obliging the conversion of several other sites for street-level parking lots (Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street, Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street, Evening Telegram site).

The application for the development occurred at a time when the Heritage By-Law and the Zoning By-Law were being reviewed (see section 3.1.6). The height and bulk controls that were ultimately incorporated in the revised Zoning By-Law did not exist at the time of the proposal. Strategic delays on the part of pro-development councillors and the timely re-submission of plans on the part of the developers prevented the adoption of updated building control legislation until after the Duffett Building, in its latter form, was given final approval on February 4, 1981. The revised Zoning By-Law was approved one month later, with less restrictive controls than those recommended in the Diamond Report, allowing a ten-storey height in the newly defined commercial areas of downtown with an FAR of 3.5 and 60 degree light angle restrictions for setbacks (Sharpe, 1981, p. 41).

A law suit initiated by Lewvest Ltd., a legal firm whose property abutted the new building, argued that the rights of adjacent property owners were infringed upon by the project and that throughout the process of approval for demolition and construction, Council had transgressed its own legislation. The Supreme Court recognized that

¹²Where the word "Council" is used in this manner it refers to an action of City Council approved by a majority vote.

irregularities had occurred during the process; however, it determined that such transgressions were indeed within the discretionary authority of Council. Further, it concluded that such discretionary authority should remain unchallenged in the future. The outcome confirmed the perception that the new regulations had "been framed to allow the biggest business interests to develop their properties" (O'Dea, 1981, p. 8).

The history of the Duffett Building demonstrates three things about the context in which decisions about building were made in St. John's during the early 1980s. First, the majority of City Council appeared willing to accommodate the wishes of a developer like Atlantic Capital Corporation even in the face of considerable public opposition (Sharpe, 1986, p. 9), both in terms of compromising existing regulations (with regard to height, bulk and parking) and in formulating new regulations so as to allow future development. Second, during this process City Council justified policy inconsistencies and transgressions of existing legislation by claiming discretionary authority that derived from electoral authority and was ultimately upheld in court. Third, Council portrayed opposition to its "development at all costs" modus operandi as elitist. The relative value of development, at least in the minds of the majority of City Council, helped determine what concessions the developers were able to attain in terms of controlling the form of the new building. For example, the impact of increased parking demands generated by the Duffett Building was exacerbated by City Council concessions that allowed dispersal of parking to other downtown sites.

4.1.2 Ayre's/Scotia Centre

(see Fig.7, p. A07, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B05, Appendix B.¹³

The Scotia Centre development was constructed on the southwest corner of the intersection of Ayre's Cove/McBride's Hill and Water Street. It replaced buildings formerly occupied by the Ayre's department store and Dicks and Co. Ltd. In 1978, the Ayre family made a proposal to convert the former location of the Ayre's department store, the Pitts Building, into small boutiques. Following the proposal to build the Duffett Building, however, the Ayre family withdrew the original plan for conversion and presented a proposal for a twelve-storey office tower to replace the existing building.

In pursuing this new development strategy, the Ayres, like Harold Duffett, abandoned the heritage movement in St. John's – Lewis Ayre having served as the first Chair of the St. John's Heritage Foundation and his son Miller, as Chair of the Heritage Advisory Committee – and their proposal for development similarly appeared as a kind of defection. This 1980 proposal challenged the controls set out in the new Heritage By-Law and occurred at a time when the Zoning By-Law was under review.

The committee set up to review Heritage By-Law in 1980 (Sharpe 1986, p.14) concurred with the recommendations of the 1980 Diamond Report (see section 3.1.6), suggesting that the Heritage Conservation Area be divided into three distinct precincts with different height limits

¹³For a detailed discussion of the events surrounding the Ayre's/Scotia Centre Development, see Howley, 1993 and Sharpe, 1986.

and that the central commercial area be further divided into sectors with specific controls. The Ayres complained that the stipulations contained in the Diamond Report would make development on a small downtown site like theirs all but impossible (Sharpe, 1986, p. 16). They argued for the more generous controls that were eventually included in the 1980 Downtown Zoning Plan, as they specifically pertained to the Central Commercial Retail (CCR) precinct in which the Ayre's site was located.

Although the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) of 4.0 requested by the Ayres was not attained, it was increased in the new Zoning By-Law to 3.5 from 3.0 in the CCR zone, and the height limit throughout the downtown was set at ten storeys (Sharpe, 1986, p. 16). In response to a direct request from the Ayre family, the light angle restriction was also increased from 45 degrees to 60 degrees at 15 m above grade (Sharpe, 1986, p. 14). When such accommodations were made in the new Zoning By-Law, the proposal for the development of the Ayre property was no longer in conflict with its restrictions.

The Downtown Zoning By-Law was given approval in principle in June 1981, subject to its review by the Heritage Advisory Committee. In keeping with the stipulations of the Heritage By-Law, the Committee recommended that the facade of the Ayre's (Pitts) Building be retained and that a bond be posted for its protection and repair during construction of the new building. This requirement was accepted and a bond of \$250,000 was posted.

In September 1981, the Ayres announced that the property had been sold to the Bank of Nova Scotia. The Bank assumed the undertaking to retain the facade of the Pitts Building, but its plans

included the demolition of buildings to the east of it, thereby doubling the overall size of the development. This much larger development, first presented in January 1982, would have required a FAR of 6.5, well in excess of the 3.5 FAR allowed in the Zoning By-Law. In the context of perceived competition for development from other cities (Evening Telegram, Jan. 21, 1982), heightened by the environment of oil-related real estate speculation, the St. John's City Council agreed to an increase in FAR to 5.0 for this development. In June 1982, the Bank requested permission to demolish all of the buildings on the site, including the previously protected Ayre's (Pitts) Building facade. A waiver of the requirement that the facade be retained was issued, and the bond was returned allowing the Bank to proceed with clearance of the site. Despite pressure from the Bank for immediate accommodation throughout this process and claims that imminent development depended only upon the acquiescence of Council, the development did not proceed until 1985 when the site was cleared and construction began¹⁴.

The case of the Ayre's/Scotia Centre Development demonstrates some of the nuance of the context of the debate over development in downtown St. John's in the early 1980s. The defection of the Ayres from the Heritage movement to the pro-development camp, following the path of Harold Duffett, frustrated those who had felt that some protection for the historic environment of downtown St. John's had been secured by the 1977 Heritage By-Law. The compromise of the regulations governing building height and bulk incorporated in the 1980 Downtown Zoning By-Law facilitated the Ayre's/Scotia Centre

¹⁴The ScotiaCentre building was designed by the bank's Toronto Architects, Young and Wright, and its construction was supervised by the local associate firms BFL Consultants and Shawmont Engineering (Barry Hamilton, Property Manager, Bank of Nova Scotia, telephone interview, Mar. 1, 2000).

Development. The switch to a development strategy was underscored by the involvement of the Bank of Nova Scotia. The selection of the Ayre's site by the Bank reflects the long-standing prestige of the Water Street/Mcbride's Hill intersection. The decision to demolish the previously protected Ayre's (Pitts) building facade was made in conjunction with the expansion of the development to occupy the entire southwest corner of the intersection, including the premises of Dicks and Co. (amongst other smaller properties which composed the site). The value of the old structure was apparently lessened in the eyes of the Ayre's when greater development potential was realized by its sale to the Bank of Nova Scotia. The majority of Council, following the accommodation of the Ayre family in its desire to develop the site, appeared to have little difficulty in approving the more ambitious plans of the Bank.

4.1.3 Cabot Place Development

(See Fig.8, p. A08, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B07, Appendix B.

The 1980 Diamond Report (see section 3.1.6) identified the western end of downtown as an area where development should be encouraged. This area, specifically the tract of land north of New Gower Street and west of City Hall, had remained empty since slum clearance in the 1960s (Sharpe, 1985, p. 31). It was felt that development in this area would relieve the pressure for development in the denser downtown core, and its location near the terminus of the Harbour Arterial provided ready vehicular access. In 1974, a portion of this land was the site of a proposed five tower, 36 storey office complex by Trizec corporation, which was not constructed. Objections to the scale of this proposal and to the original route of the Harbour Arterial, as well as reaction to the construction of Atlantic Place, encouraged the opposition to uncontrolled development (Howley, 1993, p. 15). The site was ultimately combined with land further to the west to accommodate the Cabot Place Development advanced by developer Basil Dobbin in conjunction with Manulife Financial.

The demolition of over one hundred houses in 1982 preparatory to the proposed development rivaled in extent the earlier slum clearance (Sharpe, 1985, p. 33). It involved the closure and purchase of several streets and encroached upon areas that had only recently been upgraded under the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) financed by the Federal Government (Sharpe, 1985, p. 33). Although compensation

was paid to the Federal Government for properties thus affected, this land assembly and clearance contradicted the intent of the program and nullified its effect. The clearance extended as far west as Springdale Street and entailed the rerouting of the lower portion of Casey Street, so that it bisects the Cabot Place Development. The City subsequently closed a portion of Barter's Hill, which connected Livingstone Street to New Gower Street, as part of the rerouting of streets in the area.

Construction proceeded on the Cabot Place development in two phases beginning with the construction of the Radisson (now Delta) Hotel and Conference Centre and an accompanying twelve-storey office tower connected to the hotel by an enclosed elevated walkway over Casey Street. Both sit atop an underground parking structure that is built into the slope of the hill and joins the two halves under the street. A second tower was constructed in 1988 but remained under-leased until it was purchased and occupied solely by the Federal Government in 1995. The combination of conference centre facilities with the hotel portion of the development was a feature encouraged by the City with the promise of a five-year tax holiday and the contribution of two acres of land for its construction. The Cabot Place Development was initiated in response to the identification by City Hall of a need for expanded conference centre capacity in the downtown¹⁵. The involvement of Manulife Financial, a division of insurance company Manufacturer's Life of Toronto, was part of a phenomenon observed throughout the real estate industry in the 1970s and 1980s, whereby insurance companies, as well as banks and other financial institutions managing capital available through pension funds, sought investment opportunities in building construction

¹⁵The construction of a civic centre/sporting facility proceeded in 1999 with the involvement of the Dobbins and with a land contribution from the City on the site between City Hall and the Cabot Place Development.

(see section 2.2.3). Typical of this trend was the involvement of a local developer with a national or international chain as the operational partner and future tenant in an integrated partnership with the investor. The Radisson Hotel chain was the operational partner involved in the initiation of the Cabot Place Development (the Delta Hotel chain became the operator of the hotel in 1995). Christopher Barlow, principal architect with the BAE Group, the St. John's architectural design and engineering firm that served as the local associate design firm, noted that this arrangement was typical of this kind of development (Barlow, personal interview, Oct. 4, 1994).¹⁶

Barlow explained that Manulife, like many insurance companies in the early 1980s, invested somewhat indiscriminately in real estate. A surplus of capital, at the time, allowed investments in more marginal markets like that of St. John's, Newfoundland. The anticipation of the benefits of offshore oil development at Hibernia also encouraged speculative investment of this type in St. John's in the early 1980s, despite an excess of office space (Sharpe, 1990, p.32). The margin afforded by such a surplus of capital allowed investments in real estate that did not promise immediate return. The prospect of long-term vacancy, like that experienced in phase two of the Cabot Place Development, did not dissuade investors. As Barlow explained, the labyrinthine collaborations by which investment and construction companies bring projects into being allow profits to be taken from mortgages released upon the completion of a building rather than necessarily from successful leasing (Barlow, personal interview, Oct. 4,

¹⁶The Radisson Hotel chain selected a design firm with whom they had previous experience, Crang and Boake of Toronto, as the primary architectural designers. Barlow notes that it is typical of this type of integrated partnership for development that the operational partner employ an architectural firm with whom they have a previous working relationship, especially in the case of specialized design like that for hotel operations.

1994). This permits the kind of speculative investment exhibited in the Cabot Place Development. However, as the decade progressed, a downturn in the real estate development industry globally, and more particularly, an over supply of commercial office space in St. John's (Sharpe, 1990, p. 33), discouraged this kind of speculative investment in real estate.

The Cabot Place Development represents several themes that emerged in international real estate development in the 1980s. The matching of outside capital with local developers in the 1980s permitted the development of projects that would not have been feasible within the local real estate market alone. The involvement of a multi-national hotel chain allowed the realization of the Cabot Place development in a pattern that was repeated in cities around the world in this period (see section 2.2.3). Throughout the 1980s, large real estate development schemes were characterized by the involvement of integrated development firms utilizing international capital provided by insurance companies and financial institutions. Cabot Place Development represented many of the tactics exemplified by this type of development, such as the extraction of tax exemptions, land contributions and infrastructural investments from government in order to secure development (see section 2.1.7).

4.1.4 Hotel Newfoundland

(see Fig. 9, p. A09, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B09, Appendix B.

In the east end of downtown St. John's, there is a collection of three buildings erected in the early 1980s at the eastern end of Duckworth Street. This site occupies the higher ground between Cavendish Square and Factory Lane north of Plymouth Road. Two of the buildings, the Hotel Newfoundland and the Baine Johnston Centre, were developed with the involvement of the Baine Johnston Company, and the third building is the headquarters of Newtel Corporation. Some neighbourhood objections arose at the time of the construction of the Newtel Building; however, the complaints mainly concerned the height and bulk of the proposed building in relation to the surrounding residential neighbourhood, not to the development of the site per sé. Little building clearance was involved in its construction, and the area in which it was constructed was designated for commercial development. The development of the Hotel Newfoundland site, however, involved the demolition of the old Hotel Newfoundland.

The old hotel was built in 1925 by the Newfoundland government in connection with the development of the Newfoundland railway. It was inherited by Canadian National Railways following Confederation with Canada in 1949 and had been operated by Canadian National since then. The old Newfoundland Hotel had a prestige that derived from its history and imposing appearance and location; however, by the late 1970s, the hotel chain felt that its age and appearance compromised

their competitive position in the St. John's market. A plan to move the hotel operation to a new location fell through when the proposal for a hotel tower atop Atlantic Place was precluded by the adoption of height limitations in the new Downtown Zoning By-Law. The operators of the hotel, Canadian National, were faced with continued occupation of the aging Newfoundland Hotel Building at Cavendish Square. They were receptive, then, to a proposal from Baine Johnston Co. Ltd. to develop the site for a new hotel. The competition presented by the Cabot Place Development in the city's west end encouraged Canadian National to proceed with the development of the new hotel together with Baine Johnston.

Baine Johnston has its origins in one of the merchant trading companies established in the eighteenth century on Water Street. Bowring Brothers Ltd., a subsidiary of Baine Johnston, occupied premises on Water Street until the early 1990s, and Baine Johnston itself continues to be one of the largest local real estate development/management companies in St. John's. Initially, Baine Johnston considered the rehabilitation of the existing hotel but found, following the recommendations of an engineering consultant's report on the condition of the building, that renovation was not financially feasible. Christopher Collingwood, the director of the Baine Johnston group of companies, commented that the old hotel "was a cheap building when they built it" noting that the porous quality of the brick led to the advanced deterioration of the facade that would have made renovation very expensive (Collingwood, personal interview, Oct. 5, 1994). The new hotel was erected on land adjacent to the existing hotel, so as to allow uninterrupted operation. Baine Johnston and Canadian National

shared fifty percent of the cost of construction, while Mutual Life of Canada provided the remaining fifty-percent of the investment required.¹⁷

The front facade of the old hotel faced west towards the residential and commercial areas of downtown. The new hotel was designed to resemble a pinwheel in plan, capturing views to all areas of the city. It was built in stages, beginning with the two wings facing south towards the harbour giving views of the harbour entrance – "the Narrows." The third wing was to be constructed on the site of the old hotel after demolition; however, the economic environment in St. John's since the completion of the new hotel has not encouraged this intended expansion. The site of the old hotel has served as a parking lot ever since. Consequently, where previously the axis of Military Road terminated in the facade of the old hotel, there is now a parking lot framed by the rear facade of the new hotel and its service wing.

Christopher Collingwood recounted that the abundance of space for surface parking was one of the main attractions of the site, especially in the context of downtown St. John's where, he asserted, the provision of parking is a concern for any business. Both Collingwood and architect for Baine Johnston, Stan Hampton (Hampton, personal interview, Oct. 5, 1994), cite inflexible interpretation of regulations regarding parking and building construction as a major disincentive to development in the downtown.

The Baine Johnston Centre office tower was constructed adjacent to the new hotel. The proposal for an office tower was originally made

¹⁷The Montreal firm of architect George Burman was commissioned by Canadian National for design, while Baine Johnston chose the local architectural firm Dove-Whitten as associates responsible for detail design and construction supervision. The engagement of an architectural firm whose previous experience included work for both the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific hotel chains, allowed the incorporation of design standards which CN felt was central to market positioning.

in conjunction with a conference centre scheme that connected the proposed office tower and the hotel. Baine Johnston proceeded with the construction of the office tower portion of the scheme when the City gave its support to the competing Cabot Place Development.

According to Christopher Collingwood, the consideration of views from other parts of the city was an influence in the design of the Baine Johnston Centre, particularly in the wake of the controversy created by the Duffett Building. Sensitive to the earlier complaints of the neighbouring residents regarding the bulk and appearance of the nearby NewTel Building, Christopher Collingwood said that reflective glass was selected for the exterior cladding of the Baine Johnston Centre as a means of "de-solidifying" its appearance. Collingwood attributes the degree of acceptance experienced by both the hotel and the office tower to prior consultation with area residents concerning the intended design and exterior treatment (Collingwood, personal interview, Oct. 5, 1994).

The development of the Hotel Newfoundland demonstrates tactics similar to those observed in the Cabot Place Development – the integration of insurance company capital with a large hotel chain operator and a local developer. Both of these hotel developments represent the involvement of investors from outside Newfoundland with a local developer in speculative real estate development. The integration of insurance companies as investors with an international hotel chain and a local developer is typical of the trends observed in global real estate development in the 1980s (see section 2.2.3).

4.2 Downtown Non-Development

Along Duckworth Street there are vacant lots at almost every intersection. Most have been used for parking since the buildings that once occupied the sites were demolished. Some of these sites were cleared to serve as parking for adjacent developments, while others are vacant as the result of fires that destroyed several buildings at once. The following is an account of these sites and the reasons for their existence.

4.2.1 Cochrane Street/132-146 Duckworth Street

(see Fig. 10, p. A10, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B10, Appendix B.

The first two case study sites of downtown non-development occur at the intersection of Cochrane Street and Duckworth Street. The site on the north side of Duckworth Street is comprised of civic numbers 132-146 Duckworth. The buildings on the site were destroyed by fire in March 1979, and it was purchased by a group of investors registered as 255563 Alberta Co. Ltd. in 1981. The group included a local real estate agent and business people from Edmonton, Alberta. The anticipated upturn in the real estate market due to offshore oil development at Hibernia did not materialize, and the site has remained undeveloped. Negotiations with the City in 1985 to establish a leasing arrangement for the accommodation of public off-street parking (letter from: P. Ross Bradford, Oct. 24, 1985) were unsuccessful, and the site continues to be used as a private parking lot.

4.2.2 Carino Site/147-149 Duckworth Street

(see Fig. 11, p. A11, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B12, Appendix B.

The Carino building on the lower half of the site at 60 Water Street was the first phase of what was intended to be a development that would eventually front on both Duckworth and Water Streets. The Carino Building on Water Street was constructed in 1982 but the building that stood on the upper half of the site (147-149 Duckworth Street) was not purchased and demolished until 1985, in anticipation of the planned addition. Delays in the progress of offshore oil development meant a downturn in the local economy in the late 1980s. This forestalled the proposed expansion, and the site was converted to surface parking in 1987.

The prolonged underdevelopment of the Cochrane Street and Carino sites is the product of unfulfilled speculative investment based upon projected real estate spin-offs from the Hibernia oil field development. These sites of downtown non-development originating in either accidental fires or clearance for proposed development were perpetuated by unforeseen economic conditions.

4.2.3 King's Road/168-176 Duckworth Street

(see Fig. 12, p. A12, Appendix A)

All information related to this site is taken from the data sources listed on page B13, Appendix B.

The buildings at the intersection of King's Road and Duckworth Street, 168-176 Duckworth, were involved in a fire on Oct. 7, 1989. The Newfoundland Weavery gift shop occupied 168 Duckworth, which was only partially destroyed in the fire. As tenants, the operators of the Weavery wished to have the building rehabilitated so that business could resume at the former location. The owners of the building itself, however, requested permission to have the remnants of the building demolished, along with the other properties affected by the fire (170-176 Duckworth Street). Neighbouring businesses argued that the streetscape should be maintained as much as possible, complaining that the demolition of the Weavery building would affect the character of the area and that it represented a disturbing trend for speculative "land-banking" in the downtown (letter from Raymond Peterson Ltd., Oct.14, 1989; letter from Jeffrey Levitz, Oct. 14, 1989).

The Heritage Advisory Committee, in its recommendation to delay demolition to consider alternative renovation plans, echoed these worries (memorandum from: Wayne Purchase, Oct. 16, 1989). Nevertheless, Council approved the demolition of the structure because of the "hazardous condition" of the building following the fire (letter to Jeffrey Levitz, Oct. 20, 1989) and the site was cleared. Economic conditions have discouraged redevelopment throughout the surrounding

area (see section 4.2.1 and section 4.2.2) and, at the time of writing, the site remains undeveloped and used as parking.

4.2.4 Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street

(see Fig. 13, p. A13, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B14, Appendix B.

The buildings to the west of Holloway Street (216-236 Duckworth Street) were demolished in the early 1980s to provide off-site parking for the Duffett Building, as a result of a concession made by the City to the developers of the Duffett Building that waived the requirements for on-site parking, on the condition that parking be provided at auxiliary sites (see section 4.1.1).

The properties at 216-236 Duckworth Street were purchased in the late 1970s and early 1980s under the auspices of Harold Duffett, through several agencies employed by Atlantic Capital Corporation for the assembly of land in the vicinity of the proposed office tower (Duffett Building/TD Place). The "land-banking" mentioned above (see section 4.2.3) refers to this lot assembly. Duffett operated variously through the firms Business Services Ltd., Scotia Developments Ltd., Atlantic Holdings Ltd., and Eastern Capital Corporation to purchase property for Atlantic Capital Corporation. The ownership of these properties was eventually transferred either directly to Atlantic Capital Corporation or to the subsidiary established for the office tower development – 140 Water Street Ltd.

The original intention to construct a parking structure on the site at the intersection of Duckworth and Holloway Streets (216-236 Duckworth Street) proved controversial, due to its size and the potential obstruction of views from streets above (Sharpe, 1981, p.33). Although

Council approved this plan, despite neighbourhood objections, this structure was never built (Sharpe 1985, p.11-12) and Atlantic Capital Corporation continued to purchase land in the vicinity to provide the required parking on surface lots. At the time of writing, Atlantic Capital Corporation owns nearly fifty percent of the block formed by Duckworth, Holloway, Gower, and Prescott Streets. Several of the properties left standing on Duckworth Street between Holloway Street and Prescott Street (338-254 Duckworth Street) are also owned by Atlantic Capital Corporation (City of St. John's Assessment Rolls). They are joined by properties on both sides of Prescott Street that were cleared for use as parking for the Duffett Building.

4.2.5 Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street

(3-9, 13-15, 22-26 Prescott Street; 2-10 Victoria Street)

(see Fig. 14, p. A14, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B18, Appendix B.

Mirroring the situation on the east side of Prescott Street, approximately half the block to the west of Prescott Street (formed by Prescott, Duckworth, Victoria, and Gower Streets) is also owned by Atlantic Capital Corporation. Most of the vacant space in the block is used as parking for the Duffett Building, but several properties on Victoria Street (2-10 Victoria Street) were purchased in trust by representatives of Atlantic Capital Corporation and continue to deteriorate due to lack of maintenance (City of St. John's Assessment Rolls).¹⁸

The properties that formed the northwest corner at the intersection of Prescott and Duckworth Streets, as well as the interior of the block to the east of Prescott Street are owned by Atlantic Capital Corporation and are used as off-street parking for the Duffett Building. In 1983, Atlantic Capital Corporation acquired the properties formerly owned by Atlantic Films Ltd. (3-9, 22-26 Prescott Street and 256-258 Duckworth Street), and they were demolished to make way for parking (letter from Atlantic Films Ltd., Jun. 4, 1985; letter from Atlantic Capital Corporation, Aug. 16, 1983). In the same year, Atlantic Capital Corporation purchased and demolished the Welcome Hotel at 260 Duckworth Street (Demolition Permit Nov. 30, 1983). The former site

¹⁸In 1999, these properties on Victoria Street were offered for sale as a single block by Atlantic Capital Corporation (MLS# 965802, St. John's Real Estate Board).

of the Welcome Hotel, together with the buildings on Victoria Street, forms the undeveloped portion of their holdings in the block. In 1999, Atlantic Capital Corporation expanded the parking lot for the Duffett Building with the addition of other properties on Prescott Street (13-15 Prescott Street).

The owners of the Welcome Hotel had received several citations for safety and maintenance code violations prior to its sale to Atlantic Capital Corporation (letter from City of St. John's Building Department, Dec. 3, 1981; memorandum from P. J. Ford, Dec. 16, 1981). This experience was typical for the properties in the vicinity of the Duffett Building, where lack of approval for renovation plans, and the denial of requests for parking allowances (memorandum to Mayor and Members of Council, Dec. 17, 1981), and frequent inspections and citations for code violations discouraged the plans of previous owners¹⁹. This was often followed by the approval of applications for demolition and zoning changes subsequent to purchase by a developer. This pattern was repeated throughout the downtown (see section 4.2.8 and section 4.2.10) but was particularly evident at several of the properties on Prescott Street (13-15 and 24-26 Prescott) that were eventually purchased by Atlantic Capital Corporation. Together the collection of parking lots and under-utilized properties in the vicinity of the Duckworth Street/Prescott Street intersection and largely owned by Atlantic Capital Corporation, forms a substantial area of *urban fallow* (see section 2.3.4) awaiting future development.

¹⁹It is important to note that City Council was prepared to waive on-site parking requirements for large-scale developers like Atlantic Capital Corporation but were regularly inflexible about such requirements as they applied to small-scale local developers at other sites throughout the downtown.

4.2.6 Evening Telegram Site – 154 Water Street

(see Fig. 15, p. A15, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B22, Appendix B.

The former site of the Evening Telegram Building at 154 Water Street is also part of the collection of parking lots that surround the Duffett Building. The former Evening Telegram Site west of the Duffett Building at 154 Duckworth was acquired by Scotia Developments after the Evening Telegram relocated its operations to a suburban site in 1981 (letter from Reginald Brown, Nov. 5, 1981). The Evening Telegram Building was subsequently demolished and its ownership was transferred to 140 Water Street Ltd.

The downtown non-development case study sites in the vicinity of the Duffett Building (216-236 Duckworth Street, 3-9, 13-15, 22-26 Prescott Street and 256-258 Duckworth Street, and 154 Duckworth Street; a total of twenty three civic number addresses²⁰) resulted from the decision by City Council to allow the construction of the Duffett Building/TD Bank office tower to proceed without on-site parking. This concession effectively condemned several blocks of downtown built form to demolition in order to provide parking for the adjacent development. The prolonged deterioration of other properties in the vicinity of the Duffett Building (2-10 Victoria Street) attests to the effect of speculation in an area associated with development, as Atlantic Capital Corporation continued to purchase properties for the purpose of

²⁰Atlantic Capital Corporation owns a total of thirty one civic number addresses in the two block area flanking Prescott Street (see p. B14-B22, Appendix B). Twenty three of these addresses form the parking lots associated with the Duffett Building.

future development beyond that which was needed to accommodate parking.

4.2.7 Marshall Building Site – 123-127 Water Street

(see Fig. 16, p. A16, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B23, Appendix B.

The Marshall Building, which stood at the intersection of Prescott Street and Water Street, was identified as a significant historical structure in a 1977 feasibility study that examined its possible rehabilitation (Sheppard/Burt/Pratt, 1977). The study concluded, however, that the renovation of the building for rental purposes would not be economical and that owner occupation would only be marginally economically feasible. The study nevertheless recommended that the historic architectural character of the structure be retained (Sheppard/Burt/Pratt, 1977, p. 45). No rehabilitation of the building was attempted, however, and the structure continued to deteriorate throughout the next two decades.

Discussion of the potential route of a planned East End Arterial Road in the vicinity of the Marshall Building had been on-going since the late 1970s. Several alternate routes had been considered which would traverse land at the rear of the Marshall Building near the waterfront. The preferred route proposed by the City would require the expropriation of land owned by A. Harvey and Co. Ltd. on the waterfront, which was used as an offshore oil supply base. This route avoided the demolition of buildings on Water Street (the Marshall Building, the Gray and Goodland Building, the Lavalin Building, and the George V Building) and thereby maintained the streetscape at the intersection of Water Street and Prescott Street (The East End Arterial:

Possible Alternatives, J. A. de Jong, Director of Planning, City of St. John's, Oct. 13, 1981; memorandum from Arvo McMillan, Urban Planner Jun. 26, 1986).

Objections from A. Harvey and Co. Ltd. encouraged the City to consider other routes that had the potential to require the demolition of as many as three of the Water Street buildings. Although several previous offers to sell the Marshall Building to the City had been refused, the then Mayor John Murphy, made an unusual request in a letter to the Federal Minister of Public Works for the transfer of ownership to the City (for the price of one dollar) in order to proceed with its demolition to accommodate a proposed road realignment at the intersection of Water Street and Prescott (letter from Mayor John Murphy Oct. 13, 1983). By demolishing the Marshall Building, the City hoped to avoid the expropriation of the Harvey property.

The Federal Government response expressed bemusement at the contradiction between the building's inclusion in the St. John's Heritage Conservation area and its listing by the Federal Heritage Review Board and the intention of the City as outlined in the Mayor's request (letter from M. Reitelman, Feb. 22, 1984). No agreement was reached on the proposed transfer arrangement and the building was purchased from the Federal Government in 1984 by Bradlea Ltd., a Harold Duffett company, with the intention of demolishing it to provide parking for the Duffett/TD Bank Building on the opposite side of Water Street. Duffett made several applications to demolish the building that were rejected by the City, and a dispute arose between Duffett and the City over a demand that a portion of the Marshall Building property be provided for road realignment, without compensation, after demolition.

In the early 1990s, after a long period of neglect, a rear portion of the structure was ordered demolished because of its structural instability. The issue of the demolition of the remainder of the Marshall Building repeatedly came before Council in the 1990s, despite it being within the Heritage Conservation Area and being recognized by the Federal Heritage Review Board as a historic structure. Several delays were initiated to allow alternatives to demolition to be considered; however, none of these came to fruition. After a portion of the site was deeded to the City for the realignment of the Prescott Street intersection in 1995, the building was demolished in 1996 to accommodate the construction of a right turn lane at Water Street. The remainder of the site serves as a parking lot for use by other Duffett properties.

4.2.8 Mechanics Hall Site – 96-98 Water Street

(Fig. 17, p. A17, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B26, Appendix B.

Mechanics Hall, stood at 96-98 Water Street on the western perimeter of the War Memorial Park between Water Street and Duckworth Street. It was used as a lounge until 1982 when the City, in response to complaints from veterans, prohibited drinking establishments in the area surrounding the War Memorial under the revised Zoning By-Law. This change in allowable uses discouraged the plans of the owners to renovate the building for continued use as a bar. The City's refusal to waive the requirement for on-site parking or to permit on-street parking, despite the building's one hundred percent lot coverage, prevented new owners from proceeding with renovation and leasing plans (letter from David Levine and Sam Wygodny, Sept. 16, 1986).

Despite its designation as a Heritage structure and the prior commitment of funds from the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador for the repair of its exterior (letter from Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, Sept. 9, 1986) the site was sold in 1988 to the Williams law firm, which occupied an adjacent building, on the condition that the building first be demolished. As owner of three-quarters of the remainder of the block, Williams had intended that the former site of Mechanics Hall would form part of the speculative development of the entire block into a single office tower (Hunt, personal interview, Aug.25, 1994). These plans were frustrated

when Breakwater Books renovated the S. O. Steele Building, which stood directly to the west of Mechanics Hall, with the assistance of the Heritage Foundation. The site of Mechanics Hall remains undeveloped and is used by the Williams firm as parking for its employees.

In the case of Mechanics Hall, inflexibility with regard to future use and parking made Mechanics Hall unattractive to investors, with the exception of the Williams firm that purchased the property only on the condition that the building first be removed. As was the case with some of the properties purchased by Atlantic Capital Corporation near the Duffett Building, City Hall inflexibility made the sale of the property to a speculative developer who wished to demolish it more attractive than renovation.

4.2.9 Bell Street – 332-338 Duckworth Street

(see Fig. 18, p. A18, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B29, Appendix B.

St. John's lawyer James Halley owns the properties at 332-338 Duckworth Street and many of the properties on Bell Street. The sites have been vacant since the late 1970s when the buildings were destroyed by fire. In 1994, a study was done for the City by architects Pratt/Henley/Blackwood on the possible configuration of surface parking in the area. Negotiations with Halley for the lease and purchase of the properties he owned in the area allowed the construction of public off-street parking by the City in 1997.

4.2.10 York Theatre Site – 366-372 Water Street

(see Fig. 19, p. A19, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B30, Appendix B.

The largest of the City-owned parking lots in downtown St. John's is located in the block defined by Queen Street, Water Street, Waldegrave Street and New Gower Street. The largest of the buildings demolished to form this parking lot was the former York Theatre on George Street in the center of the block. The building had been used as a warehouse since the 1950s and several schemes for its renovation and reuse as a theatre were proposed in the 1980s (memorandum from E. J. Murray, July 31, 1981). The most substantial of these was the subject of a 1988 feasibility report conducted by BFL Consultants engineering group (The York Theatre, BFL Consultants Ltd., 1988). This study proposed the conversion of the building for use as an integrated arts centre for the downtown area and was supported by many in the local arts community (letter to St. John's Municipal Council, Apr. 15, 1988). The then mayor, John Murphy, publicly expressed disdain for the potential of the building and strongly supported an alternate scheme for development on the site which included a retail complex and a parking facility (letter from Mayor John Murphy, Apr. 18, 1988)²¹. This scheme was proposed by Cabot Developments Ltd. and was designed to complement their office complex on the opposite side of New Gower Street (Cabot Place Development).

²¹A version of this scheme proceeded upon the site in 1999 in conjunction with the Civic Centre complex on New Gower Street.

In 1987, the City purchased several buildings in the area, including the York Theatre, for the construction of a parking lot. The demolition of these structures was delayed once in order to consider the options proposed by Cabot Developments (Evening Telegram, Apr. 21, 1988). Demolition ultimately proceeded on 368A-372 Water Street in May 1988, while alternatives for the development of the York Theatre were being considered. Number 368A Water Street formed the original entrance to the York Theatre and was attached to it by an arched hallway. During its demolition, a late night fire erupted that passed through the connecting archway and into the theatre structure itself. The theatre and the adjacent buildings on Water Street were destroyed (Evening Telegram, May. 19, 1988). In response to public pressure, a judicial inquiry was launched to look into the possibility that the fire was the result of arson. Despite conflicting evidence, it was determined that an electrical accident was the cause of the fire. The City subsequently purchased other properties in the vicinity and proceeded with demolition for the construction of the parking lot. This parking area was part of the strategy formulated by the City's Planning Department, subsequent to the recommendations of the 1980 Diamond Report, to encourage development in the west end of downtown.

The parking lot on the York Theatre site and the one at Bell Street were created by the City to alleviate the perceived shortage of parking that was identified as a major disincentive to development in the downtown. In pursuing the strategy of focusing development in the west end of downtown, the City provided incentives to potential developers and strongly supported schemes that proposed development.

4.2.11 Hamilton Avenue – 1-33

(see Fig. 20, p. A20, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B34, Appendix B.

There are vacant sites on both sides of the eastern end of Hamilton Avenue. Several properties on the north side of Hamilton Avenue (26-34 Hamilton Avenue) were condemned as unsafe and demolished in 1976 (memorandum to City Comptroller, Nov. 12, 1976). Civic addresses 1-7 Hamilton on the south side of the street were condemned as unsafe and demolished in 1982 (Demolition Order Sept. 29, 1982). Number 21 Hamilton, which was also demolished in 1982, was owned by Atlantic Capital Corporation and linked at the time to a rumored plan by the Sobey's chain to construct a large grocery store in the area. Numbers 15-33 Hamilton Avenue, owned by Mcloughlan Estates of Blackmarsh Road, were condemned as unsafe in a demolition order dated Sept. 3, 1987 citing advanced deterioration. Properties on both sides Hamilton Avenue were affected by road realignment and widening at the intersection of Hamilton Avenue and New Gower Street. Planned full integration of the lower portion of Hamilton Avenue with the Harbour Arterial at New Gower Street has not proceeded as planned and the sites remain vacant.

4.2.12 Water Street West – Newfoundland Railway Yard

(see Fig. 21, p. A21, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B37, Appendix B.

The Newfoundland Railway was abandoned in 1988 and a portion of the former railway yard was expropriated for a widening of Water Street West as part of the integration with the Harbour Arterial at New Gower Street and Hamilton Avenue. The ownership of the Railway Station was transferred to the City from Canadian National (CN), and the remaining buildings on the site were demolished in 1996. The expansion of Water Street West to four lanes proceeded as part of road improvements funded through an agreement reached between the Federal and Provincial governments, as compensation for the closure of the railway (Penny and Kennedy, 1990; Ferre, 1992). In 1997, the site was purchased by NewDock - St. John's Dockyard Ltd., the operators of the adjacent dry-dock, and converted for use as a fabrication facility.

4.2.13 Plymouth Road/10-22 Duckworth Street

(see Fig. 22, p. A22, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B38, Appendix B.

In the early 1980s, the City purchased several properties at the east end of Duckworth Street, between Duckworth Street and Plymouth Road (see section 4.2.13) west of Cook's Hill, for the eventual construction of an East End Arterial (memorandum from J. Finn, Mar. 26, 1981; memorandum from R. J. Furlong, Nov. 24, 1983). This road expansion is part of a network planned to connect the Harbour Arterial Road in the west end with the eastern portions of the waterfront. It is ultimately intended to integrate with a new suburban ring road network, the construction of which was initiated in the wake of the demise of the Newfoundland Railway. Individual road improvements that are part of this network have affected the Marshall Building, Hamilton Avenue and Water Street West. The City continues to purchase and demolish property with the intention of completing this portion of the planned road.

The expansion of the road network and the provision of parking in the downtown were part of the strategy of the City to accommodate and encourage development where shortcomings in both were seen as disincentives to development. The demolition of built form often occurred long before road improvements were carried out, and the cleared property forms areas of underdeveloped land at the periphery of downtown.

4.2.14 Holloway House Site

(see Fig. 23, p. A23, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B41, Appendix B.²²

The failure of a proposed condominium project named Holloway House left the largest single undeveloped site in downtown St. John's. Located between Harvey Road and Long's Hill the site was the location of former Holloway School. In 1980, the Avalon Consolidated School Board closed the Holloway School on Long's Hill and the property was sold. Latter the same year a proposal for the conversion of the building to office space was submitted to the City by the developers who had purchased the property. The proposed new use required the rezoning of the site from Institutional to Central Commercial Mixed (CCM). The request for this rezoning was rejected by City Council and a zoning of Residential Mixed-1 (RM-1) was adopted for the site. "This zoning designation was chosen because, in Council's view, it would allow the developer's plan to be accommodated, preserve the existing building, and therefore ensure compatibility of the redeveloped structure with the surrounding area" (Sharpe, 1993, p. 50). Nevertheless, this proposal for the renovation of the existing building did not proceed, but a new proposal that required the demolition of the old school to make way for the construction of a 131-unit building that practically filled the entire site was submitted in February 1982.

The site, historically part of the adjacent St. Andrew's Church property, was included in the Heritage Conservation Area established by

²²For a detailed discussion of the events surrounding the Holloway House proposal see Sharpe 1993.

the Heritage By-Law of 1977. The Heritage By-Law placed the site in the Historic Precinct A, which was designed to encompass most of the large historical institutional and church properties in the downtown. Other designated residential and commercial precincts in the Heritage Conservation Area flanked this area. The height of any building in this area was limited to four storeys, and the Heritage By-Law stipulated other aspects of aesthetic conformity in the spirit of maintaining the character of the historic precinct. The condominium complex proposal exceeded the maximum height limitation for the site by two storeys on Harvey Road and proposed a total height of twelve storeys from the Long's Hill elevation. This proposal not only represented a challenge to the stipulations of the Heritage By-Law; it also had implications for the development of the Municipal Plan. Because the final draft of the Municipal Plan and the successive proposals for the site's development were concurrent, Holloway House became a test case for the new plan.

Prior to the adoption of the Draft Municipal Plan on January 18, 1984, the developers were successful in attaining some concessions in the wording of the Zoning By-Law stipulating specific conformity to the architectural character of the Heritage Area, as well as a new zoning designation of Commercial Central Mixed that allowed a larger number of residential units than permitted under the previous RM-1 zoning (Sharpe, 1993, p. 51). The proposal, originally submitted in 1982, still exceeded height and density controls for the site, despite these changes. A third proposal was submitted on January 24, 1984, containing 111 condominium units. This proposal again exceeded height and density controls for the area (maximum FAR of 3.0, maximum residential FAR of 1.5 and height limit of four storeys) that, this time, were articulated

in the Municipal Plan (Sharpe, 1993, p. 54). Since it came after the adoption of the Municipal Plan, the third proposal (with a height of seven storeys above Harvey Road, twelve from Long's Hill, and a total of 111 units at a residential FAR of 1.63) required an amendment to the Plan itself rather than merely another rezoning of the site.

Nevertheless, the demolition of the Holloway School building, which had been approved in February 1983, took place in April 1984.

The process of the ratification of the Draft Municipal Plan, which involved a series of public hearings and the submission of a commissioner's report to the Provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs had been on-going throughout the spring of 1984 and was about to conclude with the recommendation that the Municipal Plan be adopted without major alterations. The latest submission on the part of the developers of the proposed Holloway House condominium complex had neither been modified to fit existing area controls nor officially considered for approval by Council in a final form, by the summer of 1984. Council had, however, given approval for the idea of development on the site since the beginning, as indicated by the successive zoning changes made in accommodation of the various incarnations of the proposal for development from 1980 onwards.

The assurances of members of Council, not the least of which was the mayor, encouraged the developers to ignore the fact that the latest configuration of the proposed development under consideration was in violation of both the previous zoning by-laws for the area and the adopted, and soon to be ratified, Draft Municipal Plan (Howley, 1993, p. 42). Council, apparently frustrated with its newfound inability to approve development and change planning controls at will and

accustomed to its historically ad hoc approach to development approvals (Howley, 1993, p. 48), found themselves hamstrung by the planning regulations implemented with the adoption of the Draft Municipal Plan in January, 1984. On April 18, 1984, Council directed the planning staff "to set in motion the procedures necessary for changes in the Draft Municipal Plan and all other City by-laws, rules and regulations, in order to accommodate the development of Holloway House Condominiums" (Sharpe, 1993, p. 58).

The options, as prepared by the Planning Department in response, were to either hold up the process of approval for the entire Municipal Plan in order to have the public hearing schedule extended to accommodate the presentations regarding the proposed development or to submit a formal application for amendment after the Municipal Plan itself had been approved (Sharpe, 1993, p. 58-59). This latter option, the one that was ultimately chosen, entailed a separate public hearing process dealing specifically with the changes proposed to the Plan in the subsequent amendment. These changes involved the deletion of the site from the Heritage Conservation Area, increases in allowable height and density, and changes to zoning to allow the development to proceed.

The initial draft amendment presented by the Planning Department attempted to do this by changing the conditional height in the existing Residential Downtown Land Use District to ten storeys, in keeping with the concept of incorporating planning controls within the general principles of a Municipal Plan. This suggested change had more far-reaching implications than Council had originally realized, since it would have potentially affected areas throughout the downtown. It was revealed that Council had actually intended to make site-specific

accommodations of a particular development within the broader controls of the Municipal Plan. Despite the recommendations of the planning staff that such a site-specific plan amendment was basically antithetical to the conceptual structure of the Municipal Plan, a second amendment was prepared proposing the creation of an entirely new "special" high-density district that allowed a conditional height of 10 storeys up from the previous four. The accompanying changes relating to density, bulk and permitted uses were also requested in the proposed amendment, and the commissioner appointed to hear representations in response, Keith Mercer Q. C., had only recently completed the series of public hearings that culminated in the approval of the Municipal Plan on June 29, 1984.

Public opposition to the proposed amendment was great, both in reaction to the specific development proposal for the Holloway House site and because of the threat that such a precedent would represent for the entire downtown, not to mention the implications for the future of the Municipal Plan and the city as a whole (Sharpe 1993, p. 61). The commissioner subsequently recommended that the amendment not be accepted and reaffirmed in his report (Mercer, 1984) that the principles embodied in the Municipal Plan with respect to the desirability of maintaining and protecting the architectural character of the historic downtown were valued and defensible in the realm of public sentiment.

The proposed amendment would permit the creation of a residential high-density (special) district which would permit development without any requirements of compatibility with the surrounding neighbourhood which the Plan generally recognizes as desirable. ... Finally, the proposed district is identified as being site-specific with only one site to be specified at this time, leaving

the impression that the district is an accommodation for one particular site rather than a district of general application. The objections that the district may not be in keeping with the intent of the Plan are accepted therefore.

It is my recommendation that the proposed amendment be rejected as it is incompatible with numerous objectives and policies of the Municipal Plan as set forth above and in the submissions received. (Mercer, 1984, p. 19)

On the recommendations of the commissioner's report, the Provincial Department of Municipal Affairs rejected the proposed amendment on September 27, 1984. The Municipal Plan was subsequently not amended, and the principles that it incorporated were strengthened by the precedent of impartial third party review set in the amendment process (Sharpe, 1993, p. 71). Another proposal for development of the Holloway House site was presented in 1991, but despite little public objection to this plan for a smaller office tower complex, this project did not proceed and the site remains undeveloped at the time of writing and serves as a parking lot.

4.3 POST-FIRE DEVELOPMENT

(see Fig. 2, p. A02, Appendix A)

The 1992 Harvey Road fire began in the Church Lads' Brigade (CLB) Armoury on the north side of Harvey Road and spread to the adjacent properties, the Dominion Grocery to the west and the Provincial Department of Social Services building to the east, destroying all three buildings. The fire also consumed most of the buildings on the south side of Harvey Road between Harvey Road and Long's Hill. Only Gin's Restaurant and a small house at the eastern end of the triangle formed by the two streets survived.

The Big R Restaurant and Johnny's Restaurant, located at the western apex of the block, reopened in 1993 and were the first properties to be rebuilt following the fire. The CLB rebuilt the following year, in 1994. No further development took place until 1997, when architect Collette Nap built a business/residence condominium adjacent to Gin's Restaurant and Tim Horton's Donuts opened an outlet on the former site of the Provincial Social Services building. Several lots between the Nap development and the Big R on the south side of Harvey Road remain undeveloped. The following is a description of how post-fire development has taken place.

4.3.1 CLB Armoury

(see Fig.24, p. A24, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B43, Appendix B.

The 1992 fire began in the Church Lads' Brigade (CLB) Armoury on the north side of Harvey Road. The wooden structure was entirely destroyed in the fire, except for the concrete central arch that formed the front entrance (Evening Telegram, Dec. 22, 1992). This remnant of the original building held great symbolic importance for the members of the CLB and was central both figuratively and literally to the initiation of a plan to replicate the appearance of the old structure in a new building (Evening Telegram, Dec. 23, 1992). The CLB is a church affiliated organization that has a long history of community involvement in the instruction of young people in a quasi-military structure associated with the cadet corps and civilian militia of the Canadian Armed Forces. The military tone of the slogan of the fundraising campaign for rebuilding, "Marching Home", derived from this military connection and expressed the attachment of the CLB to the Harvey Road site. The CLB initially considered relocating to a suburban site, but this option was dismissed in the post-fire enthusiasm for returning to the former site.

Early in the planning for the reconstruction of the CLB Armoury, the executive of the CLB declared their intention to reproduce the appearance of the original building in the new facility, incorporating the remaining arch in the new facade (Evening Telegram, Dec. 23, 1992). This approach was adopted, despite the fact that the

City had waived the Heritage Conservation Area regulations that applied to the post-fire sites on the north side of Harvey Road. The replication of the facade of the old CLB Armory was undertaken out of a sentimental attachment to the architecture of the old armoury as a symbol of the organization (Heffernan, personal interview, Mar. 8, 1994).

The architectural design for the new structure was prepared for the Church Lads' Brigade by architects Pratt/Henley/Blackwood of St. John's and included an ambitious program that incorporated all of the functions fulfilled by the original structure, along with substantial upgrading of the facilities that existed prior to the fire. The necessity of using non-combustible construction materials throughout the building and the stringent requirements of the National Building Code for new construction meant that the cost of construction based upon this initial design exceeded the financial resources of the CLB (Tucker, personal interview, Apr. 22, 1994). The insurance settlement subsequent to the fire and the revenues forthcoming from the fund-raising campaign were not sufficient to allow the inclusion of all the features that had existed in the original building. Features like the shooting range had been added to the old structure over time, and their inclusion in a new building proved to be prohibitively expensive due to the requirements of new building code standards. The \$1.5 million cost of a more modest second design was partially offset by an insurance payment of \$650,000, while the remainder was generated through the public fund-raising campaign (Heffernan, personal interview, Mar. 8, 1994).

The central space of both the old and new armoury is a large drill hall or "parade square" from which cadets march forward in formation

through the central arch to the exterior. The attempt to accommodate all of the features of the original building on a single floor in rooms flanking the central parade square meant that symmetry around the central arch was compromised. The second design, which dispensed with several of these peripheral features to make the new building more economical to build, maintained the central symmetry. The original building was a two-storey structure with a symmetrical facade centered on a large arched window above the concrete portal arch. The new building maintains the two-storey appearance of the original building in a replication of the original facade in concrete block. The inclusion of a second storey in the new building would have required the installation of a sprinkler system throughout the entire building and the use of an elevator to provide wheelchair access to the second level. To avoid these additional costs, all functions are now accommodated on a single level (Henley, personal interview, Apr. 22, 1994).

The possibility of future second storey expansion has been maintained through the incorporation of unused space behind the large arched window in the center of the main facade. In the original building the central arched window was located in the CLB Band practice room and because of the importance of the band within the organization this location held great symbolic significance. The structural design of the new building allows the future use of this space for a new band practice room, and unlike other decorative features of the facade that were lost to economizing, the arched window was retained (Henley, personal interview, Apr. 22, 1994).

The CLB viewed the form of its original building as an important symbol of its past. The attempt to replicate its appearance in a new

building represented a manifestation of the symbolic value (see section 1.4.2) of architecture to the institution. The CLB's attachment to its past, heightened by the unexpected displacement produced by the catastrophic destruction of the fire, was manifested in its determination to rebuild on the Harvey Road site. The appeal of the CLB to its members and to the public to help make the rebuilding possible through a fund-raising campaign centered on this notion of recognizing the value of its past and the architecture that represented it.

4.3.2 Big R/Johnny's Restaurant

(see Fig. 25, p. A25, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B45, Appendix B.

The owners of the Big R and Johnny's Restaurant²³ expressed intentions to rebuild immediately following the fire in 1992 (Evening Telegram, Dec. 24, 1992). In January 1993, the City of St. John's held a public meeting to discuss the possibility offered by the fire to implement a plan for the widening and realignment of Harvey Road (Minutes of a Briefing Session on the status of the Harvey Road fire, Jan. 13, 1993). The restaurant owners strenuously objected to such a plan, fearing that further delays in plans to re-establish business in the area would result. It was also suggested that such a project would interrupt pedestrian traffic in the area, further damaging the prospects of rejuvenation. On the south side of Harvey Road, it was feared that already small lots would be made even smaller as a result of road widening, while on the north side, the planned road realignment threatened the demolition of the surviving concrete arch of the CLB. Because of the objections raised at the January meeting, the City abandoned plans for road improvements and allowed reconstruction to begin immediately on the sites on the south side of Harvey Road.

The owners of the Big R were eager to begin construction and felt that the approval process was needlessly lengthy, requiring the submission of two designs for the proposed new building before approval was granted (Forward, personal interview, June 16, 1994).

²³This restaurant is now called the Backstretch Roadhouse and Grill.

National Building Code requirements for a new building, such as handicapped access on the ground floor and washrooms on both floors, required a structure larger than the original building.²⁴ A new building that met these requirements could not be constructed economically on the small original site of the Big R Restaurant. The cost per square foot of new construction on such small sites as were typical for the properties between Harvey Road and Long's Hill became prohibitively expensive when the new code requirements were included.

In order to reduce the cost per square foot of construction which included the features required by code, the Big R and Johnny's Restaurant purchased properties adjacent to their own thereby increasing the total floor area of the new buildings. Fire code requirements obliged the Big R Restaurant to absorb the cost of the construction of non-combustible party walls on either end of the building, in anticipation of the future construction of abutting properties. This extra cost, including the construction of fire-rated stairwells and the attendant loss of floor space within the building perimeter, encouraged the owners of the Big R to expand by purchasing the property to the east of the original site, formerly Bert's Barber Shop (Deed of Conveyance, Feb. 24, 1993). Johnny's Restaurant purchased the property directly to the west of their former premises from Barry Martin (Deed of Conveyance, May 27, 1993), thereby gaining possession of the western extent of the apex formed by Harvey

²⁴The Big R and Johnny's restaurants have a second storey dining room which is served from the kitchen on the ground floor. Handicapped accessibility is not provided to this floor. The Provincial Building Accessibility Regulations, section 7, p. 6, state that "Where a building has a total floor area of less than 600 square meters, a principal entrance shall provide barrier free access to the storey which, in the opinion of the director, constitutes the major occupancy" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1996). In the case of the Big R and Johnny's restaurants, both of which had total floor areas of less than 600 square meters, the major occupancy was determined to be the ground floor, the provision of barrier free access was required only for this floor (Hannaford, personal communication).

Road and Long's Hill, for the purpose of making reconstruction more economically feasible.

The payment of insurance in the aftermath of the fire to the owners of the Big R and Johnny's restaurants encouraged conservatism in form in rebuilding. Insurance payments for replacement of the destroyed properties limited the new structures to the same use and similar size as that which had existed before the fire. The insurance settlement for the Big R (\$175,000 for the original building including equipment) paid replacement costs upon commencement of reconstruction. This was another one of the main incentives for immediate rebuilding. The insurance payments, which were based upon the appraisal of the value of the two storey pre-fire structures, paid replacement costs that did not afford construction beyond two storeys (Forward, personal interview, June 16, 1994).

Architectural conservatism also occurred in the exterior appearance of the new buildings. While neither of the restaurant owners attempted to replicate their destroyed buildings, the owner of the Big R, Robert Forward, stated that an attempt was made to make the new building "fit in" with the surrounding residential architecture (Forward, personal interview, June 16, 1994). The Big R and Johnny's Restaurants were built with features similar to the adjacent residential architecture, despite the fact that there was no regulation that required aesthetic conformity (a Heritage Conservation Area designation existed for the north side of Harvey Road but not the south side where the Big R and Johnny's restaurants are located). The Big R incorporated dormer windows in a mansard roof on the Harvey Road facade and

Johnny's Restaurant employed a series of bay windows on the second floor of their structure.

These allusions to the appearance of older residential architecture of the surrounding area were used to convey the idea that in re-establishing business, the restaurant owners were contributing to *re-building* the neighbourhood. On a symbolic level, the reconstruction of premises soon after the fire was seen by the owners as an expression of commitment to the history of the site as the location of the family-owned businesses (Forward, personal interview, June 16, 1994). The rapid reopening of the Big R after the fire was seen as having advertising value in its own right and references to the 1992 fire are featured in its promotional material.

4.3.3 Colette Nap Business/Residence

(see Fig. 26, p. A26, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B48, Appendix B.

The only residential property to be built on a post-fire site was constructed by architect Colette Nap. This combination business/residence for the architect herself, accompanied by an attached condominium unit, was erected in the summer of 1997. No other building had taken place on the post-fire sites between Harvey Road and Long's Hill since the construction of the Big R and Johnny's Restaurants in 1993. Nap built the three bay, two unit project on two smaller lots near the eastern extent of the wedge formed by Harvey Road and Long's Hill that she purchased from John and Jane Conway. The Conways had purchased the properties after the fire with the intention of housing a bakery business in a new building, but found the requirements for non-combustible construction for commercial properties too expensive and abandoned the site for a suburban location.

The Nap building is adjacent to Gin's Restaurant, which survived the 1992 fire, but is separated from it by a narrow lot owned by Leo Drodge, a St. John's landlord. The property to the west is owned by Stavros Stassis (formerly the location of Roma Pizzeria). Collette Nap approached the owners of the properties flanking hers with an offer to purchase land in order to facilitate the construction of a larger design with a less irregular plan. Both owners, however, placed the price of their property well above appraised value in order to recover losses

incurred during the fire and Nap did not purchase the adjacent properties.

Nap asserts that familiarity with the National Building Code and creative design solutions to its requirements were essential to make development on this site feasible (Nap, personal interview, Sept.12, 1997). For instance, building two independent residential units side by side and combining residential occupancy with business use avoided the requirement for non-combustible party walls for exclusively commercial premises. Such design solutions substantially reduced the cost of construction, bringing the project within the range of what could be financed with the assistance of lending institutions.

Financing available for new construction is based upon the appraised value of neighbouring structures of similar use. In the Harvey Road/Long's Hill area following the fire, this necessarily reflects the value of the aging wooden houses in the vicinity and excludes expensive new construction designed to meet the requirements of current codes. Higher downpayments and guarantees of future sale were required by lending institutions in order to secure financing. This aspect of the means of procuring funds for development, in combination with the inflexible interpretation of building codes and regulations by the City, is cited by the architect as one of the main reasons for the lack of development in the post-fire area following the initial spate of rebuilding.

Nap stated that the realization of this project demonstrates three reasons that development of this area had not taken place earlier: 1) the small and irregular lots between Harvey Road and Long's Hill contributed to their unattractiveness for developers; 2) the demands of

the National Building Code as it relates to new construction and the sometimes literal interpretation of it by City inspectors impeded plans to build and 3) the difficulties of securing bank financing for projects in the area made development difficult (Nap, personal interview, Sept.12, 1997). The conventional determination of value in the real estate market (see section 1.4.3) influenced the feasibility of building in these circumstances where real estate appraisals based on neighbouring properties limited the type of development that can be constructed.

4.3.4 Tim Horton's

(see Fig. 27, p. A27, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B49, Appendix B.

The only other development to take place in the post-fire area in recent years is the construction of a Tim Horton's Donuts outlet in 1997 on the former site of the Provincial Department of Social Services building directly opposite the Collette Nap property. Tim Horton's first expressed interest in the Harvey Road vicinity immediately after the fire in 1992. The possibility of developing an outlet on the former Dominion site at the corner of Parade Street and Harvey Road, owned by Baine Johnston, was explored but the cost of the land and the limitations of the site with regard to street access made the corner location undesirable (Pike, personal interview, Sept. 30, 1997). The City would not permit an entrance to the Dominion site from Harvey Road, leaving any potential commercial occupant with a single access from Parade Street only.

Tim Horton's proceeded with the construction of an outlet on the former site of the Provincial Department of Social Services building to the east of the CLB in 1997. This site had greater possibilities for access from Harvey Road by virtue of its distance from the Parade Street intersection; it was possible to gain access to the site from two sides of the site and from both east and westbound lanes of Harvey Road. In addition, its location near the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary was considered to be an asset in terms of the benefit of passive security for a 24-hour operation.

The fall 1997 opening of this outlet fulfilled an objective of Tim Horton's to place an outlet in the central city. The use of standardized plans by TDL (Tim Donuts Ltd.), the parent company of Tim Horton's Donuts, facilitated the requirements with regard to handicapped access and parking (Pike, personal interview, Sept.30, 1997). There was no requirement that the exterior appearance of the outlet be modified in accordance with Heritage regulations, since the Heritage Conservation Area regulations that applied to the north side of Harvey Road were waived by the City in order to encourage redevelopment.

4.4 POST-FIRE NON-DEVELOPMENT

Several of the former sites of buildings destroyed in the 1992 fire have remained undeveloped. The largest of these sites is the Dominion site on the north side of Harvey Road adjacent the CLB Armory. Several smaller sites on the south side of Harvey Road between the Big R Restaurant and the Nap building have remained undeveloped. The reasons for the persistence of these empty sites are explained in the following case studies.

4.4.1 Dominion Site

(see Fig. 28, p. A28, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B50, Appendix B.

The Dominion Grocery at the corner of Parade Street and Harvey Road occupied a building owned by Baine Johnston Properties, a division of the Baine Johnston group of companies owned by the Collingwood family. Although Baine Johnston held part ownership in the Dominion Stores chain in Newfoundland, the decision not to rebuild on the former Parade Street site was an operational decision made solely by the grocery store chain itself (French, personal interview, July 8, 1994). Following the fire, the feasibility of the site was re-assessed by Dominion relative to the trend in grocery store operations to larger warehouse style outlets. Although the Parade Street store had always been profitable and remained so until the fire in 1992, at approximately 10,000 square feet, it was seen to be smaller than the minimum 20,000 square feet considered to be optimal for an efficient operation. After the fire, the City agreed to allow owners of destroyed properties to rebuild with the same amount of on-site parking as had existed previously, regardless of current regulations, as an incentive to rebuild to those sites that had little or no on-site parking. Nevertheless, Dominion felt that the site was too small to provide the amount of parking or to accommodate the volume of vehicular traffic required to make expansion feasible. After a delay of two months, Dominion announced it had decided not to relocate at the Parade Street site, citing

the limitations of the site relative to the advantages of a new suburban site.

Baine Johnston, as the owners of the property itself, retrieved only seventy percent of the insured value of the building as a result of the decision not to rebuild. The insurance policy held on the building stipulated that the remaining thirty percent could only be remitted when rebuilding commenced within twelve months of the fire. The CLB, and the Big R and Johnny's restaurants were encouraged by similar insurance policy stipulations to commence reconstruction immediately in order to receive full replacement costs. However, Baine Johnston was prepared to rebuild only with the guarantee of a future tenant. Despite some interest on the part of potential tenants, no tenant was found within the first twelve months and rebuilding did not take place (French, personal interview, July 8, 1994). As the former tenant, Dominion held insurance policies on goods and equipment only and therefore, had no direct incentive to rebuild on the same site.

In the years immediately following the fire interest was expressed by several prospective tenants, including several national chains (Tim Horton's, Shoppers Drug Mart, MacDonald's Restaurants). In all cases, as most notably evidenced by Tim Horton's choice of another site in the vicinity, the lack of vehicular access from Harvey Road proved to be the site's major detraction. The City's decision to abandon plans to widen and re-align Harvey Road in favour of immediate rebuilding left the corner site with its single point of access from Parade Street. At the time of writing, the Dominion site remains undeveloped.

Christopher Collingwood, the director of Baine Johnston Co. Ltd., noted that the demographic and economic profile of the

neighbourhood made the site suitable for a community and pedestrian oriented enterprise, such as a health clinic or pharmacy, despite its lack of parking and vehicular access. He also lamented that the City's inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations greatly discouraged the development of properties in the downtown like the Dominion site, also noting that there was neither a tax incentive to encourage development nor a disincentive to prolonged underdevelopment of vacant lots (Collingwood, personal interview, Oct.5, 1994).

4.4.2 Ziggy Peelgood's

(see Fig. 29, p. A29, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B51, Appendix B.

Ziggy Peelgood's restaurant was located at 61 Harvey Road and was flanked by Rock 'n' Leather on the east and by the Lem Bing property on the western side. Like the other two properties, it was not rebuilt after the 1992 fire (Mr. Lem Bing retired from business prior to 1992). The property itself was extremely narrow, measuring approximately 16 feet on the Harvey Road side and having a maximum depth of approximately 28 feet. According to owner John Hrabowsky, the small size of the lot contributed to the undesirability of the site for rebuilding following the fire because of the requirements for new construction imposed by the National Building Code and the Provincial Accessibility Regulations (Hrabowsky, personal interview, Sept. 25, 1997).

The original three-storey building housed a small restaurant and kitchen on the Harvey Road level and preparation and storage areas in the basement accessible from Long's Hill. The top floor served as a business office. The owners discovered that in order to rebuild a facility accommodating the same activities, party walls of incombustible material, approximately 18 inches thick per side, had to be employed on the perimeter of the lot where it abutted another property. Also, a widening of the sidewalk on the adjacent streets after the Fire consumed a further two feet on both the Harvey Road and Long's Hill frontages. These improvements represented a reduction in floor area of

approximately 20 percent from the original building that measured only about 500 square feet. This made reconstruction on such a small site infeasible, since the construction cost per square foot would be excessively high and would place the cost of a new building beyond the appraised value of property in the area.

The appraised land value played a significant role in determining the payment made by insurance as well. The owners had originally insured the property and associated assets at 80 percent of the appraised value, approximately \$105,000. When the post-fire claim was settled a new appraisal reduced the value of the property substantially. The value ascribed to the building alone was deemed by the insurance company to have been reduced to approximately \$90,000 from \$125,000, while at the same time, the land value itself at \$13,000 showed no depreciation since the time of purchase. This amount was deducted from the insurance payment. Depreciation on equipment and renovations to the property reduced the coverage even further.

Ultimately insurance paid roughly \$52,000, which compared unfavourably to an outstanding mortgage on the property of \$57,000. While depreciation on newly purchased equipment was not great, the cost of recent renovations made to the building was not recovered. The total debts owed on the premises approached \$65,000, while that recovered from insurance fell short of paying out the mortgage alone. Legal action on the part of the owners over a period of five years recovered a further \$10,000 which, less the cost of \$4000 in legal fees, helped pay out the mortgage. The un-recovered cost of renovations and depreciation on equipment totaling \$20,000, along with the lost downpayment on the property of \$18,000, left the owners with losses

near \$40,000. Throughout the initial eight-month period during which the insurance claim was being processed, the owners were obliged to maintain monthly mortgage payments upon the destroyed property (Hrabowsky, personal interview, Sept. 25, 1997).

In a buy-out that transferred ownership of the property to former partner Don Sampson, John Hrabowsky assumed the business, which he continued with mobile vending units (Ziggy Peelgood's Chip Trucks). It was felt that in the wake of such an unfavourable insurance compensation, and in consideration of the unattractiveness of the post-fire site, that rebuilding was not possible. The small size of the site made reconstruction uneconomical. The owners considered purchasing adjacent properties for the purpose of rebuilding; however, they found that the combination of the cost of such a purchase and requirements of life safety and handicapped access codes, made reconstruction uneconomical. Hrabowsky asserts that only businesses like the Big R and Johnny's Restaurant that had no mortgages on their properties could consider rebuilding with payments made by insurance. He also points to a charge for post-fire site clearance by the City, instead of a tax incentive to encourage rebuilding, and no attempt by the City to plan or co-ordinate rebuilding efforts as demonstrative of a lack of support (Hrabowsky, personal interview, Sept. 25, 1997). A small remuneration was paid to businesses affected by the fire from the funds raised by the Red Cross only after businesses complained that large sums of money were raised to assist the small number of displaced residents, despite the fact that most properties affected, especially between Harvey Road and Long's Hill, were owned by family businesses.

4.4.3 Rock 'n' Leather

(see Fig. 29, p. A29, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B52, Appendix B.

Rock 'n' Leather was located at 59 Harvey Road and owned by Christopher Goodyear. It occupied a building on one of the smaller lots between Harvey Road and Long's Hill. The lot has a narrow and irregular shape with a frontage on Harvey Road of 21 feet and a maximum depth of 33 feet. The business had occupied the ground floor space on Harvey Road, and a residential tenant rented the second storey.

At the time the building was destroyed by fire in 1992, insurance coverage at \$75,000 secured less than the cost of replacement. A reappraisal of the value of the land alone following the fire further reduced the insurance payment to \$54,000. This, combined with the cost of the appraisal, adjusting and legal fees, plus a bill from the City for the cleanup of the site, meant that ultimately the insurance payment for the property at \$48,000 fell short of the outstanding mortgage by \$10,000. The assumption of this amount as personal debt by the owner precluded the possibility of rebuilding. A separate insurance policy for \$10,000 covered equipment lost in the fire, but did not pay for destroyed leather goods that were held on consignment by the business. The cost of these products had to be repaid to the supplier by the owners and put further strain upon the viability of the business. Following a short period operating from a new location, the business eventually closed (Goodyear, personal interview, Jun. 18, 1994).

4.4.4 Roma Pizzeria

(see Fig. 29, p. A29, Appendix A)

All information related to this case study site is taken from the data sources listed on page B53, Appendix B.

Roma Pizzeria, one of the larger properties in the block between Harvey Road and Long's Hill, was not rebuilt because of an insurance policy that did not provide sufficient compensation to finance reconstruction. A large two-storey restaurant with eating spaces on both floors and a footprint larger than that typical of the block, Roma Pizzeria was not able to rebuild given an insurance payment of just over \$100,000 (Stassis, personal interview, July 19, 1998). The requirement that handicapped access be provided to all public areas of buildings of the size of the original Roma Pizzeria meant that what the owners felt was the most attractive feature of their former restaurant, the second storey dining room, would be prohibitively expensive to reconstruct due to the necessity of installing an elevator.²⁵

Post-fire non-development can be attributed primarily to two things: the inadequacy of insurance payments and the stringency of code requirements. With small sites to work with on the south side of Harvey Road, the value of the remaining land compared unfavourably to the cost of reconstruction. The demands of the National Building Code with regard to commercial development meant that the construction of new buildings on the former sites of businesses in the

²⁵The Building Accessibility Regulations, section 4.1, p. 4, (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1996) requires that barrier free access be provided to all floors of a building in excess of 600 square meters. The original Roma Pizzeria building was in excess of 600 square meters and, therefore, rebuilding it as it had existed before the fire would have required the installation of an elevator to the large second floor dining room to provide accessibility to that level.

post-fire Harvey Road area was very expensive and could only be achieved with lot supplementation and favourable insurance payments.

CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS

In the following section the data presented in the foregoing case study reports will be analyzed according to the criteria described in section 3.3.2.3. The most frequently recurring factors identified as themes within case study groups are discussed first; less frequently occurring themes are discussed according to descending order of recurrence. The data analysis table shown on page B54, Appendix B, lists the recurring themes according to the case study sites at which they occurred.

5.1 Downtown Development

(see Table 1, p. B54, Appendix B)

There were four case study sites of downtown development in St. John's within the study area described and in the time period given (see section 3.2.2.1) – the Duffett Building/TD Place, Ayre's/Scotia Centre, Cabot Place Development, and the Hotel Newfoundland. Four factors typified the development history in all of the case study sites and are therefore considered the most important themes in downtown development: speculative investment in real estate; outside investment (i. e. investment by investors originating outside the province); the involvement of financial institutions, like banks and insurance companies in the financing of development; and lot assembly.

5.1.1 Speculative Investment; Outside Investment; Banks and Insurance Companies

Two of the four case study sites of downtown development had Canadian banks, whose headquarters are outside of Newfoundland, as the prime tenants. First, the Duffett Building (see section 4.1.1) was developed by Atlantic Capital Corporation (Sobeys) of Nova Scotia to be occupied ultimately by the Toronto Dominion Bank. Second, the Scotia Centre (see section 4.1.2) was developed by the Bank of Nova Scotia to serve as the location of their head office and main branch in Newfoundland.

The two developments that incorporated hotels, the Hotel Newfoundland and the Cabot Place Development, had insurance companies as financing partners. The financial backer for the combined conference centre/hotel complex at the Cabot Place Development (see section 4.1.3), Manulife Financial, a subsidiary of insurer Manufacturer's Life, was joined by the Radisson Hotel chain as operating partner and local developer Basil Dobbin. The partners in the Hotel Newfoundland project (see section 4.1.4), local firm Baine Johnston and Canadian National Hotels, were joined by Mutual Life of Canada in sharing the costs of the construction of the new hotel. Along with insurance companies, the banks were the major actors in speculative activity in St. John's in the early 1980s.

5.1.2 Lot Assembly

All four of the case study sites of downtown development entailed lot assembly in order to amass enough land to proceed with development, and all required the demolition of buildings on the sites

before development could begin. The sites of the Duffett Building and the Scotia Centre were made up of many smaller properties, lanes, and rights of way. The Cabot Place Development required the demolition of approximately one hundred homes and the elimination of several entire streets. Many of these houses were purchased and allowed to deteriorate prior to demolition, despite the previous investment of Federal Government money for renovation and infrastructural repair under a Neighbourhood Improvement Program. Such tactics on the part of developers have been observed throughout North America (Feagin, 1983) in areas of the inner city scheduled for development and contribute to the displacement and unattractiveness associated with the transition from the zone of discard to the zone of assimilation (see section 2.1.4). A similar pattern is evident in the deterioration of properties on Victoria Street, that border the parking areas associated with the Duffett Building.

5.1.3 Integration; Accommodation of Developers

The next most important themes identified through the case studies of downtown development were the integration of financial institutions with developers and operators in the proposed development (see section 2.2.3) and the accommodation of the developers by City authorities (see section 2.2.5).²⁶

The integration of financial institutions with developers occurred at three of the four case study sites of downtown development. Both hotel developments (Cabot Place Development and Hotel Newfoundland)

²⁶Accommodation of developers refers specifically to large-scale developers typically non-local or having non-local or 'outside' investors. Small-scale local developers, businesses, and property owners in downtown St. John's, like those at Harvey Road, Mechanics Hall and at some properties in the vicinity of Prescott Street, often experienced City Hall inflexibility regarding the interpretation of codes and regulations, including those governing parking.

exemplify this form of integration in which the institutions that provide financial backing are involved in the development and the operation of the development itself, rather than serving merely as a source of capital. The Scotia Centre also proceeded with the direct involvement of the Bank of Nova Scotia, its primary tenant, in the development – unlike the Duffett Building, which became the home of the Toronto Dominion Bank only after development began, however, neither of these developments involved a third-party operator as did the hotel developments²⁷.

In three of the four case study sites of downtown development (Duffett Building, Scotia Centre, and the Cabot Place Development), concessions with regard to regulations controlling development (building height, on-site parking requirements, heritage by-law and zoning by-law compatibility) were made to accommodate the demands of the developers in order to encourage development to take place.

The global tendency for real estate capital in the 1980s to solicit concessions, tax rebates, and government expenditures on infrastructure under the threat of withdrawal to other more amenable jurisdictions conditioned the restrictiveness of local regulations. The majority of the

²⁷In four cases of downtown development architects from outside Newfoundland were employed for principle design; three of these cases occur in integrated partnerships for development. The use of architectural firms from outside Newfoundland is not identified as a theme here because in the case of St. John's, this result reflects the fact that, at the time, few Newfoundland architectural firms had previous experience in the design of large-scale (high-rise) commercial projects or hotels. Experienced design practitioners were to be found only outside Newfoundland (Barlow, personal interview, Oct. 4, 1994). Typically, the operational partner employed an architectural firm with which there was a previous working relationship and/or that had professional experience in specialized design. The two Hotels and the Bank of Nova Scotia brought their own architects to the development project. The TD Bank, the prime tenant of the Duffett Building, was not involved in the development and Atlantic Capital Corporation selected an architectural firm with previous experience in high-rise design for its design. Darrel Crilley comments on the emergence in the 1980s of integrated development projects "managed by a globalized developer [and] designed by an international entourage of architects" (Crilley, 1994, p.128). Although the St. John's experience does not draw on an international cadre of architects, the instances of integrated development demonstrate a similar pattern in the employment of non-local architectural design firms by a member of the development partnership. Therefore, the employment of architectural firms from outside Newfoundland is indicative of the theme of integration rather than representative of a theme in itself.

members of St. John's City Council felt that regulation that discouraged investment, nominally interpreted to be anything that controlled what a developer wished to build, would compromise the competitive advantage of St. John's (Sharpe, 1986, p. 19, 22), especially in the context of the speculative environment created by the anticipation of Hibernia offshore oil development. This perception allowed pro-development Councillors to argue that the restrictions placed upon the size and scale of developments in the downtown by the Heritage By-Law and the subsequently revamped 1981 Zoning By-Law were a discouragement to potential investors.

During the review of the Heritage By-Law and its integration with the new Zoning By-Law, pressure from the Ayre family, whose properties were intended for development, was heeded by Council so that future development would not be precluded. Changes were made to the regulations so that a development of the size planned by the Bank of Nova Scotia could proceed. The Scotia Centre development and the Duffett Building both represented challenges to the height limitations specified in the Heritage By-Law and the modification of the setbacks and floor-area ratios affecting height as specified in the Zoning By-Law were granted to the developers of both projects. A waiver of the requirements for on-site parking for the Duffett Building led directly to the destruction of buildings on a number of nearby sites to accommodate parking.

The Cabot Place Development was instigated by the offer of substantial tax concessions and land contribution by the City, in order to encourage development in an area that had long been earmarked by its Planning Department for such development. Infrastructural investment

had been made well in advance of this project with the construction of the Harbour Arterial Road and the associated improvements to streets in the vicinity (New Gower Street and Hamilton Avenue). This approach was intended to relieve pressure for development in the downtown core where the Heritage Conservation Area was delineated (Howley, 1993, p.37).

In the case of the Hotel Newfoundland no concessions were required since the site was zoned for development in the existing zoning plan and already served as the site of a hotel prior to the proposal for development.

5.1.4 Co-optation of Historical Association or Status; Suburbanization

Other themes that occurred in two of the four case study sites of downtown development are: the co-optation of historical association or status (see section 2.2.6) and the suburbanization of previous occupants as part of the context prior to development (see section 2.1.5).

Two of the developments demonstrate a tendency to co-opt an historical association or status that derived from the location of the development. The Radisson Hotel chain, which was an integral part of the Cabot Place Development, used references to the historical urban environment that it replaced in what Christine Boyer calls a "backward binding gesture" (Boyer, 1993, p. 121). The hotel chain attempted to provide a "new encoding of the locality" (Imrie and Thomas, 1993, p. 96) by naming one of its restaurants "Brazil Square" after the best known of the streets in the neighbourhood that the development displaced. The hotel operators thereby attempted to graft an up-market

cachet to the memory of an area of the city that the developers had previously conveyed as substandard. Targeted neighbourhoods are often depicted as in need of remedial action in the form of physical and social upgrading as part of the process preparatory to development (see section 2.2.6).

Integral to the cycle of deterioration and redevelopment described earlier (see section 2.2.6), this connotative strategy positions the intentions of developers as aspiring to social good, as well as economic benefit. This is achieved by linking the project with the supply of some kind public amenity like the convention centre portion of the Cabot Place Development that was sponsored by the contribution of land and tax concessions by the City. Through such strategies, proposed developments are presented as civic attributes in spite of the social displacement and physical destruction that they cause or in the face of public opposition (Boyer, 1993, p. 115).

The co-optation of status associated with a particular location is also typical of the approaches taken by real estate developers in the 1980s. The Bank of Nova Scotia employed this strategy when choosing to develop the former Ayre's site at the intersection of Ayre's Cove/McBride's Hill and Water Street. This intersection has a long history as the location of the banking industry in St. John's and is the historical center of the commercial district of the city. In 1981, the Toronto Dominion Bank moved from this location to the Duffett Building at the intersection of Water Street and Prescott Street, the second most important intersection in downtown. Prior to that, all but one of the Canadian banks (the Bank of Nova Scotia) had retained offices at this intersection, including the Canadian Imperial Bank of

Commerce, the Bank of Montreal, and the Royal Bank of Canada. With the construction of the Scotia Centre in 1985, the Bank of Nova Scotia became the primary architectural presence at this intersection. In selecting the most prominent locations in the downtown for their buildings, the banks used architecture as a sign of their status in the community. By appropriating socially conceived notions of status, as well as reflecting the economic priority of land value itself, the banks ascribe to their buildings the value associated with this location (see section 2.2.6).

The Scotia Centre and the Duffett Building developments were constructed at the former locations of local businesses that had either closed or relocated retail operations to suburban sites prior to the proposals for development. The Scotia Centre, for example, was built on the former site of two of the oldest commercial family businesses in Newfoundland – Dicks and Co. Ltd. and Ayre's Ltd. – that had moved their retail outlets to suburban locations. The Duffett Building replaced the building formerly occupied by the Royal Stores Ltd., which had been located at the site at the intersection of Duckworth and Prescott Streets north of Water Street since the nineteenth century (Sharpe, 1981, p. 45). Both developments entailed the assembly of various parcels of land, including lanes and rights of way. This process involved the legal determination of ownership (Sharpe, 1981, p. 42) and the purchase of freehold ownership from the descendants of the original landlords in Europe, whose association with the property dated back to the time of earliest settlement. This ancient tenure further demonstrates the significance of the chosen sites as deriving prestige from their history as the location of long-established local businesses.

The change in ownership witnessed with these developments represented a shift in the commercial makeup and economic power of business in Newfoundland. As these local businesses ceased operation or abandoned their former locations in the downtown, they were replaced by the representatives of outside investment. While both the Canadian Banks and their local partners had long histories of involvement in St. John's, the transition from the former economy dominated by local merchant family enterprises centered on Water Street to one exemplified by outside capital investment was made complete with the demolition of the premises of the former to make way for the speculative office developments of the latter.

5.1.5 Leveraging; Provision of a Public Amenity; Planning for Development; Inflexible Interpretation of Codes and Regulations

Each of the following themes occur in one of the case study sites of downtown development - Cabot Place Development: leveraged development where tax abatement was used to encourage development (see section 2.2.4), the provision of a public amenity, and planning for development (see section 2.2.5). Inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations (see section 2.1.8) arose in the case of Hotel Newfoundland.

In a limited leveraged arrangement (see section 2.2.4), the Cabot Place Development incorporated a conference centre as a semi-public amenity in exchange for the establishment of a ten-year tax holiday and the contribution of land from the City. In planning for development, the City had identified the west end of downtown as the preferred location for high-rise development and wished to encourage the

construction of the Cabot Place Development through the tax arrangement. The Hotel Newfoundland, which was proposed initially in response to the call for a conference facility by the City, proceeded with development without such a tax incentive. The developer of the Hotel Newfoundland cited the inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations on the part of the City as one of the main disincentives to development in the downtown.

5.1.6 Summary

Global economic restructuring had an effect upon the real estate industry internationally (see section 2.2). The emergence of excess capital in the 1970s gave rise to a search for investment opportunities around the world under the new regime of flexible accumulation (Harvey, 1990). Financial institutions such as banks, insurance companies, and pension fund management companies emerged as the major repositories of this capital in the realm of real estate investment (Knox, 1993; Logan, 1993). As funds from these sources found their way into speculative real estate development in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the character of real estate development changed. Not only did the form of development change as the ascendant Post-Modern movement began to affect architectural style (see section 2.1.9 and section 2.2.6), but the nature of real estate development changed as well (Logan, 1993).

Transnationalization and the horizontal integration of development companies with investors and operators (Boyer, 1993) began to alter the structure of real estate development and the kind of development that took place (see section 2.2.3 and section 2.2.4).

Large-scale projects involving massive land assembly in areas of the city that were being redefined by changes in the economy became typical throughout Europe and America, as governments tried to revitalize aging and obsolete parts of the city (Imrie and Thomas, 1993). The collusion of governments in the support of such developments became endemic (Crilley 1993), as competing jurisdictions sought to attract investment from increasingly foot-loose development companies and capital (see section 2.2.4). Leveraged developments involving substantial tax abatements, land contributions and financial investment from governments and/or concessions with respect to applicable regulations became the norm in this new environment (Boyer, 1993; Imrie and Thomas, 1993).

The effects of these international trends in real estate development can be seen on the local level in the source of funding for the development projects that were initiated in the early 1980s in downtown St. John's. Financial institutions, such as insurance companies and banks, were the prime source of funding for development in downtown St. John's during this period. The way these development projects were carried out is also reflective of these international trends, in that the horizontal integration of financial institutions, development companies and operators typified the kind of development that took place (see section 2.2.3). Leveraging, tax abatements, land contributions, and the solicitation of concessions from the City with regard to building control were also demonstrated in developments in downtown St. John's during the period of this study.

5.2 Downtown Non-Development

(see Table 1, p. B54, Appendix B)

In total, there were fourteen case study sites of non-development in downtown St. John's. This total includes parking lots and sites cleared for road construction. The themes that occurred most frequently in the case study sites of downtown non-development were: zone of discard, lot assembly, and parking. A number of other themes occurred in the case study sites; namely: speculative investment, outside investment, planning for development, accommodation of developers, destruction for development, inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations, appreciation of the architecture of the past and suburbanization.

5.2.1 Zone of Discard; Lot Assembly; Parking

The characteristics of the zone of discard (Ford 1994) are demonstrated throughout the downtown where sites have been cleared of built form and serve as parking. Deliberate or random destruction, in combination with protracted deterioration and the attendant depression of real estate value, often preface areas for redevelopment. Pressure through official regulatory channels like City inspections or insurance company "red-lining" (Feagin, 1983, p. 49) can empty whole neighbourhoods of residents and resistance in advance of redevelopment activity. The relationship between development and destruction is demonstrated in St. John's by the concurrence of projects like the Duffett Building and the Cabot Place Development with demolition preparatory to their construction and for the provision of parking in

their vicinity. The recurrence of the destruction by fire of aging wooden structures in St. John's has often produced vacant land that forms part of the patchwork of parking lots and underdeveloped sites in the downtown. While not always directly related to its ultimate use, such random destruction is in many cases seminal to the formation of larger lots and is integrated with the parking strategies of adjacent development.

All fourteen case study sites of downtown non-development demonstrate the characteristics of the zone of discard (see section 2.1.4). Lot assembly took place at ten of the fourteen case study sites considered. Parking lots now occupy ten of the fourteen case study sites. Eight of these parking lots are private and two case study sites are parking lots created by the City.

All of these themes are related directly or indirectly to the occurrence of development in the downtown. The collection of parking lots in the vicinity of the Duffett Building, combined with other properties in the area owned by Atlantic Capital Corporation and held for future development, constitute what Ford calls the zone of discard where deterioration and underdevelopment often occur prior to demolition and are peripheral to development. These characteristics are demonstrated at the case study sites where buildings were purchased and demolished to serve as parking for adjacent developments (Carino Site, Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street, Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street, Evening Telegram Site) or where vacant sites are used as parking (Cochrane Street/132-146 Duckworth Street, King's Road/168-176 Duckworth Street, Mechanics Hall Site, Holloway House Site). The Holloway House Site (see section 4.2.14) demonstrates the

characteristics of the zone of discard in that the former Holloway School fell into disrepair after it was closed and it was demolished to make way for the proposed Holloway House development. The project did not proceed and the site has remained undeveloped, serving as a parking lot since the demolition of the building .

The characteristics of the zone of discard were also demonstrated at case study sites that were affected by road improvements (Marshall Building Site, Hamilton Avenue, Water Street West – Newfoundland Railway Yard, Plymouth Road/10-22 Duckworth Street) or where the City purchased property for conversion to parking lots (Bell Street/332-338 Duckworth Street, York Theatre Site). In both of these situations buildings were often vacant and deteriorating before they were demolished.

Lot assembly took place at all of the case study sites used for parking in the vicinity of the Duffett Building except the Evening Telegram Site, which was a single property and did not require lot assembly. Lot assembly occurred at other case study sites in the downtown that serve as parking or are held for future development (Cochrane Street/132-146 Duckworth Street, King's Road/168-176 Duckworth Street) and where the City constructed parking lots or carried out road improvements (except in the case of the Marshall Building where only a portion of the site was expropriated by the City). At Bell Street/332-338 Duckworth Street (see section 4.2.9) the City both purchased and leased land for the construction of a public parking lot.

There are ten case study sites that are used as parking lots; two of which are public parking lots owned by the City (Bell Street/332-338

Duckworth Street, York Theatre Site). The other eight are located on privately owned land (Cochrane Street/132-146 Duckworth Street, Carino Site/147-149 Duckworth Street, King's Road/168-176 Duckworth Street, Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street, Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street, Evening Telegram Site, Mechanics Hall Site, Holloway House Site). Three of these eight private parking lots provide parking for the Duffett Building (Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street, Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street, Evening Telegram).

5.2.2 Speculative Investment; Outside Investment

In six of the fourteen case study sites of downtown non-development, speculative investment in real estate occurred. In four of these case study sites, investors originating from outside of Newfoundland were involved. Outside investors, like Atlantic Capital Corporation, made speculative investment in property in the downtown area on the basis of future development opportunities by purchasing many smaller properties and holding them undeveloped until, combined with other adjacent sites, development would be profitable. This kind of "land-banking" (letter from Raymond Peterson, Oct.14, 1989), referring to the Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street site (see section 4.2.4), was lamented by smaller retail business owners in the area and had an increasing effect upon the streetscapes in the downtown. The prospect of the imminent development of offshore oil reserves at Hibernia engendered this heightened speculative environment and encouraged similar tactics throughout the downtown (Sharpe, 1985). Smaller case study sites like those owned by 25563 Alberta Co. Ltd. and

Carino Co. Ltd. at Cochrane Street (see section 4.2.1 and section 4.2.2) demonstrate the same strategy of long term real estate speculation wherein underdeveloped property is held until an anticipated upturn in the real estate market makes development profitable.

5.2.3 Planning for Development: Parking and Roads

In six other case study sites, City planning for development is evident; two where the City constructed parking lots to accommodate anticipated demand for parking in the downtown and four case study sites where road improvements were carried out for the purpose of accommodating increased traffic.

The Marshall Building (see section 4.2.7), on the southeast corner of the intersection of Water Street and Prescott Street, deteriorated over a period of almost two decades, despite recognition by the Federal Heritage Review Board (memorandum to Clifford Johnston, July, 26, 1993) as a heritage structure, before it was demolished in 1996 and a portion of the site was expropriated by the City for road realignment. A similar fate befell buildings at the east end of the downtown at Plymouth Road (see section 4.2.13) in preparation for a proposed East End Arterial Road and at Water Street West (see section 4.2.12) where buildings in the former Newfoundland (Canadian National) Railway Yard were demolished for road widening. The site on Hamilton Avenue (see section 4.2.11) was also affected by infrastructural improvements in the west end of the downtown that were part of the coordinated effort by the City to encourage development.

The York Theatre (see section 4.2.10) was the most dramatic example of this official policy. Plans by the City to demolish the

structure for the construction of a large west end parking lot were challenged by a movement to save the building for conversion to a downtown performing arts centre. However, before a decision could be made with regard to the fate of the buildings, a fire destroyed the theatre and the attached structures as a portion of the block was being demolished and the ultimate destiny of the site as a parking lot was assured.

5.2.4 Accommodation of Developers; Destruction for Development

Accommodation of developers with regard to development controls, including waivers of the on-site parking requirements, occurred in four of the case study sites of downtown non-development. A waiver of the requirements for on-site parking for the Duffett Building led directly to the destruction of buildings on the many sites used for parking nearby. The City allowed the developers of the Duffett Building to forgo the provision of parking within the building if sites for the requisite parking were provided off site. This increased the leasible space within the ten-storey height of the structure but meant that buildings on adjacent sites would be demolished to make way for parking.

Four of the case study sites of downtown development are the result of destruction for development. One is the Holloway House site where the old Holloway School was demolished in anticipation of the proposed Holloway House condominium project. The other three are the case study sites where buildings were demolished for parking for the Duffett Building (Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street, Prescott

Street/256-260 Duckworth Street, Evening Telegram Site). The developers of the Duffett Building, Atlantic Capital Corporation, own substantial amounts of property in the two blocks flanking Prescott Street (representing a total of thirty one civic number addresses; at twenty three of these civic number addresses buildings were demolished for parking). These two blocks represent the kind of *urban fallow* (see section 2.3.4) that exemplifies the early stages of the cycle of deterioration, demolition, and redevelopment that are often initiated and employed by developers. Atlantic Capital Corporation, with the assistance of Harold Duffett, amassed substantial property ownership in the blocks adjacent to the Duffett Building, which either serve as parking or are held for future development.

5.2.5 Inflexible Interpretation of Codes and Regulations; Appreciation of the Architecture of the Past; Suburbanization

The inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations and appreciation of the architecture of the past each played a role in four of the case study sites of downtown non-development. Inspections for maintenance and safety code violations in the city have often resulted in the demolition of structures that are condemned as substandard according to an inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations. Frequently, this has been used to the benefit of future developers and has exhibited a pattern whereby frequent inspections and citations for code violations occur prior to the sale of the property to a developer (Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street, Mechanics Hall Site - 96-98 Water Street). The use of minimum maintenance order legislation has

been effective in other jurisdictions in stemming the tide of neglect leading to demolition that is often initiated by developers with the intention of eventual development (see section 2.1.8). Under its maintenance by-law, the City of St. John's is able to perform renovation and repair work independently, in order to save a building from further deterioration and subsequently recover the cost from the owners. Such legislation has rarely been used for this purpose in St. John's and is most often employed to order the demolition of buildings that have deteriorated to the point where they become a safety hazard.

In the case of the Welcome Hotel (see section 4.2.5) and several properties on Prescott Street (13-15, 24-26 Prescott Street), the previous owners were discouraged from proceeding with renovation plans by City inspections followed by citations and unco-operative responses regarding parking. The subsequent purchase by Atlantic Capital Corporation was then followed by zoning changes and approvals for demolition to accommodate the developer's plans. The case study sites of Mechanics Hall, The Marshall Building and the York Theatre demonstrate similar experiences where deterioration and inflexibility on the part of the City with regard to codes and regulations led to the demolition of structures for traffic accommodation and parking. The previous owners of Mechanics Hall (see section 4.2.8), adjacent to the War Memorial on Water Street, found that City inflexibility concerning the proposed use and on-street parking eventually led to the sale of the building to a developer after demolition by the City. In the case of the King's Road/168-176 Duckworth Street site (see section 4.2.3), Council approved the demolition of the Weavery building, which was partially damaged by a fire that destroyed the adjacent buildings. Despite

arguments made by area businesses for its retention and a recommendation from the Heritage Advisory Committee to delay demolition until alternatives for renovation could be considered, the majority of Council voted for its demolition citing its "hazardous condition" (letter to Jeffrey Levitz, Oct. 20, 1989).

The appreciation of the architecture of the past became an issue in four of the case study sites of downtown non-development (King's Road/168-176 Duckworth Street, Marshall Building Site, Mechanics Hall, York Theatre Site) where a debate arose about the demolition of the existing buildings to make way for parking or road improvements. Those calling for the retention of the Weavery building argued that renovating the surviving structure would help preserve the streetscape, and the character of the area. In the case of the Marshall Building, the application for its demolition repeatedly came before Council, despite its recognition as a heritage structure, and a debate ensued about its preservation (Evening Telegram, Sept. 8, 1993). Similarly, Mechanics Hall was demolished despite its recognition as a heritage structure by The Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador and the award of a grant from the Foundation of \$10,000 for its renovation. The York Theatre was being considered for renovation for use as a downtown arts centre when it was destroyed by fire and was subsequently demolished and the site converted by the City for use as a parking lot. In all four case study sites, arguments in favour of the appreciation of the architecture of the past were made in the debates that arose about the proposed future use and their threatened demolition.

In one case of downtown non-development, the Evening Telegram (see section 4.2.6) moved its operations to a suburban site

prior to the sale of the property to Atlantic Capital Corporation and its demolition and conversion to a parking lot for the Duffett Building. Four case study sites represent destruction for development: one case at the Holloway House site and three case study sites where demolition occurred for the provision of parking for the Duffett Building (Holloway Street/216-236 Duckworth Street, Prescott Street/256-260 Duckworth Street, Evening Telegram Site). There are three other case study sites, which are used as parking lots, that represent speculative investment in real estate in the anticipation of future development (Cochrane Street/132-146 Duckworth Street, Carino Site/147-149 Duckworth Street, Mechanics Hall Site). There are two case study sites where the City constructed parking lots and four case study sites where road improvements were carried out in order to accommodate anticipated development (Bell Street/332-338 Duckworth Street, York Theatre Site; Marshall Building Site, Hamilton Avenue, Water Street West – Newfoundland Railway Yard, Plymouth Road/10-22 Duckworth Street).

5.3 Post-Fire Development

(see Table 1, p. B54, Appendix B)

There were four case study sites of post-fire development: CLB Armoury, Big R/Johnny's Restaurant, Collette Nap Business/Residence, and Tim Horton's. The themes that were most common amongst these case study sites were: the inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations, the appreciation of the architecture of the past, and the influence of insurance policy payments upon the form and timing of rebuilding.

5.3.1 Inflexible Interpretation of Codes and Regulations

The inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations had an influence upon three of the cases of post-fire development (The Big R/Johnny's Restaurant, the CLB, and Collette Nap Business/Residence). The requirements placed upon the new buildings by the building and handicapped accessibility codes posed a problem for the owners of the Big R and Johnny's Restaurants (see section 4.3.2) because of the small sites in the Harvey Road area. The code requirements for new construction meant that the provision of new exit stairs, wheelchair ramps, and handicapped accessible washrooms, as well as incombustible party walls, reduced the amount of usable space available within the perimeter of the original site. The owners purchased adjacent lots in order to expand total site area to accommodate the spatial demands implicit in the new code regulations. The costs of providing handicapped access to public areas on upper floors (including in some cases the installation of an elevator, as was the case for the band practice

room of the CLB, see section 4.3.1) limited the new buildings to the same two-storey configuration that had existed before the fire. Others in the area found National Building Code requirements onerous, and between the spatial limitations of the typically small lots and the financial liabilities associated with full code compliance, many were dissuaded from rebuilding (see sections 4.4.2, 4.4.3 and 4.44).

Those who proceeded with post-fire development cite inflexibility with regard to code requirements on the part of the City as one of the main reasons why development has been slow to advance. Collette Nap notes that the cost of full code compliance, in situations where the financing of developments is based upon appraisals of the adjacent older residential properties, makes development difficult. Banks limit what building can be financed by comparison to the appraised market value of that which exists in the surrounding neighbourhood. Full code compliance for commercial construction in such a context is often prohibitively expensive relative to the calibre of adjacent residential properties. As an architect, Nap observed that negotiation of the system of regulations and innovation in their application in design was necessary in this environment. Inflexibility with regard to the interpretation of building codes and their application (see section 2.1.8) is cited, along with insufficient insurance remuneration, as the main reason many property owners did not rebuild.

5.3.2 Appreciation of the Architecture of the Past

The value of an association with the architecture of the past, those buildings destroyed by fire, was important in the case study sites of the CLB Armoury and the Big R/Johnny's Restaurant. The reconstruction of the CLB Armoury and the Big R and Johnny's restaurants following the 1992 fire exhibits a tendency to architectural conservatism that is more related to sentiment than to regulatory control.

The Church Lads' Brigade explicitly declared their intention to rebuild in a form that was a replication of the destroyed structure, and this plan formed a central part of the rhetoric of the fund-raising campaign that facilitated the project. Imitation of the appearance of the former building on the old site was meant to symbolically reaffirm the institution's tenacity and historical continuity, and the return to the former site was intended to highlight its commitment to its own history and community involvement. The approach of the CLB is a manifestation of the symbolic value (see section 2.1.2) of an institution and its architectural representation in the face of destruction.

The Big R and Johnny's restaurants, on the other hand, while similarly declaring an intention to rebuild at the former locations immediately following the 1992 fire, did so primarily to avoid a lengthy disruption of business and objected to the City's plans for road realignment on that basis. Nevertheless, sentiment arising out of a long association with the Harvey Road location also encouraged the owners to rebuild on the former sites. The advertising value of reopening after such a catastrophic event was viewed by the owners as a sign of resilience and commitment to the area. The continued ownership of the land was a major incentive to rebuilding, reiterating the persistence of

Conzen's *morphological frame* (see section 2.3.2), where land tenure patterns encourage a resistance to change in urban form.

Conservatism is also evident in the exterior design of the rebuilt properties, in that the owners chose a vocabulary that was reminiscent of the surrounding residential architecture in an attempt to have the new buildings "fit in", despite there being no regulatory requirement that such an approach be applied in the post-fire area. The owners deliberately sought to emulate the characteristics of the surrounding architecture to strengthen the perception that by their action, the neighbourhood was being "rebuilt". This response reflects a sentimental or psychological attachment to the idea of apparent continuity in the face of stress occasioned by the catastrophic destruction of the fire (see section 2.1.1 and section 2.1.2).

5.3.3 Insurance Payments

The influence of insurance payments arose for the two case study sites where properties that existed before the fire were rebuilt immediately afterward (the CLB Armoury and the Big R/Johnny's Restaurants). Collette Nap and Tim Horton's (see section 4.3.3 and section 4.3.4) developed on sites that were purchased from previous owners and thus were not affected by post-fire insurance payments. Insurance settlements influenced rebuilding efforts since full remuneration often required total reconstruction in order to redeem replacement costs. Insurance determined the form of rebuilding in that it also limited expansion beyond what had existed prior to the fire and encouraged a kind of formal conservatism in the restriction to two-storey commercial premises as was the case for the properties between

Harvey Road and Long's Hill (Big R/Johnny's Restaurants). The CLB found that its initial plans for total reconstruction were curtailed by the amount paid by insurance. This required that plans be scaled back and a more modest structure, in keeping with fund-raising capacity, be constructed.

5.4 Post-Fire Non-Development

(see Table 1, p. B54, Appendix B)

In the case study sites of post-fire non-development - Dominion Site, Rock 'n' Leather, Roma Pizzeria, and Ziggy Peelgood's - two themes emerged in all four case study sites: inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations and insurance payments.

5.4.1 Inflexible Interpretation of Codes and Regulations

The owners of all of the properties that were not developed after the fire cite inflexibility with regard to building code requirements as a major disincentive to rebuilding. For Rock 'n' Leather and Ziggy Peelgood's the costs of providing handicapped access and constructing incombustible party walls (to separate one property from the next in an area where they had previously been attached) meant that rebuilding on the narrow sites between Harvey Road and Long's Hill was infeasible.

Roma Pizzeria sat on a larger site than was typical of the sites between Harvey Road and Long's Hill and so did not find space limitation due to code requirements the determining factor with regard to rebuilding. Nevertheless, the code requirement that handicapped access be provided to the second storey dining area via an elevator, due to its proposed capacity, precluded the reconstruction of the restaurant as it had existed prior to the fire.

The Dominion grocery store chain made an operational decision not to return to their former site on the corner of Parade Street and Harvey Road (see section 4.4.1). The owners of the site note that City Hall inflexibility with regard to vehicular access from Harvey Road

prevented the successful leasing of a new building. Reconstruction was not tenable without a prospective tenant.

5.4.2 Insurance Payments

Insurance payments prevented rebuilding in all case study sites of post-fire non-development because replacement costs and deductions reduced payments below the cost of rebuilding. For Rock 'n' Leather, Ziggy's, and Roma Pizzeria, insurance payments fell short of reconstruction costs when deductions and new appraisals of the land value were factored into the estimates. The owners of the Dominion site, Baine Johnston, were remunerated with only 70 percent of the reconstruction cost when construction could not commence within twelve months of the fire, due to the fact that Dominion withdrew from the site and no new tenants could be found for a new building.

5.5 Summary

(see Table 1, p. B54, Appendix B)

The foregoing analysis reveals that all four of the downtown development case study sites represent speculative investment in real estate by investors originating outside of Newfoundland. In each case, the demolition of buildings prior to development raised a debate about the implications of development and the value of the architecture of the past. Even in an area where the City encouraged development (Cabot Place), the demolition of an entire residential neighbourhood caused consternation at the scale of development. In three of the four case study sites, a pro-development stance was taken on the part of the City, accommodating developers through concessions and tax abatements.

In the case study sites of downtown non-development, most were either associated directly with development (Duffett Building) or with speculation on future development. The case study sites that were not tied to development were instances where the City attempted to accommodate or encourage anticipated development by constructing parking lots and proceeding with road improvements. The combination of the inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations and the accommodation of developers of large-scale projects discouraged the renovation and continued use of smaller properties that were often subsequently sold to the developers of speculative projects.

By comparison, many of the case study sites of post-fire non-development represent instances where rebuilding was prevented by the inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations. The costs of full code

compliance relative to modest insurance payments for the small properties destroyed made rebuilding infeasible.

Overall, a preference for large-scale speculative development initiated with the involvement of outside investors is demonstrated in the analysis of the downtown case study sites examined. Inflexibility on the part of the City discouraged small-scale development in both downtown and post-fire case study sites.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Discussion

The foregoing analysis highlights the themes and patterns that have emerged in downtown St. John's in the past two decades in the evolution of urban form. The process by which architecture is created (i.e. conceived, financed, approved and constructed) reveals something of the values that hold currency within the broader society (see section 1.2). Those values are revealed most potently through the context in which decisions about the creation of architecture are made, and by what those decisions ultimately produce. The physical reality of the city reflects the realization of the aspirations of those individuals involved in a building process which takes place in a context, political and social, that is conditioned by the attitudes of the broader society.

The architecture of a city, the products of decision-making leading to the creation of architecture, reveals a set of priorities that may be attributable to the broader society. Architecture, then, may be interpreted to reflect the values of the broader society, and the value of architecture in the society, through those decisions. The history of development in the past two decades, and the evolution of regulations designed for development control and heritage preservation show, that the construction of this concept of value in the context of St. John's is characterized by the primacy of progress over assertions of the valuation of the past.

6.1.1 The Primacy of Progress and the Value of Architecture

In the case study sites examined here, a pattern emerged in St. John's, over the period 1977 to 1997, in which battles fought over the shape of development in the downtown, or the appropriateness of such development, were resolved in favour of development. The accommodation of the demands of developers has consistently been made in the name of progress. Pitting the agents of *progress* against the advocates of *tradition* (see section 2.1.1), as personified by the heritage preservation movement, the advance of development in St. John's, beginning in the early 1980s, polarized the debate about the future form of the city. The compromise of regulations intended for the protection of older architecture in downtown St. John's, in order to accommodate development, reveals an overall willingness on the part of local politicians, claiming democratic authority despite public opposition, to side with progress over tradition. The value of older architecture in St. John's is observed to be low relative to the value of progress as identified with development.

A rhetorical acceptance of preservation in St. John's was advanced with the adoption of the Heritage By-Law in 1977. In the debates surrounding development in downtown that ensued (Duffett Building, Scotia Centre), the majority of City Council nevertheless chose to characterize preservation as an elitist interest (O'Dea, 1981, p. 4; Sharpe, 1986 p.32-33). Although preservation often advanced from the quarter of an elite in other places as well, its success in most cases has been founded upon the acceptance amongst the broader population of the notion that cultural identity is embodied in the historical architecture of a place (see section 2.1.1). The continued compromise

by City Hall of the principles articulated within the Heritage By-Law, in the face of demands for development, represents a devaluation of historical architecture relative to development. The inflexible interpretation and application of code requirements supports this observation, in that older architecture is deemed substandard relative to contemporary codes and no compromise for the purpose of perpetuating its existence is entertained. The inflexible interpretation of codes and regulations made post-fire development difficult on Harvey Road, where attachment to past architectural forms and locations were highly valued. The devaluation of older architecture generally can be observed to be part of the cultural constitution and political practice in St. John's. Based on the case study sites examined here, this society does not apparently value the architecture of its past in anything more than a rhetorical sense, devoid of practical application.

Several factors may explain this observation: suburbanization after confederation with Canada in 1949, the association of progress with development on the basis of outside investment, and the influence of global trends in real estate development.

The shifting demographics of the city after Confederation in 1949, and in particular rapid suburbanization that produced dramatic inner city depopulation and economic decline in the 1970s, devalued the architecture of the older portion of the city. The resultant shift in political priority predisposed municipal politicians to the idea of development in an area of the city that was seen to be in physical and economic decline. The wave of development experienced in St. John's in the 1980s may be seen as a manifestation of social and economic integration with the outside portrayed and perceived as progress.

The direct equivalence of progress with development encouraged the pro-development ethos demonstrated throughout the 1980s by those in power. The primacy of progress as epitomized by development, as opposed to the assertion of cultural continuity through architectural preservation, in this context, preferences the outside over the local. Progress as development, as physical and economic improvement, has been a part of the rhetoric of the advocates of development throughout this period of dramatic change in St. John's. The shift in the economy, witnessed by the construction of speculative office towers in downtown, from the former dominance of merchant family businesses with origins in the traditional fishery, to the hegemony of outside investment in local real estate, further demonstrates this trajectory.

The influence of global trends (see section 2.2) in the local environment evidenced by this phase of development testifies to greater integration with the outside. The denigration of the value of the architecture of the past, as an embodiment of cultural commodity, reflects the ascendancy of integration with the "outside" over the persistence of the "local" – the conquest of the "progressives" over the "traditionalists" – in the construction of a schema of cultural values. The appreciation of the past has little place, then, in this cultural context, in the conception and anticipation of the future. The dialectic between local and outside influences is exemplified by the integration of the local development industry with sources of finance that reside outside the local environment. Global economic restructuring altered the context of real estate development so substantially that such influences can be seen to operate on the most finite level in the local environment. The manifestation of these outside influences in the urban

form of the local environment reveals a symbiotic relationship between local modus operandi and global conditions.

6.2 Conclusion

6.2.1 Old vs. New – New Wins

This research explored the idea that cultural values are embodied in architecture – that building, through the building process, embodies the values of the society that produced it – by examining the decisions made by those involved in the building process. While those who build do not necessarily consult a construct of clearly defined cultural values each time a decision with regard to building arises, those decisions are nevertheless formed in a context of contemporary circumstances, influences and perceptions that constitute a framework of values that can be attributed to the broader society. It is in the context in which the creation of architecture takes place that cultural values are most saliently manifested. The values that can be observed in the form of the city and in the context in which built form is created are those that the broader society holds with regard to architecture. For example, the value of architecture to a society, specifically older architecture, can be seen in the means and methods used to perpetuate its existence. The success or failure of such endeavors can be interpreted to represent a measure of the value of the architecture of the past to a society. The value of the concept of progress, as manifested in the creation of new architecture, is readily observed in the response to development pressure in an urban context, and the influence of the agents of development upon the formulation, interpretation, and application of regulations governing the generation of built form. While these regulations reflect certain priorities, such as the primacy of the protection of life explicit in life safety codes, it is in the context in

which these regulations exist and were created that broader cultural values can be seen.

Since building is such an expensive endeavor and the approval and construction process is lengthy and often complex, buildings represent the commissioning of enormous amounts of confidence, influence and capital. The physical environment therefore represents, diagrammatically, the structure of economic and political power in a place, by sketching, through the building process, the negotiation of political hierarchies, the system of regulations, the intricacies of finance and the intangibles of public acceptance. The decision to build or not to build takes place in the context of an assessment of the value of architecture that is constituted in the local real estate market. The decisions that were made in St. John's reflect this overriding determination of value as circumscribed by cultural values, that is to say, by what is seen to be "good" or "bad" in this cultural environment.

The accommodation of the desires and intentions of developers in the process of the formulation of regulations, as witnessed in St. John's, demonstrates the influence of individuals within a political context and reflects the attitudes of the broader society to the control of the urban environment. The individuals involved in the process pursued strategies and development projects, and the regulatory agencies and municipal politicians approved developments based upon what they perceived to be a social and economic "good". Opposition to these approaches was overruled by the majority of City Council, on the basis of democratic authority, by the perception that the broader population also believed that development was "good" and was a manifestation of progress. This research supports the observation that, in St. John's, "heritage

conservation is something generally supported only by 'elite groups' and it lacks popular, and therefore, political support. The winners in any confrontation between those supporting conservation and adaptive reuse, and those supporting demolition and replacement will inevitably be the developers, and the groups which support them" (Sharpe, 1986, p. 32). The repeated accommodation of developers by politicians in St. John's through the compromise of regulations to designed to control urban form, over the objections of those arguing for preservation, reflects a preference for development in the broader society that is then articulated in the physical environment.

The primacy of progress, as represented by development, over the valuation of the past through historic preservation can be seen to be an essential character of the construction of cultural values in St. John's, Newfoundland. In the battle between old and new – between local and outside – there emerged in St. John's a cultural predilection for the new. The preference for the new over the old is consistently shown in the case studies reviewed. Based on this research, the primacy of progress as exemplified by a predilection for the new constitutes a cultural value that is embodied in the architecture of St. John's, Newfoundland. This is demonstrated by the fact that in the contest between old and new, new wins.

6.2.2 Directions for Further Research

This conclusion – the primacy of progress as a cultural value – is based on an investigation of the decisions involved in the construction of large-scale commercial architecture in downtown St. John's. If the primacy of progress as exemplified by a predilection for the new is indeed a cultural value in this environment, then the same cultural value should also be reflected in types of architecture other than that, examined here; for example, in domestic architecture, in exclusively retail structures, or for that matter, in ecclesiastical architecture. In addition, research into building outside downtown St. John's, including in other communities in Newfoundland, should support this conclusion. Indeed, an examination of other forms of cultural production and patterns of consumption, should demonstrate that this cultural value may be seen to extend even beyond architecture.

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Newspaper Articles (Chronological Listing)

1974, AUG. 29, EVENING TELEGRAM — *TRIZEC GETS GO-AHEAD BUT THE VOTE WAS CLOSE*

1977, JAN. 4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *NO DECISION YET ON NEW CN HOTEL*

1978, APR. 20, EVENING TELEGRAM — *PARKING GARAGE CONTROVERSY CONTINUES - HIGGINS FEARS CITY'S CREDIBILITY...WILL BE DESTROYED*

1978, DEC. 7, EVENING TELEGRAM — *AYRE'S CONVERTING DOWNTOWN STORE INTO SMALLER OUTLETS*

1978, DEC. 8, EVENING TELEGRAM — *AYRE'S BEING CONVERTED FOR NEW TYPE OF BUSINESS*

1979, FEB. 8, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL REJECTS MOTION ON HERITAGE AREA*

1979, NOV. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL WILL CONSIDER OPPOSITION TO PROJECT*

1979, NOV. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DEVELOPER DOESN'T ANTICIPATE MUCH OBJECTION TO NEW BUILDING*

1979, DEC. 3, EVENING TELEGRAM — *NEW BUILDING IS AN ECONOMIC BOOST FOR DOWNTOWN AREA SAYS DEVELOPER*

1979, DEC. 8, EVENING TELEGRAM — *STRONG OPPOSITION VOICED ON PROPOSED OFFICE BUILDING <DUFFETT BUILDING>*

1979, DEC. 17, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DOWNTOWN OFFICE BUILDING BRIEFING SESSION TONIGHT*

1979, DEC. 18, DAILY NEWS — *FIRE CAPTAIN STOPS MEETING:*

1979, DEC. 18, EVENING TELEGRAM — *MEETING ROOM OVERCROWDED - BRIEFING IS HALTED BY FIRE DEPARTMENT*

1979, DEC. 18, EVENING TELEGRAM — *RESIDENTS FEEL NEW BUILDING WILL CREATE PARKING PROBLEMS*

1979, DEC. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HISTORIC TRUST SAYS DUFFETT BUILDING WOULD SPELL THE END OF THE HERITAGE AREA*

1980, JAN. 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CRITICS STEP UP OPPOSITION TO SCOTIA DEVELOPMENTS PLAN*

1980, JAN. 8, DAILY NEWS — *DUFFETT PLAN HEARING: PUBLIC SOLIDLY OPPOSED*

1980, JAN. 8, EVENING TELEGRAM — *STRONG OPPOSITION IS VOICED ON PROPOSED OFFICE BUILDING*

1980, JAN. 9, EVENING TELEGRAM — *OFFICE BUILDING WOULD VIOLATE HERITAGE BYLAW*

1980, JAN. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DOWNTOWN STUDY AGREES WITH HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES*

1980, JAN. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *GROUP SAYS CITY PLANNERS AGAINST DUFFETT PROPOSAL*

1980, FEB. 4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HISTORIC TRUST CONSIDERING ACTION AGAINST CITY COUNCIL*

1980, FEB. 6, EVENING TELEGRAM — *IT'S A NEW BALL GAME: DUFFETT SUBMITS NEW PROPOSAL FOR DOWNTOWN OFFICE COMPLEX*

1980, FEB. 12, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DIAMOND REPORT SAYS: WEST
END BUILDING DEVELOPMENT WOULD PRESERVE HERITAGE AREA*

1980, FEB. 14, EVENING TELEGRAM — *APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE FOR
DUFFETT PROPOSAL*

1980, FEB. 14, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DEMOLITION STARTS WITHOUT
PERMIT*

1980, FEB. 14, EVENING TELEGRAM — *GO AHEAD MAYOR ADVISES
DUFFETT*

1980, FEB. 16, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFF WANTS CITY TO LAY
CHARGES AGAINST MAYOR, DUFFETT AND FIRM <ILLUS.>*

1980, FEB. 16, EVENING TELEGRAM — *TO CURB THE MAYORS POWERS
<ED.>*

1980, FEB. 20, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HEATED DEBATE WILL CONTINUE
ON DEVELOPMENT*

1980, FEB. 20, EVENING TELEGRAM — *WINDSOR DENIES INVESTIGATION
LAUNCHED INTO DUFFETT APPROVAL*

1980, FEB. 21, DAILY NEWS — *COUNCIL OKAYS DEMOLITION BY DUFFETT*

1980, FEB. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCILOR WANTS
COMPENSATION FOR HISTORIC BUILDING OWNERS*

1980, FEB. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *NO ACTION AGAINST WYATT OR
DUFFETT - DEVELOPER GETS OK TO DEMOLISH BUILDING*

1980, FEB. 22, EVENING TELEGRAM — *ZONING BYLAW CHANGES - NIP
RESIDENTS CONCERNED OVER BUILDING HEIGHT RESTRICTIONS*

1980, FEB. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *THE DUFFETT BUILDING - GOVERNMENT WON'T INTERFERE - COMMITTEE WILL REVIEW CITY ACT*

1980, MAY 15, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY WON'T BUY TELEGRAM BUILDING*

1980, MAY 29, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DEVELOPERS GOING A BIT TOO FAR*

1980, JUL. 17, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFFETT BUILDING DISPUTE - OLD MAPS DO NOT SHOW OWNERSHIP OF LANEWAY*

1980, AUG. 19, EVENING TELEGRAM — *REPORT RECOMMENDS CITY PERMIT 10-STOREY BUILDINGS*

1980, AUG. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HIGH-RISE BUILDING DISPUTE: COURT FAVOURS DUFFETT*

1980, SEPT. 14, EVENING TELEGRAM — *EAST END RESIDENTS ARE OPPOSED TO A PARKING GARAGE*

1980, SEPT. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *OBJECTIONS VOICED OVER PROPOSED PARKING GARAGE <KICKHAM PLACE, HOLLOWAY STREET>*

1980, SEPT. 25, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DEVELOPER WILL BE ASKED TO SCALE DOWN GARAGE*

1980, OCT. 1, EVENING TELEGRAM— *COUNCIL URGED TO REJECT DUFFETT PARKING PROPOSAL <CITIZENS FOR RESPONSIBLE PLANNING CONCERNED>*

1980, OCT. 2, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY GIVES DUFFETT APPROVAL TO BUILD*

1980, OCT. 28, EVENING TELEGRAM — *NEW OFFICE BUILDING COMPLEX PROPOSED FOR DOWNTOWN AREA <ILLUS.>*

1980, DEC. 2, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFFETT BUILDING OFFICIALLY NAMED, MAYOR UNVEILS CORNERSTONE TODAY (TD PLACE)*

1980, DEC. 2, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFFETT BUILDING OFFICIALLY NAMED, MAYOR UNVEILS CORNERSTONE TODAY <TD PLACE>*

1980, DEC. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL GIVES APPROVAL TO 10-STOREY BUILDING*

1981, JAN. 30, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFFETT BUILDING DISPUTE BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT*

1981, JAN. 31, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFFETT BUILDING APPROVAL: WITNESSES SAY COUNCIL DEFIED ITS OWN BYLAW*

1981, FEB. 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY COUNCIL OKAYS DUFFETT COMPLEX*

1981, FEB. 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *LEGAL ACTION PLANNED TO HALT DUFFETT COMPLEX CONSTRUCTION*

1981, FEB. 7, EVENING TELEGRAM — *THIRD LEGAL ACTION PLANNED AGAINST DUFFETT BUILDING*

1981, FEB. 13, EVENING TELEGRAM — *TD PLACE OFFICIALLY APPROVED <ILLUS.>*

1981, MAR. 10, EVENING TELEGRAM — *LANEWAY DISPUTE IS REFERRED BACK TO TRIALS COURT <RUNS EAST-WEST BETWEEN TD PLACE, OTHER BUSINESSES>*

1981, AUG. 1, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COURT RULES ON TD PLACE DISPUTE: COUNCIL WAS CORRECT IN ISSUING PERMITS*

1981, SEPT. 1, EVENING TELEGRAM — *LEWVEST LAUNCHES APPEAL AGAINST COURT DECISION ON TD PLACE*

1981, SEPT. 24, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BANK SEEKS PERMISSION TO DEMOLISH BUILDING <AYRE'S BUILDING, WATER ST.>*

1981, OCT. 1, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BUILDING OWNER ORDERED TO MEET CERTAIN CONDITIONS <AYRE'S BUILDING>*

1981, OCT. 31, EVENING TELEGRAM — *KICKHAM PLACE - HOLLOWAY STREET ASSERT LEGAL RIGHTS <COPY OF LETTER TO CITY COUNCIL BY RESIDENTS>*

1981, DEC. 9, EVENING TELEGRAM — *WORK PROCEEDING AS SCHEDULED ON CONSTRUCTION OF TD PLACE <ILLUS.>*

1981, DEC. 10, EVENING TELEGRAM — *EXCAVATION UNDER WAY <ILLUS. AREA WEST OF CITY HALL>*

1982, JAN. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *MURPHY FEARS CITY WILL LOSE MAJOR DEVELOPMENT TO HALIFAX*

1982, FEB. 11, EVENING TELEGRAM — *MURPHY, DUFF DIFFER ON SOME HERITAGE BYLAWS*

1982, FEB. 25, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL CHANGES ZONING BYLAW TO ACCOMMODATE BANK BUILDING*

1982, APR. 1, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFF WANTS PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON TD PLACE PARKING PROPOSAL*

1982, APR. 22, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DUFFETT BUILDING OPENING APPROVED - BUT DEVELOPER MUST MEET CONDITIONS*

1982, MAY 20, EVENING TELEGRAM — *,CITY MAKES BID FOR CONVENTION CENTRE*

1983, JAN. 6, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BUILDING NEARS COMPLETION <CARINO BLDG. ILLUS.>*

1983, JAN. 26, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CARINO BUILDING WATER ST. EAST <ILLUS.>*

1983, JAN. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *THE WALLS COME TUMBLING DOWN <HOTEL NEWFOUNDLAND>*

1983, APR. 2, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HOTEL NEWFOUNDLAND REQUIEM*

1983, JUL. 1, EVENING TELEGRAM — *SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS RULES: COUNCIL DIDN'T OVERSTEP RIGHTS IN APPROVAL OF DUFFETT BUILDING*

1983, JUL. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *ST. JOHN'S GETTING CONVENTION CENTRE*

1983, OCT.4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *THREE PROPOSALS RECEIVED FOR CITY CONVENTION CENTRE*

1983, NOV. 11, EVENING TELEGRAM — *SIX PROPOSALS MADE FOR CONVENTION CENTRES*

1984, FEB. 9, EVENING TELEGRAM — *APPROVAL FOR DEMOLITION <WELCOME HOTEL, ATLANTIC FILMS, NFLD. SAVINGS>*

1984, FEB. 20, EVENING TELEGRAM — *WALLS COME TUMBLING DOWN <NFLD. SAVINGS OFFICE & ATLANTIC FILMS>*

1984, MAR. 8, EVENING TELEGRAM — *AT CITY HALL - NEW PLAN NEEDED FOR CONDOMINIUM <SITE OF OLD HOLLOWAY SCHOOL>*

1984, APR. 26, EVENING TELEGRAM — *THE FINAL DRAFT <ST. JOHN'S MUNICIPAL PLAN>*

1984, SEPT. 4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HOLLOWAY APPROVAL NOT A FORMALITY*

1984, SEPT. 4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *MORE THAN 1,000 SIGN PETITION
<AGAINST CONDOMINIUM ON LONG'S HILL>*

1984, SEPT. 11, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY CONVENTION CENTRE
FUNDING EXPECTED SOON*

1984, SEPT. 26, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COMPANY TO START WORK ON
CONVENTION CENTRE <CABOT DEVELOPMENT CORP.>*

1984, DEC. 20, EVENING TELEGRAM — *FINAL PLANS SUBMITTED FOR
SCOTIABANK BUILDING*

1985, FEB. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL TO DISCUSS PLANNED
OFFICE TOWER <WEST OF CITY HALL BY CABOT DEVELOPMENT &
MANUFACTURERS LIFE>*

1985, FEB. 28, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DEMOLITION PERMIT ISSUED
<AYRE'S DEPARTMENT STORE BUILDING>*

1985, MAR. 16, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BUILDINGS CAN BE
REHABILITATED <COPY LETTER TO MURPHY FROM CHRIS O'DEA RE
DEMOLITION AYRE'S BUILDING>*

1985, MAR. 19, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HODGEPODGE OF OLD BUILDINGS
NOT WORTH SAVING, SAYS MURPHY <MAYOR JOHN MURPHY: AYRE'S
BUILDING, WATER ST.>*

1985, MAR. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *AT CITY HALL - COUNCIL REJECTS
PROPOSAL <EXTENSION TO CARINO BLDG.>*

1985, MAR. 29, METRO ADVERTISER — *HODGEPODGE OF OLD BUILDINGS
NOT WORTH SAVING, SAYS MURPHY*

1985, APR. 4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HOTEL-CONVENTION CENTRE DEAL
SIGNED <CABOT DEVELOPMENT CORP. \$50 MILLION CENTRE WEST OF
CITY HALL>*

1985, APR. 15, EVENING TELEGRAM — *VACANT OFFICE SPACE UP BY 44 PERCENT*

1985, APR. 18, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CARINO EXTENSION APPROVED - AT CITY HALL*

1985, MAY 30, EVENING TELEGRAM — *PARKING REQUIREMENTS MAY PUT PROPOSED OFFICE COMPLEX ON HOLD <BAE GROUP BUILDING>*

1985, JUN. 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HOTEL, CONVENTION CENTRE, OFFICE COMPLEX - WORK TO START SOON ON \$50 MILLION COMPLEX <CABOT PLACE>*

1985, SEPT. 18, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL GIVES FINAL APPROVAL FOR HOTEL-CONVENTION CENTRE <WEST OF CITY HALL>*

1985, OCT. 24, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL GIVES FINAL APPROVAL FOR BANK OF NOVA SCOTIA BUILDING*

1985, NOV. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CONVENTION SITE WORK HAS NEIGHBOURHOOD UPSET <FLOWER HILL>*

1985, DEC. 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *AT CITY HALL - COMPLEX GETS FINAL APPROVAL <FIRST NFLD. PLACE, BETWEEN HOTEL NFLD. & NFLD. TELEPHONE CO.>*

1985, DEC. 24, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BANK OF COMMERCE WANTS TO ADD SIX FLOORS TO ATLANTIC PLACE*

1985, DEC. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *MAYOR AGAINST BUILDING EXTENSION, EXPECTS LEGAL BATTLE FROM OWNERS <ATLANTIC PLACE>*

1986, JAN. 9, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DESPITE CONTRACT SIGNED IN '78 - ATLANTIC PLACE EXTENSION REJECTED BY CITY COUNCIL*

1986, JAN. 13, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DECISION ON ATLANTIC PLACE REGRESSIVE SAYS TRADE BOARD <SEVEN STOREY TOWER>*

1986, MAR. 17, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CABOT PLACE CONSTRUCTION WILL START IMMEDIATELY <ILLUS.>*

1986, MAY 7, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY COUNCIL GOES TO COURT OVER ATLANTIC PLACE EXTENSION*

1986, JUL. 30, EVENING TELEGRAM — *ANOTHER FALL AT BUILDING CONSTRUCTION SITE <SHEET METAL WORKER INJURED>*

1986, AUG. 1, EVENING TELEGRAM — *PROPOSED OFFICE BUILDING MEETS STRONG OPPOSITION FROM RESIDENTS - BY PAT DOYLE*

1986, AUG. 16, EVENING TELEGRAM — *TALL BUILDINGS ARE OUT OF PLACE IN ST. JOHN'S, SAYS ARCHITECT <JOE CARTER PRESENTS PAPER>*

1986, AUG. 27, EVENING TELEGRAM — *HOLLOWAY HOUSE "MOTHBALLED FOR AWHILE"*

1987, JAN. 6, EVENING TELEGRAM — *TOO MUCH SPACE, TOO MANY OFFICES, TOO MUCH NEW CONSTRUCTION: TILLEY*

1987, APR. 3, EVENING TELEGRAM — *"NEW DOWNTOWN" TO OPEN IN 1987 <PHASE ONE OF CABOT PLACE>*

1987, JUN. 2, EVENING TELEGRAM — *WOMAN GIVEN ULTIMATUM TO MOVE OFF HER PROPERTY <RUTH CROTTY, FLOWER HILL TO MAKE ROOM CONVENTION CENTRE.>*

1987, JUN. 6, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CLASH OVER OLD BUILDINGS <295-301 WATER ST.>*

1987, OCT. 22, EVENING TELEGRAM — *SCOTIA CENTRE COMPLEX OPENED*

1988, FEB. 13, EVENING TELEGRAM— *CONSULTANT RECOMMENDS YORK THEATRE BECOME AND ARTS CENTRE*

1988, MAR. 12, THE NEWFOUNDLAND HERALD — *THE YORK THEATRE: DO WE NEED A COMMERCIAL THEATRE*

1988, APR. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM, P4, *YORK THEATRE DEMOLITION IS ON HOLD*

1988, MAY 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *STARDUST DEMOLITION GETS OK: REQUEST FOR ASSIGNED ON-STREET PARKING REJECTED <96-98 WATER ST..>*

1988, MAY 19, EVENING TELEGRAM — *FIRE RAZES DOWNTOWN CITY BLOCK: 362-372 WATER ST.*

1989, JAN. 26, EVENING TELEGRAM — *YORK THEATRE MAY HAVE STARTED IN VACANT BUILDING (370 WATER ST.)*

1989, FEB. 14, *COMMUNICATION QUERIED IN YORK THEATRE FIRE*

1989, FEB. 15, EVENING TELEGRAM — *SURPRISED ELECTRICITY STILL CONNECTED, THEATER INQUIRY TOLD*

1989, FEB.16, EVENING TELEGRAM — *YORK THEATRE FIRE WASN'T ELECTRICAL, ARSON THEORY ALIVE*

1989, MAY 4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *EXPERT WITNESS SAYS ELECTRICAL MALFUNCTION CAUSED DOWNTOWN FIRE*

1989, JUN. 4, THE SUNDAY EXPRESS — *CITY GIVES HELPING HAND IN EXPROPRIATIONS TO AID DEVELOPERS*

1989, OCT. 8, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CHILD DIES, DOWNTOWN BLOCK GUTTED AS RASH OF FIRES STRIKES ST. JOHN'S*

1990, NOV. 11, SUNDAY EXPRESS — *COUNCIL SHOULD HALT BIG REZONING REQUESTS FOR A WHILE: CITY PLANNER*

1992, DEC. 4, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CLB WINDOW REPLACED*

1992, DEC. 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *TREES AT RAILWAY STATION*

1992, DEC. 22, EVENING TELEGRAM — *FIRE GUTS CITY CORE*

1992, DEC. 22, EVENING TELEGRAM — *FIRE RAVAGED A CENTURY OF CLB HISTORY*

1992, DEC. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *AFTER THE FIRE: DETERMINATION TO REBUILD*

1992, DEC. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CLB ARMOURY WILL RISE AGAIN*

1992, DEC. 24, EVENING TELEGRAM — *FIRE RAVAGED BUSINESSES MULL FUTURE*

1992, DEC. 31, EVENING TELEGRAM — *FIRE STATED INSIDE ARMOURY*

1993, JAN. 5, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY PONDERES ROAD REALIGNMENT*

1993, JAN. 14, EVENING TELEGRAM — *RESIDENTS PLEAD FOR RESTRAINT <BOB FORWARD, HARVEY ROAD REALIGNMENT>*

1993, FEB. 26, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CLB ARMOURY TO BE REBUILT*

1993, MAR. 12, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BIG R BACK <REOPENS MARCH 1, 1993>*

1993, JUN. 29, EVENING TELEGRAM — *ARMOURY PLANS DUPLICATE DESTROYED BUILDING*

1993, SEPT. 8, EVENING TELEGRAM — *SPARKS FLY OVER PLAN TO LEVEL HISTORIC SITE <MARSHALL BUILDING>*

1993, SEPT. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *COUNCIL DELAYS DEMOLITION OF WATER STREET BUILDINGS*

1993, OCT. 23, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CLB ON PARADE, MARCHING HOME*

1993, DEC. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *RECOVERY CONTINUES ONE YEAR AFTER HARVEY ROAD DEVASTATION*

1993, DEC. 21, EVENING TELEGRAM — *THE CHURCH LADS' BRIGADE IS MARCHING HOME: REBUILDING THE CLB ARMOURY*

1994, JAN. 13, EVENING TELEGRAM — *DEVELOPMENT PLANS DRAW OPPOSITION FROM CITY RESIDENTS <APPLICATION FORM BRADLEA TO DEMOLISH MARSHALL BUILDING>*

1994, FEB. 2, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BUILDING GETS REPRIEVE: 30 DAY DELAY ON DEMOLITION OF MARSHALL BUILDING*

1994, FEB. 28, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BUILDINGS LEASE ON LIFE MAY HAVE RUN OUT <MARSHALL BUILDING>*

1994, APR. 26, EVENING TELEGRAM — *BUILDING WILL FALL <MARSHALL BUILDING>*

1994, SEPT. 2, EVENING TELEGRAM — *LOTS OF VACANT OFFICE SPACE IN CITY DOWNTOWN*

1994, SEPT. 7, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY HALL FACING \$37 MILLION LAWSUIT*

1994, SEPT. 10 EVENING TELEGRAM— *SURVEY SHOWS INCREASE IN VACANT RETAIL SPACE*

1994, SEPT. 21, THE EXPRESS — *TAX POLICY ON VACANT PROPERTY MAY
LAND CITY IN COURT*

1995, JAN. 24, EVENING TELEGRAM — *ATLANTIC PLACE DEAL NEAR*

1995, FEB.16, EVENING TELEGRAM — *ATLANTIC PLACE SUIT NEAR END*

1995, MAR. 29, EVENING TELEGRAM — *ANATOMY OF A DEAL <ATLANTIC
PLACE>*

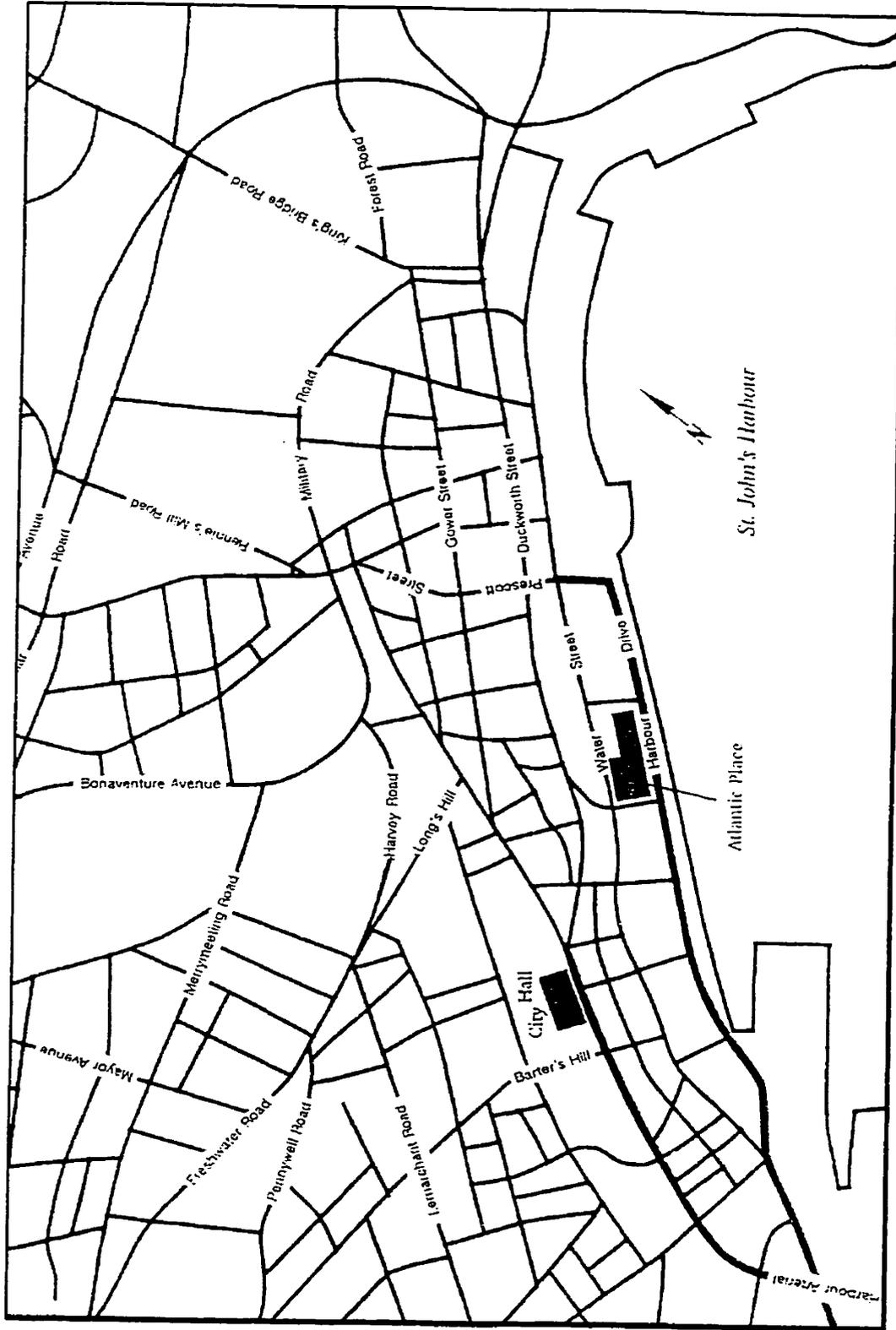
1996, SEPT. 25, EVENING TELEGRAM — *OWNERSHIP QUESTION HALTS
DEMOLITION OF FORMER CN ROADCRUISER GARAGE*

1996, SEPT. 28, EVENING TELEGRAM — *CITY, CN HAGGLE OVER
DOWNTOWN LAND: CN DEMOLISHES RAILWAY BUILDING*

1995, NOV.19, EVENING TELEGRAM — *TOWER OF LAWSUITS <SCOTIA
CENTRE>*

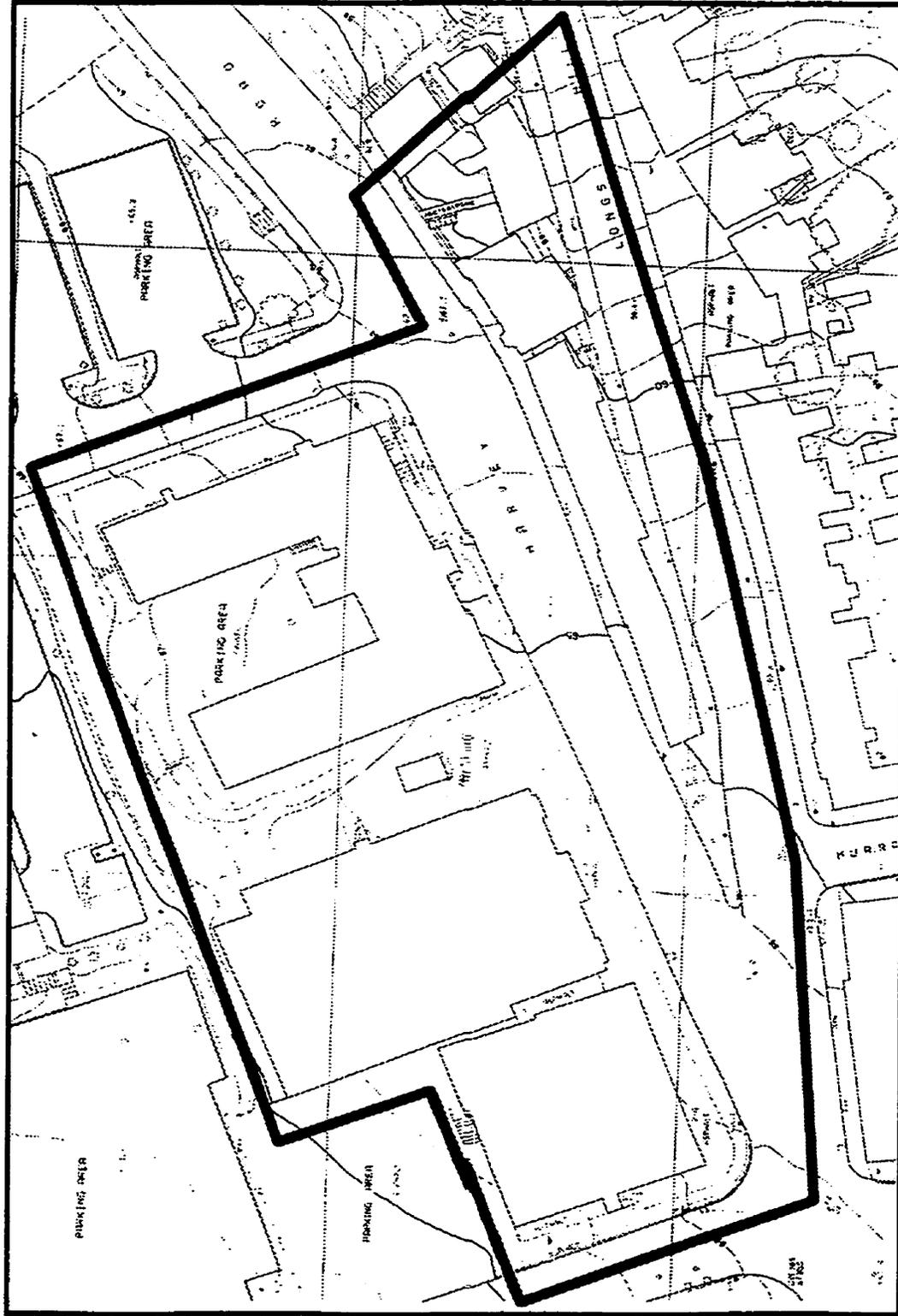
1996, NOV.16, EVENING TELEGRAM — *OTTAWA OFFERS RAILWAY
STATION*

Appendix A



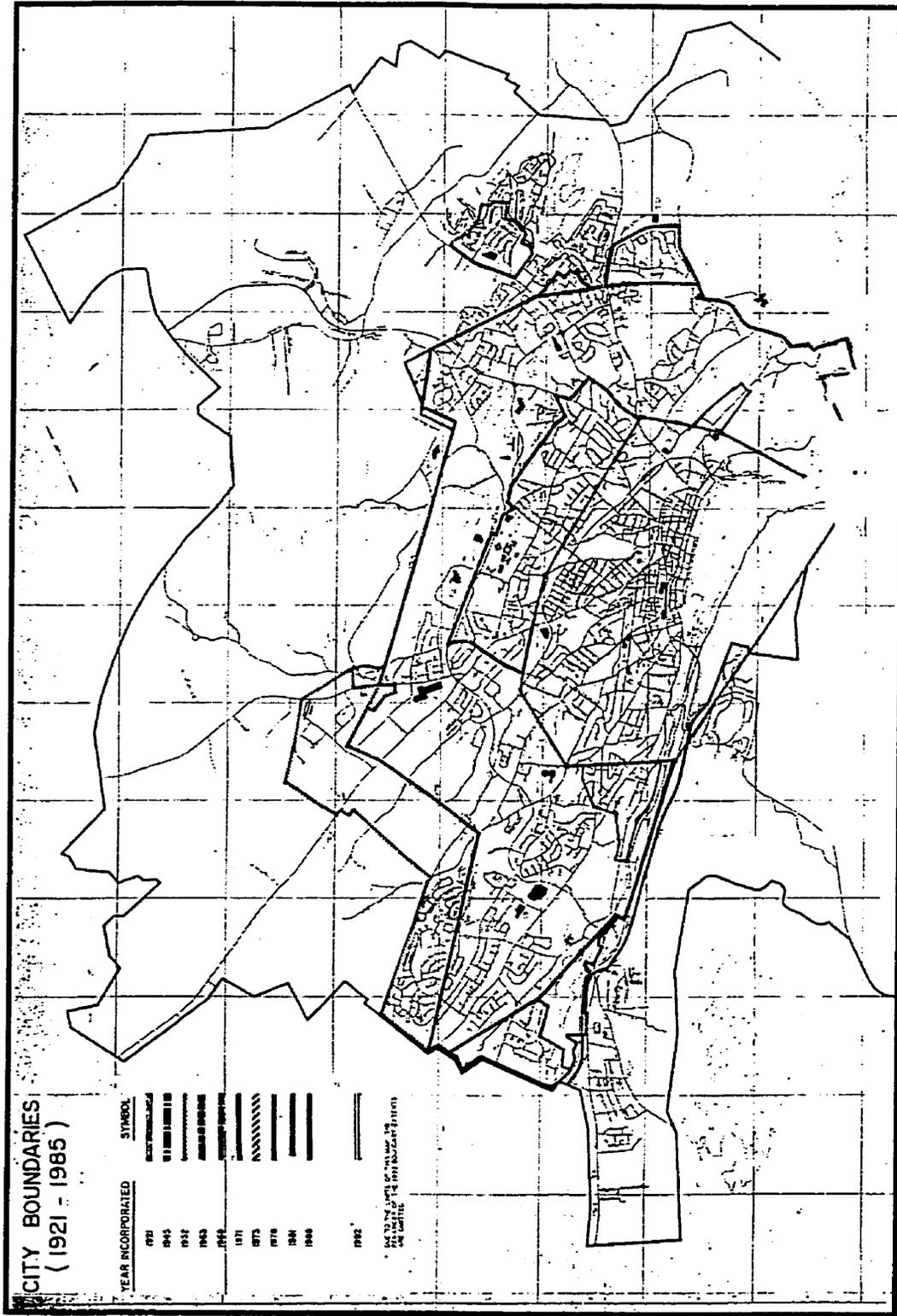
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
 Not to scale

Fig. 1 Downtown St. John's



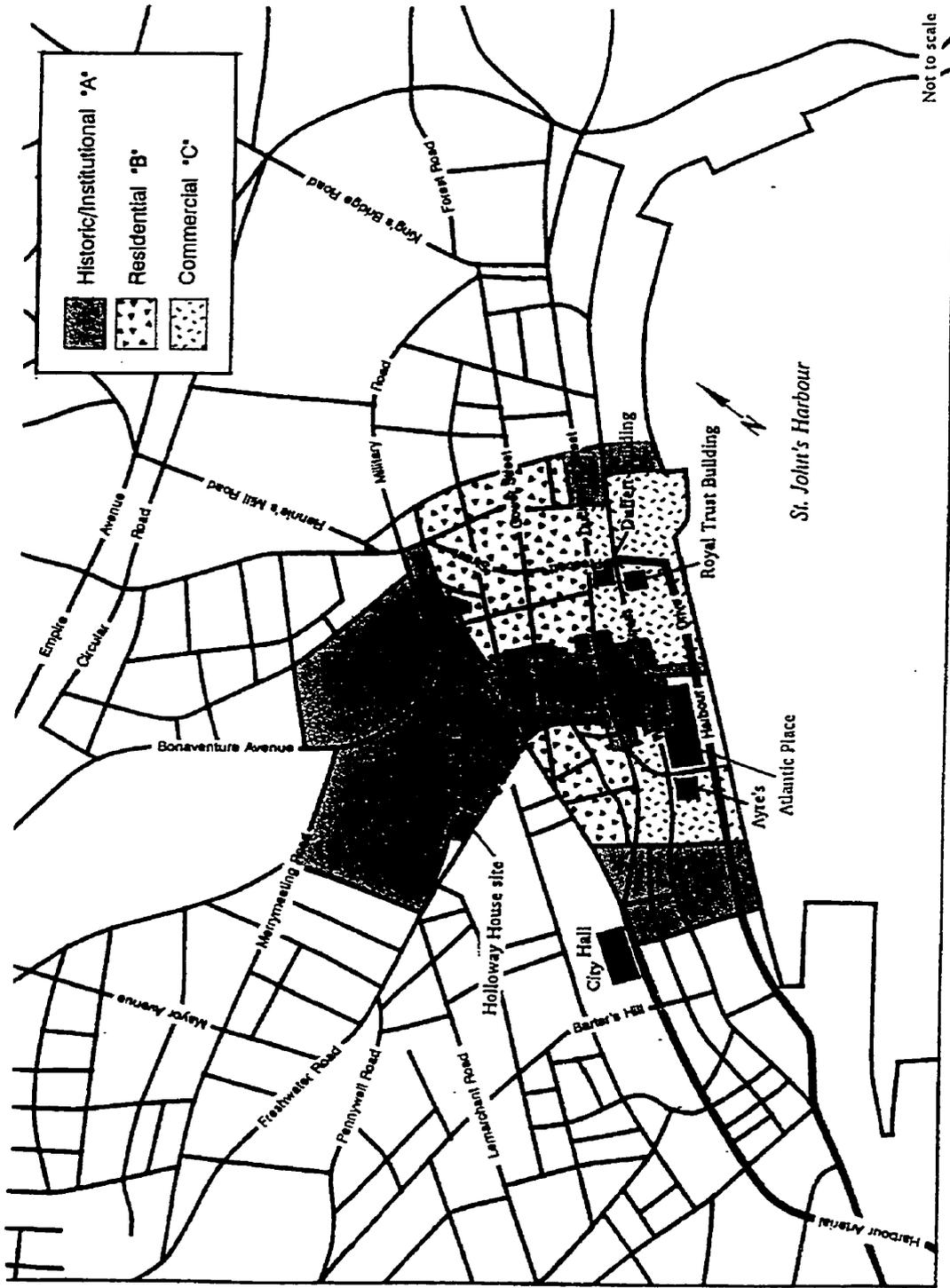
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Not to scale

Fig. 2 Buildings involved in the December 1992 fire



Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Not to scale

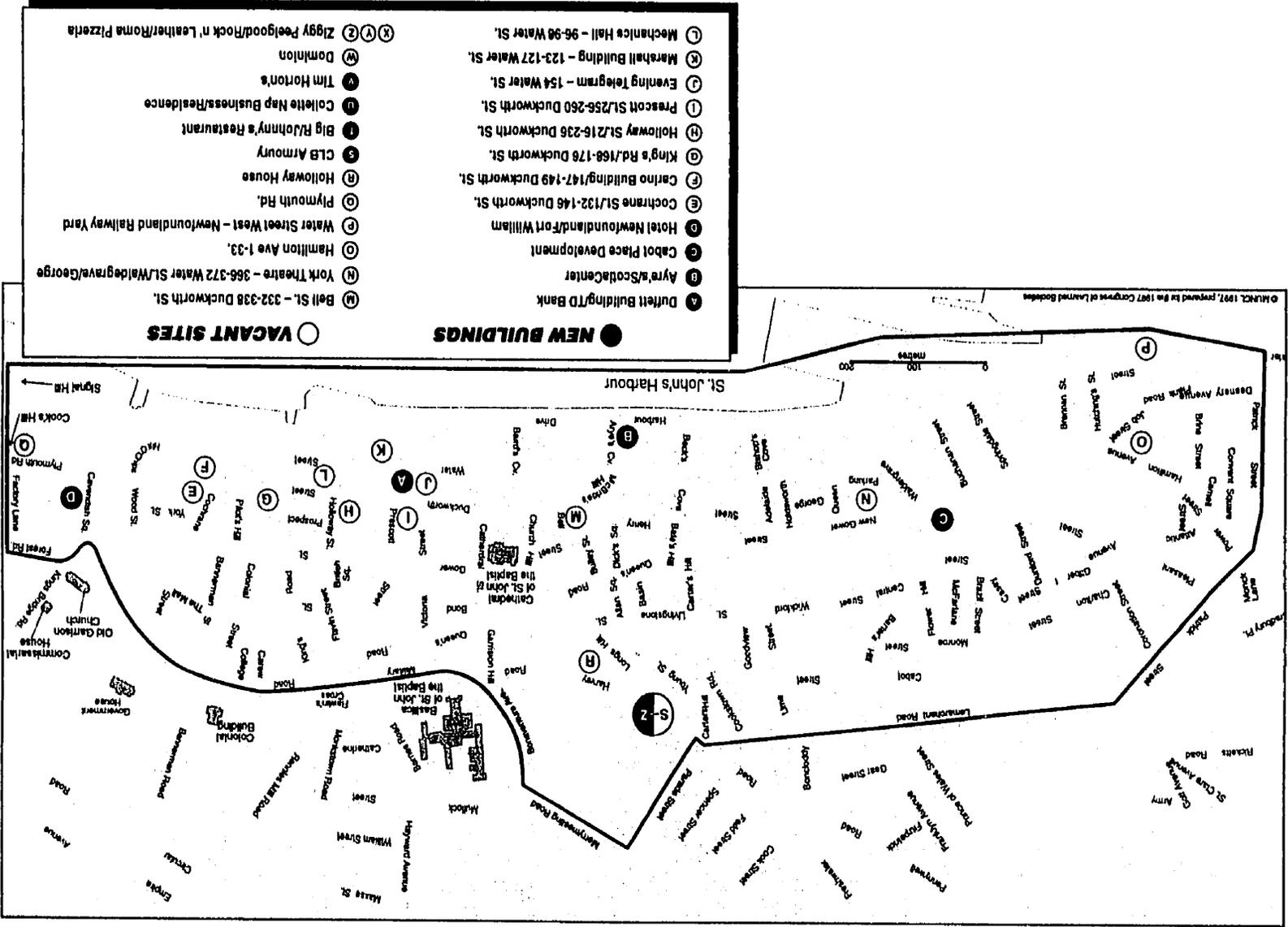
Fig. 3 Suburban Expansion



Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's

Fig. 4 Heritage Conservation Precincts 1980

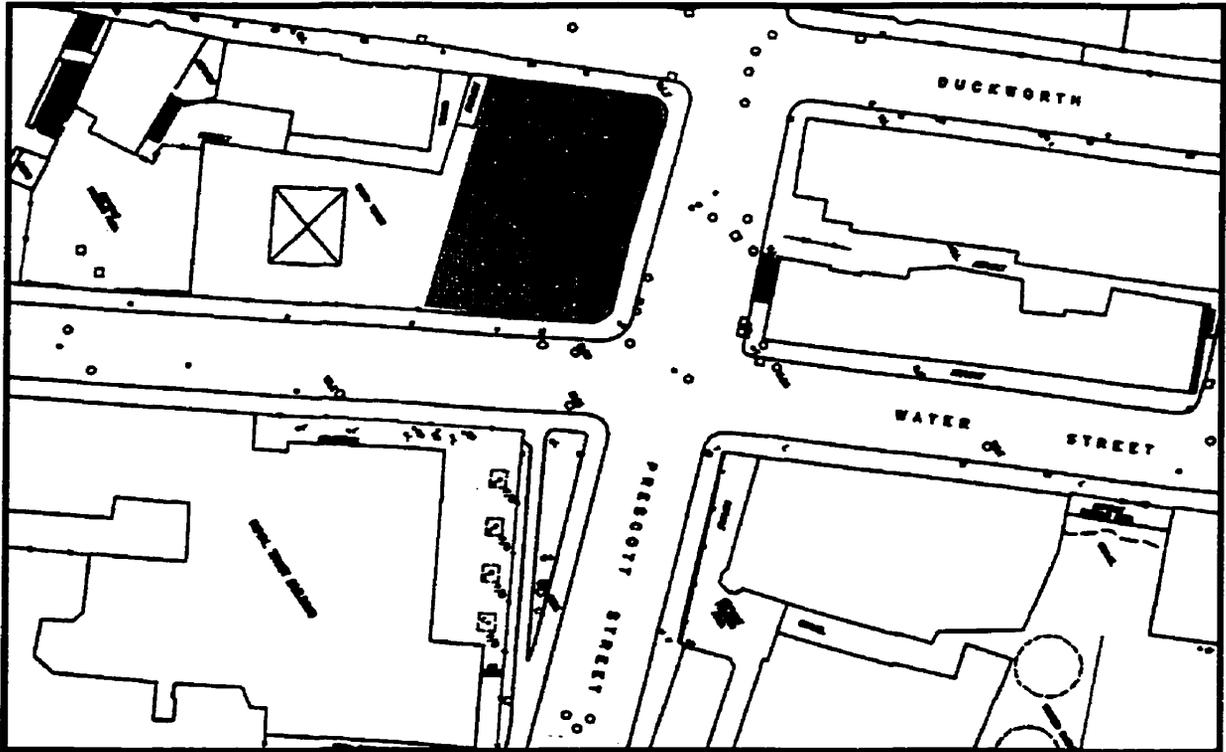
Fig. 5 Study Area: Downtown St. John's



© MURKIN 1997, prepared for the 1997 Corporate of Landed Bodeles



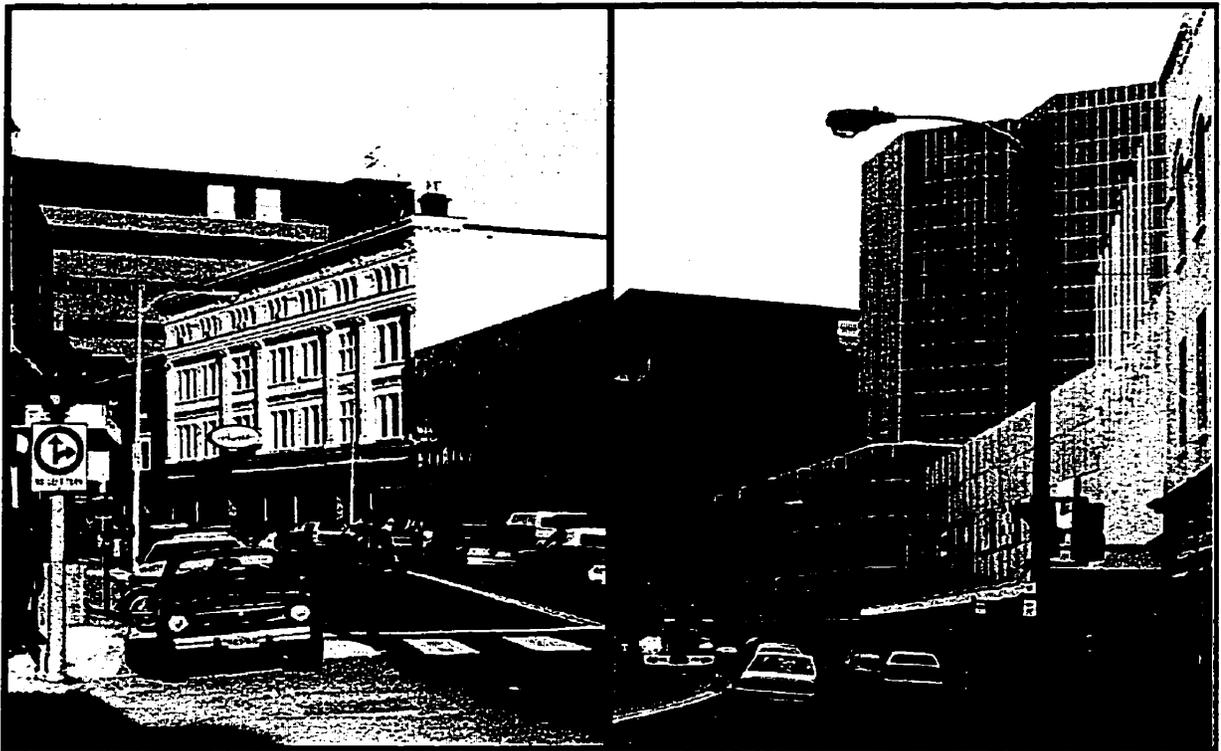
Duffett Building 1998, constructed 1980



Location Plan

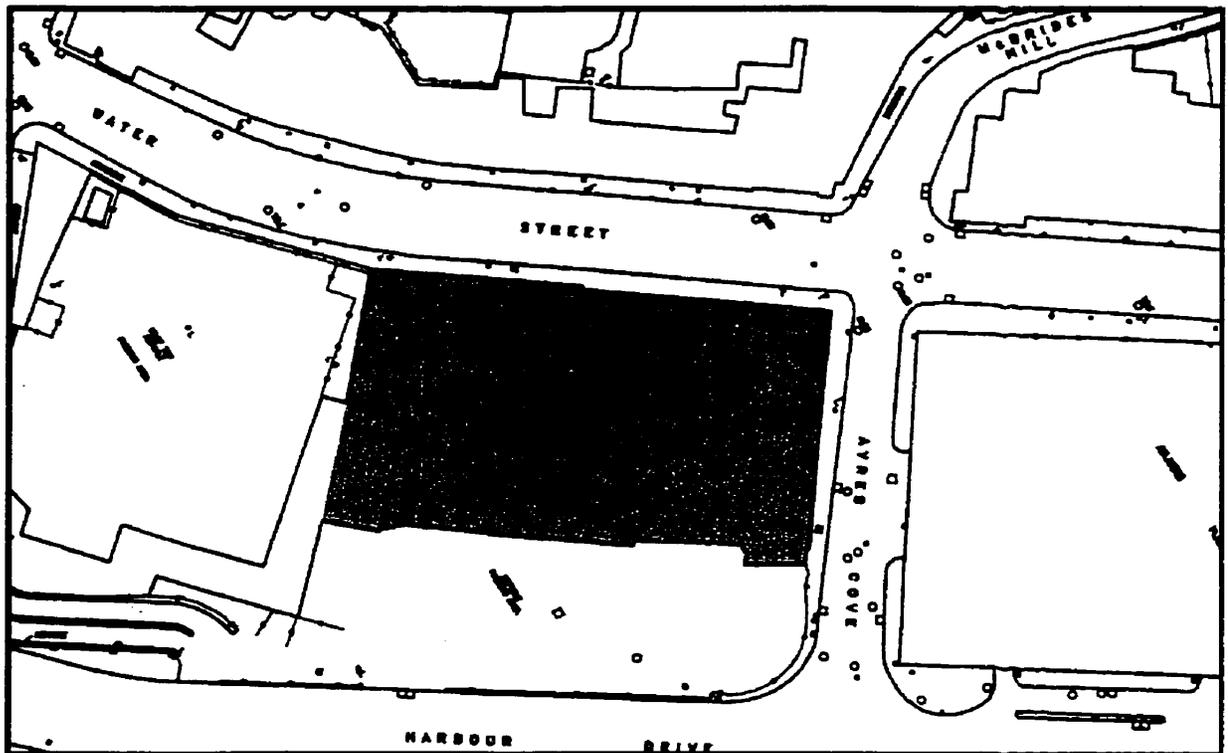
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 6 Duffett Building/TD Bank



Ayre's Building, demolished 1985

Scotia Centre 1998, constructed 1986

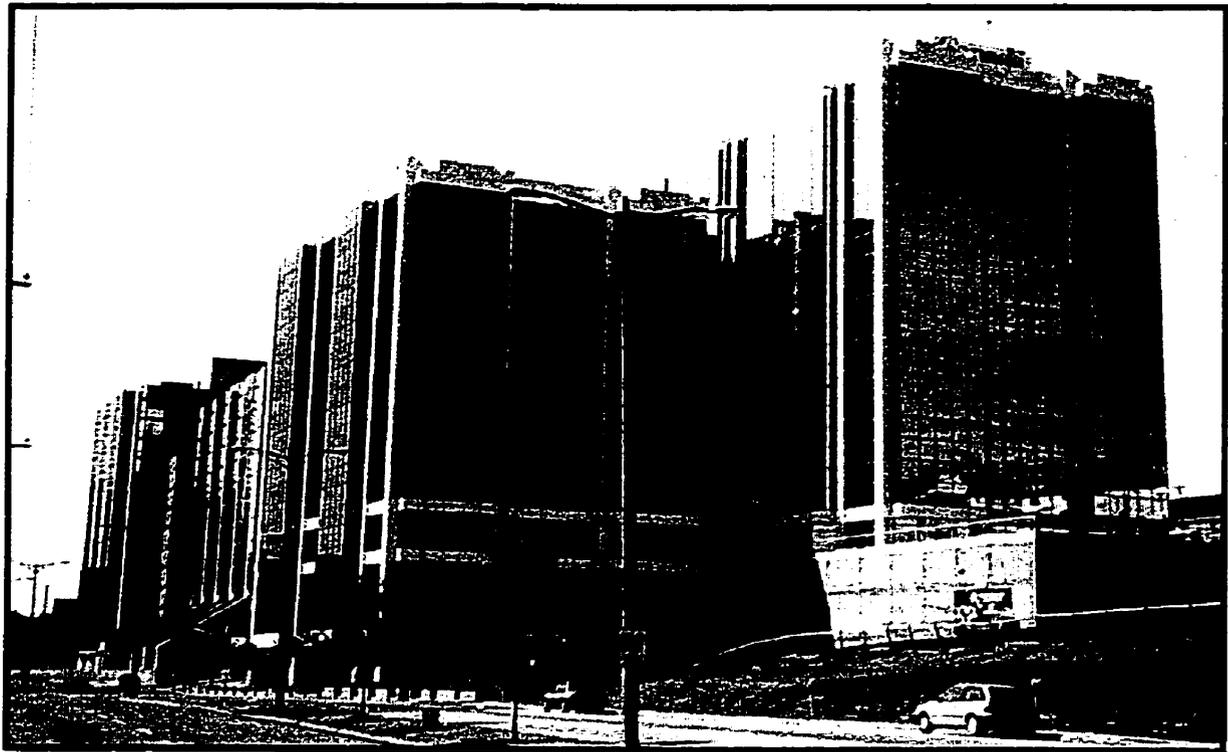


Location Plan

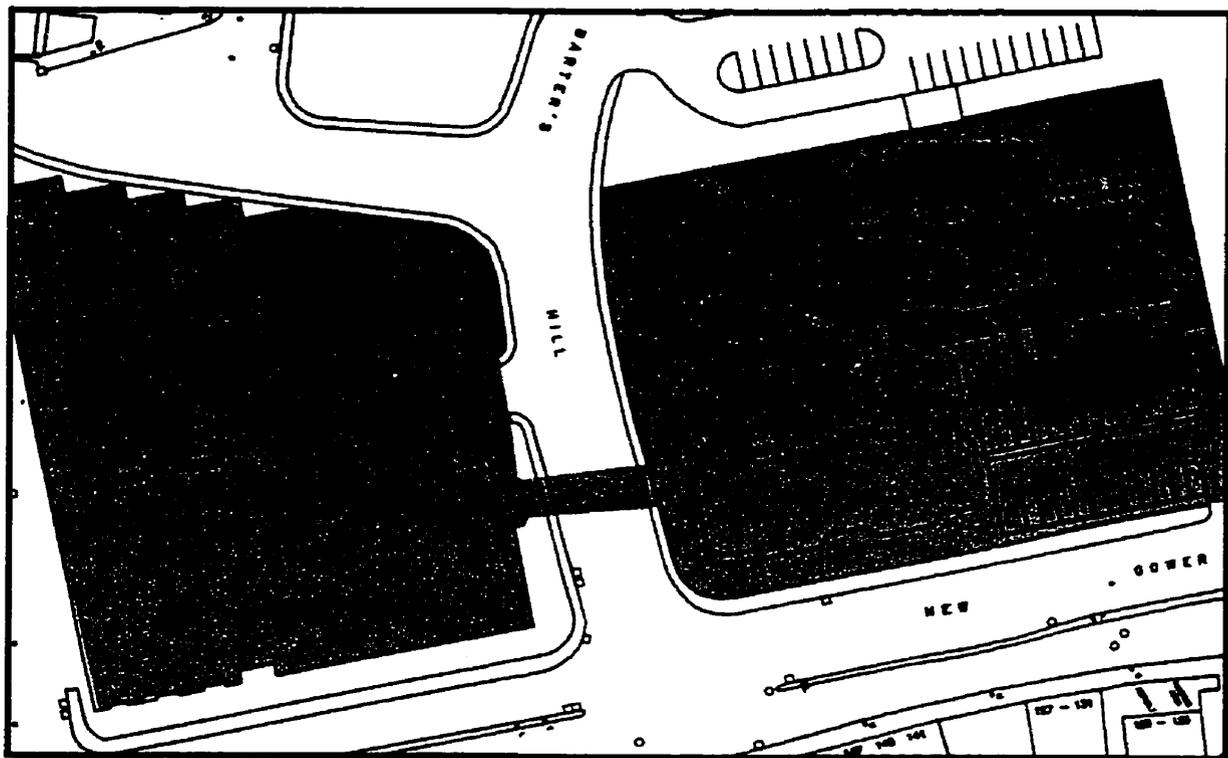
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 7 Ayre's/Scotia Centre

A07



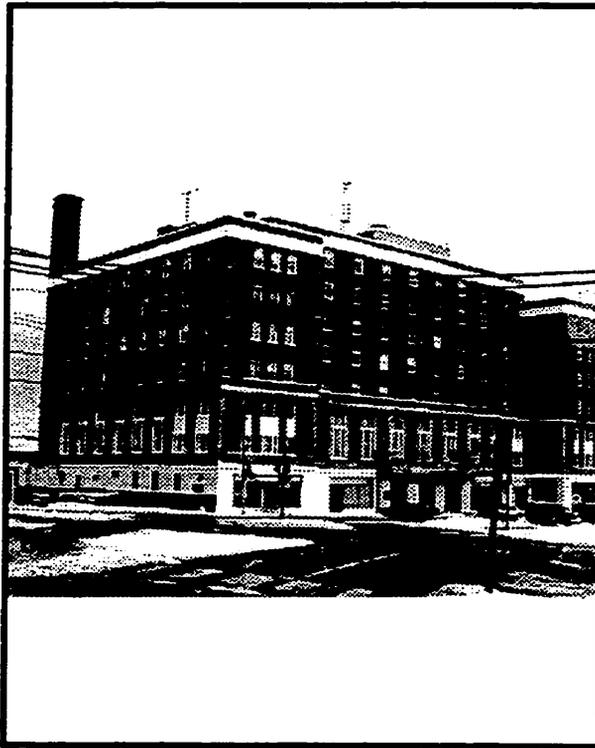
Cabot Place Development 1998, constructed 1986



Location Plan

Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

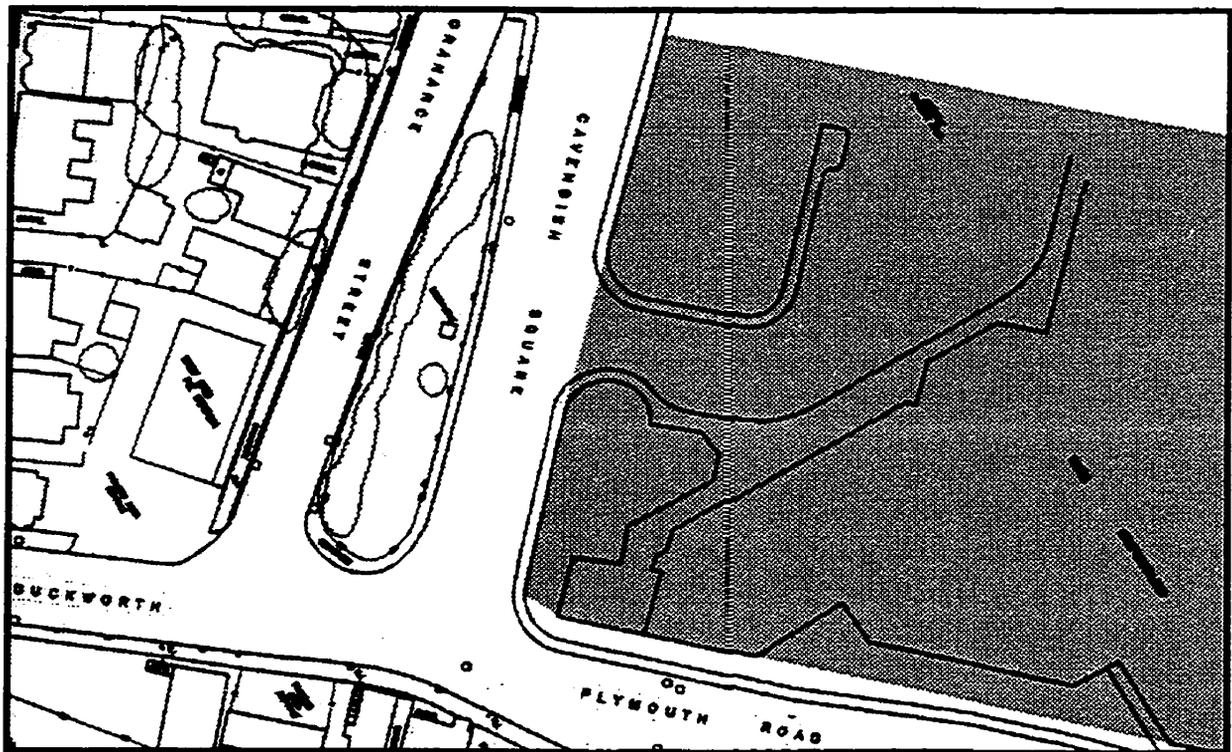
Fig. 8 Cabot Place Development



**Old Hotel Newfoundland,
building demolished 1983**



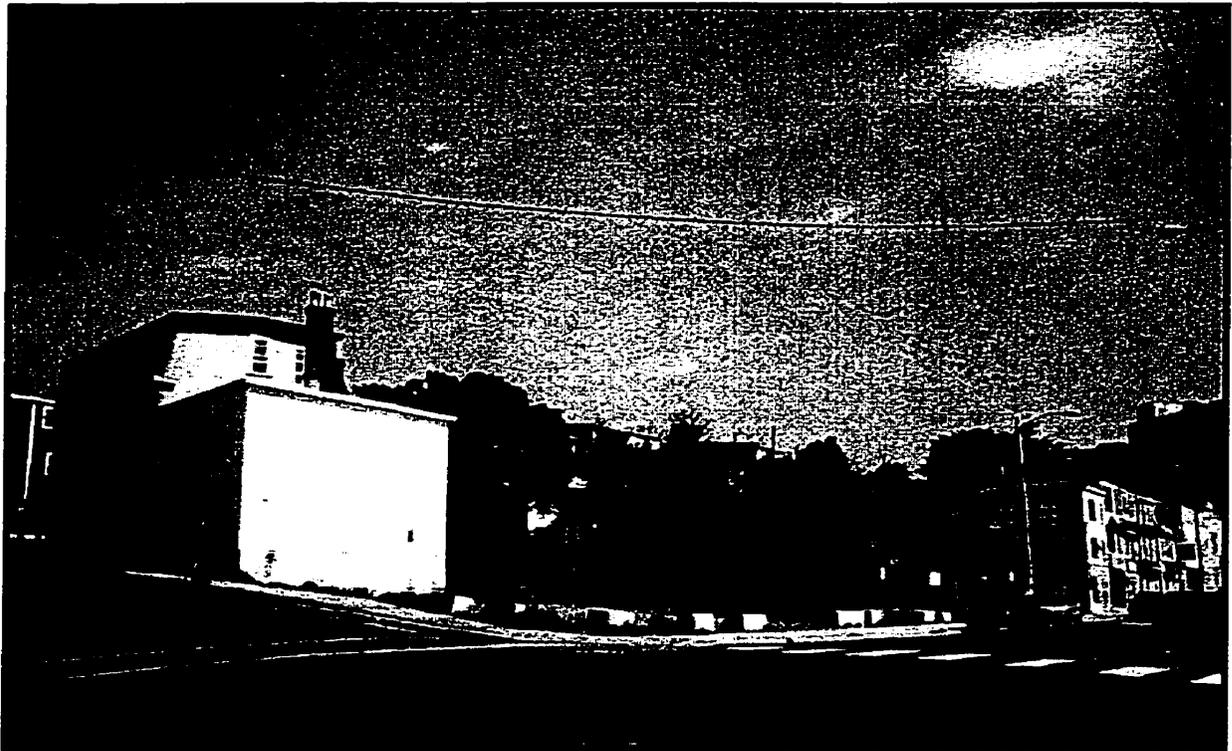
**New Hotel Newfoundland 1998,
constructed 1984**



Location Plan

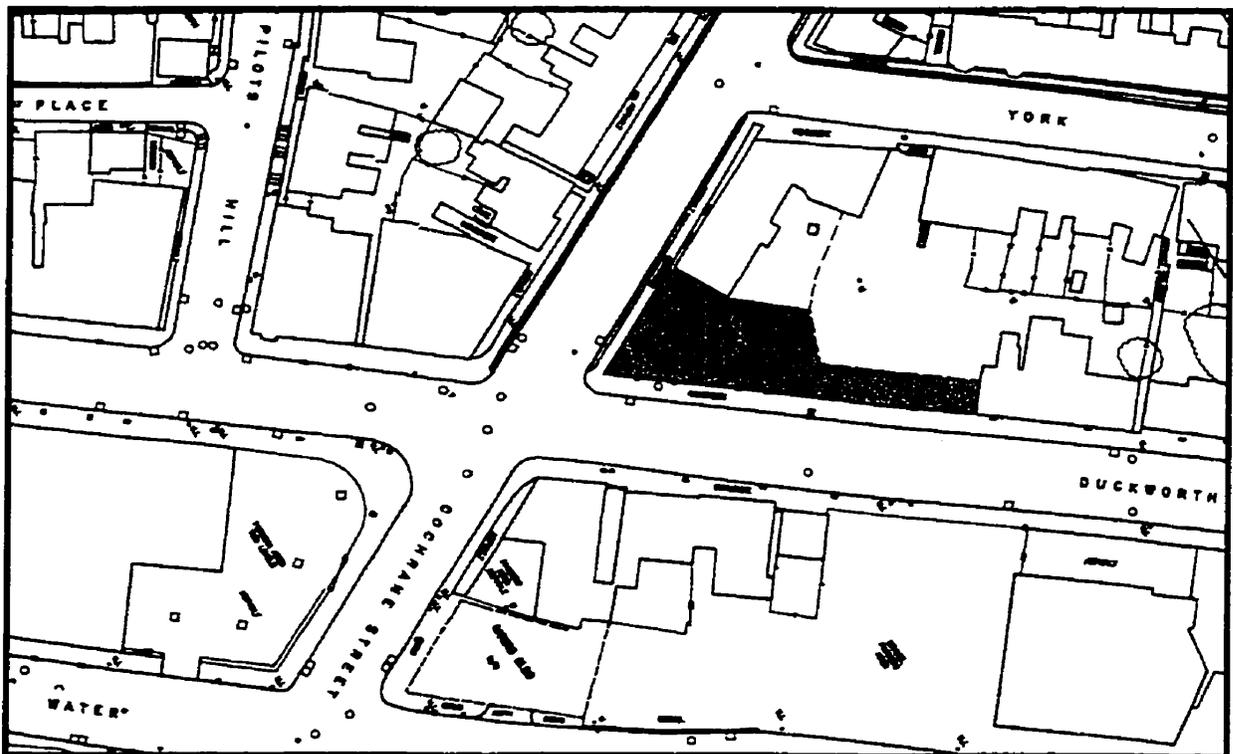
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 9 Hotel Newfoundland



132-146 Duckworth St., buildings demolished 1979

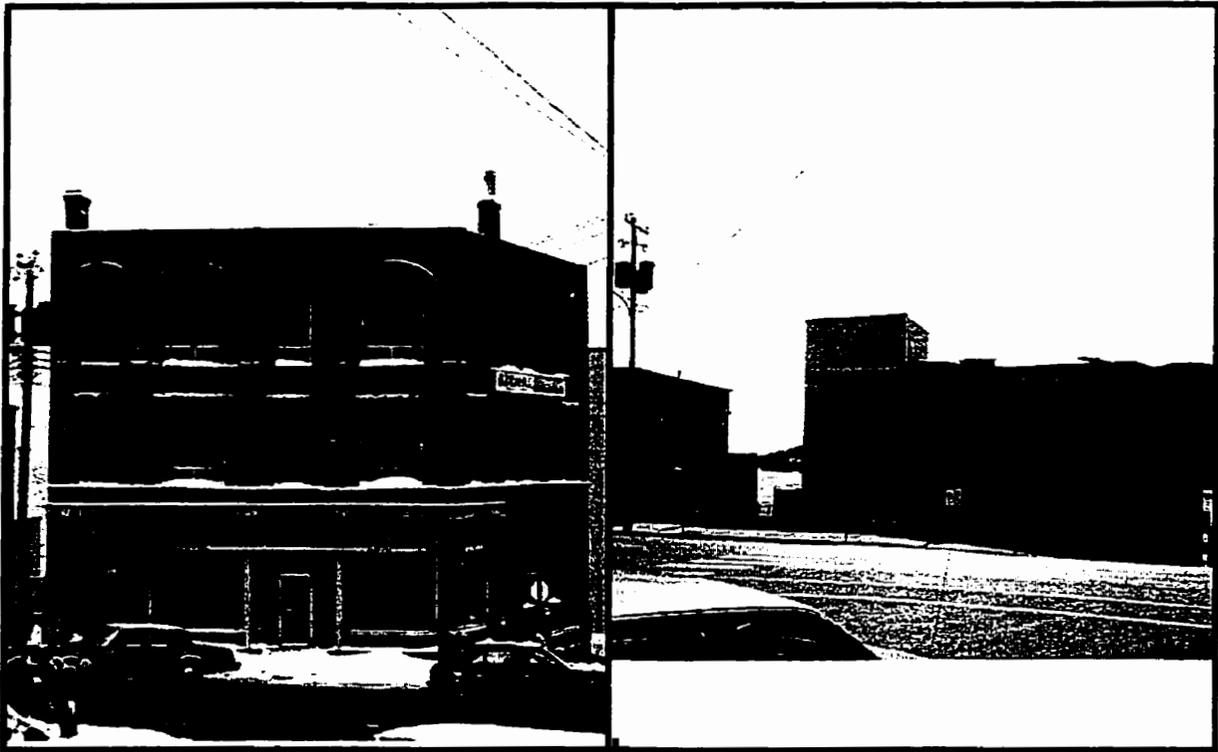
Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

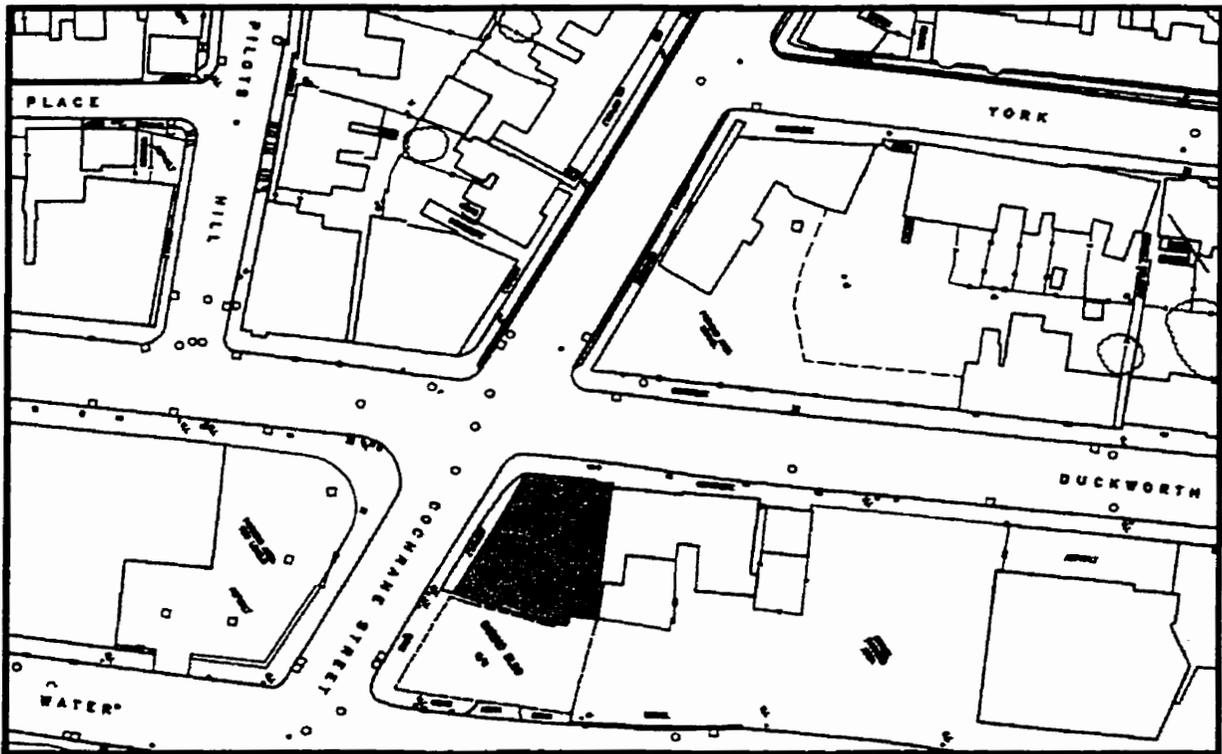
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 10 Cochrane St./132-146 Duckworth St.



**147-149 Duckworth St., building
demolished 1985**

Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

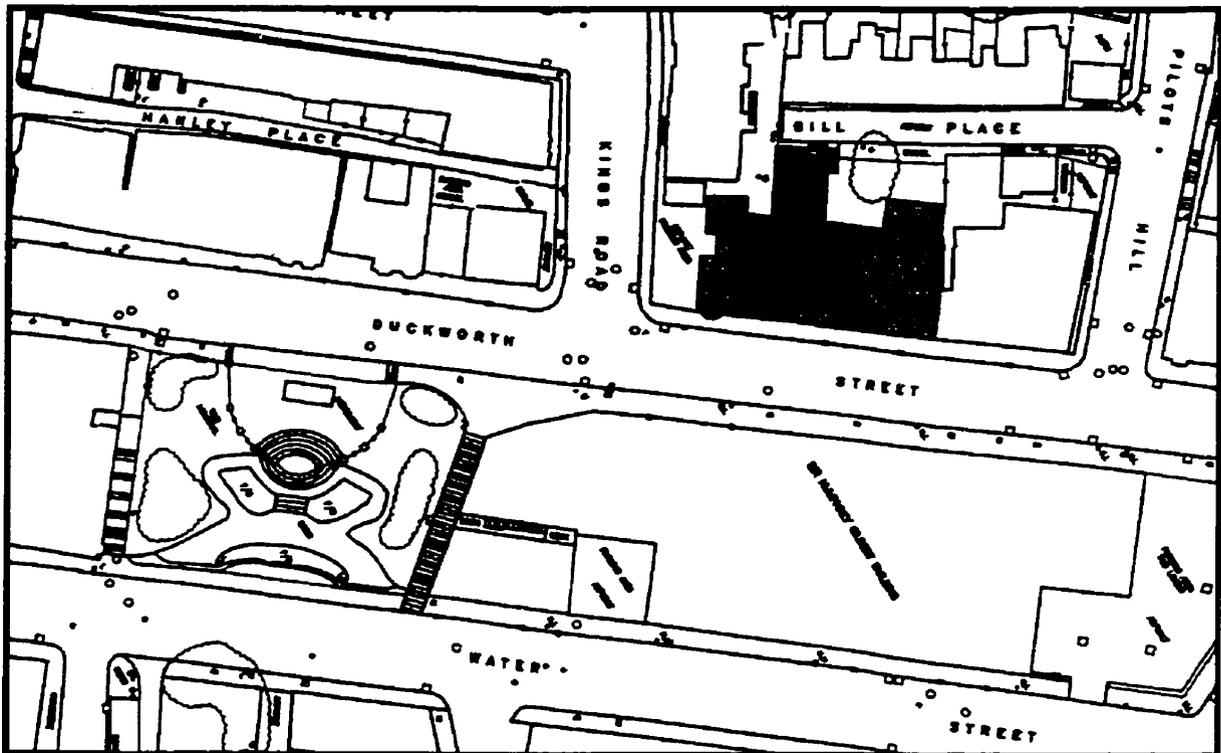
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 11 Carino Site/147-149 Duckworth St.



168-170 Duckworth St., buildings demolished 1989

Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

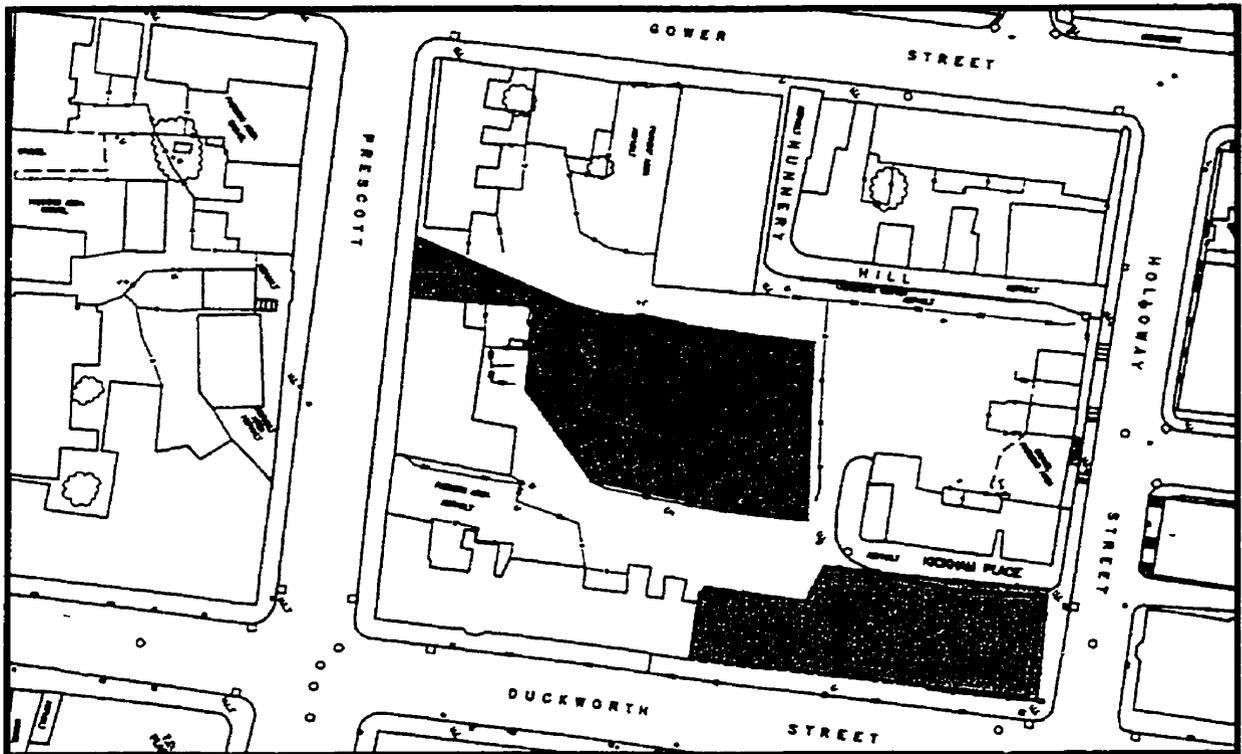
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 12 King's Rd./168-176 Duckworth St.



216-236 Duckworth St., buildings demolished 1980-81

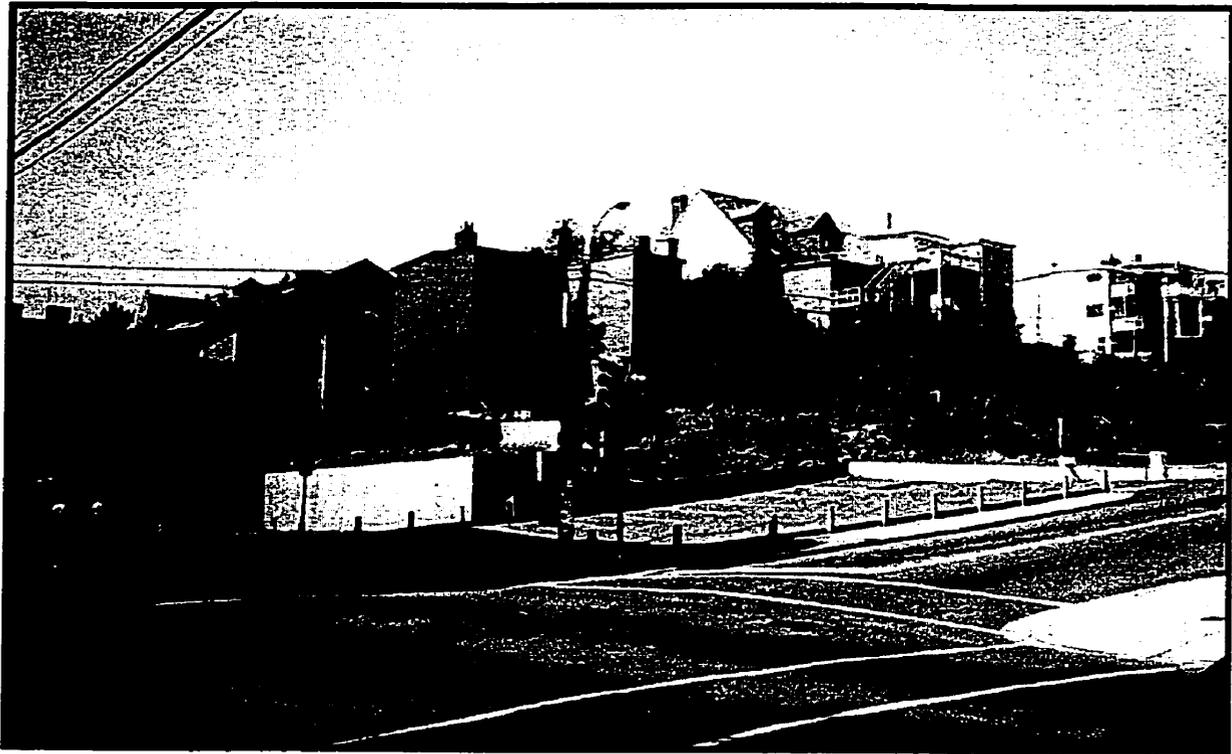
Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

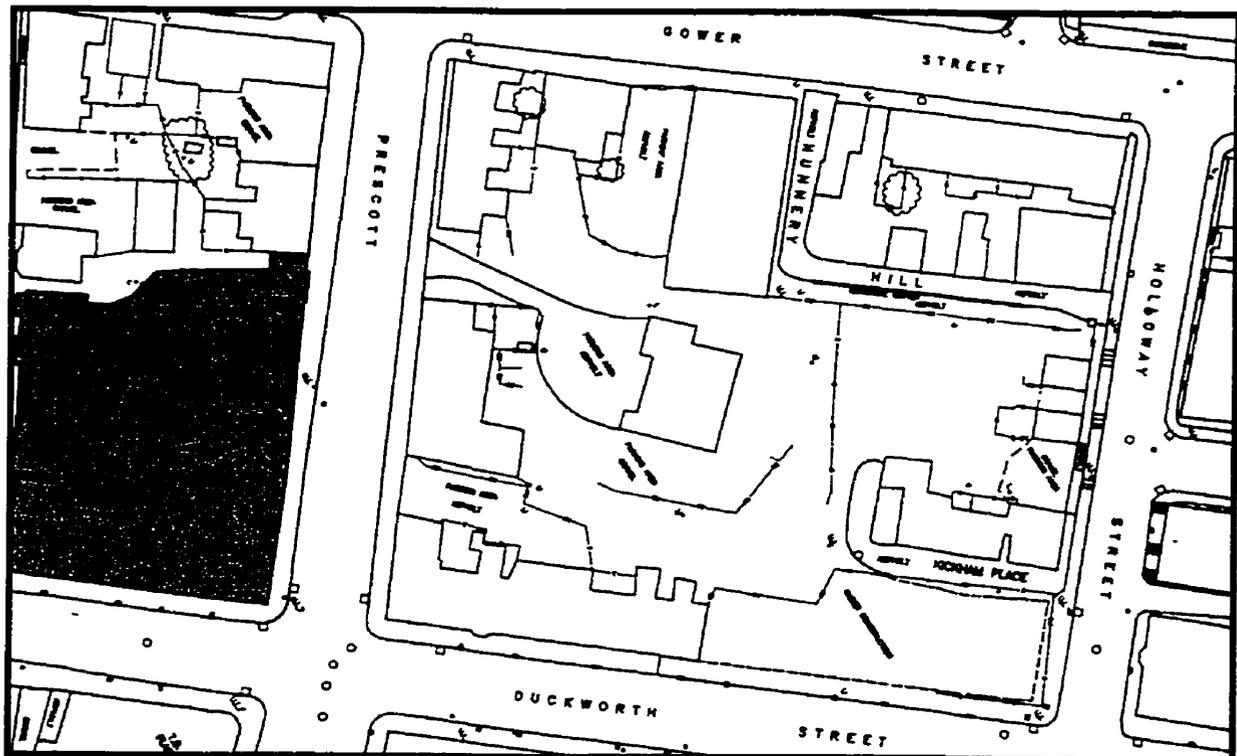
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 13 Holloway St./216-236 Duckworth St.



**Prescott St./256-260 Duckworth St.,
buildings demolished 1983**

Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

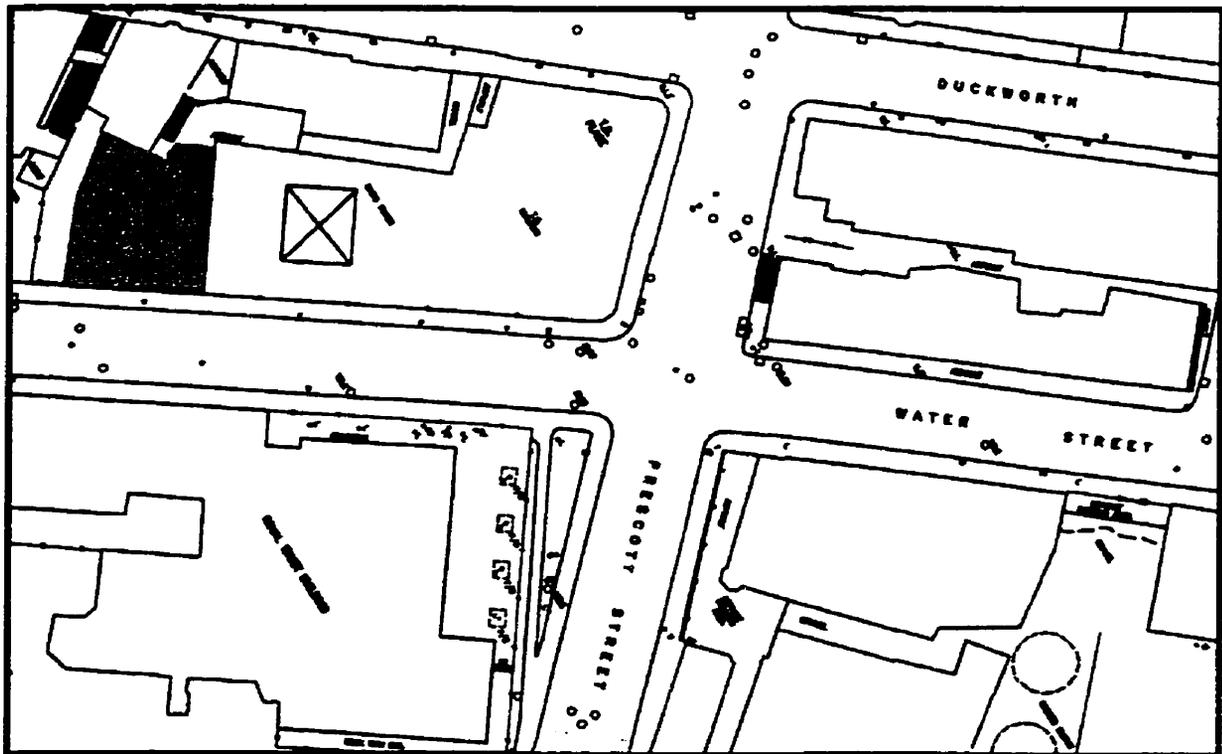
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 14 Prescott St./256-260 Duckworth St.



**Evening Telegram Site - 154 Water St.,
building demolished 1981**

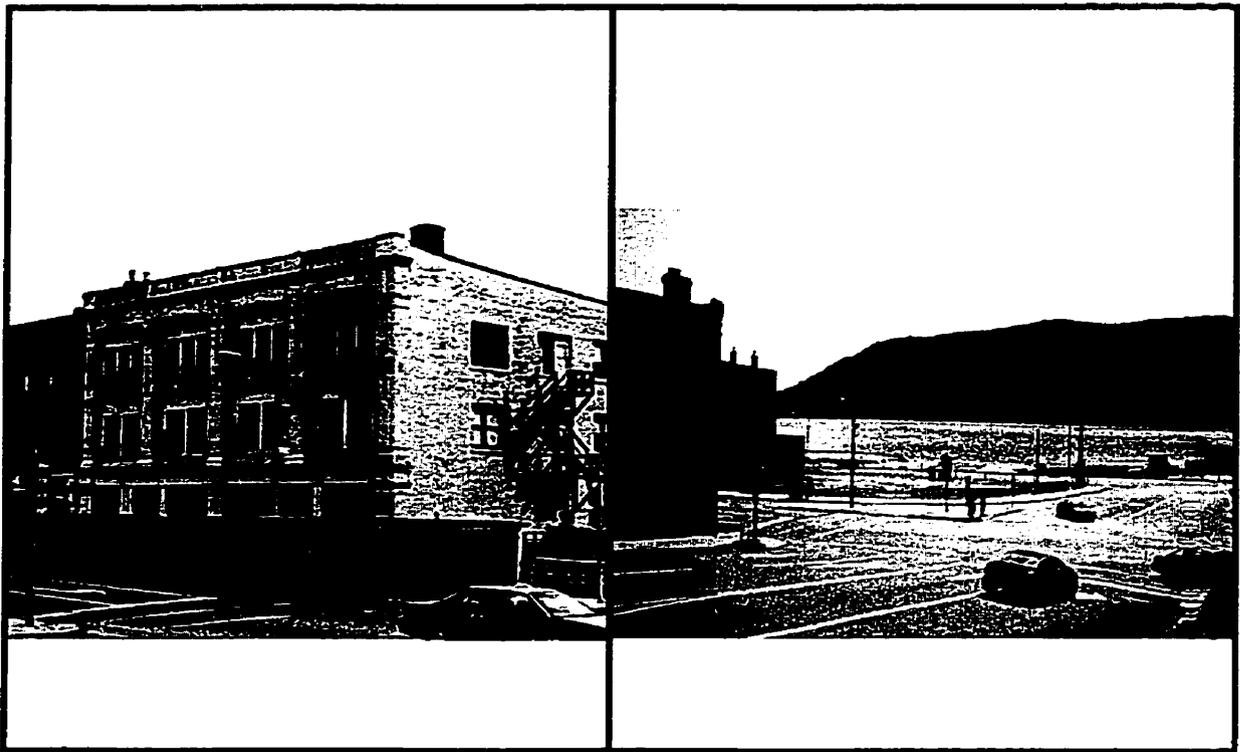
Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

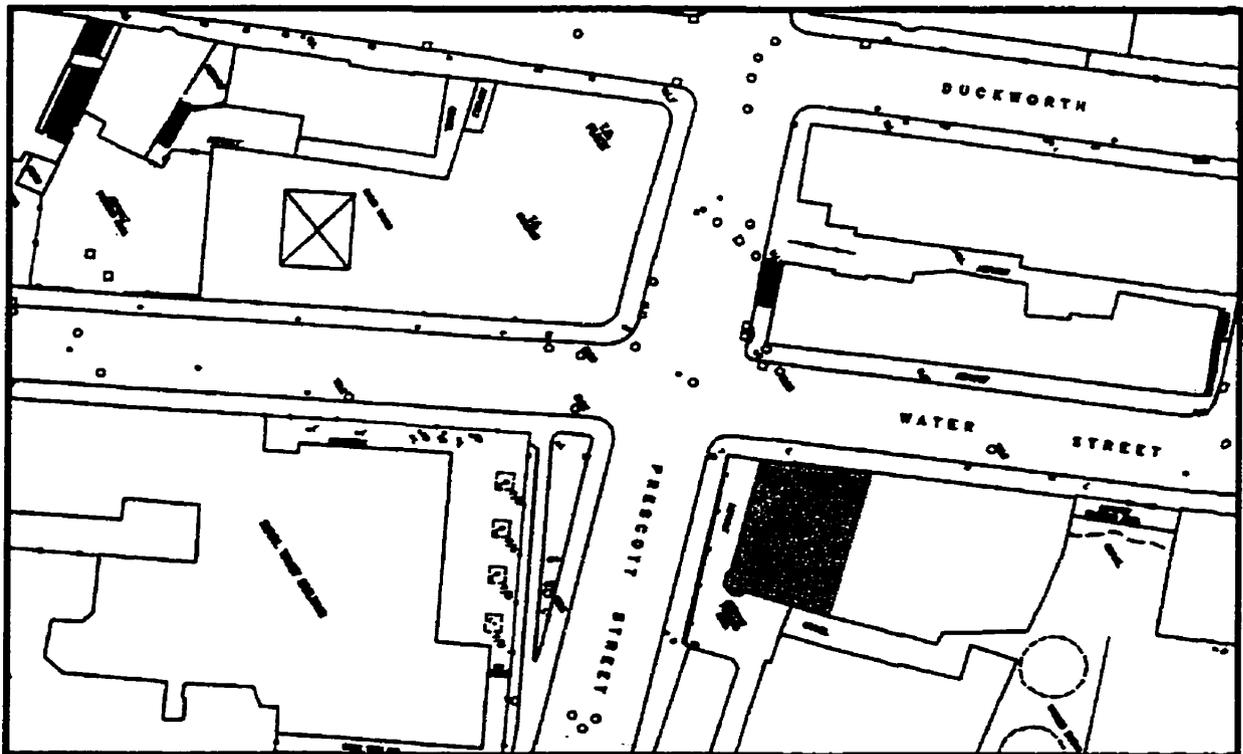
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 15 Evening Telegram Site – 154 Water St.



**Marshall Building, building
demolished 1996**

Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

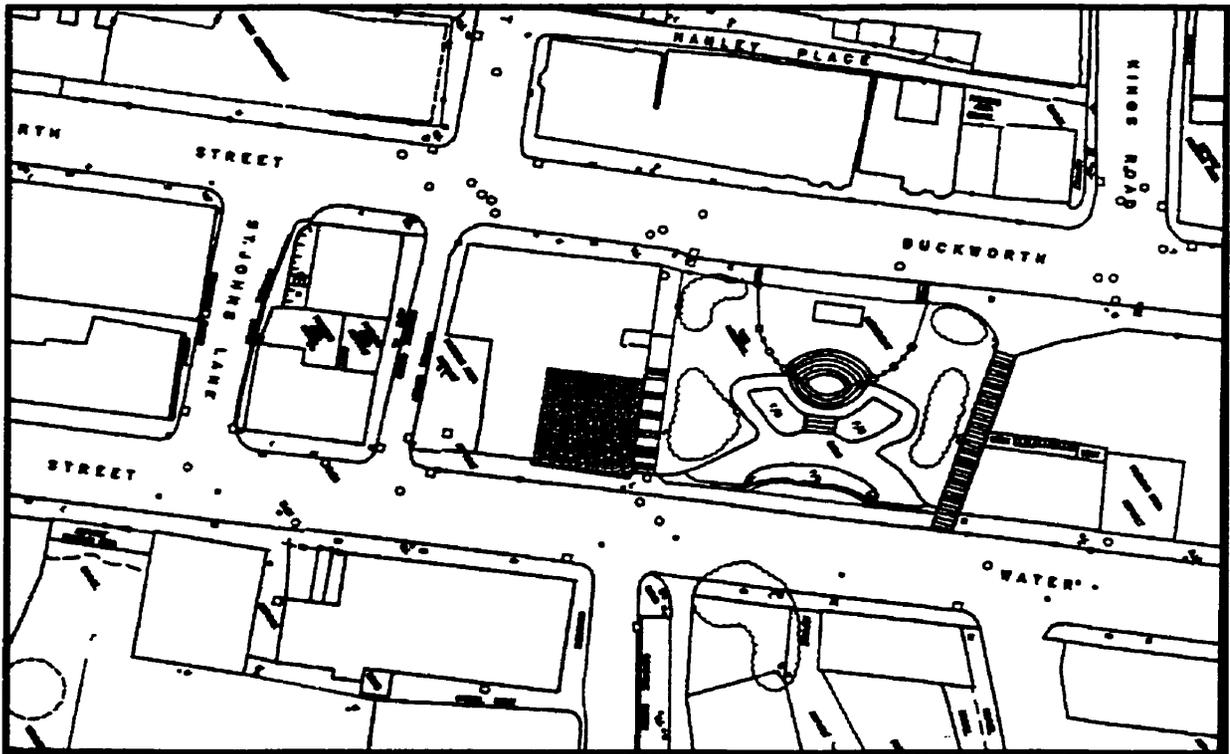
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 16 Marshall Building Site – 123-127 Water St.



**Mechanics Hall, building
demolished 1998**

Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

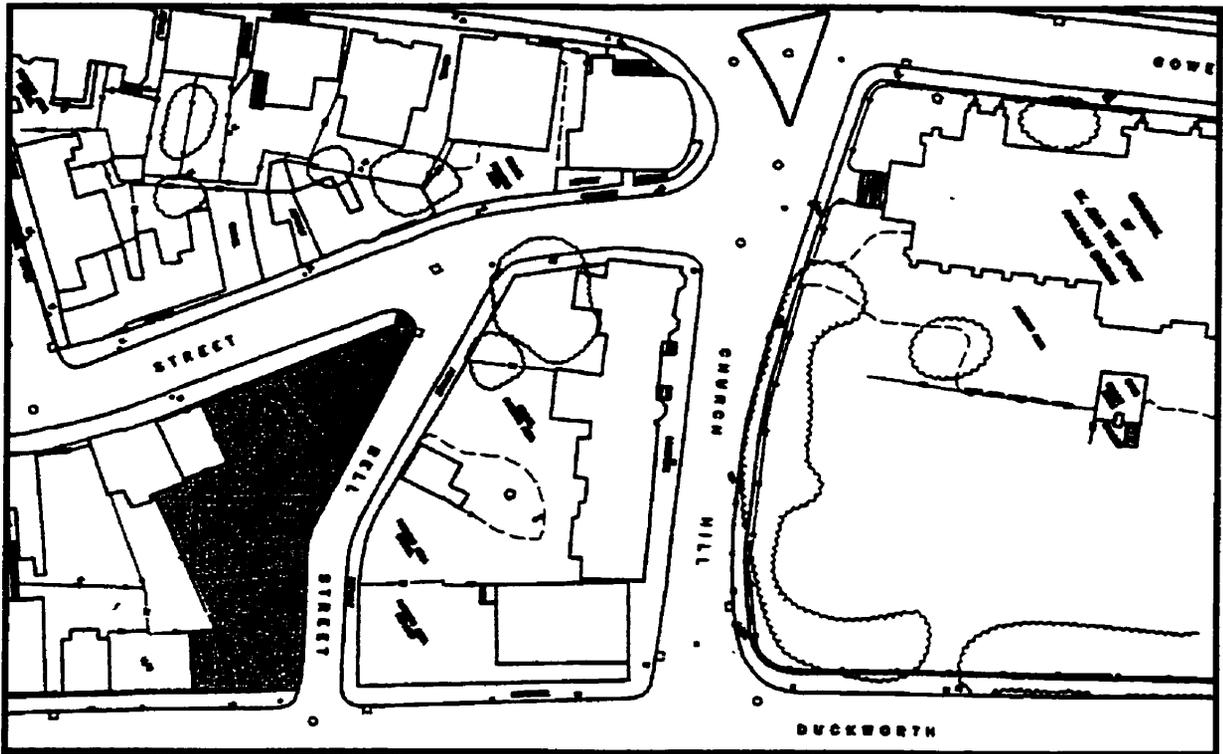
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 17 Mechanics Hall Site – 96-98 Water St.



332-338 Duckworth St., buildings demolished 1979

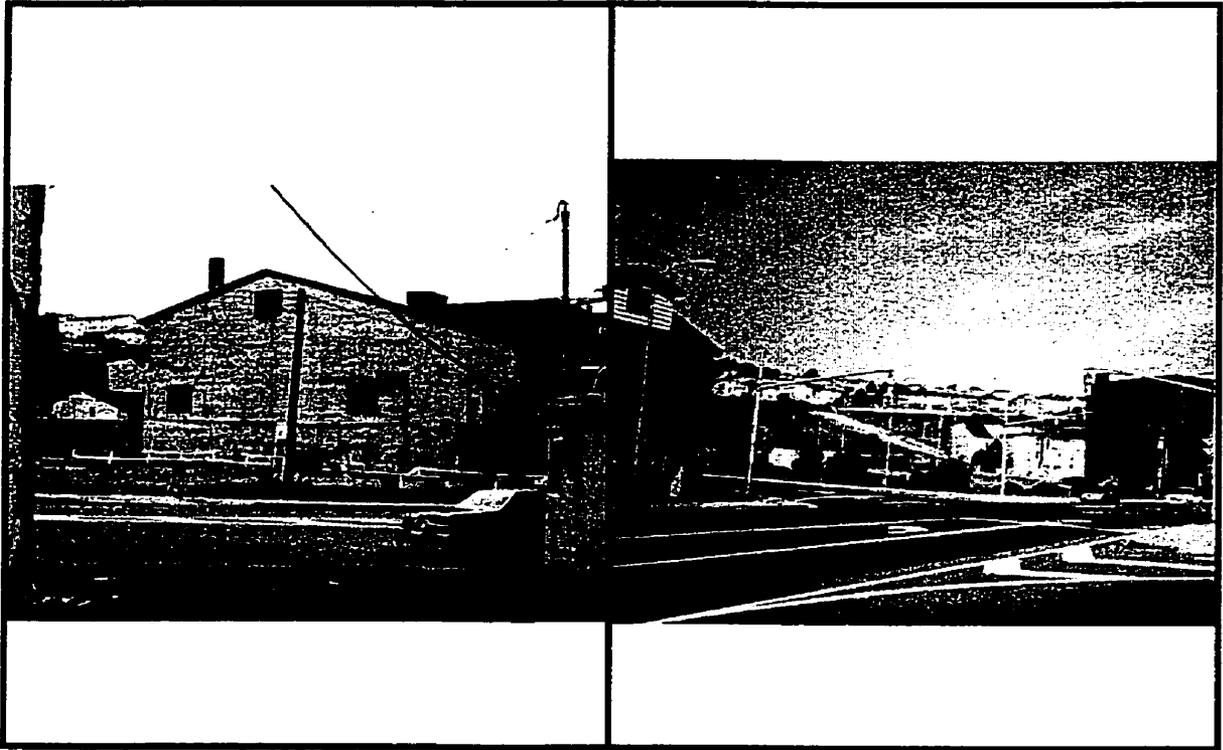
Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

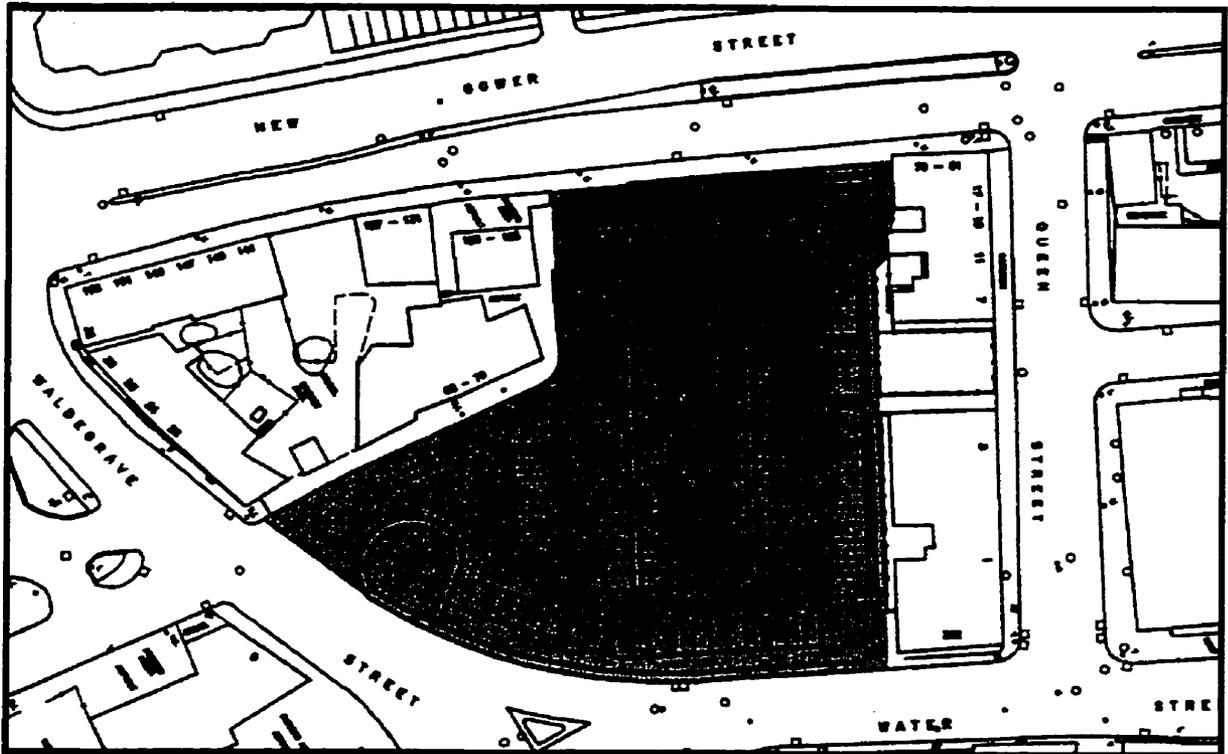
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 18 Bell St. – 332-338 Duckworth St.



**York Theatre, building
demolished 1988**

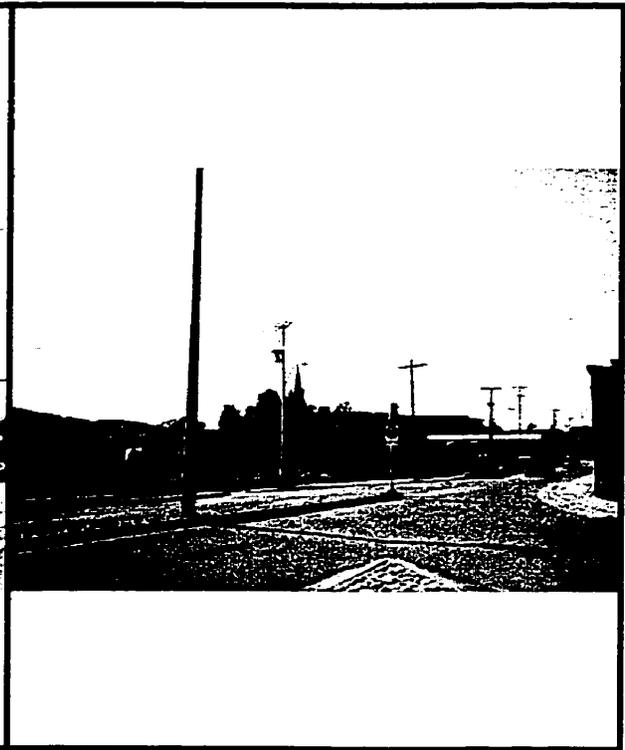
Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

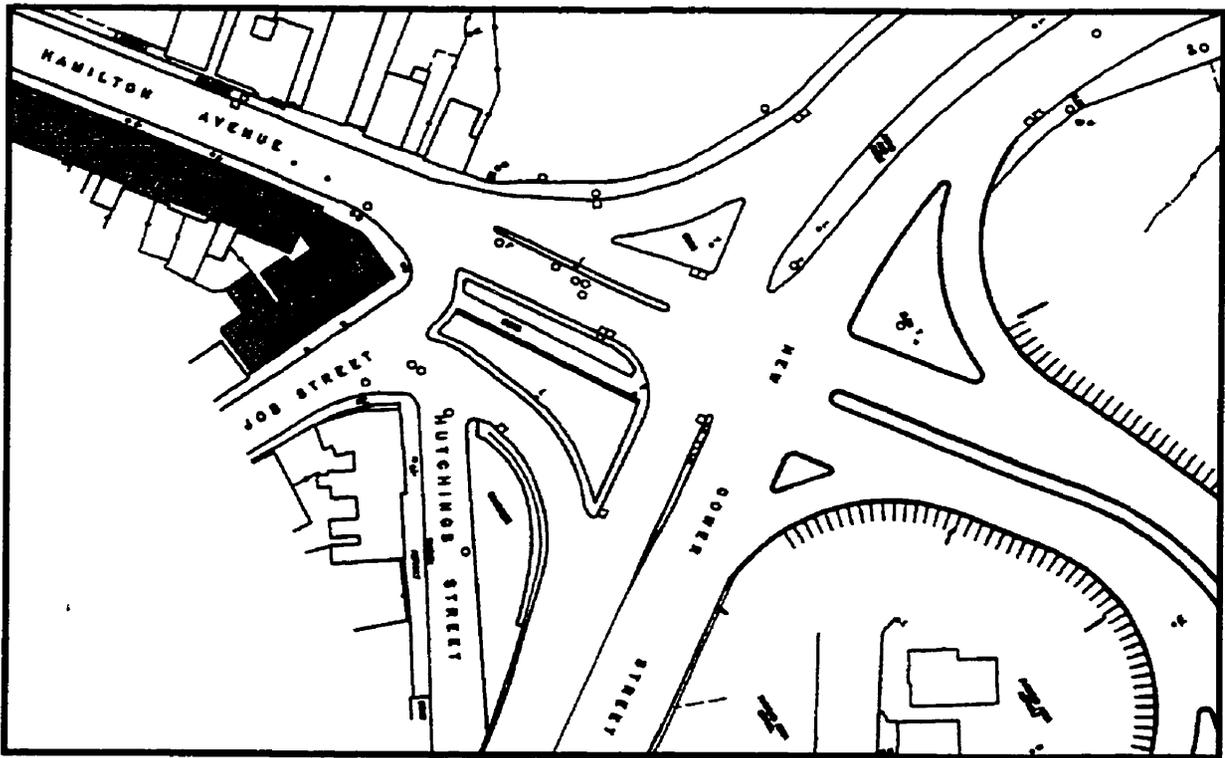
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 19 York Theatre Site – 366-372 Water St.



1-33 Hamilton Avenue, buildings demolished 1982/97

Vacant Site 1998



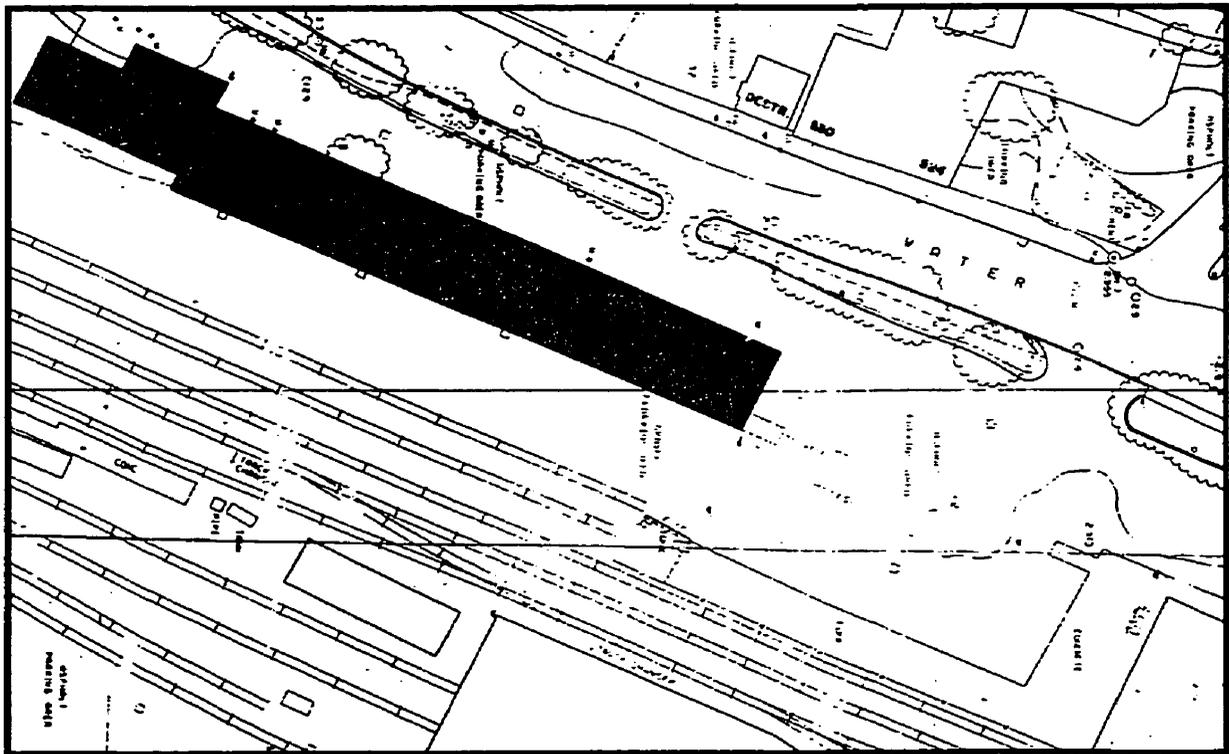
Location Plan

Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 20 Hamilton Avenue 1-33



Former railway yard, buildings demolished 1996 Vacant site 1998



Location Plan

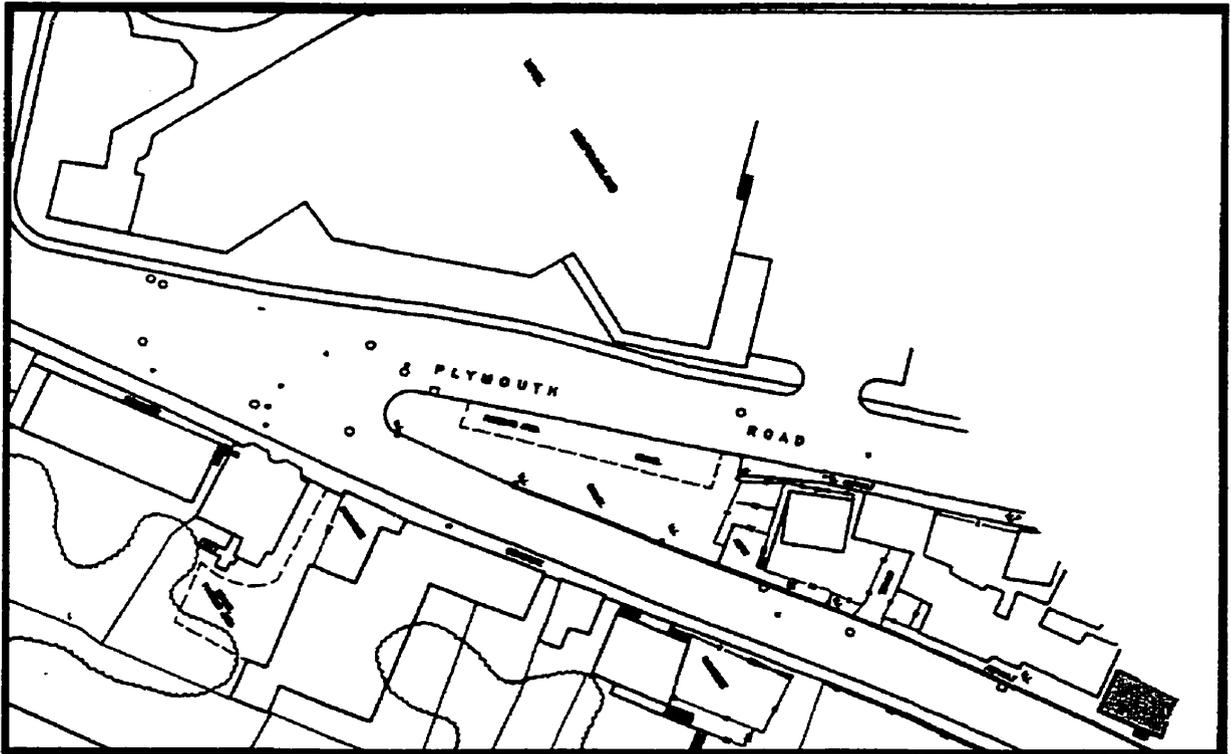
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 21 Water St. West – Newfoundland Railway Yard



10-22 Duckworth St., buildings demolished 1998

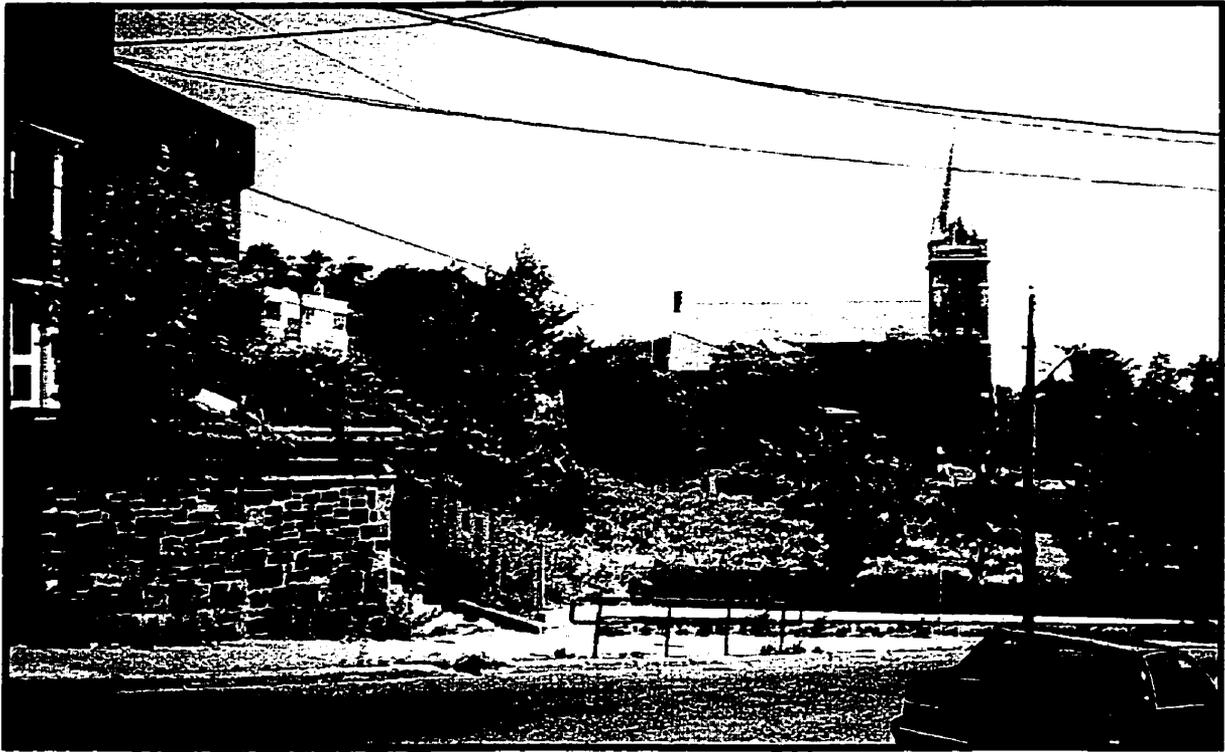
Vacant Site 1998



Location Plan

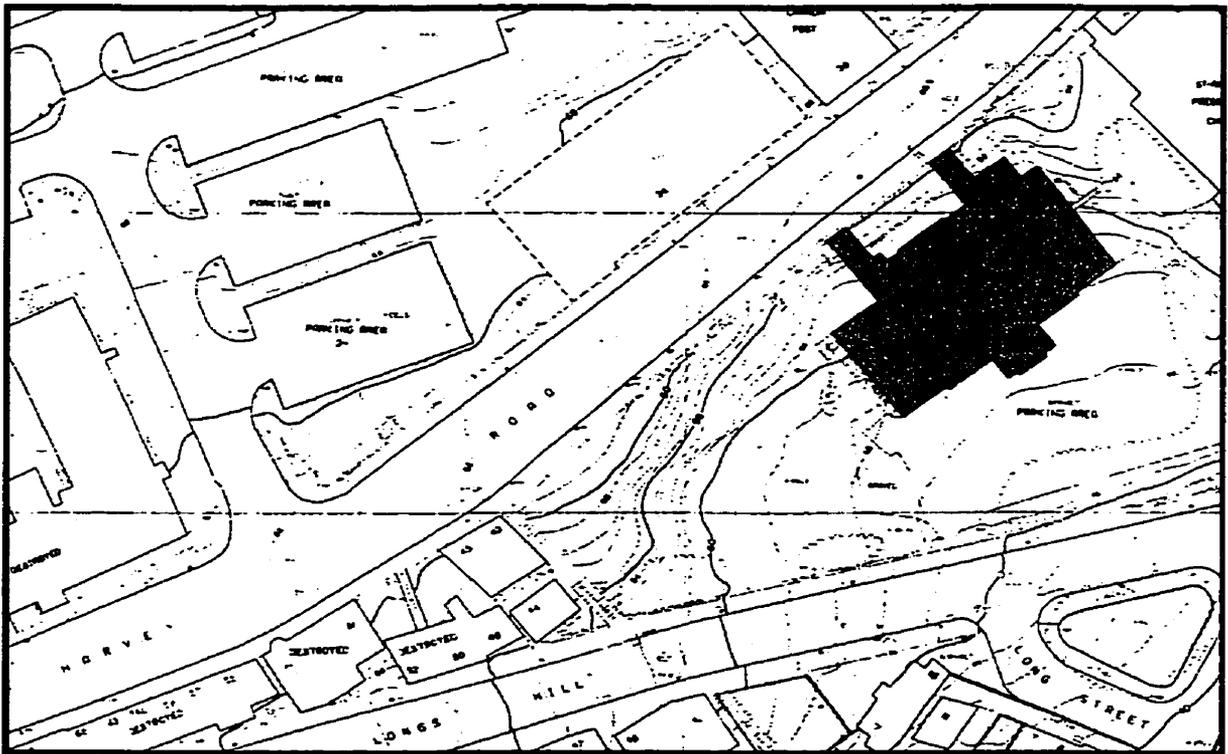
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 22 Plymouth Rd./10-22 Duckworth St.



Holloway House Site, buildings demolished 1984

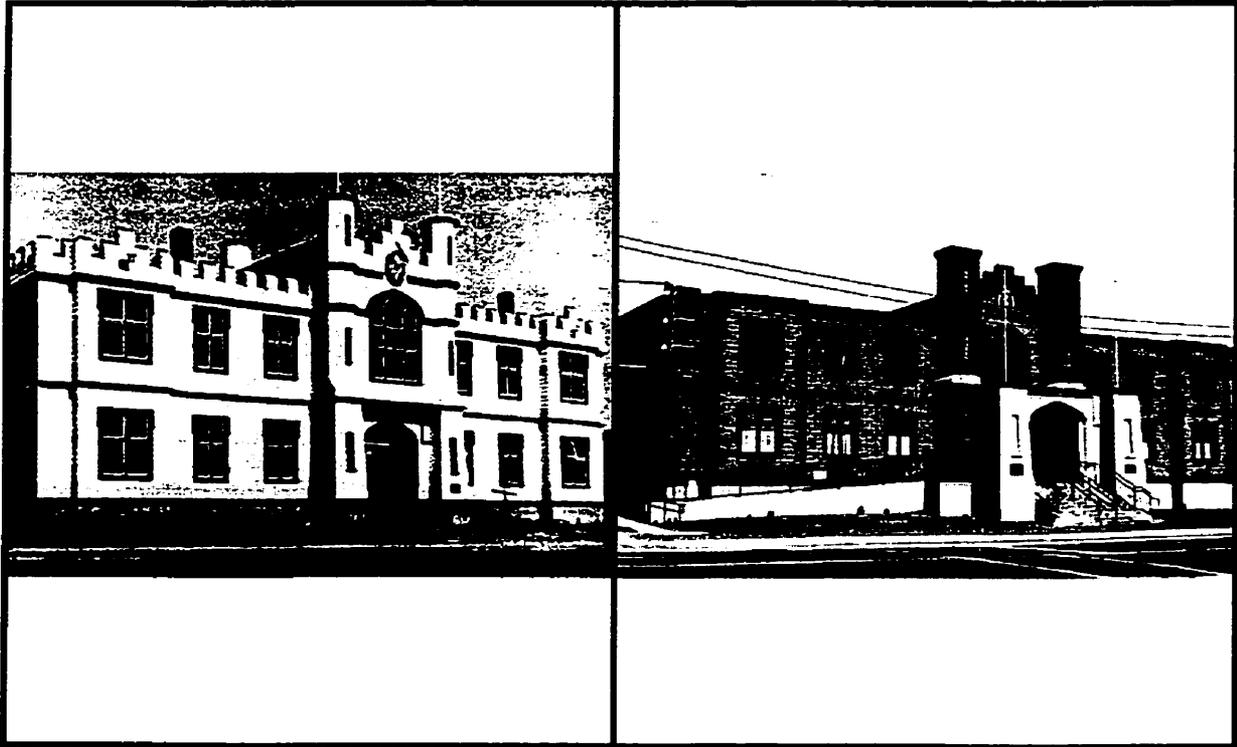
Vacant Site 1998



Location Plan

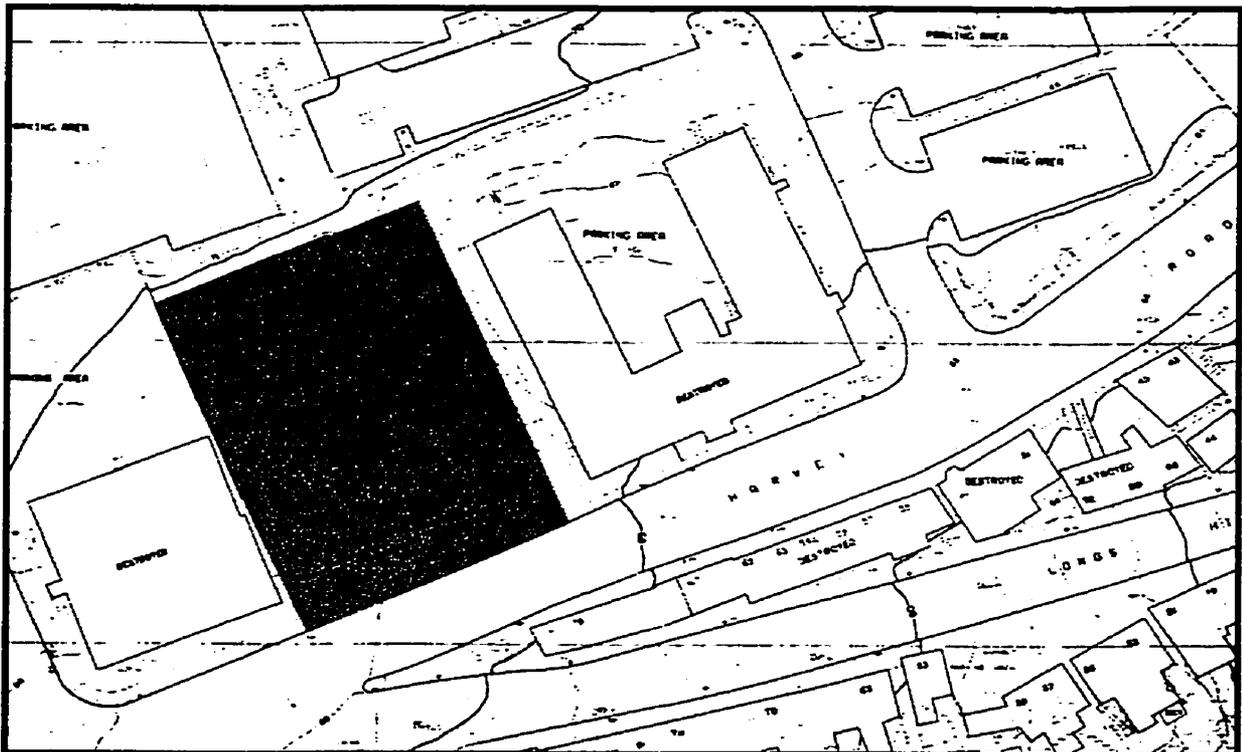
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 23 Holloway House Site



**Old CLB Armory, building destroyed
by fire 1992**

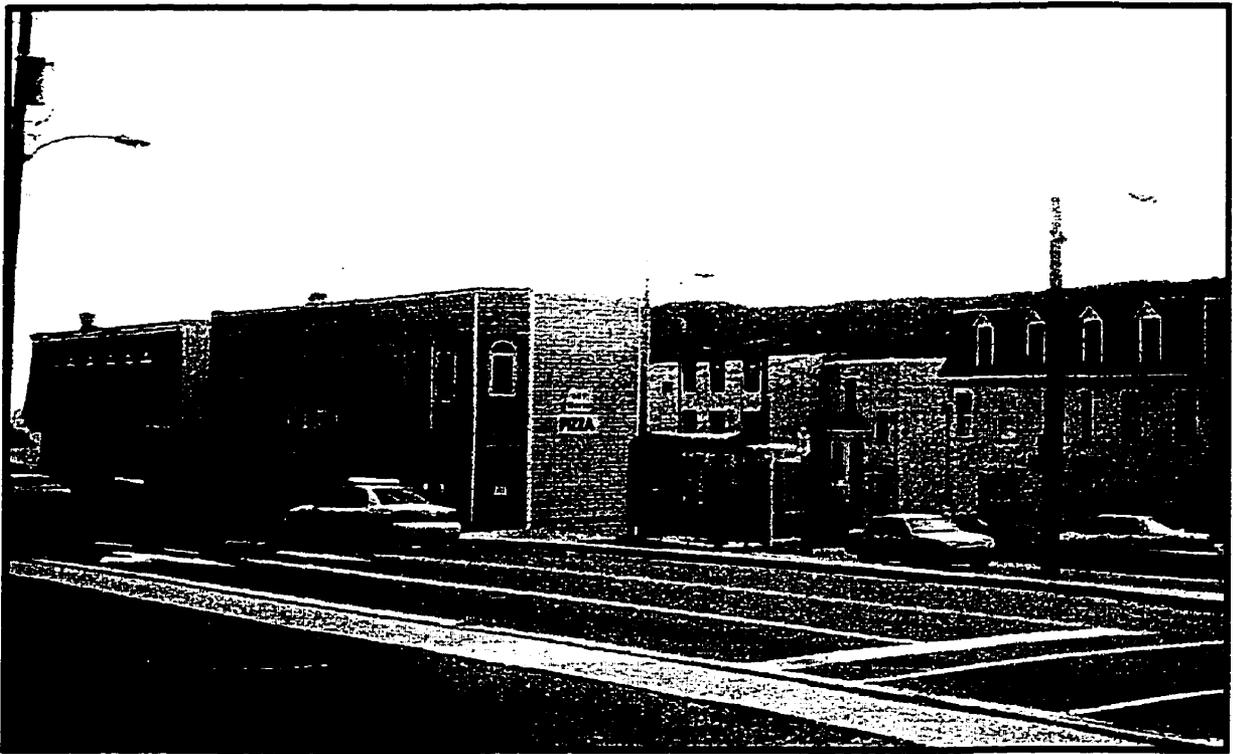
New CLB Armory 1998



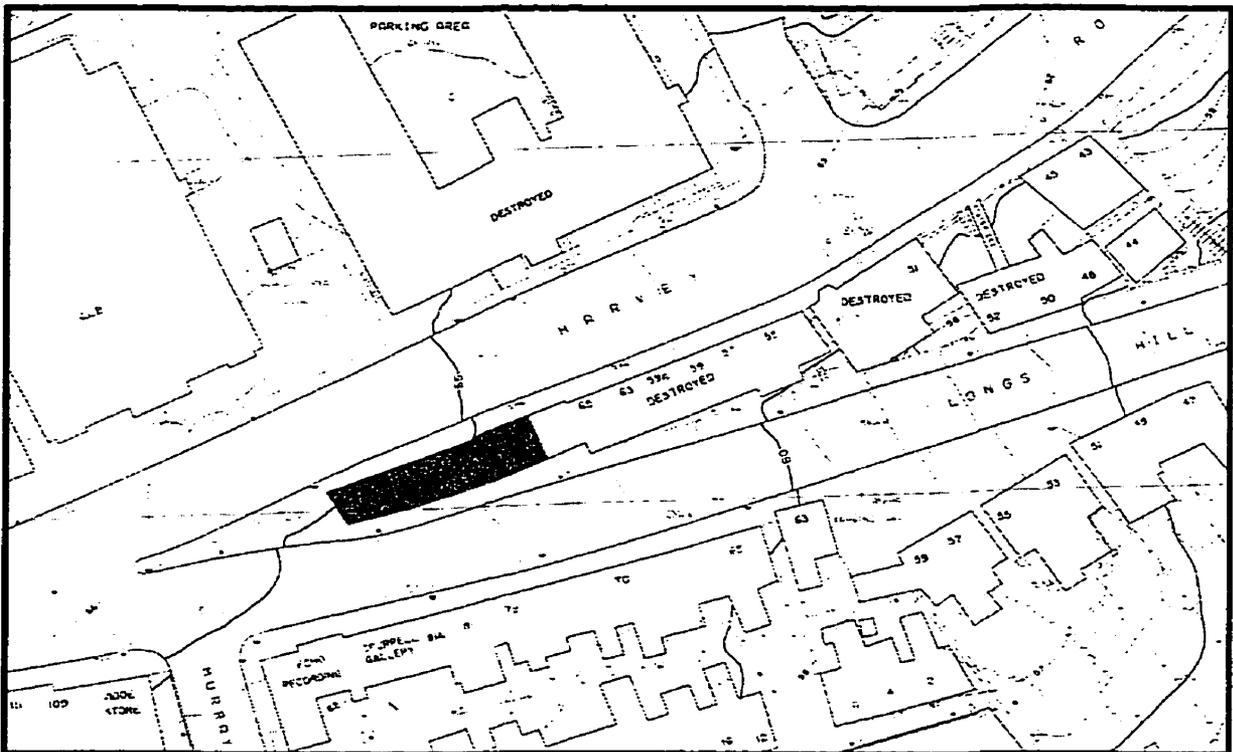
Location Plan

**Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250**

Fig. 24 CLB Armoury



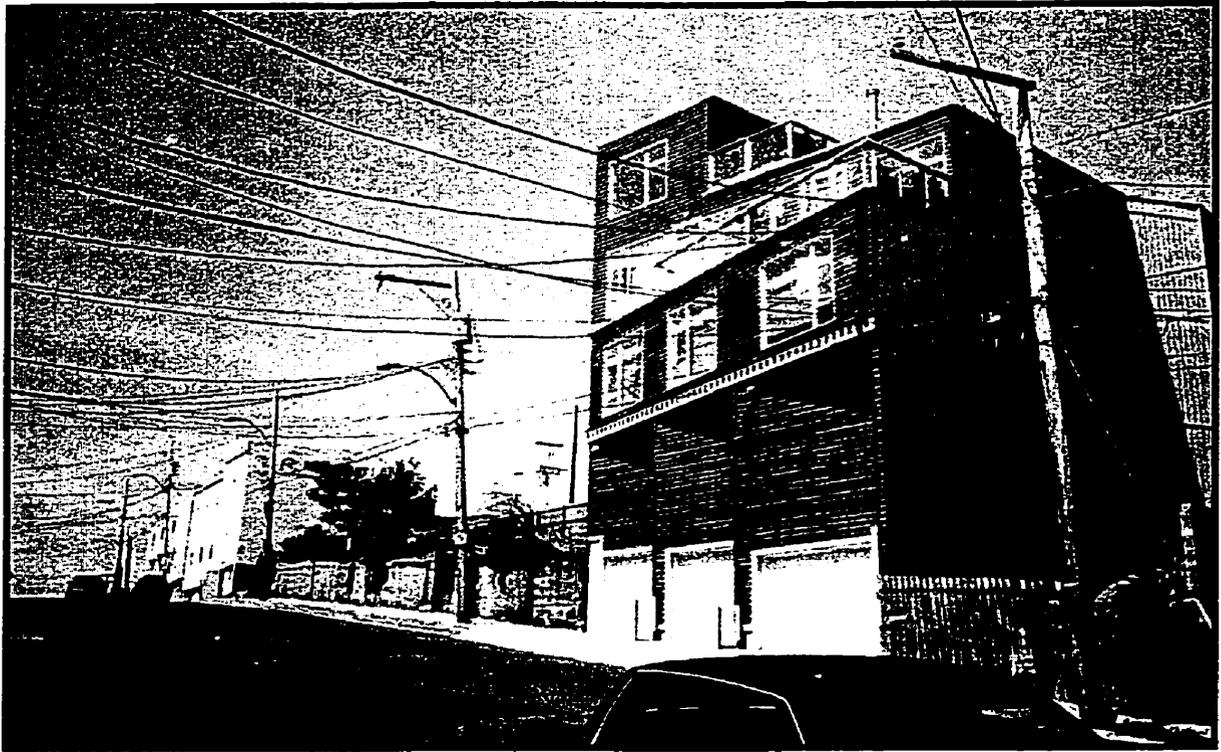
Bir R/Johnny's Restaurant, constructed 1993



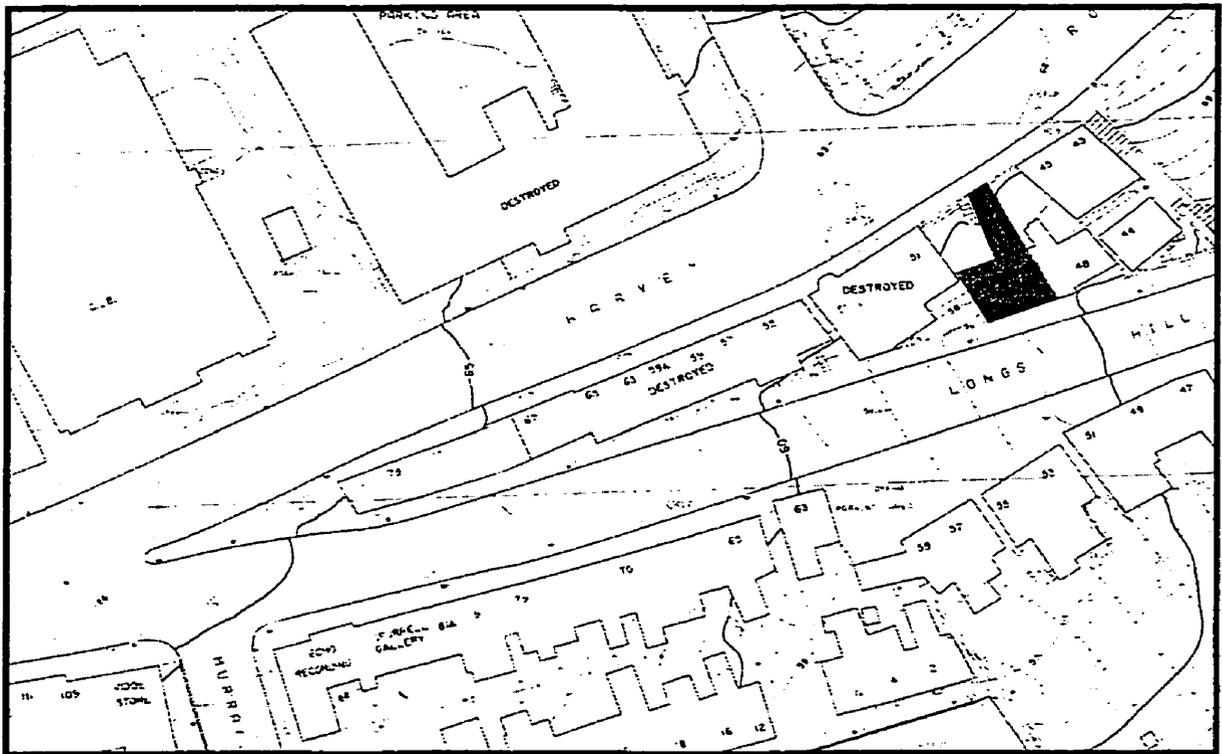
Location Plan

Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 25 Big R/Johnny's Restaurant



Collette Nap Residence, constructed 1997



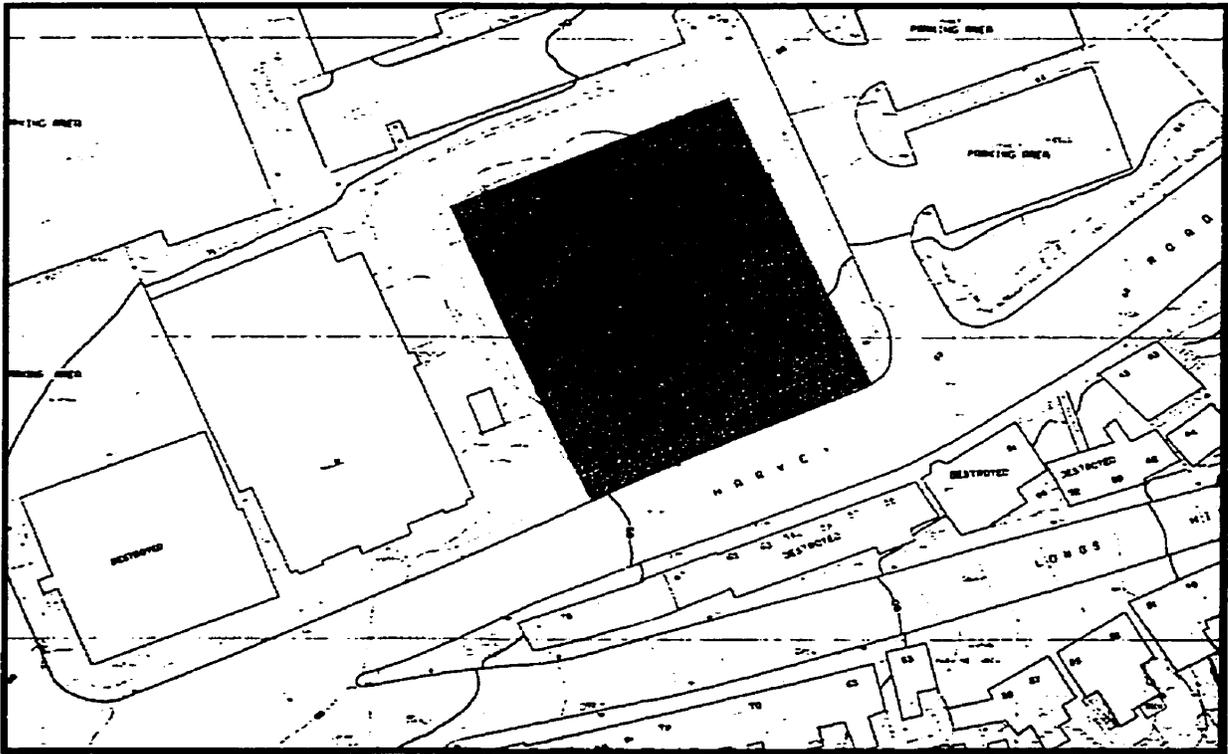
Location Plan

Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 26 Collette Nap Business/Residence



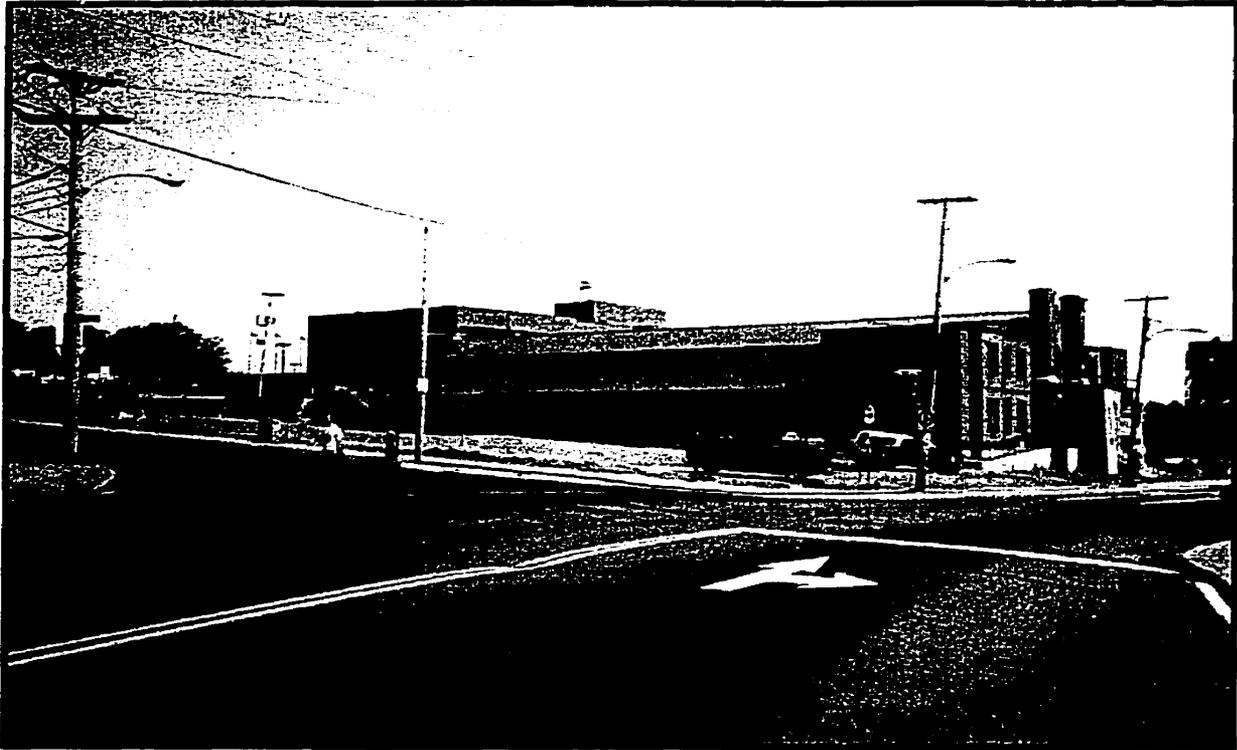
Tim Hortons, constructed 1997



Location Plan

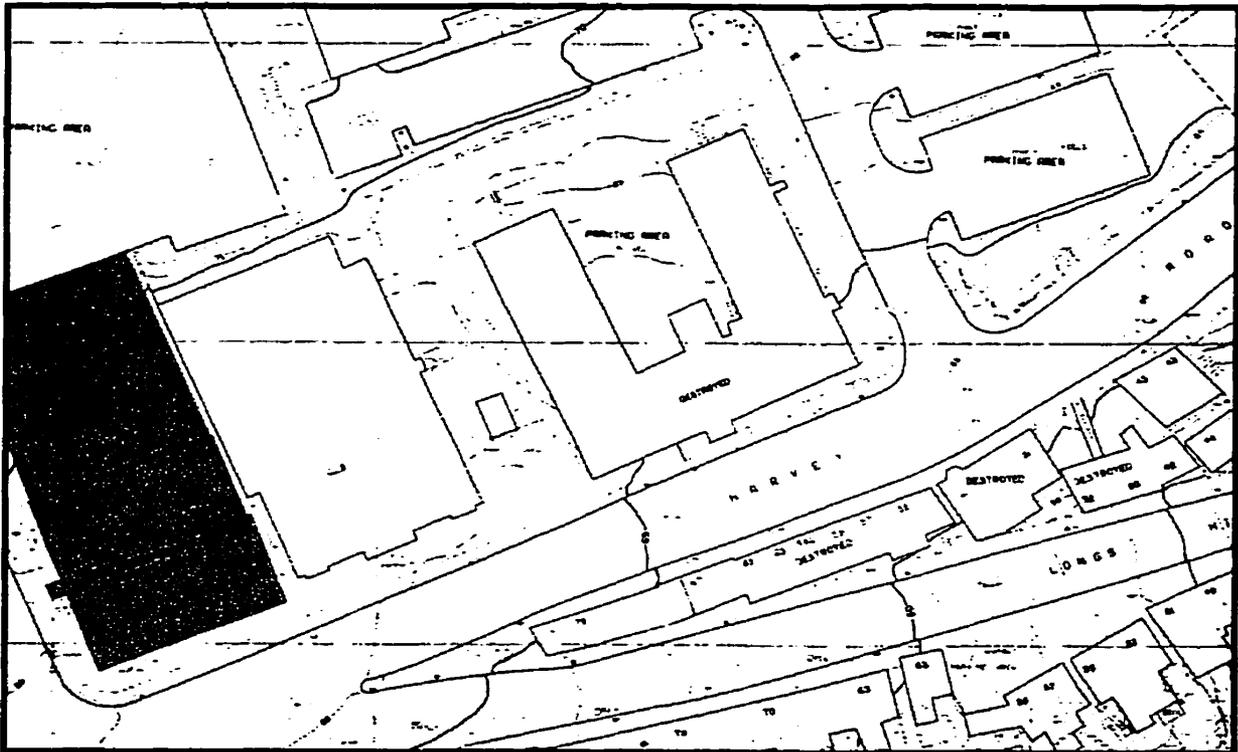
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 27 Tim Horton's



Dominion Site, building destroyed by fire 1992

Parking Lot 1998



Location Plan

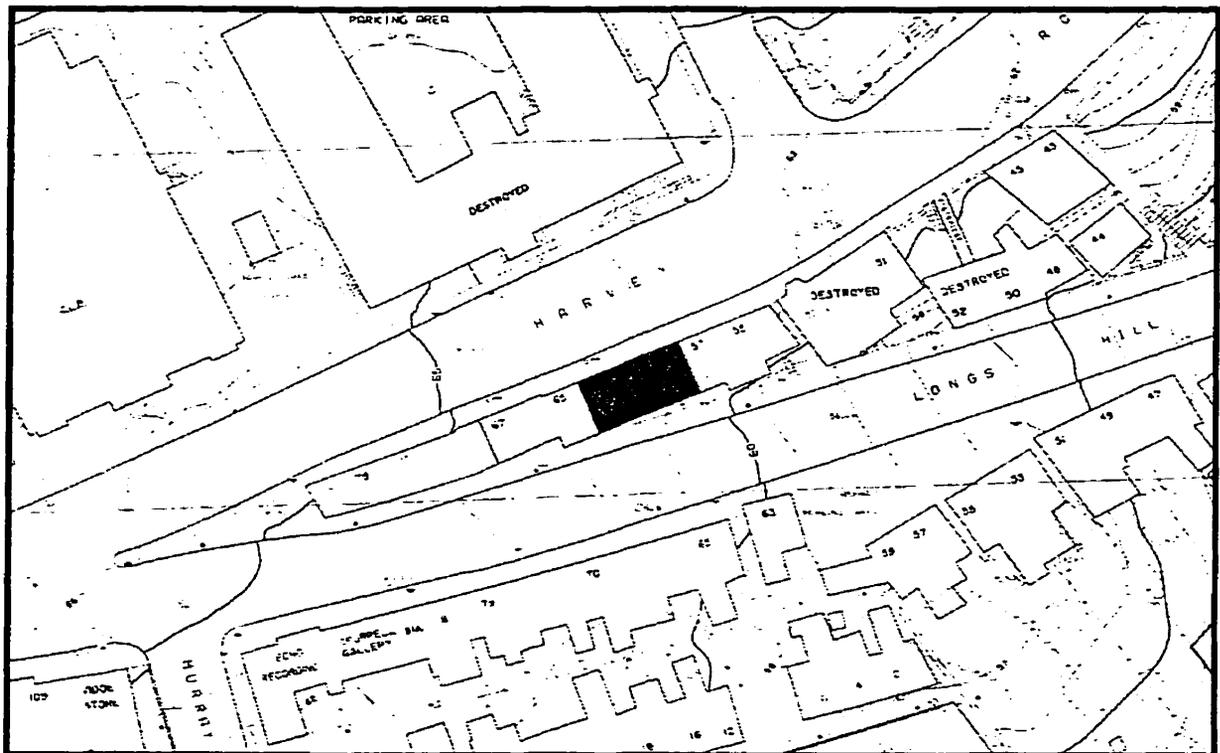
Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 28 Dominion Site



Ziggy's/Rock N Leather/Roma

Vacant Site 1998



Location Plan

Source: Planning Department, City of St. John's
Scale: 1:1250

Fig. 29 Ziggy's/Rock N Leather/Roma

Appendix B

Data Sources for: Duffett Building/TD Bank

General interviews:

- Suzanne (Shannie) Duff, Councillor, St. John's Municipal Council; Mayor 1990-1993
(subject: contemporary political context)
- J. A. de Jong, former Planner, City of St. John's
(re: planning context)

Secondary Sources:

- Howley, J. P., 1993
Heritage Conservation in St. John's, Newfoundland: A Case Study of Planning Practice. A Thesis submitted to the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Faculty of Architecture, Technical University of Nova Scotia.
- Sharpe, C. A., 1981
Development Control and Heritage Conservation in a Speculative Environment: The Case of St. John's, Newfoundland (Draft) Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Sharpe, C.A., 1985
Shangri-La by the Sea: Commercial Development in St. John's, Newfoundland.
The Operational Geographer, v. 6, p. 31-33, p. 31-33.
- Sharpe, C. A., 1986
Heritage Conservation and Development Control in a Speculative Environment: The Case of St. John's. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Research and Policy Paper No. 4.
- Sharpe, C.A., 1993
Preserving Inner City Residential Areas: The Planning Process in St. John's, Newfoundland 1983-1993, ISER Report No. 7. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.

City of St. John's Archives:

Council Minutes (Regular)

- Feb. 4, 1980
re: reduction of Duffett Building proposal to ten storeys without parking.
- Feb. 13, 1980
re: off-site parking for Duffett Building; Heritage By-Law and Diamond Report.

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

June 26, 1980

The Supreme Court of Newfoundland, In the Matter of the Quieting of Titles Act
re: Plan of site at Prescott, Water and Duckworth Streets

Demolition Permits/Orders:

138-144 Water St.

Feb. 20, 1980

to: Scotia Developments

140 Water St. (TD Place)

Feb. 11, 1981

to: Scotia Developments (Office Bldg.)

140 Water St. (TD Place)

Sept. 9, 1981

to: Scotia Developments (Office Bldg.)

Deeds:

Sept. 11, 1945

Deed of Conveyance

between Ray Mainwaring and (to) The Royal Stores Limited

re: land on the north side of Water St.

Jan. 29, 1981

Affidavit sworn by Harold Duffett, President of 140 Water Street Limited

re: Debenture by 140 Water Street Limited in favour of The Toronto Dominion

Bank for ten million dollars; land bounded by Water St., Prescott St.,

Duckworth St., and land of Reid Nfld. Ltd. and Canadian National

Telecommunications (TD Bank site, 140 Water St.).

Jan. 25, 1982

Demand Debenture

between Atlantic Capital Corp. Ltd., President Harold Duffett, and Atlantic

Shopping Centres Ltd. for three million dollars.

re: TD Bank site.

Mar. 29, 1985

Indenture

between 140 Water St. Ltd. (formerly Scotia Towers Ltd.) and Atlantic Shopping
Centres Ltd.

re: the conveyance of property for one dollar to Atlantic Capital Corp.

Mar. 29, 1985

Indenture

between 140 Water St. Ltd. and Atlantic Shopping Centres Ltd.

re: conveyance of land from formerly owned by Prescott Ltd. and then Atlantic
Capital Corp. Ltd. for one dollar.

Newspaper articles

- Dec. 3, 1979, Evening Telegram, *New Building Is An Economic Boost For Downtown Area Says Developer*
- Dec. 8, 1979, Evening Telegram, *Strong Opposition Voiced On Proposed Office Building <Duffett Building>*
- Dec. 17, 1979, Evening Telegram, *Downtown Office Building Briefing Session Tonight*
- Dec. 18, 1979, Evening Telegram, *Meeting Room Overcrowded - Briefing Is Halted By Fire Department*
- Nov. 27, 1979, Evening Telegram, *Council Will Consider Opposition To Project*
- Nov. 27, 1979, Evening Telegram, *Developer Doesn't Anticipate Much Objection To New Building*
- Aug. 19, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Report Recommends City Permit 10-Storey Buildings*
- Dec. 2, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Duffett Building Officially Named, Mayor Unveils Cornerstone Today <TD Place>*
- Dec. 2, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Duffett Building Officially Named, Mayor Unveils Cornerstone Today <TD Place>*
- Dec. 23, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Council Gives Approval To 10-Storey Building*
- Feb. 4, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Historic Trust Considering Action Against City Council*
- Feb. 6, 1980, Evening Telegram, *It's A New Ball Game - Duffett Submits New Proposal For Downtown Office Complex*
- Feb. 14, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Demolition Starts Without Permit*
- Feb. 14, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Go Ahead Mayor Advises Duffett*
- Feb. 16, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Duff Wants City To Lay Charges Against Mayor, Duffett And Firm <Illus.>*
- Feb. 16, 1980, Evening Telegram, *To Curb The Mayors Powers <Ed.>*
- Feb. 20, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Heated Debate Will Continue On Development*
- Feb. 20, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Windsor Denies Investigation Launched Into Duffett Approval*
- Feb. 21, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Councillor Wants Compensation For Historic Building Owners*
- Feb. 21, 1980, Evening Telegram, *No Action Against Wyatt Or Duffett - Developer Gets OK To Demolish Building*

- Feb. 22, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Zoning Bylaw Changes - NIP Residents Concerned Over Building Height Restrictions*
- Feb. 23, 1980, Evening Telegram, *The Duffett Building - Government Won't Interfere - Committee Will Review City Act*
- Jan. 8, 1980, Daily News, *Duffett Plan Hearing: Public Solidly Opposed*
- Jul. 17, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Duffett Building Dispute - Old Maps Do Not Show Ownership Of Laneway*
- May 15, 1980, Evening Telegram, *City Won't Buy Telegram Building*
- May 29, 1980, Evening Telegram, *Developers Going A Bit Too Far*
- Oct. 1, 1980, Evening Telegram— *Council Urged To Reject Duffett Parking Proposal <Citizens For Responsible Planning Concerned>*
- Oct. 2, 1980, Evening Telegram, *City Gives Duffett Approval To Build*
- Dec. 9, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Work Proceeding As Scheduled On Construction Of TD Place <Illus.>*
- Dec. 10, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Excavation Under Way <Illus. Area West Of City Hall>*
- Feb. 5, 1981, Evening Telegram, *City Council Okays Duffett Complex*
- Feb. 5, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Legal Action Planned To Halt Duffett Complex Construction*
- Feb. 13, 1981, Evening Telegram, *TD Place Officially Approved <Illus.>*
- Jan. 30, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Duffett Building Dispute Before The Supreme Court*
- Mar. 10, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Laneway Dispute Is Referred Back To Trials Court <Runs East-West Between TD Place, Other Businesses>*
- Oct. 31, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Kickham Place - Holloway Street Assert Legal Rights <Copy Of Letter To City Council By Residents>*
- Sept. 1, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Lewvest Launches Appeal Against Court Decision On TD Place*
- Apr. 1, 1982, Evening Telegram, *Duff Wants Public Discussion On TD Place Parking Proposal*
- Apr. 22, 1982, Evening Telegram, *Duffett Building Opening Approved - But Developer Must Meet Conditions*
- Feb. 11, 1982, Evening Telegram, *Murphy, Duff Differ On Some Heritage Bylaws*

**Data Sources for:
Ayre's/Scotia Centre
(239-245 Water St.)**

Site-Specific interviews:

Millar Ayre, former property owner
James Austin, President, Dick's and Company; former property owner

General interviews:

Suzanne (Shannie) Duff, Councillor, City of St. John's; Mayor 1990-1993
(subject: observations on contemporary political context.)
J. A. de Jong, Former planner, City of St. John's
(subject: planning context)

Secondary Sources:

Howley, J. P., 1993
Heritage Conservation in St. John's, Newfoundland: A Case Study of Planning Practice. A Thesis submitted to the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Faculty of Architecture, Technical University of Nova Scotia.

Sharpe, C. A., 1986
Heritage Conservation and Development Control in a Speculative Environment: The Case of St. John's. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Research and Policy Paper No. 4.

City of St. John's Archives:

Council Minutes (Regular)

Sept. 24, 1981
re: application for demolition of Ayre's Building from Bank of Nova Scotia.

Dec. 19, 1984
re: application for demolition of Ayre's Building from Bank of Nova Scotia;
rejection of the recommendation of the Heritage Advisory Committee.

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

Aug. 6, 1981
to: City of St. John's
from: Marshall, White, Ottenheimer & Green, lawyers for Baine Johnston Ltd.
re: sale of property at 239-243 Water St. (Ayre's Cove) to The Bank of Nova Scotia, Aug. 6, 1981.

Deeds:

July 15, 1981

Indenture

between Ayre & Sons Ltd. and (to) Ayre's Cove Investments Ltd.

re: for conveyance of land at junction of Water St. and Ayre's Cove.

Sept. 29, 1981

Indenture

between Durnford Frederick Wydham Neuman and (to) Dicks & Company Ltd.

re: for conveyance of land at Ayre's Cove.

Indenture

between The Bank of Nova Scotia and (to) Dicks and Company Ltd.

re: for conveyance of land at Ayre's Cove.

Newspaper Articles:

Oct. 28, 1980, Evening Telegram, *New Office Building Complex Proposed For Downtown Area* <Illus.>

Sept. 24, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Bank Seeks Permission To Demolish Building* <Ayre's Building, Water St.>

Oct. 1, 1981, Evening Telegram, *Building Owner Ordered To Meet Certain Conditions* <Ayre's Building>

Data Sources for: Cabot Place Development

Site-Specific Interviews:

Basil Dobbin, President Pyramid Construction Ltd., Developer.
Christopher Barlow, Architect, BAE Group Ltd.

General Interviews:

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: planning context)
J. A. de Jong, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: planning context)

Secondary Sources:

Sharpe, C. A., 1985
Shangrila by the Sea: Commercial Development in St. John's, Newfoundland. The
Operational Geographer, No. 6, 1985.

Sharpe, C. A., 1990
Quo Vadis: St. John's Ten Years After Hibernia. A paper prepared for presentation
at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers,
Edmonton Alberta, Jun. 9, 1990.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

5 Barron St.
May 12, 1982
to: Urban Contracting

2 Brazil Sq.
Jan. 25, 1984
to: Urban Contracting

6 Brazil Sq.
Jan. 27, 1982
to: Urban Contracting

5, 7, 9, 13-23 Brazil Sq.
Jun. 20, 1984
to: Cabot Development

7, 15, 17, 2-8 Haggerty St.
Feb. 4, 1981
to: Cabot Development

5-7 Pleasant St.
Dec. 22, 1980
to: Cabot Development

2-14 Pleasant St.
Jan. 7, 1981
to: Cabot Development

25, 36, 37 Pleasant St.
Feb. 4, 1981
to: Cabot Development

65 Springdale St.
Jan. 13, 1982
to: Urban Contracting

41 Springdale St.
Oct. 27, 1982
to: Urban Contracting

31 Springdale St.
Aug. 8, 1986
to: Cabot Development

Newspaper Articles:

Sept. 11, 1984, Evening Telegram, *City Convention Centre Funding Expected Soon*

Sept. 26, 1984, Evening Telegram, *Company To Start Work On Convention Centre <Cabot Development Corp.>*

Feb. 27, 1985, Evening Telegram, *Council To Discuss Planned Office Tower <West Of City Hall By Cabot Development & Manufacturers Life>*

Jan. 6, 1987, Evening Telegram, *Too Much Space, Too Many Offices, Too Much New Construction: Tilley*

Apr. 3, 1987, Evening Telegram, *New Downtown" To Open In 1987 <Phase One Of Cabot Place>*

June 2, 1987, Evening Telegram, *Woman Given Ultimatum To Move Off Her Property <Ruth Crotty, Flower Hill To Make Room Convention Centre.>*

**Data Sources for:
Hotel Newfoundland**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Christopher Collingwood, President, Baine Johnston & Company Ltd.
Stan Hampton, Architect, Gibbons/Hampton Architects

Secondary Sources:

Baine Johnston & Company Ltd., CN Hotels and Mutual Life with Seaboard
Construction (1978) Ltd. and Dove/Whitten & Associates Ltd., 1983.
Development Proposal September 1983: Newfoundland Place

Newspaper Articles:

Dec. 21, 1982, The Daily News, *Call Goes out to Save Old Hotel*

Oct. 2, 1982, The Newfoundland Herald, *Hotel Newfoundland Old and New*

Mar. 19, 1983, The Newfoundland Herald, *Hotel Newfoundland, Out with the
Old, in with the New.*

Apr. 2, 1983, The Newfoundland Herald, *Hotel Newfoundland: Requiem for a
Landmark*

Jan. 27, 1983, The Evening Telegram, *The Walls Come Tumbling Down.*

Apr. 29, 1983, The Evening Telegram, *New Hotel a Boost for City's Economy*

**Data Sources for:
Cochrane St./132-146 Duckworth St.**

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls:

Address	Owner
132-146 Duckworth Street	255563 Alberta Ltd.

City of St. John's Archives :

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

Mar. 20, 1979
to: City of St. John's
from: M. Tucker, owner 138-140 Duckworth Street
re: 138-140 Duckworth Street; building destroyed by fire Mar. 13, 1979

Sept. 29, 1981
to: City of St. John's
from: M. Tucker
re: 138-140 Duckworth Street; property sold in April 1981.

Oct. 24, 1985
to: St. John's Municipal Council
from: P. Ross Bradford, Edmonton, Alberta
re: proposed lease for off-street parking.

Oct. 30, 1985
to: P. Ross Bradford, Edmonton, Alberta
from: Frank Power, City Manager
re: proposed lease for off-street parking.

Mar. 12, 1979
to: City of St. John's
from: Au Que Ping, owner
re: fire destroyed property (136 Duckworth St.) on Mar. 12, 1979.

Deeds:

Apr. 10, 1981
Deed of Conveyance
between Au Que Ping and (to) 255563 Alberta Ltd.

Apr. 22, 1981
Deed of Conveyance
between Mary Tucker and (to) 255563 Alberta Ltd.

Apr. 29, 1981
Deed of Conveyance
between Gertrude Power and (to) 255563 Alberta Ltd.

Nov. 12, 1981
Deed of Conveyance
between Central Trust and (to) 255563 Alberta Ltd.

Nov. 12, 1981
Deed of Conveyance
between Peter Strong and (to) 255563 Alberta Ltd.

Drawings:

Survey: Michael Lipp (134-136 Duckworth St.)
Robert Whiffen Associates, Surveyors, Oct. 1983

**Data Sources for:
Carino Site/147-149 Duckworth St.**

General Interviews:

Christopher Barlow, Architect, BAE Group*

City of St. John' s Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

Jan. 26, 1983
to: St. John's Municipal Council
from: Douglas Hunt, Halley/Hunt, solicitors for Carino Co. Ltd.
re: 60 Water St. demolished May 1982.

Mar. 17, 1987
to: City Hall
from: Carino Co. Ltd.
re: 149 Duckworth St. retaining wall, fence and parking.

May 22, 1990
to: City Clerk
from: J. A. de Jong, Director of Planning
re: Update Proposed BAE Group Building in connection with proposed Carino Building Expansion.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

60 Water St. (Carino Bldg.)
Jan. 13, 1982
to: Mid-Ocean Engineering

60 Water St.
Jan. 18, 1982
to: Mid-Ocean Engineering

60 Water St.
May 4, 1982
to: Mid-Ocean Engineering (Extension Permit)

60 Water St.
May 19, 1982
to: Carino Bldg. (Office Bldg.)

* Information about this site was gained from Christopher Barlow in the course of the Site-Specific Interview conducted for The Cabot Place Development. As the principle architect for the BAE Group, Barlow was involved with the development of plans for both sites.

**Data Sources for:
King's Rd/168-176 Duckworth St.**

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

Apr. 26, 1978
to: City of St. John's
from: John Clouston, owner 168-172 Duckworth Street
re: William Lloyd, managing agent for 168-172 Duckworth Street

Oct. 14, 1989
to: Mayor John Murphy and Members of Council
from: Raymond Peterson Ltd.
re: retention of former 'Weavery' building (168-170 Duckworth Street); notes
"land banking" by developers and number of vacant lots on Duckworth
Street.

Oct. 14, 1989
to: Mayor John Murphy and Members of Council
from: Jeffrey Levitz, Downtown Development Corporation
re: retention of 'Weavery' building; notes vacant lots and proposes alternative to
demolition.

Oct. 14, 1989
to: Mayor John Murphy and Members of Council
from: G. Mugford, Duckworth Street Alternative
re: retention of 'Weavery' building a benefit to small businesses in area.

Oct. 16, 1989
to: Mayor John Murphy and Councillors (memorandum)
from: Wayne Purchase, Director of Building and Development
re: request from William Lloyd to demolish 168-172 Duckworth Street, 'Weavery'
building included; recommendation of Heritage Advisory Committee that
demolition be delayed to consider alternatives for redevelopment.

Oct. 20, 1989
to: Jeffrey Levitz, Downtown Development Corporation
from: R. J. Greene, City Clerk
re: Council's decision to allow demolition of 168-172 Duckworth Street to
proceed.

Jan. 30, 1990
to: City of St. John's
from: Culhane Investments
re: building destroyed by fire Oct. 7, 1989.

Newspaper articles:

Oct. 8, 1989, Evening Telegram, *Child Dies, Downtown Block Guttled As Rash Of
Fires Strikes St. John's*

Data Sources for:

Holloway St./216-236 Duckworth St.

(11 Holloway; 216-236, 250, 254 Duckworth St.; 135, 139-141 Gower St.)

Personal Communication:

Robin King, Transportation Engineer, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls:

Address	Ownership
11 Holloway Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
216-224 Duckworth Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
224 Duckworth Street	City of St. John's
226 Duckworth Street	City of St. John's
228 Duckworth Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
230 Duckworth Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
232-234 Duckworth Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
236 Duckworth Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
238-240 Duckworth Street	COS Ltd.
242-244 Duckworth Street	Leslie Wright
246-248 Duckworth Street	Norman Cook
250 Duckworth Street	Eastern Capital Corp.
252 Duckworth Street	COS Ltd.
254 Duckworth Street	Atlantic Capital Corp. Ltd.
135 Gower Street	Eastern Capital Corporation Ltd.
139 Gower Street	Eastern Capital Corporation Ltd.
141 Gower Street	Business Service Ltd.

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

Sept. 17, 1980
Duffett Building Parking Facilities Evaluation
re: 150 parking spaces required for the proposed Duffett Building.

11 Holloway St.

Sept. 30, 1980
to: Mayor Dorothy Wyatt and Councillors
from: Harold Duffett, President, Scotia Developments Ltd.
re: 5 Kickham Place, 11 Holloway St.; proposed parking garage.

Dec. 14, 1981
to: City of St. John's
from: Parsons-O'Neill, lawyers for Kenneth Keats, former owner
re: property sold to Scotia Developments Feb. 19, 1980

Apr. 22, 1983
to: City of St. John's
from: Atlantic Capital Corporation, owner
re: 11 Holloway St.

216-222 Duckworth St.

Oct. 12, 1978

re: property sold to Business Services Ltd.; formerly owned by W. Joyce (Cross & Co. Ltd.).

Dec. 19, 1979

to: R. J. Greene, City Clerk

from: Harold Duffett, President Business Services Ltd.

re: property purchased Nov., 1979, by Scotia Developments Ltd. awaiting demolition; intention to demolish for a parking structure in conjunction with new building.

July 16, 1980

to: R. J. Greene, City Clerk

from: Harold Duffett, Business Services Ltd.

re: property owned by Scotia Developments Ltd.

Sept. 10, 1980

to: City of St. John's

from: Harold Duffett, Scotia Developments Ltd.

re: Duffett owner of 216-222 Duckworth St.

Dec. 1, 1982

to: Scotia Developments Ltd.

from: City of St. John's

re: building removed from site 1981.

May 27, 1987

to: City of St. John's

from: Atlantic Capital Corporation

re: vacant land included with TD Building, 140 Water St.

224-226 Duckworth St.

Nov. 22, 1974

to: City of St. John's

from: Fronie Hong, owner

re: property destroyed by fire Sept. 25, 1974.

Oct. 16, 1974

from: City Clerk (memorandum)

re: 224 Duckworth St. ordered demolished.

Oct. 2, 1985

to: City of St. John's

from: Atlantic Capital Corporation, owner

re: 224-226 Duckworth St.

228-230 Duckworth St.

Sept. 30, 1982

to: City of St. John's

from: Atlantic Capital Corporation

re: building demolished 1981; used as parking lot.

232-234 Duckworth St.

Nov. 3, 1982

to: City of St. John's

from: Atlantic Capital Corporation

re: building demolished; used as parking lot.

236 Duckworth St.

to: City of St. John's

from: Scotia Developments

re: formerly owned by Michael Squires sold to Scotia Developments May 9, 1980.

238-240 Duckworth St.

to: City of St. John's

from: COS Ltd.

re: plans to demolish Spring 1987.

242-244 Duckworth St.

Aug. 19, 1982

to: City of St. John's

from: Business Services Ltd.

re: owned by Eastern Capital Corporation c/o Business Services Ltd.

248-250 Duckworth St.

Feb. 16, 1979

to: City of St. John's

from: Harold Duffett, Business Services Ltd.

re: owned by Business Services Ltd.

Deeds:

Oct. 31, 1979

Deed of Conveyance

between Business Services Ltd. and (to) Scotia Towers Ltd.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

11 Holloway St.

Oct. 8, 1980

to: Scotia Developments Ltd.

June 16, 1982

to: Suburban Construction Ltd.

216-222 Duckworth St.

Sept. 24, 1980

to: Scotia Developments Ltd. (216, 218, 220 Duckworth St.)

Sept. 24, 1980

to: Scotia Developments (216-222 Duckworth St. for Parking Garage)

June 16, 1982

to: Scotia Developments

for: 216-222 Cross Site for Outside Parking

228-232 Duckworth St.

Aug. 4, 1981

to: Scotia Developments (228, 230, 232 Duckworth St.)

Aug. 26, 1981

to: Scotia Developments Ltd. (228, 230, 232 Duckworth St.)

Nov. 12, 1981

to: Scotia Developments (228, 230, 232 Duckworth St. for Parking Garage)

**Data Sources for:
Prescott St./256-260 Duckworth St.
(3-15, 22-26 Prescott St.; 256-260 Duckworth St.; 2-10 Victoria St.)**

Personal Communication:

Robin King, Transportation Engineer, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls:

Address	Owner
3-15 Prescott Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
22-26 Prescott Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
256-260 Duckworth Street	Atlantic Capital Corporation
2 Victoria Street	Lorna Proudfoot, in trust for Atlantic Capital Corporation
4 Victoria Street	Atlantic Shopping Centres Ltd. (Atlantic Capital Corporation)
6 Victoria Street	Barrie Heywood, in trust for Atlantic Capital Corporation
8 Victoria Street	Barrie Heywood, in trust for Atlantic Capital Corporation
10 Victoria Street	Barrie Heywood, in trust for Atlantic Capital Corporation

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

3-7 Prescott St.

Oct. 12, 1983

to: Atlantic Capital Corporation

from: City of St. John's

re: ownership of 3-7 Prescott St. (Atlantic Capital Corporation)

June 4, 1985

to: City of St. John's

from: Atlantic Films Ltd., former owner

re: building demolished.

13-15 Prescott St.

Nov. 17, 1981

to: City Clerk (memorandum)

from: R. J. Furlong, City Real Estate Officer

re: Eastern Adjustment Services; proposed parking at rear of 13-15 Prescott St.

Dec. 16, 1981

to: Development Committee (memorandum)

from: Walter Tucker, Development Officer

re: proposed access to parking at rear of 13-15 Prescott St.

Dec. 17, 1981
to: St. John's Municipal Council (memorandum)
from: Development Committee
re: proposed access denied.

22 Prescott St.

Aug. 16, 1983
to: City of St. John's
from: Atlantic Capital Corporation
re: building demolished June 1, 1983; previous owner Atlantic Films Ltd.

24-26 Prescott St.

Mar. 20, 1981
to: Cyril Keough, owner
from: City of St. John's
re: inspection and deficiencies.

May 27, 1981

to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings (memorandum)
from: P. J. Ford, Chief Maintenance By-Law Inspector
re: inspection of 26 Prescott St.

June 11, 1981

to: City Solicitor
re: legal action on 26 Prescott St. regarding violations of Maintenance By-Law.

Mar. 10, 1982

to: City of St. John's
from: Mercer-MacNab, solicitors for Cyril Keough, owner of 24-26 Prescott St.
re: property sold to Atlantic Capital Corporation on Mar. 10, 1982.

Oct. 29, 1982

to: Barrie Heywood, Solicitor
from: City of St. John's
re: approval of zoning change from R-D to CCM by Council on Oct. 27, 1982.

Nov. 18, 1983

to: City of St. John's
from: Atlantic Capital Corporation
re: building demolished Mar. 1, 1983.

258-260 Duckworth St.

Dec. 3, 1981

to: William Toytman, Welcome Hotel, 260 Duckworth St.
from: City of St. John's, Dept. of Buildings
re: inspection and deficiencies; threat of closure.

Dec. 7, 1981

to: City of St. John's
from: William Toytman, Welcome Hotel, 260 Duckworth St.
re: plans for renovation.

Dec.16, 1981
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings (memorandum)
from: P. J. Ford, Chief Maintenance By-Law Inspector
re: recommendation for closure of 260 Duckworth St.

Dec. 21, 1981
to: City Solicitor (memorandum)
from: Damian Ryan, Deputy City Clerk
re: 260 Duckworth St. ordered closed.

Dec. 16, 1982
to: Development Committee (memorandum)
from: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings
re: proposed renovations to former Welcome Hotel by Labrador Holdings Ltd.
approved.

Oct. 11, 1984
to: City of St. John's
from: E. J. Cumby, Federal Business Development Bank
re: 260 Duckworth St. sold to Atlantic Capital Corporation on Oct. 31, 1983.

2 Victoria St.
Nov. 20, 1984
to: City of St. John's
from: Francis and Rita Quirk, former owners
re: sale to Lorna Proudfoot on Nov. 19, 1984.

6 Victoria St.
Apr. 15, 1986
to: City of St. John's
from: Lewis/Day/Cook, solicitors for Gordon Pike, former owner
re: sale to Barrie Heywood, trustee.

10 Victoria St.
Apr. 15, 1986
to: City of St. John's
from: Gordon Pike, owner
re: sale to Barrie Heywood, trustee on Mar. 12, 1985.

Demolition Permits/Orders

Prescott St.
26 Prescott St.
June 27, 1983
to: Atlantic Capital Corporation

256-260 Duckworth St.
256 Duckworth St. (Atlantic Films Ltd.)
Nov. 30, 1983
to: Atlantic Capital Corporation

258 Duckworth St.
Dec.21, 1983
to: Atlantic Capital Corporation

260 Duckworth St. (Welcome Hotel)
Nov.30, 1983
to: Atlantic Capital Corporation

255-259 Duckworth St. (TD Place)
Feb.20, 1980
to: Scotia Developments Ltd.

**Data Sources for:
Evening Telegram Site – 154 Water St.**

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls:

Address	Owner
154 Water Street	140 Water St. Ltd.

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

Nov. 5, 1981
to: St. John's Municipal Council
from: Reginald/Brown/O' Neill/Riche etc., solicitors for The Evening Telegram
re: The Evening Telegram ceased operations at 154 Water St. on Nov. 2, 1981.

July 8, 1987
to: City of St. John's
from: 140 Water St. Ltd. c/o 115 King St., Stellarton, Nova Scotia
re: owner 140 Water St.

July 20, 1982
to: City of St. John's
from: The Toronto Dominion Bank
re: as of July 5, 1982 relocated to 140 Water St.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

154 Water St. (Evening Telegram Bldg.)
Sept. 24, 1980
to: Scotia Developments (Parking Garage)

154 Water St. (Evening Telegram Site)
Jan. 30, 1982
to: Scotia Developments (Parking Lot)

154 Water St.
Mar. 3, 1982
to: Scotia Developments (Parking Garage)

154 Water St. (Evening Telegram Bldg.)
Apr. 5, 1982
to: Seaboard Construction Ltd.

154 Water St. (Evening Telegram Bldg.)
July 21, 1982
to: 140 Water St. Ltd. (TD Place Parking Lot)

**Data Sources for:
Marshall Building Site– 125-127 Water St.**

Secondary Sources:

Sheppard/Burt/Pratt 1977
Feasibility Study - Marshall Building, St. John's, Newfoundland

Shane O'Dea, 1993
*The Marshall Building, 127 Water St. - a report prepared for the Newfoundland
Historic Trust*

City of St. John's Archives:

Planning Dept. Files

Sept. 7, 1979
to: M. Reitelman, Property Development Officer, Public Works Canada
from: J. A. de Jong, City Planner, City of St. John's
re: offer to sell Marshall Building to City.

Oct. 13, 1981
The East End Arterial: Possible Alternatives
J. A. de Jong, Director of Planning

Oct. 13, 1983
to: The Honorable Romeo LeBlanc, Minister of Public Works, Canada.
from: Mayor John Murphy
re: request to deed Marshall Building to City for demolition in preparation for
road work.

Feb. 22, 1984
to: J. A. de Jong, City Planner, City of St. John's
from: M. Reitelman, Public Works Canada
re: Heritage Status of Marshall Building; inclusion in Heritage Conservation Area
yet required for demolition.

Feb. 28, 1984
to: M. Reitelman
from: J. A. de Jong, City Planner
re: Heritage status of Marshall Building

Apr. 11, 1984
to: R. J. Greene, City Clerk
from: M. Reitelman, Public Works Canada
re: offer to transfer ownership of Marshall building to City for \$140,000.

June 5, 1984
to: Mayor John Murphy (memorandum)
from: Frank Power, City Manager
re: recommendation to reject offer to purchase Marshall Building.

June 26, 1986

to: J. A. de Jong, Director of Planning (memorandum)
from: Arvo McMillan, Urban Planner
re: proposed realignment of East End Arterial - Harvey and Company.

Nov. 21, 1989

to: F. Power, City Manager (memorandum)
re: proposed route of East End Arterial - Harvey and Company.

Dec. 5, 1989

to: Development Committee (memorandum)
from: City Clerk
re: routing of the proposed East End Arterial; and the A. Harvey and Company application.

July 22, 1993

to: Philip Pratt, Pratt/Henley/Blackwood Architects
from: D. G. Burt, Structural Consultants Ltd.
re: structural assessment, Marshall Building.

July 26, 1993

to: C. Johnston, Manager Development Controls Division, City of St. John's (memorandum)
from: Arvo McMillan, Manager, Plans and Projects Division
re: proposed demolition 123, 125, 127 Water St. ; Federal Heritage Review Board "recognized building".

Jan. 31, 1993

to: James Walsh, Minister of Tourism and Culture, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador
from: A. F. Noseworthy, President, Newfoundland Historic Trust
re: proposal for use of Marshall Building as museum/gallery.

Sept. 1, 1993

Heritage Advisory Committee
Report Recommendations - Request for Demolition and Site Redevelopment, 123-127 Water St. (Marshall Building).

Oct. 15, 1993

to: Nancy Caines, Deputy City Clerk (memorandum)
from: Wayne Purchase, Director of Building and Development
re: 123-127 Water St. - the Marshall Building; comparison of costs of renovation and demolition.

Apr. 29, 1994

to: Pratt/Henley/Blackwood Architects
from: C. A. Johnston, Manager, Development Control Division
re: approval for demolition of Marshall Building by Council on April 25, 1994.

Aug. 16, 1995

to: Philip Pratt, Architect
re: Proposed parking lot - Bradley Ltd., 123-127 Water St.

Council Minutes

Sept. 20, 1993
re: demolition of Marshall Building, 123-127 Water St.

Apr. 25, 1994
re: demolition of Marshall Building

Sept. 16, 1996
re: Tender - Marshall Building Demolition, 127 Water St.

Newspaper Articles

Sept. 8, 1993, Evening Telegram, *Sparks Fly Over Plan To Level Historic Site
<Marshall Building>*

Sept. 21 1993, Evening Telegram, *Council Delays Demolition Of Water Street
Buildings*

Jan. 13, 1994, Evening Telegram, *Development Plans Draw Opposition From
City Residents<Application From Bradlea To Demolish Marshall
Building>*

Feb. 2, 1994, Evening Telegram, *Building Gets Reprieve: 30 Day Delay On
Demolition Of Marshall Building*

Feb. 28, 1994, Evening Telegram, *Buildings Lease On Life May Have Run Out
<Marshall Building>*

Apr. 26, 1994, Evening Telegram, *Building Will Fall <Marshall Building>*

**Data Sources for:
Mechanics Hall Site – 96-98 Water St.**

Site-specific interview:

Leonard Hunt, Property Manager, Williams Roebotham McKay

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

Mar.17, 1981

to: Neil Cohoon, City Manager (memorandum)
from: W. Purchase, Director of Buildings
re: application to operate lounge at 96-98 Water St. by Dave Melenchuk.

Mar. 20, 1981

to: Mayor and Members of Council (memorandum)
from: Development Committee
re: application to operate lounge at 96 Water St. by Dave Melenchuk; approved
subject to compliance with regulations and parking regulations.

Feb. 14, 1983

to: St. John's Municipal Council
from: Chalker, Green & Rowe, solicitors for Roynat Inc., owners of 96-98 Water
St.
re: request decision regarding use of 96-98 Water St. for lounge.

Feb. 17, 1983

to: Mayor and Members of Council
from: Development Committee
re: application for use of 96-98 Water St. as lounge; recommends approval subject
to regulations and policy with respect to establishment of lounges in
vicinity of War Memorial.

Oct. 14, 1983

to: Mayor John Murphy
from: P. A. Saunders, Roynat Inc.
re: change of zoning in agreement with Royal Canadian Legion disallowing use as
lounge.

Feb. 2, 1984

to: R. J. Greene, City Clerk
from: Roynat Inc.
re: rejection of application for use of 96-98 Water St. for lounge; change of
Zoning By-Law.

Feb. 16, 1984

to: P. R. Stapleton, City Solicitor (memorandum)
from: City Clerk
re: application for lounge operation rejected.

Nov. 24, 1984
to: City of St. John's
from: Roynat Inc.
re: history of property use.

Feb. 13, 1985
to: City of St. John's
from: Roynat Inc., owners
re: deterioration and functional obsolescence.

Sept. 9, 1986
to: David Levine, owner
from: Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador
re: designation of Mechanics Institute Building as Heritage Structure and grant for restoration of up to \$10,000.

Sept. 11, 1986
to: David Levine, owner
from: Tom Horrocks, Main Street Co-ordinator
re: support for request to City to allow on-street parking.

Sept. 16, 1986
to: City of St. John's
from: David Levine and Samuel Wygodny, owners
re: request for on-street parking; restoration and leasing dependent upon parking availability.

Sept. 23, 1986
to: David Levine, owner
from: Continental Ltd.
re: loss of potential tenant due to lack of parking.

Sept. 25, 1986
to: Mayor and Members of Council
from: R. J. Greene, City Clerk
re: Development Committee rejects request for on-street parking.

Sept. 30, 1986
to: David Levine, owner
from: R. J. Greene
re: rejection of request for on-street parking.

Mar. 21, 1988
to: David Levine, owner
from: City of St. John's
re: inspection and deficiencies.

April 28, 1988
to: City of St. John's
from: Structural Consultants
re: structural assessment of 96-98 Water St.

May 2, 1988
to: Sam Wygodny, owner
from: P. J. Ford, Director of Building and Development
re: recommendation for demolition.

May 2, 1988
to: Frank Power, City Manager (memorandum)
from: P. J. Ford, Director, Building and Development
re: recommendation for demolition.

Oct. 28, 1988
to: R. J. Greene, City Clerk
from: James Steele, S. O. Steele, 100 Water St., St. John's
re: damage due to demolition of 96-98 Water St.

Deeds:

Dec. 31, 1984
Deed of Conveyance
between Roynat and (to) David Levine and Samuel Wygodny
re: sale of 96-98 Water St.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

96 Water St. (Mechanic's Hall)
July 9, 1986
David Levine (Ext. Renovations)

96 Water St.
Oct. 9, 1985
David Levine (Ext. Renovations)

96 Water St.
May 19, 1988

**Data Sources for:
Bell St./332-338 Duckworth St.**

Personal Communication:

Dawn Corner, Traffic and Parking Supervisor, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)
Robin King, Transportation Engineer, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of
St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)

Secondary Sources:

Pratt Henley Blackwood, Architects, Oct. 31, 1994
Bell Street – Proposal for Interim Use as a Parking Area by the City of St. John's

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls:

Address	Owner
4 Bell Street	James J. Halley
6 Bell Street	George Lawrence
8 Bell Street	City Development Ltd.
10 Bell Street	James J. Halley
12 Bell Street	James J. Halley
3 Bell Street	James J. Halley
11 Bell Street	James J. Halley
17 Bell Street	James J. Halley
21 Bell Street	James J. Halley
332-338 Duckworth Street	James J. Halley

City of St. John's Archives Files:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

July 24, 1978
to City Solicitor (memorandum)
from: W. P. Kendall, City Clerk
re: demolition of 336-338 Duckworth St.

Feb. 23, 1994
Parking Inventory - Downtown
Rocky Balsom, Manager, Research and Information

Drawings:

Bell Street Parking Lot Redevelopment, Site Plan
City of St. John's, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, Apr. 8, 1997

**Data Sources for:
York Theatre Site – 366-372 Water St.**

General Interviews:

J. A. de Jong, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: planning context)
Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: planning context)

Personal Communication:

Robin King, Transportation Engineer, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of
St. John's
(subject: parking and traffic planning)

Secondary Sources:

BFL Consultants, 1988
An Arts Centre for Downtown St. John's

City of St. John's, 1982
Downtown Parking Study, Interim Report #10

City of St. John's 1982
Downtown Transportation and Parking Study, Summary Report, Sept. 1982

City of St. John's 1983
Retail Core Area Plan

City of St. John's, Research and Information Division, 1989
Parking Problems in Residential Areas

Downtown Development Corporation, 1989
Parking Response Survey, Feb. 1989

City of St. John's Planning Dept., 1990
Arvo McMillan, Planner, Jan. 16, 1990
Towards a City Downtown Parking Strategy

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

July 31, 1981
to: Development Committee (memorandum)
from: E. J. Murray, Acting Development Officer
re: request by John and Betty Winslow to reopen former York Theatre (Steers
property) and 366-368 Water St. for use as an office and a motion picture
theatre.

Aug. 18, 1981
to: Mayor and Members of Council (memorandum)
from: Development Committee
re: reopening of York Theatre; on-site parking deficiency.

Feb. 17, 1986
to: R. J. Green, Acting City Manager (memorandum)
from: S. Stafford, Assistant City Solicitor
re: Dominion Metals (Nfld.) Ltd., 60 George St. – Acquisition for Downtown
Development Plan (parking).

Feb. 20, 1986
to: Paul Stapleton, City Solicitor (memorandum)
from: Damian Ryan, Deputy City Clerk
re: purchase of 60 George St. (Dominion Metals).

Sept. 16, 1987
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Building and Development (memorandum)
from: D. M. Blackmore, Assistant Chief Building Inspector
re: inspection of York Theatre, George Street on Sept. 14, 1987; main building in
good condition.

Jan. 1, 1988
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
re: 368 Water St.; purchase with the former York Theatre; inspection.

Feb. 22, 1988
*Proposed York Theatre Arts Centre: summary of proposed uses, revenues and
costs, project funding, impacts and selected economic statistics on the national,
provincial and local arts and culture sector.*

Apr. 15, 1988
to: St. John's Municipal Council
from: a coalition of arts and cultural groups represented by the undersigned: Andy
Jones, Mary Walsh, Greg Malone, Donna Butt, et al.

Apr. 12, 1988
Public Meeting Chaired by Deputy Mayor Shannie Duff
re: York Theatre Feasibility Study

Apr. 18, 1988
from: Mayor John Murphy
re: discourages York Theatre rehabilitation citing deterioration of building.

May 24, 1988
to: Luck Au, owner 368 Water St.
from: C. A. Williams, Building Inspector
re: demolition of 368 Water St. after inspection on May 19, 1988, following fire
on May 18, 1988.

July 7, 1988
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
from: C. A. Williams, Building Inspector
re: history of events following fire May, 18, 1988; demolition of 368 Water St.

July 21, 1988
to: Wayne Purchase
from: Lock Au, owner 368 Water St.
re: intention to repair 368 Water St.

July 22, 1988
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
from: City Clerk
re: expropriation of 368 Water St.

Aug. 8, 1988
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
from: City Clerk
re: decision for expropriation and demolition of 368 Water St. by Council on Aug.
4, 1988.

Aug. 22, 1988
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
re: tender for demolition of 368 Water St.

Sept. 12, 1988
to: Paul Stapleton, City Solicitor
from: Damian Ryan, City Clerk
re: expropriation of 368 Water St.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

Sept. 24, 1987
94 George St.

July 25, 1988
368 Water St.
to: Shun Luck Au

Aug. 31, 1990
46-60 George St.

Jan. 2, 1992
5-7 Waldegrave St.

Newspaper articles:

- Feb. 13, 1988, Evening Telegram — *Consultant Recommends York Theatre Become and Arts Centre*
- Mar. 12, 1988, The Newfoundland Herald, *The York Theatre: Do We Need A Commercial Theatre*
- Apr. 21, 1988, Evening Telegram, *York Theatre Demolition Is On Hold*
- May 19, 1988, Evening Telegram, *Fire Razes Downtown City Block: 362-372 Water St.*
- Jan. 21, 1989, Evening Telegram, *Inquiry Told Arson A Possible Cause Of York Theatre Fire*
- Jan. 26, 1989, Evening Telegram, *York Theatre May Have Started In Vacant Building (370 Water St.)*
- Feb. 14, 1989, Evening Telegram, *Communication Queried In York Theatre Fire*
- Feb. 15, 1989, Evening Telegram, *Surprised Electricity Still Connected, Theater Inquiry Told*
- Feb. 16, 1989, Evening Telegram, *York Theatre Fire Wasn't Electrical, Arson Theory Alive*
- May 4, 1989, Evening Telegram, *Expert Witness Says Electrical Malfunction Caused Downtown Fire*

**Data Sources for:
Hamilton Avenue – 1-33**

General Interviews:

J. A. de Jong, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: planning context)

Personal Communication:

Robin King, Transportation Engineer, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)
Dawn Corner, Traffic and Parking Supervisor, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls:

Address	Owner
1-3 Hamilton Avenue	McLoughlan Estates Ltd.
9 Hamilton Avenue	City of St. John's
21 Hamilton Avenue	Atlantic Capital Corporation
23-25 Hamilton Avenue	McLoughlan Estates Ltd.
27-35 Hamilton Avenue	McLoughlan Supplies
39-41 Hamilton Avenue	Atlantic Capital Corporation

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

1-3 Hamilton Ave
Oct. 19, 1982
to: City of St. John's
from: McLoughlin Estates
re: 1-3 Hamilton Ave.; vacant land.

9 Hamilton Ave.
Dec. 7, 1987
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
from: M. Stead, City Real Estate Officer
re: purchase of 9 Hamilton Ave. for future realignment of Hamilton Ave.

15 Hamilton Ave
Nov. 27, 1981
to: McLoughlan Estates, owner
from: P. J. Ford, Chief Maintenance Inspector
re: 15 Hamilton Ave.; inspection and deficiencies.

Aug. 18, 1987
to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
from: P. J. Ford, Chief Building Inspector
re: 15 Hamilton Ave.; recommendation for demolition; owners of entire block, McLoughlin Estates in agreement.

21 Hamilton Ave.

Mar. 17, 1982

to: Atlantic Capital Corporation

from: P. J. Ford, Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector

re: 21 Hamilton Ave.; inspection and deficiencies.

May 25, 1982

o: City Solicitor (memorandum)

re: 21 Hamilton Ave.; legal action regarding deficiencies.

23 Hamilton Ave.

Feb. 3, 1987

to: Fred Bursey, owner

from: P. J. Ford, Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector

re: inspection and deficiencies.

June 11, 1987

to: City Solicitor (memorandum)

re: order to demolish by Council on June 5, 1987.

28-34 Hamilton Ave.

Dec. 22, 1976

to: City of St. John's

from: Est. Elizabeth Ennis

re: 28 Hamilton Ave.; condemned by City on Nov. 3, 1976 and ordered demolished.

Oct. 29, 1976

to: J. Finn, Assistant City Engineer (memorandum)

from: F. M. Cahill, City Building Inspector

re: inspection of 26, 28, 30, 32, 34 Hamilton Ave.; advanced dilapidation recommends demolition.

Nov. 12, 1976

to: City Comptroller (memorandum)

re: demolition of 26-34 Hamilton Ave. ordered by Council on Nov. 3, 1976.

Nov. 29, 1976

to: R. J. Greene, City Clerk

from: J. R. Norman, Asst. Chief of Police, Royal Newfoundland Constabulary

re: report on the condition of 28-34 Hamilton Ave.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

28, 30 Hamilton Ave.
Dec. 6, 1976
to: Ron Ellis

32, 34 Hamilton Ave.
Dec. 6, 1976
to: James Butt

21 Hamilton Ave.
July 21, 1982
to: Atlantic Capital Corp.

1, 3, 5, 7 Hamilton Ave.
Sept. 29, 1982
to: Urban Contracting

23 Hamilton Ave.
June 5, 1987
to: Fred Burse

19 Hamilton Ave.
June 12, 1987
to: J. W. McLoughlan

15, 17, 25, 27, 29, 33, 35 Hamilton Ave.
Sept. 3, 1987
to: McLoughlan Estates Ltd.

**Data Sources for:
Water Street West – Newfoundland Railway Yard**

Personal Communication:

Robin King, Transportation Engineer, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)
Dawn Corner, Traffic and Parking Supervisor, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)

Drawings:

Bambrick Street/Job Street/Job's Bridge Crossing Improvements
City of St. John's, Engineering Department, 1997

Newspaper Articles:

Dec. 5, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Trees At Railway Station*
Sept. 25, 1996, Evening Telegram, *Ownership Question Halts Demolition Of Former CN Roadcruiser Garage*
Sept. 28, 1996, Evening Telegram, *City, CN Haggles Over Downtown Land: CN Demolishes Railway Building*
Nov. 16, 1996, Evening Telegram, *Ottawa Offers Railway Station*

Demolition Permits/Orders:

643 Water St.
Apr. 28, 1992

661 Water St.
May 31, 1989

663 Water St.
Jan. 10, 1992 (Street Widening)

719, 739 Water St.
Apr. 28, 1992

741-751 Water St.
Jan. 10, 1992 (Street Widening)

761 Water St.
Jan. 10, 1992

773 Water St.
Apr. 28, 1992

**Data Sources for:
Plymouth Rd./ 10-22 Duckworth St.
(23, 29, 31, 45 Plymouth Rd.; 10-22 Duckworth St.)**

Personal Communication:

Robin King, Transportation Engineer, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic and parking management)
David Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's
(subject: traffic planning)

City of St. John's Assessment Rolls:

Address	Ownership
1-3 Plymouth Road	City of St. John's
5 Plymouth Road	Urban Contracting
7 Plymouth Road (West of Cook's Hill Int.)	City of St. John's
23, 29, 31, 45 Plymouth Road	City of St. John's
10, 16, 22 Duckworth Street	City of St. John's

City of St. John's Archives:

Property Files, Dept. of the City Clerk

2 Duckworth St.

Dec. 16, 1986

to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)
from: D. M. Blackmore, Asst. Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector
re: property owned by City.

10 Duckworth St.

Mar. 31, 1981

to: City of St. John's
from: Mary Philpott
re: potential purchase of 10 Duckworth St. for construction of proposed East End Arterial.

Mar. 26, 1981

to: N. C. Cohoon, City Manager (memorandum)
from: J. Finn, Director Engineering and Works
re: recommendation for purchase of 10 Duckworth St. for East End Arterial.

Jan. 31, 1983

to: City of St. John's
from: Doreen Stacey, owner
re: potential City purchase of 10 Duckworth St.

Feb. 5, 1985

to: City of St. John's
re: property purchased by City July 1983.

16 Duckworth St.

Nov. 24, 1983

to: R. J. Greene (memorandum)

from: R. J. Furlong, City Real Estate Officer

re: recommended purchase of property in right of way of proposed East End Arterial

22 Duckworth St.

Aug. 7, 1986

to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)

from: Max Stead, City Real Estate Officer

re: agreement to purchase 22 Duckworth St. by City; property in right of way of East End Arterial.

Apr. 7, 1987

to: St. John's Municipal Council

from: Barry, Smyth, Locke & Walsh, solicitors for Serap Cesayirlioglu, owner

re: sale of 22 Duckworth to City.

21, 23, 25, 27 Plymouth Rd. and 3 Cook's Hill

July 8, 1982

to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)

from: D. M. Blackmore, Acting Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector

re: recommended demolition; advanced deterioration.

July 22, 1982

to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)

from: City Clerk

re: 21, 23, 25, 27 Plymouth Rd. and 3 Cook's Hill ordered demolished by Council on July 21, 1982.

Aug. 31, 1982

to: City Clerk

from: R. J. Furlong, City Real Estate Officer

re: purchase of 21-27 Plymouth Rd. by City.

Mar. 28, 1983

to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)

from: Acting City Manager

re: demolition of City owned property at 21-27 Plymouth Rd.

29 Plymouth Rd.

May. 23, 1982

to: Joseph Wheeler, owner

from: City of St. John's

re: inspection and deficiencies.

June 3, 1982

to: Wayne Purchase, Director of Buildings and Development (memorandum)

from: C. Pye, Acting Chief Minimum Property Standards Inspector

re: recommendation for demolition.

Nov. 24, 1982
to: City Clerk (memorandum)
from: R. J. Furlong, City Real Estate Officer
re: purchase of 29 Plymouth Rd.; City recently purchased 21-27 Plymouth Rd.

31 Plymouth Rd.

Apr. 11, 1983
memorandum to: R. J. Furlong
from: Acting City Manager
re: proposed demolition of 31 Plymouth Rd.

Apr. 22, 1983
to: St. John's City Council
from: Magnum Holdings Ltd., owner
re: City offer to purchase

Apr. 12, 1983
to: City Clerk (memorandum)
from: R. J. Furlong, City Real Estate Officer
re: offer to purchase 31 Plymouth Rd.

Jan. 12, 1990
to: J. Finn, Director of Engineering and Works (memorandum)
from: Damian Ryan, Deputy City Clerk
re: Proposed Realignment of Plymouth Rd. and its intersection with the proposed
East End Arterial Road, together with an application for proposed
renovations to 31 Plymouth Rd.

Deeds:

Feb. 1, 1984
Deed of Conveyance
between Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation and (to) The City of
St. John's

Demolition Permits/Orders:

21, 23 Plymouth Rd.
July 22, 1982
to: Elliott Churchill

25, 27 Plymouth Rd.
July 22, 1982
to: Elliott Churchill

Data Sources for: Holloway House Site

General Interviews:

- Suzanne (Shannie) Duff, Councillor, St. John's Municipal Council; Mayor 1990-1993
(subject: contemporary political context)
- J. A. de Jong, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: planning context)

Secondary Sources:

- Howley, J. P., 1993
Heritage Conservation in St. John's, Newfoundland: A Case Study of Planning Practice. A Thesis submitted to the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Faculty of Architecture, Technical University of Nova Scotia.
- Mercer, K. (Q. C.), 1984
St. John's Municipal Plan Amendment No. 1: Report of the Commissioner Pursuant to the Urban and Rural Planning Act.
- Sharpe, C.A., 1993
Preserving Inner City Residential Areas: The Planning Process in St. John's, Newfoundland 1983-1993, ISER Report No. 7. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's.

City of St. John's Archives:

Council Minutes (Regular)

- Apr. 18, 1984
re: proposed changes to the Draft Municipal Plan.

Property Files, Department of the City Clerk

- Feb. 14, 1983
to: City of St. John's
from: Sherman, Emberly Assoc. Ltd.
re: application for demolition.

Demolition Permits/Orders:

- Holloway School
Feb. 23, 1983

Newspaper Articles:

Mar. 8, 1984, Evening Telegram, *At City Hall - New Plan Needed For Condominium <Site Of Old Holloway School>*

Apr. 19, 1984, Evening Telegram, *Duff Against Bid for Condominium*

Apr. 26, 1984, Evening Telegram, *The Final Draft <St. John's Municipal Plan>*

June 28, 1984, Evening Telegram, *New Municipal Plan Adopted*

July 12, 1984, Evening Telegram, *Controversy Continues Over Condominium*

Sept. 4, 1984, Evening Telegram, *Holloway Approval Not A Formality*

Sept. 4, 1984, Evening Telegram, *More Than 1,000 Sign Petition <Against Condominium On Long's Hill>*

Oct. 18, 1984, Evening Telegram, *Zoning By-Law Amended to Accommodate Condos*

Nov. 8, 1984, Evening Telegram, *Final Approval for Condos*

Aug. 27, 1986, Evening Telegram, *Holloway House Project Mothballed for a While*

**Data Sources for:
Church Lads Brigade (CLB) Armoury**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Coi. Adrian Heffernan, Governor and Commandant, Church Lads Brigade
Capt. Barry Tucker, Church Lads Brigade, Project Manager, Building Committee
Charles Henley, Architect, Pratt/Henley/Blackwood, Architects for new CLB
Armoury

Personal Communication:

Jim Ford, Manager Regulatory Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of
St. John's
(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)
John Hannaford, Design Approval Technician, Building Accessibility, Dept. of
Government Services, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador
(subject: accessibility regulations and inspections)
Carol Kirkland, Supervisor Inspection Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property,
City of St. John's
(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)
Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: post-fire planning)
Dave Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of
St. John's
(subject: post-fire planning)

City of St. John's Archives:

Minutes of a briefing session held on Jan. 13, 1993
re: codes, road realignment, rebuilding, applications for rebuilding after the
Harvey Road Fire Dec. 21, 1992.

Drawings:

The Church Lads Brigade – The New Home
Pratt/Henley/Blackwood, Architects 1993

Newspaper Articles:

Dec. 4, 1992, Evening Telegram, *CLB Window Replaced*
Dec. 22, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Fire Guts City Core*
Dec. 22, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Fire Ravaged A Century Of CLB History*
Dec. 23, 1992, Evening Telegram, *After The Fire: Determination To Rebuild*
Dec. 23, 1992, Evening Telegram, *CLB Armoury Will Rise Again*
Dec. 24, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Fire Ravaged Businesses Mull Future*
Dec. 31, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Fire Stated Inside Armoury*
Feb. 26, 1993, Evening Telegram, *CLB Armoury To Be Rebuilt*

Jan. 5, 1993, Evening Telegram, *City Ponders Road Realignment*

Jan. 14, 1993, Evening Telegram, *Residents Plead For Restraint <Bob Forward, Harvey Road Realignment>*

June 29, 1993, Evening Telegram, *Armoury Plans Duplicate Destroyed Building*

Mar. 12, 1993, Evening Telegram, *Big R Back <Reopens March 1, 1993>*

Oct. 23, 1993, Evening Telegram, *CLB on Parade, Marching Home*

Dec. 21, 1993, Evening Telegram, *Recovery Continues One Year after Harvey Road Devastation*

Dec. 21, 1993, Evening Telegram, *The Church Lads Brigade is Marching Home: Rebuilding the CLB Armoury*

Apr. 23, 1994, Evening Telegram, *Invitation to Tender: New Church Lads' Brigade Armoury, Pratt/Henley/Blackwood*

**Data Sources for:
Big R/Johnny's Restaurant
(69-73, 75-77 Harvey Rd.)**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Robert Forward, Owner/Operator, Big R Restaurant

Personal Communication:

Jim Ford, Manager Regulatory Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

John Hannaford, Design Approval Technician, Building Accessibility, Dept. of Government Services, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

(subject: accessibility regulations and inspections)

Carol Kirkland, Supervisor Inspection Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

Dave Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

City of St. John's Archives:

Planning Dept. Files

Dec. 29, 1992

to: Walter Tucker, Development Officer (memorandum)

from: Ed Murray, Assistant Development Officer

re: Proposed reconstruction of Big R Restaurant and Take Out at 69 Harvey Rd.; approval recommended: in compliance with zoning requirements, exempt from off-street parking requirements, not in Heritage Conservation Area.

Jan. 13, 1993

Minutes of a Briefing Session on the status of the Harvey Road Fire,

re: codes, road realignment, rebuilding, submission of development applications.

Jan. 17, 1993

to: Mayor and Members of Council (memorandum)

from: Wayne Purchase, Director of Building and Development

re: Development Committee recommends approval of proposed reconstruction of Big R Restaurant and Take Out on Dec. 30, 1992.

Jan. 18, 1993

to: Walter Tucker, Development Officer (memorandum)

from: N. D. Caines, Deputy City Clerk

re: Big R Restaurant application to develop to property line rejected.

Jan. 21, 1993
to: Mayor and Members of Council (memorandum)
from: Development Committee
re: recommended approval in principle for Big R Restaurant.

Jan. 26, 1993
to: Bob Forward, owner Big R Restaurant
from: Walter Tucker, Development Officer
re: approval in principle by Council on Jan. 25, 1993 for Big R Restaurant.

Feb. 15, 1993
from: Percy K. Rideout, Manager, Traffic & Parking (memorandum)
re: recommended rejection of proposed realignment of Harvey Rd.

Deeds:

Mar. 31, 1987
Deed of Conveyance
between Roma Pizzeria Ltd. and (to) John McDonald and Robert McDonald
re: 75-77 Harvey Rd.

Sept. 30, 1988
Deed of Conveyance
Between Asher Fine Foods and (to) Marjorie Forward and James Walsh
re: 69 Harvey Rd.

Feb. 24, 1993
Deed of Conveyance
between Bertram Haines and (to) Margaret Forward
re: 67 Harvey Rd.

May 27, 1993
Deed of Conveyance
between Barry Martin and (to) John McDonald and Joseph McDonald
re: 79-81 Harvey Rd.

July 21, 1993
Deed of Conveyance
between Margaret Forward and (to) P. A. McDonald and Sons Ltd.
re: 75-81 Harvey Rd.

Apr. 19, 1995
Deed of Conveyance
between John A. McDonald and (to) Gary McDonald
re: 79-81 Harvey Rd.

Drawings:

Buildings involved with the December '92 Fire, Harvey Rd./Long's Hill Area
City of St. John's Planning Dept., 1993

The Big R Restaurant, Harvey Rd.
William Ryan, Architect 1993

Plan of Property, Civic No. 69 Harvey Rd.
Geo. Way Surveys Ltd., Newfoundland Land Surveyors, 1987

Surveyor's Real Property Report, Big R Restaurant , Civic No. 67-69 Harvey Rd.
B. J. Flynn, Newfoundland Land Surveyor, 1993

Legal Survey Plan, Civic No. 79-81 Harvey Rd.
Renouf Surveys and Engineering Consultants Ltd. June 24, 1995

Newspaper Articles:

Dec. 22, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Fire Guts City Core*

Dec. 23, 1992, Evening Telegram, *After The Fire: Determination To Rebuild*

Dec. 24, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Fire Ravaged Businesses Mull Future*

Dec. 24, 1992, Evening Telegram, *Fire Ravaged Businesses Mull Future*

Jan. 5, 1993, Evening Telegram, *City Ponders Road Realignment*

Jan. 14, 1993, Evening Telegram, *Residents Plead For Restraint <Bob Forward,
Harvey Road Realignment>*

Mar. 12, 1993, Evening Telegram, *Big R Back <Reopens March 1, 1993>*

**Data Sources for:
Collette Nap Business/Residence
(47 Harvey Rd./50-52 Long's Hill)**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Collette Nap, owner, Architect.

Personal Communication:

Jim Ford, Manager Regulatory Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

John Hannaford, Design Approval Technician, Building Accessibility, Dept. of Government Services, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

(subject: accessibility regulations and inspections)

Carol Kirkland, Supervisor Inspection Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

Dave Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

Drawings:

Nap-Crosbie Bldg., 50-52 Long's Hill

St. John's, Nfld.

Collette Nap, Architect, Jan. 1997

Plan of Property, 50 Long's Hill

Pat Holden, Newfoundland Surveyor 1981

Plan Showing Property (45, 46, 48 Harvey Rd./50, 52 Long's Hill)

Newhook and Morgan Engineering Ltd. 1981

Boundary Survey, Civic No's 50-52 Long's Hill

Richard Young & Assoc. Ltd., Newfoundland Land Surveyors 1994

Property Survey, Civic No's 49-53 Harvey Rd.

Richard Young & Assoc. Ltd., Newfoundland Land Surveyors 1987

**Data Sources for:
Tim Horton's**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Ida Pike, owner/operator

Personal Communication:

Jim Ford, Manager Regulatory Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

John Hannaford, Design Approval Technician, Building Accessibility, Dept. of Government Services, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

(subject: accessibility regulations and inspections)

Carol Kirkland, Supervisor Inspection Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

Dave Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

**Data Sources for:
Dominion Site**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Donald French, Property Manager, Baine Johnston and Company Ltd.

Personal Communication:

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's
(subject: post-fire planning)

Dave Squires, Planning Technician, City of St. John's
(subject: post-fire planning)

Drawings:

Buildings involved with the December '92 Fire, Harvey Rd./Long's Hill Area
City of St. John's Planning Dept., 1993

**Data Sources for:
Ziggy Peelgood's**

Site-Specific Interviews:

John Hrabowsky, owner

Personal Communication:

Jim Ford, Manager Regulatory Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

John Hannaford, Design Approval Technician, Building Accessibility, Dept. of Government Services, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

(subject: accessibility regulations and inspections)

Carol Kirkland, Supervisor Inspection Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

Dave Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

City of St. John's Archives:

Jan. 13, 1993

Minutes of a Briefing Session on the status of the Harvey Road Fire

re: codes, road realignment, rebuilding, applications for rebuilding.

Deeds:

May 10, 1990

Deed of Conveyance

between Michael Connors and John Hrabowsky

re: sale of Civic No.'s 61-63 Harvey Rd.

Drawings:

Plan of Property, Civic No.'s 61-63 Harvey Rd.

William Doyle & Associates Ltd., Newfoundland Land Surveyors Apr. 23, 1990

Buildings involved with the December '92 Fire, Harvey Rd./Long's Hill Area

City of St. John's Planning Dept., 1993

Plan of Property

Civic No. 57-65 Harvey Rd.

Larry Squires, Newfoundland Land Surveyor, 1994

**Data Sources for:
Rock 'n' Leather
(59 Harvey Rd.)**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Christopher Goodyear, Owner

Personal Communication:

Jim Ford, Manager Regulatory Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

John Hannaford, Design Approval Technician, Building Accessibility, Dept. of Government Services, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

(subject: accessibility regulations and inspections)

Carol Kirkland, Supervisor Inspection Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

Dave Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

City of St. John's Archives:

Planning Dept. Files

Jan. 13, 1993

Minutes of a Briefing Session on the status of the Harvey Road Fire,
re: codes, road realignment, rebuilding, applications for rebuilding.

Drawings:

Location Plan 55-61 Harvey Rd.

Dave Lacey, Sutton Group - Capital Realty Ltd.

Buildings involved with the December '92 Fire, Harvey Rd. - Long's Hill Area
City of St. John's Planning Dept., 1993

**Data Sources for:
Roma Pizzeria (51-53 Harvey Rd.)**

Site-Specific Interviews:

Maria Stassis, former owner

Personal Communication:

Jim Ford, Manager Regulatory Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

John Hannaford, Design Approval Technician, Building Accessibility, Dept. of Government Services, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

(subject: accessibility regulations and inspections)

Carol Kirkland, Supervisor Inspection Services, Dept. of Buildings and Property, City of St. John's

(subject: codes, regulations and inspections)

Arvo McMillan, former Planner, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

Dave Squires, Planning Technician, Dept. of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's

(subject: post-fire planning)

City of St. John's Archives:

Jan. 13, 1993

Minutes of a Briefing Session on the status of the Harvey Road Fire
re: codes, road realignment, rebuilding, applications for rebuilding.

Drawings:

Property Survey, Civic No's 49-53 Harvey Rd.

Richard Young & Assoc. Ltd., Newfoundland Land Surveyors 1987

Buildings involved with the December '92 Fire, Harvey Rd./Long's Hill Area
City of St. John's Planning Dept., 1993

Appendix C

TABLE 2 – INTERVIEWS

Site-Specific Interviews			
Interviewee	Title	Site	Date
Millar Ayre	former Property Owner	Ayre / Scotia Centre	June 1, 1999
James Austin	President, Dicks & Co. Ltd. former Property Owner	Ayre / Scotia Centre	May 28, 1999
Basil Dobbin	President, Pyramid Construction, Developer	Cabot Place Development	Aug. 23, 1994
Christopher Barlow	Architect, BAE Group Ltd.	Cabot Place Development	Oct. 4, 1994
Christopher Collingwood	President, Baine Johnston Co. Ltd.	Hotel Newfoundland	Oct. 5, 1994
Stanford Hampton	Architect, Gibbons / Hampton Architects	Hotel Newfoundland	Oct. 5, 1994
Leonard Hunt	Property Manager, Williams / Roebothan / Mckay	Mechanics Hall	Sept. 23, 1997
Col. Adrian Heffernan	Governor and Commandant, CLB	Church Lads' Brigade Armoury	Apr. 23, 1994
Capt. Barry Tucker	Project Manager, Building Committee	Church Lads' Brigade Armoury	Apr. 22, 1994
Charles Henley	Architect, Pratt / Henley / Blackwood	Church Lads' Brigade Armoury	Apr. 22, 1994
Robert Forward	Owner / Operator	Big R Restaurant	Jun. 16, 1994
Collette Nap	Owner / Architect	Collette Nap Business / Residence	Sept. 12, 1997
Ida Pike	Owner / Operator	Tim Horton's	Sept. 30, 1997
Donald French	Property Manager, Baine Johnston Co. Ltd.	Dominion	July 8, 1994
John Hrabowsky	Owner	Ziggy Peelgood's	Oct. 13, 1997
Christopher Goodyear	Owner	Rock & Leather	Jun. 29, 1994
Maria Stassis	former Owner	Roma Pizzeria	July 19, 1998
General Interviews			
Interviewee	Title	Subject	Date
Suzanne Duff	Councillor, St. John's Municipal Council	Contemporary Political Context	June 1, 1999
J. A. de Jong	former Planner, City of St. John's	Planning Context	June 7, 1999
Arvo McMillan	former Planner, City of St. John's	Planning Context	May 25, 1999

DISCUSSION OUTLINE: DOWNTOWN DEVELOPMENT

PURPOSE

Motivation for development
Influences/constraints upon decision to develop

TIME FRAME

Date of site clearance
Length of time from start of development to completion

USE

Use of site before development
Current/planned use of site

OWNERSHIP

Ownership of site prior to development
Current ownership of site
Reason for purchase/sale of site

DESIGN

Use of architectural design/consulting services for development plans
Options/constraints considered in determining design and feasibility of development
Legislation/codes that influenced design
Physical advantages/constraints of site and influence upon development

COST

Cost of land/construction
Affect of costs on development plans

CODES/REGULATIONS

Applicable codes/regulations for construction on site
Design/Construction features required by codes/regulations
Approvals/public review required for construction

STATUS

Further development considered for site or adjacent sites
Likely time frame for future development

DISCUSSION OUTLINE: POST-FIRE DEVELOPMENT

PURPOSE

Motivation to rebuild
Influences/constraints upon decision to rebuild

TIME FRAME

Length of time from start of rebuilding to completion
Relationship between financing and time frame for rebuilding
Influence of time frame on design and/or materials used

USE

Use of site before fire
Planned use

OWNERSHIP

Land ownership issues and affect on decision to rebuild
Ownership of site prior to fire
Ownership of site following fire

DESIGN

Use of architectural design/consulting services for reconstruction
Options/constraints considered in determining design and feasibility to rebuild
Physical advantages/constraints of the site and influences on reconstruction
Legislation/codes that influenced design/construction

COST

Cost of land/construction and affect on rebuilding
Financing of reconstruction

CODES/REGULATIONS

Applicable codes and regulations for construction on site
Design/construction features required by codes/regulations
Approvals required for construction

INSURANCE

Influence of insurance policies on the decision to rebuild
Restrictions/stipulations of insurance policies on use/construction
Role of insurance agency/payments (post-fire) in decision to rebuild

STATUS

Further development considered for site or adjacent sites
Likely time frame for any future development

DISCUSSION OUTLINE: POST-FIRE NON-DEVELOPMENT

PURPOSE

Motivation not to rebuild
Influences/constraints upon the decision not to rebuild

TIME FRAME

Length of time site has remained undeveloped
If redevelopment is being considered - time frame envisaged for development

USE

Use of site before fire
Current/planned use of site
Anticipated use/permited use of site

OWNERSHIP

Ownership of site prior to fire
Current ownership of site
Affect of land ownership on the decision not to rebuild

DESIGN

Use of architectural design/consulting services to determine the feasibility of reconstruction
Options/constraints considered in determining design and feasibility of reconstruction
Physical advantages/constraints of the site
Legislation/codes that influenced reconstruction

COST

Cost of land/construction and affect on decisions not to rebuild
Financing and affect on decision not to rebuild

CODES/REGULATIONS

Applicable codes and regulations for construction on site
Design/construction features required by codes/regulations
Approvals required for construction

INSURANCE

Influence of insurance policies/payments on decision not to rebuild
Restrictions/stipulations of insurance policies on use/construction

STATUS

Plans for site (sale, redevelopment) and reasons for those plans
Current location of original business
Reason for relocating
Sale of property

DISCUSSION OUTLINE: GENERAL

ROLE OF MUNICIPAL COUNCIL/PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Departments involved in regulating/approving development
Council's role in review/approval development in downtown St. John's
Constraints/challenges in regulating/approving development

DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

Development activity in St. John's
Development of Municipal Plan for the City of St. John's
Planning strategy/political context for development in downtown
Major commercial developments in the downtown in the early 1980s
Issues/challenges associated with developments in downtown in the early 1980s

CODES/REGULATIONS

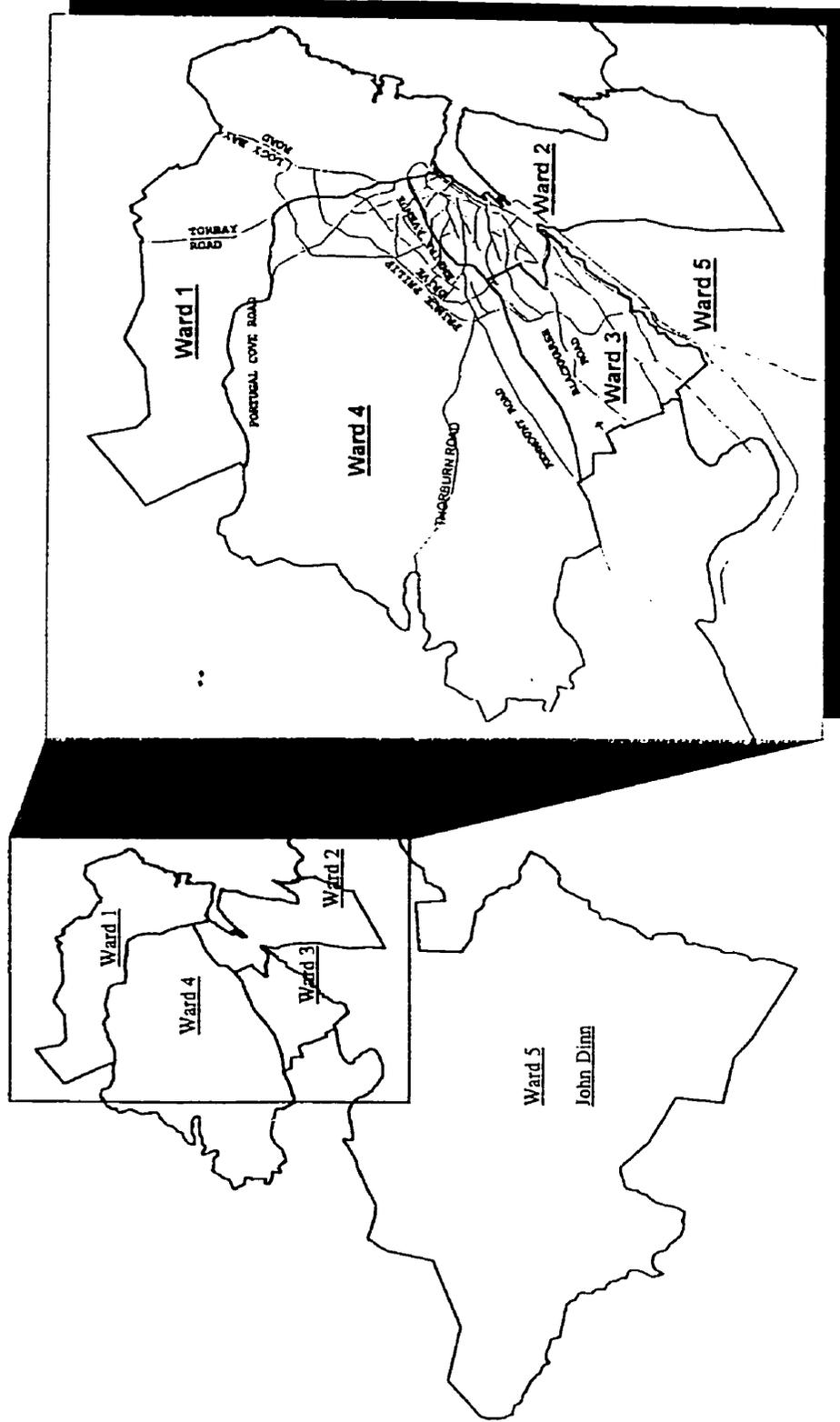
Applicable codes/regulations governing development in the downtown
Application of those codes (process requirements, changes, etc.)
Development of regulations governing development in the downtown

HERITAGE CONSERVATION BY-LAW

Influence of heritage conservation by-law/building regulations/planning on downtown development
Level of support from city council, city planning/engineering departments, community in heritage conservation

Appendix D

Ward Boundaries City of St. John's



Mayor:	Deputy Mayor:	Ward Councillors:	At-Large Councillors:
Andy Wells	Marie White	Ward 1: Sean Hanrahan Ward 2: Frank Galgay Ward 3: Keith Coombs Ward 4: Gerry Colbert Ward 5: John Dinn	Shannie Duff Peter Miller Dennis O'Keefe Dorothy Wyatt

CITY COUNCILS 1969-1997

Municipal Election Nov. 18, 1969

Mayor: William Adams
Deputy Mayor: Leonard Stirling
Councillors: Clarence Englebrecht (Bob Lewis)
James Fagan
Brian Higgins
Dorothy Wyatt
Jim Browne
Albert Andrews
Geoffery Carnell

Municipal Election Nov. 13, 1973

Mayor: Dorothy Wyatt
Deputy Mayor: John Murphy
Councillors: Millar Ayre
David Riche
David Barrett
James Fagan
Brian Higgins
Eric Gullage
Ray O'Neill

Municipal Election Nov. 8, 1977

Mayor: Dorothy Wyatt
Deputy Mayor: Ray O'Neill
Councillors: Suzanne Duff
Brian Higgins
James Fagan
David Barrett
Frances Innis
Hugh Baird
Andrew Wells

Municipal Election Nov. 3, 1981

Mayor: John Murphy
Deputy Mayor: Suzanne Duff
Councillors at large:
James Fagan
David Barrett
Ronald Pumphrey
Ward 1: Andrew Wells
Ward 2: John Tessier
Ward 3: Bruce Tilley
Ward 4: Thomas Osbourne

Municipal Election Nov. 12, 1985

Mayor: John Murphy
Deputy Mayor: Suzanne Duff
Councillors at large:
Raymond O'Neill
Dorothy Wyatt
David Barrett
Ward 1: Wendy Williams
Ward 2: Douglas Atkinson
Ward 3: John Whalen
Ward 4: Gerard Colbert

Municipal Election Nov. 13, 1990

Mayor: Suzanne Duff
Deputy Mayor: Andrew Wells
Councillors at large:
Dorothy Wyatt
Raymond O'Neill
Basil Jameson
Ward 1: Wendy Williams
Ward 2: Douglas Atkinson
Ward 3: John Whalen
Ward 4: Gerard Colbert

By-election Feb. 25, 1992; Wards 5 and 6 added (Wedgewood Park, the
Goulds)
Ward 5: Paul Reynolds
Ward 6: John Dinn

Municipal Election Nov. 9, 1993

Mayor: John Murphy
Deputy Mayor: Andrew Wells
Councillors at large:

Dorothy Wyatt
Jeffery Brace
Marie White
Raymond O'Neill

Ward 1: Sean Hanrahan
Ward 2: Shawn Skinner
Ward 3: Keith Coombs
Ward 4: Gerry Colbert
Ward 5: John Dinn

Municipal Election Sept. 30, 1997

Mayor: Andrew Wells
Deputy Mayor: Marie White
Councillors at large:

Peter Miller
Shannie Duff
Dennis O'Keefe
Dorothy Wyatt

Ward 1 Sean Hanrahan
Ward 2 Frank Galgay
Ward 3 Keith Coombs
Ward 4 Gerry Colbert
Ward 5 John Dinn

POPULATION BY WARD

Municipal Election 1997

Ward	population	(enumerated voters)
Ward 1	21,430	11,085
Ward 2	22,815	14,860
Ward 3	24,772	16,582
Ward 4	22,306	17,698
Ward 5	12,630	8,052
Total	103,953	68,278

The ward system introduced in 1981 is based upon wards that have approximately equal populations, with the exception of Ward 5 which has the largest geographic area but the smallest population. This population balance has been maintained by boundary adjustments instituted since 1981 (Ryan, City Clerk's Office, City of St. John's, personal communication, Apr. 20, 2000; Baker, Department of Engineering and Planning, City of St. John's, personal communication, Apr. 20, 2000).