

“To Hell with the Future, Let’s get on with the Past:” Rivalry and Revitalization in the Lakehead’s Central Business Districts, 1947 – 1980.



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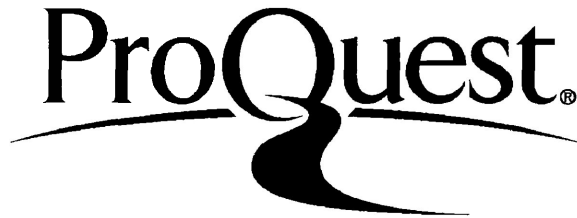
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**“TO HELL WITH THE FUTURE, LETS GET ON WITH THE PAST:” RIVALRY
AND REVITALIZATION IN THE LAKEHEAD’S CENTRAL BUSINESS
DISTRICTS, 1947 - 1980.**

Submitted to the Department of History in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

By
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“Fort William has nothing to gain and everything to lose while Port Arthur has everything to gain and nothing to offer.”

Fort William Mayor James Murphy, 1907

INTRODUCTION

“Would you tell me please, which way I ought to go from here?” asked Alice.

“That depends a great deal on where you want to get to,” said the cat.

Lewis Carroll's, *Alice in Wonderland*, 1865.

Victoriaville Centre was constructed under the auspices of Ontario's Downtown Revitalization Program (1976).¹ Located in the former central business district (CBD) of Fort William, Ontario, the centre spanned a major artery of the core area, enclosing in climate-controlled comfort a previously bustling shopping area and street. Fort William's CBD, prior to amalgamation with Port Arthur in 1970; and after, experienced a remarkable diffusion of its residential, commercial, and institutional components to the periphery of the urban area, and later, the intercity area. The latter area is a tract of land that separated the two-Lakehead communities of Fort William and Port Arthur. Its significance in post-amalgamation Thunder Bay would be great.

Planning policy after the establishment of Thunder Bay was contentious. Urban renewal in the new Port Arthur ward finished in 1974, while revitalization of the Fort William ward would not break ground until 1978. Both projects were controversial at the time and presented problems that linger still. The forced amalgamation of the Lakehead communities no doubt contributed to the debate over CBD renewal in Thunder Bay's two core areas. Both renewal projects, however, were different in their orientation, and as such, elicited similar and dissimilar arguments for and against their implementation.

¹ Despite the involvement of the provincial government, predominantly through the Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Municipal Affairs, the Archives of Ontario were not able to locate a single document regarding the planning, funding, nor related communications between the city and Province regarding Victoriaville Centre / South Core Revitalization. As such, I have had to rely on municipal records primarily.

It has been suggested that planning considerations in the post-unification era were motivated by the inherited jealousies of two cities and two CBDs.²

In a 1982 retail study conducted by the city of Thunder Bay, the voices of ordinary citizens spoke loudly and critically of renewal, revitalization, and the ongoing jealousies inherited through amalgamation. As one participant argued, “There is always a fight between the two downtown merchant groups when, in reality, we can only support one downtown and several regional shopping plazas.”³ Combined with the public’s aversion to subsidizing private enterprise, as revealed in the urban renewal and downtown revitalization efforts of the 1960s and 1970s, further antagonisms were revealed: “Building Victoria Mall has sunk a lot of the residents’ tax dollars for nothing. They could have built up one area, i.e. Keskus, and offered us a choice. This way neither mall, Keskus or Victoria, is empty. Empty places are all that it has accomplished...the ideas are still very narrow-minded here. Very split in satisfying a city. Still very two sided (Fort William and Port Arthur).” Further, “...quit coddling some of our merchants (i.e. Victoriaville and Keskus). Let them get out there and earn their dollar by their own initiative like everyone else has to...”⁴ The Retail Market Report, prepared by John Winter Associates in 1989, reinforced the split between the old cities of Port Arthur and Fort William, observing that, “...there was a ‘me too’ philosophy, if

² Mitchell E. Kosny suggests that the Lakehead communities are “prisoners of the past.” See: “Thunder Bay After a Quarter Century.” Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity Thorold J. Tronrud & A.E. Epp, ed., (TBHMS: Thunder Bay, 1995)

³ City of Thunder Bay, “Thunder Bay Retail Study, May 1982.” Community Planning and Development Division, Policy and Long Range Planning, Appendix F-3.

⁴ Ibid, Appendix F-3.

Port Arthur got a downtown redevelopment, then Fort William should get one too, irrespective of whether it was supportable in the market.”⁵

Almost forty-five years had passed since The Evening News-Chronicle editorial, of 7 March 1936, delivered an ominous portent, stating:

Unnatural amalgamation would multiply [troubles] many times. There would be trouble over the location of every office, over the homes of every appointee, over the place of doing every piece of business and over every appropriation of money for municipal improvement, the north and the south constantly pitted against one another.⁶

Clearly, the groundwork had been laid in the minds of the two Lakehead communities that amalgamation would result in a winner and a loser, particularly in the area of commercial development and maintenance of the core areas.⁷ Furthermore, the newspaper had emphasized that “They cannot be made into one because they have no common centre that would be suitable to either Port Arthur and Fort William.”⁸ The only “centre” of the Lakehead was the intercity area, then a swampy brushland of nearly 4 miles that divided the two cities. While the local papers assumed this centre would not be agreeable to development, business leaders and planners thought otherwise. This was evident in the Report and Recommendations of the Lakehead Local Government Review, 1968 (also known as the Hardy Report). Stressing the duality of the Lakehead, the report emphasized that a “combined municipality, one should hasten to add, would

⁵ John Winter Associates, “Thunder Bay Retail Potentials, 1993-2001,” 4.

⁶ “On Amalgamation of the Two Cities.” The Evening News-Chronicle 7 March 1936.

⁷ Cambridge, Ontario is an amalgamation of Galt, Preston, and Hespeler and has experienced similar anxiety over its three CBDs. SEE: Gretta Fry and Alina Zoltak, “Strengths and Weaknesses of Three Downtown Revitalization Projects.” University of Guelph, 1980, 68.

⁸ Ibid, “On Amalgamation of the Two Cities.”

doubtless find room both for the retention of substantial business districts in the downtown areas and for a considerable commercial expansion within the intercity area.”⁹ This recommendation was later included as a key component of the 1972 Lakehead official plan which gave priority to maintaining the two core areas of Fort William and Port Arthur, while acknowledging the future importance of the intercity area as a regional commercial and institutional land-use centre. Confounding the planners, merchant associations, citizens, and city council, however, would be to what extent, “substantial retention of business districts” actually meant. Some viewed this as an admission that the two CBDs would lose some of their vitality whereas others viewed this statement as a guarantee of their pre-amalgamation dominance.

However, the reality was that the two core areas had bled slowly in the post-war years, and with amalgamation, the phenomenon continued, adversely affecting transportation, institutional, and commercial redevelopment. The city of Thunder Bay, similar to many post-war North American cities, experienced a slow, damaging migration of people and resources from its CBD to the urban periphery. From 1956 to 1982, only three commercial centres opened in the CBD (see Table 1). Unique to Thunder Bay, however, was the additional flight of persons and capital towards its natural centre, the intercity area. The trend is quite evident in Thunder Bay.

In reaction to this, in concert with the federal government, the government of Ontario embraced the concept of maintenance of core areas and established urban renewal programs, directing funds predominantly through the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Affairs to ensure their survival. Introduced in 1954 under the auspices of the

⁹ Lakehead Local Government Review: Report and Recommendations, Eric Hardy, Special Commissioner, 11 March 1968.

SHOPPING CENTRE DEVELOPMENT IN THUNDER BAY

Year	Name of Centre / Mall
1956	Intercity (original strip plaza)
1962	Green Acres Plaza
1964	*Centennial Square
1969	County Fair Plaza
1971	Northwood Park Plaza
1972	Thunder Bay Mall
1973	Grandview Mall
1974	*Keskus Harbour Mall
1977	Academy Plaza
1978	County Fair Plaza (expansion)
	McIntyre Plaza
	*Arthur Square
1979	*Victoria Mall
1980	*Victoriaville Centre
	Red River Plaza
1982	Intercity Shopping Centre
1984	McIntyre Centre (expansion)

*indicates central business district location
Table 1

federal government, the National Housing Act (NHA) inaugurated the active intervention of government into communities across the nation. Decay and suburban sprawl were to be dealt with, and the traditional central business district revitalized. The government of Ontario, arguably the most active proponent of urban redevelopment and management, developed programs of its own to augment the federal initiatives. Starting in 1964, forty-one Ontario municipalities applied for renewal projects valued at \$212 million. Demand for this funding quickly outstripped government coffers. As well,

urban renewal projects were controversial as neighborhoods were planned for demolition and redevelopment, all without the input of the local residents. Due to the overwhelming cost of urban renewal, and the negative publicity it generated, the program was canceled in 1968. Despite this, eight renewal projects were completed at a cost of \$74 million, with Port Arthur's urban renewal project, Keskus Harbour Mall, being one of them.¹⁰

The former city of Port Arthur had responded to government assistance with an ambitious program of urban renewal designed, as it perceived the situation, to bulldoze core blight away. Properties were acquired, persons displaced, and buildings which dated to the turn of the century were demolished. This was not met with quiet acquiescence. The 1960s social and cultural revolution introduced new challenges to the traditional decision making processes of civic administration. This was clearly demonstrated in the proliferation and politicization of neighborhood citizen groups. Urban renewal in Port Arthur was problematic. Some began to see urban renewal as the cause of, not the cure for, the decay of the CBD. As such, renewal schemes across Ontario, Canada, and North America quickly gained notoriety not for what they were renewing, but for what they revealed. Urban renewal had once promised affordable housing for those least able to afford it. Renewal of core area "blight" was paramount. By the 1960s, however, the social impetus of urban renewal was lost to developers and politicians who emphasized the *redevelopment* of core areas in commercial terms only. A change in federal legislation allowed for a re-orientation of urban renewal programs. At the federal level, urban renewal was tied to public housing

¹⁰ City of Thunder Bay Archives (hereafter referred to as TBA) 4724, City Clerks Files, 1975, File # 25014.000 "Minutes of the 5th meeting of the core team, 16 July 1975."

under the auspices of the NHA, the Federal Urban Renewal Program of 1964, and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). Renewal of the existing housing stock was replaced by the **commercial redevelopment** of the CBD. Affordable housing, it seemed, was not as attractive as a new shopping mall.

By the early 1970s Fort William's business district seemed paralyzed as its stores closed, its shoppers were fewer in number, and many properties suffered from neglect. Its role in post-amalgamation Thunder Bay seemed uncertain and confused. The merchant's association was equally adrift in confusion and apathy.¹¹ Decay had set in. This was compared to a human lung; the north core (Port Arthur) was a healthy lung, whereas the south core (Fort William) was "a depressant on its part of the civic body."

¹² Residential expansion west of the CBD encouraged peripheral commercial development, namely the Thunder Bay Mall, Green Acres Mall and Northwood Shopping Centre. Competition from both the redeveloped Port Arthur CBD, and the emerging intercity area, as well as the diffusion of municipal, provincial, and federal jobs out of the Fort William CBD into the peripheral and intercity areas led to reduced activity, employment and lead divestment of downtown. The construction of what was called mini- Queen's Park on James Street in the 1970s, and the subsequent construction of a new courthouse at Arthur Street and the Kingsway, exacerbated the bleeding of the core. Complicating matters further, the two former cities fought

¹¹ "South Merchants Exhorted to Act" *News Chronicle* 22 March 1972; "Fort William Merchants Rapped: Told their behind the times." *Times Journal* 23 March 1972. *Also*; Oral History Interview conducted by Author (Hereafter referred to as OHI) Murray Hamilton.

¹² TBA 4725, City Clerks Files, 1975, File # 25014.000, "Planning and Urban Development – Revitalization of Downtown Thunder Bay South."

mercilessly over these projects, primarily through their elected ward representatives and their members of the provincial parliament. Old wounds, it seems, took time to heal.

The former city of Fort William was slower in realizing the potential of the urban renewal program. Despite the insistence in 1964 of its director of planning, David Thompson, that the city do something, the political machinery was intent to wait and see what error Port Arthur might commit in its own project.¹³ This proved to be costly as the federal government cancelled its commitment to urban renewal in 1968, thus leaving Fort William with a renewal scheme and no funding to realize it. Thompson then assumed the position of director of planning in the newly created city of Thunder Bay, and by 1975, was determined not to let the old Fort William core collapse. As such, when Ontario announced a new program aimed at stabilizing the core areas of medium-sized cities of under 125,000 persons, Thompson was prepared to act.

Correctly anticipating the provincial initiative, he had sought out support from business and political leaders for revitalizing the Fort William core in 1974. A series of meetings was convened through the Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce and Fort William Downtown Merchants Association. This effort culminated in February 1975, where at that time, business and political leaders unanimously agreed to some form of revitalization. In the months that followed, the only revitalization idea that was seriously discussed by Thompson and his planning apparatus, and which matched the requirements of the downtown revitalization program was found in Quebec City at Mall St. Roche. Unlike the urban renewal program of the 1960s, the ODRP emphasized conservation of historically sensitive buildings, renovation of existing housing stock,

¹³ OHI David Thompson, Ken Tilson

and the creation of community-oriented projects. As well, monies were made available for infrastructure upgrades that the core of Fort William needed desperately.

The result of Thompson's efforts was Victoriaville Centre, a municipally operated shopping and community centre. Resembling Mall St. Roche, Victoriaville Centre enclosed part of Victoria Avenue with a climate-controlled promenade. From its inception, Victoriaville Centre has been dubbed "Thompson's Mall," and has been viewed as an unnatural and dysfunctional product of Fort William jealousy. Many opponents of the mall stated that Victoriaville simply had no place in a post-amalgamation Thunder Bay since Port Arthur had become the "natural downtown." There were still others who resented the public funding of the centre, when, it was argued that, both the Port Arthur and Fort William cores were no longer the commercial centre of Thunder Bay. Rather, the intercity area had now assumed that role.

Thus, the crux of planning decisions in the Lakehead area before, and immediately after amalgamation, has been directed to reconciling the tensions that arose by creating one new city, while still maintaining two historic core areas. Amalgamation created a distinct array of new problems as Thunder Bay became a "very diffused and dispersed city with no real downtown..."¹⁴ Creating a unified city has proved to be difficult in light of:

1. inherited historic jealousies amongst the Lakehead communities
2. conflict between private commercial development and the Lakehead Official Plan;
3. intercity development, and;
4. urban decay and suburbanization

¹⁴ City of Thunder Bay, "Thunder Bay South Core Downtown Development Strategy." Report of the South Core Initiatives Co-ordination Committee. (1993), 13.

Critics of amalgamation found their platform in the construction of Victoriaville Centre. Fort William's revitalization efforts were viewed as a futile attempt at regaining what it had lost to both Port Arthur and to its own urban periphery. The assumption, however, is false when analyzed against the planning documents of the time and the motivations of David Thompson, planner for both the city of Fort William and later Thunder Bay. A conflict existed between the elected politicians and the planner, both in relation to how they perceived Victoriaville Centre, and in relation to how they have evaluated its influence.¹⁵ Furthermore, sectional jealousy, it seemed, predominated amongst the first few councils of Thunder Bay, due in part to a divisive ward system of government that maintained old boundaries and prejudices. Rather than integrating the city, major policy issues were fragmented. Ward aldermen thought in terms of their own backyard and not of the city as a whole.¹⁶ The planning department, however, was impartial. Unlike the political wrangling which reduced Victoriaville to a product of rivalry, the senior planning officials of the time, T.B. "Bones" McCormack, and David Thompson, enjoyed an exceptional and cooperative relationship stemming from the early 1950s. Both men had served as the respective city planners in Port Arthur and Fort William; they knew the intricate nature of the Lakehead and its relationships and need for informal regional planning. Since the formation of the Lakehead Planning Board, McCormack and Thompson saw the Lakehead as a whole and not in its constituent parts that the ward system fostered.

¹⁵ OHI Taras Kozyra, Lawrence Timko

¹⁶ OHI Ken Boshcoff, Ken Tilson *Also:* Geoffrey R. Weller, "The Politics and Administration of Amalgamation: The Case of Thunder Bay." A Paper presented to the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, June 7-9th, 1982, 9-10.

Further, critics of Victoriaville Centre point to the proliferation of development in the intercity area in the late 1970s as evidence that Victoriaville should not have been built to compete with private commercial development. Again, this argument is based on a perception of the mall which was predominantly shared by the political, and business figures of the day and is incorrect in its premise - which is that the centre was built to be a commercial competitor to private interests outside of the Fort William CBD.¹⁷

Social policy advocates, like the Lakehead Social Planning Council, approached the essence of the mall and its development more accurately. They argued for a people-centred approach to revitalization that included participation in the process of exploring the various options for redevelopment. Clearly influenced from Port Arthur's urban renewal experience, the Lakehead Social Planning Council articulated a vision that matched Thompson's goals for the core area. Absent from the debate, however, was a grassroots, citizen's protest movement. Again, unlike the Port Arthur experience, there was no political action from the Thunder Bay Citizen's Association, led by Florence Koss, and no organized political campaign to infuse city council with reform-minded councillors.¹⁸

This thesis will cover fifty years of central business district decline in Thunder Bay. Particularly, this thesis will examine the Fort William ward and its reaction to decline, before and after revitalization. The Lakehead official plan, ratified in 1972, maintained divisiveness between core areas, establishing the maintenance and

¹⁷ OHI Lawrence Timko, Rene Larson

¹⁸ Florence Koss was elected as a reform councillor, largely because of her work on behalf of the Thunder Bay Taxpayers Association. Her goal was to take the "secrecy" out of the Urban Renewal Project in Port Arthur. OHI Florence Koss.

continued preservation of both cores, often at each other's expense. Intended to nurture the shotgun nature of amalgamation and reassure citizens that their core areas would not die, it did little to prevent commercial development in the intercity area that still antagonizes the community today. This is evident in the urban renewal and downtown revitalization efforts pursued by the Lakehead communities. Competition for government funds to maintain a viable core was complicated by Thunder Bay's inheritance of two core areas. As such, north and south ward residents each clung to a vision not of one unified city, but rather of the relationship that had existed before amalgamation. The intercity area, which had divided the two communities previously, now united them through its commercial hegemony.

It is crucial to analyze the planning process for Victoriaville. Was it driven by a bureaucratic or a public agenda? Was the rivalry between the former cities of Fort William and Port Arthur a result of the politicians, the merchant associations, or just bad planning decisions? What was the difference of opinion between the planning department and council regarding revitalization in the Fort William ward? What was the role of individual personalities in the process? Was the influence of the planner, as evidenced in other communities, so great and influential? And what of the core area merchants themselves? What was their role in the Fort William revitalization debate?

Chapter 1 shall discuss both city and regional planning in the Lakehead area from 1945-1965. Emphasis will be placed upon the cooperative nature of regional planning, as exemplified by the Lakehead Planning Board. Particular attention will be focused upon the decentralizing pressures that affected both Lakehead communities. Chapter 2 will discuss urban renewal in Port Arthur, and the pressures that

accompanied it. This period witnessed the greatest proliferation of decentralization in the Lakehead area, and witnessed the height of rivalry as amalgamation of the two communities was achieved, thus opening up the intercity area to development and competing interests. Chapter 3 will trace the state of the Fort William business district after amalgamation, and follow the planning process for Victoriaville in detail. Chapter 4 will conclude the study of Victoriaville, followed by an epilogue that will discuss the “centralizing” pressures of Thunder Bay from 1980-1995, and with an analysis of Victoriaville Centre to date.

CHAPTER I.

Planning for the Lakehead Area: Regional Planning and CBD Decline, 1947-1970

INTRODUCTION

Prior to 1947, coordinated planning initiatives amongst the Lakehead communities was minimal. In fact, it could be said, especially of Fort William and Port Arthur that every initiative undertaken by the two communities was done as if the other did not exist.¹⁹ The ramifications of this rivalry were detrimental to the growth and development of the Lakehead area. Simple commerce between the two cities was hampered by a lack of transportation routes between Fort William and Port Arthur; transit routes were designed to discourage inter-municipal travel, and the two communities had adopted different time zones. Furthermore, it was clear to both municipal planning departments that the activities of the other would, in the near future, adversely affect each other if some co-coordinated planning were not instituted.

With the development of the intercity shopping complex in the post-war years, attention was directed to the four miles of muskeg that divided the two urban communities. It was realized by the Fort William and Port Arthur Chambers of Commerce that unification of the two cities might improve the economic well being of the Lakehead area. The Intercity Development Association (IDA) also agreed and pushed for amalgamation of the two communities, thus opening up the commercial potential of the intercity area.

This chapter will demonstrate that in the post-war years, the Lakehead struggled with its separate identities. Through the efforts of the two city planning departments

¹⁹ The Thunder Bay Amalgamation Oral History Project, 1995, Doug Scott C49 (Hereafter referred to as TBAOHP)

and the Lakehead Planning Board (LPB), the old feelings of rivalry were slowly replaced by cooperative, regional planning in the Lakehead area. It was also realized that the Lakehead had more to gain in unity than in rivalry. Amalgamation was seen as a viable alternative to the separate lives the two Lakehead communities had been living. It will also be demonstrated that planning between the two cities was cooperative and free from the petty political wrangling that would characterize post-amalgamation Thunder Bay. The force of personalities was instrumental in the harmony and cooperation that preceded amalgamation. It was through the efforts of Noel Dant, director of the LPB, David Thompson, city of Fort William planner, and Bones McCormack, Port Arthur city planner, that the road to amalgamation through cooperation was a logical and necessary step to improve the well being of the Lakehead. From 1947 to 1970, increasing pressures to co-ordinate municipal planning were evident as the CBDs of each city eroded. With the development of peripheral shopping centres at the Lakehead, each city quickly concluded that commercial developments in one city had real and detrimental effects for the other.

THE LAKEHEAD PLANNING BOARD

At the inaugural meeting of the Lakehead Planning Board on 13 February 1958, the newly-appointed director, Noel Dant, posed three questions to the assembled guests: "What are we doing;" "Where are we going;" and; "Who are we?"²⁰ They would be simple questions to answer for most municipalities, but in the context of the Lakehead's notorious civic pride and rivalry, they proved difficult. Dant, an Englishman

²⁰ Noel Dant, Director of the LPB, Inaugural Meeting, 13 February 1958; RG 19-77 TB1; File: Fort William 1958-1959; (1.TH4(a) 68 page 2; Archives of Ontario (hereafter referred to as AO).

by birth, responded that "WE are the people of the Lakehead, the citizens and residents of Port Arthur, Fort William, Shuniah, Paipoonge, and Neebing!"²¹ The Lakehead, in Dant's estimation, could assume the stature of a fine metropolis through careful, co-ordinated, and precise planning. As for Dant's other question, "Where are we going," and "What are we doing," Dant asked his audience "What are we up against?"²² He had found little cohesion or semblance of cooperation between the Lakehead municipalities, noting that their plans "stop abruptly on these artificial boundaries and appear to show little physical relationship, one with another." Such planning, Dant went onto explain, is "thus planning in a partial vacuum which cannot be taken to its logical conclusion."²³ Dant's previous experience in planning was extensive. Previously he had served as city planner in Edmonton, Alberta, and before that, a planning officer in Ghana, Africa, with the British colonial government. His credentials were impressive, as Bones McCormack, described him as an "exceptionally brilliant man," quiet and principled.²⁴ William Monteith, council member from Paipoonge, expressed surprise at how well Dant integrated the smaller municipalities into the operation of the Board. Monteith did not want to see Fort William and Port Arthur monopolize the agenda of the board, and had wondered, "Whether we [Paipoonge] would fit into the picture."²⁵

²¹ Ibid, 2.

²² Ibid, 4.

²³ Ibid, 5.

²⁴ TBAOHP, T.B. "Bones" McCormack

²⁵ W. Monteith, "Some Highlights of the First Year's Work of the LPB," The LPB – First Annual Report – 1958, 28.

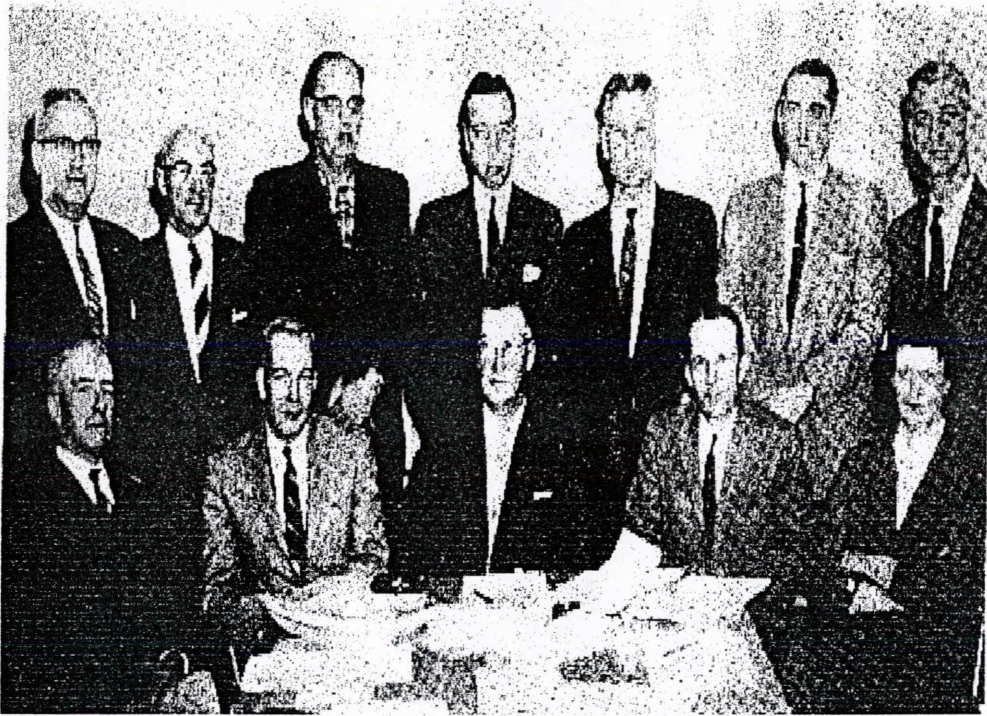
Reflecting on the Planning Board's first year of existence, Dant was surprised and relieved that business was conducted "devoid of petty controversy and ill feeling, which has often plagued other Area Boards of this type."²⁶ Indeed, the enthusiasm of Noel Dant and the newly formed Planning Board prompted Mayor Hubert Badanai of Fort William and Mayor Eunice Wishart of Port Arthur, at the Board's inauguration, to express their hope that cooperation in regional planning might be a forerunner to amalgamation of the Lakehead's urban municipalities.²⁷

The drive towards regional planning and later, amalgamation, had, it seemed, gained momentum among Lakehead residents. As well, Queen's Park had been encouraging it for more than two decades. Therefore, the formation of the LPB was the result of several developments at the local and provincial levels. By the late 1940s, the provincial government had sought to rationalize land use planning at the local level. Replacing the Planning and Development Act of 1937, the Planning Act of 1946 sought to guide post-war planning. Its emphasis was on providing enabling legislation to local planners to carry out land use planning, namely acquisition, clearance, and redevelopment of land. In particular, much attention was devoted to the need for residential land use planning. With increased powers for civic planners, James Murchison, Town Planner for Fort William and consultant to Port Arthur and Neebing, advanced the idea of an area planning board in 1947. Almost seven years had passed when Dave Henderson, the Fort William town planning engineer and industrial

²⁶ Noel Dant, "Director's Annual Report for 1958," *The LPB – First Annual Report – 1958*, 30.

²⁷ Colonel A.L.S. Nash, Director, Community Planning Branch to Department of Planning and Development, Memorandum dated June 30, 1958. RG19-77 TB1, File: Fort William 1958-1959 (1.TH4(a) 63.8, AO

THE LAKEHEAD PLANNING BOARD - 1959



Sitting Left to Right: W. Main (Fort William), H. Dant (Director), Alderman A. Anderson (Fort William) Chairman, D. Thompson (Secretary-Treasurer), Kathleen Ridler (Paipoonge).

Standing Left to Right: D. Coghlan (Port Arthur), W. Monteith (Paipoonge), Reeve A. Raynard (Shuniah), Mayor H. Wilson (Port Arthur), R. Bicknell (Neebing), Messrs. L.Y. McIntosh and R. McCormack (Observers).

Absent: Reeve A. Grant (Neebing), and H. Wakefield (Shuniah).

Photograph by courtesy of the News-Chronicle, Port Arthur.

The Lakehead Planning Board, 1959.

commissioner, also stressed the need for area-wide planning to the Ontario Department of Planning and Development. By 1955, the department had directed Henderson to set up a fact-finding committee.²⁸ David Thompson succeeded Henderson in March 1957, and was committed to the idea of regional planning, assuming the position of Treasurer with the LPB.²⁹ Mayor Badanai of Fort William, praised the economies of scale that the board would offer, as it would significantly reduce the amount Fort William could be expected to expend if it hired a professional planner of its own.

The LPB hoped to provide a forum for its five member municipalities, to discuss common development and inter-municipal planning problems. If nothing else was achieved, at least the opportunity for a frank discussion of common development problems at the Lakehead could ensue. Thus, the creation of a regional planning body was directed by the circumstances and needs of the locality, while responding to the evolving role of the province in local planning matters.

By 1958, increased inter-municipal cooperation was a topic of interest to many, not just the LPB. Hubert Badanai stressed the idea in his inaugural address to council on 6 January 1958. Again, in his radio address of 26 January 1958, Badanai floated the idea of amalgamation. His comments coincided remarkably well with the formation of the new planning board. Badanai suggested that a plebiscite be held to gauge public opinion in both cities. Moreover, he thought, perhaps attempting to soothe local concerns, he stated that "Historical and sentimental values cannot possibly be lost," in

²⁸ LPB, Brief History, RG19-77 TB1, File: Fort William 1958-1959 (1.TH4(a) 63.8, AO

²⁹ OHI David Thompson

amalgamation.³⁰ In Badanai's eyes, the economic development of the Lakehead was better served united, rather than divided. Indeed, the LPB, while formally setup to facilitate "co-operation and study of common problems at an official level,"³¹ it quietly supported the idea, and was a major actor in the pro-amalgamation process.³² This thought is evident in Dant's report of 1958, in which he stressed the need to view the Lakehead as "ONE extended urban community."³³ Dant's words inspired many in the twin cities to believe that singular, cohesive, and precise planning could improve the well being of the Lakehead. More importantly, his belief in regional planning fostered an improved disposition towards cooperation, and ultimately, some sort of amalgamation. Fledgling community organizations found a new ally in their goal of a single Lakehead city. Invigorated and legitimized because of Dant's comments, the Intercity Development Association lobbied aggressively for amalgamation.

The IDA can be traced back to 1948, according to Donald R. McEwan, a founding member and twice president of the association.³⁴ The IDA represented the interests of property owners in the intercity area. The IDA lobbied for improvements to the arterial road networks and sewage infrastructure. The growing use of the automobile propelled development in the intercity area, and was, according to the IDA, the ideal site for future civic, commercial, and industrial expansion. The old urban structure that had been centralized around the central business district was growing

³⁰ Radio Address of Hubert Badanai, 26 January 1958. AO, RG19-77 TB1, File: Fort William 1958-1959 (1. TH4(a) 63.8

³¹ L. Y McIntosh, "The History and Objectives of the Planning Movement at the Lakehead," The LPB – First Annual Report – 1958, 3.

³² TBAOHP William Kosny, *C433*

³³ Noel Dant, "Director's Annual Report for 1958," The LPB – First Annual Report – 1958, 36.

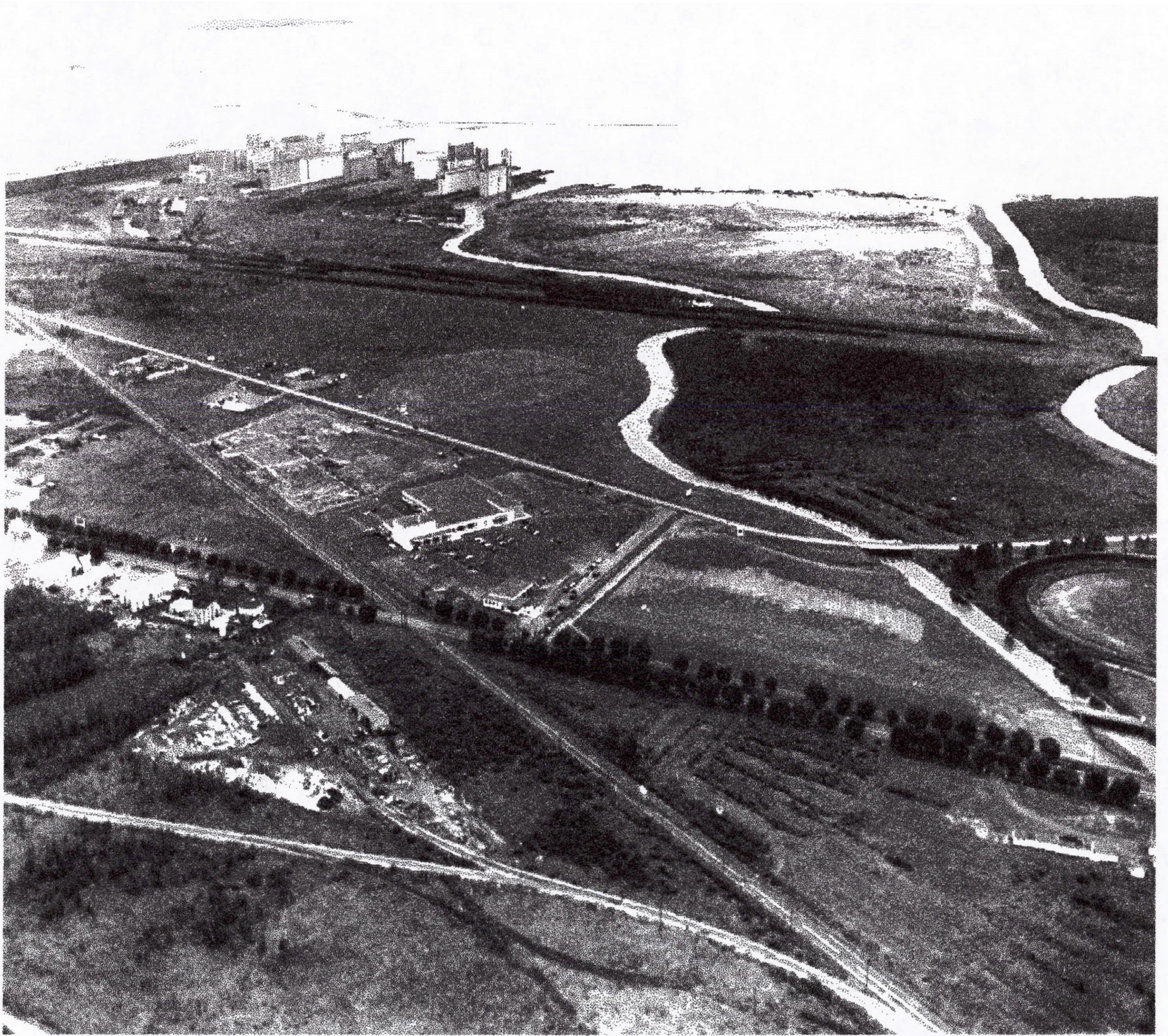
³⁴ Ken Morrison, "The Intercity Development Association and the Making of Thunder Bay," Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Paper and Records Volume IX 1981, 24.

obsolete. However, neither Port Arthur nor Fort William was willing to underwrite the costs of intercity redevelopment alone. As such, the IDA favored amalgamation as the preferred method of developing and financing expansion of urban services into this area.

By 1958, enough favorable conditions existed whereby the IDA would lobby both Fort William and Port Arthur to hold a vote on amalgamation. Mayors Badanai and Wishart had given their support to amalgamation; their respective councils also seemed favorably inclined. Combined with the excitement of the new planning board, the IDA was confident it had achieved its goal. A vote was put to the public, but the results maintained the status quo. Port Arthur ended up supporting amalgamation, while Fort William was against.

In the years that followed, the IDA closely aligned itself with the LPB. Although Noel Dant's tenure as director of the LPB lasted only two years, ending in 1960, Harry Parsons, who quickly found favor with the IDA, carried on Dant's leadership. Parsons' vision of the Lakehead matched those of the IDA. To maximize the economic development of the Lakehead, regional cooperation was essential. Both Port Arthur and Fort William were quickly running out of room for development and amalgamation of the adjoining townships was one solution.³⁵ Future industrial expansion was realized through the construction of arterial access routes between the two cities and the harbor. It was also desirable that a limited-access highway be constructed along the western edges of the twin cities. Parsons was keenly aware of the intercity area and its future

³⁵ Ken Morrison, "The Intercity Development Association and the Making of Thunder Bay," Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Paper and Records Volume IX 1981, 27.



Aerial view of the intercity area, circa 1950s. The Simpson's-Sears complex is in the centre, bordered by Memorial Avenue and Fort William Road.
(TBHMS 973.28.60i)

significance. Intercity would serve as a meeting point between Port Arthur and Fort William, the harbor, and the expansion of the road system. Increased commercial and industrial development was sure to ensue, and as such, it was paramount that special attention be given to this area. The IDA was so pleased with the new director that they had him speak to the respective councils and Chambers of Commerce of Port Arthur and Fort William.³⁶

Parsons' arrival at the Lakehead came at an opportune time. As will be demonstrated, the divergent pressures on the twin cities to assume a leadership role in the future of the Lakehead Region started to become critical. Yet, at the same time, the twin cities were imploding from new development, both inside and outside their borders. While the pressure to become one city slowly became stronger, the consequences of such an evolution challenged the historical sentiments of rivalry the two cities had shared.

By March of 1961, Port Arthur was alarmed at the thought of inheriting the municipality of Shuniah's abysmal finances, a situation exacerbated by their poor commercial-industrial to residential assessment ratios in McIntyre Township. Shuniah had simply become a bedroom community to Port Arthur, with its residents enjoying a favorable tax advantage. Large acreages of undeveloped land that lay adjacent to Port Arthur, were later acquired by speculative developers. Any commercial ribbon development in Shuniah would pose a threat to Port Arthur's business district. If Port Arthur wanted to control the residential and commercial development along its urban fringe, it had to inherit the liabilities as well. Annexation would serve to relieve Shuniah

³⁶ Ibid, 27.

of the financial mess it found itself in, but did little to attract Port Arthur to a broader regionalism. Regional planning and cooperation, it was believed in Port Arthur, was necessary to avoid such disastrous situations, and that city was willing to support such action. However, the larger issues of annexation proved difficult when juxtaposed against the financial realities of cooperation and regionalism.³⁷

Fort William found itself in opposite circumstances. Adjacent to Fort William was Neebing Township, a financially sound and prosperous community thanks to the establishment of the Great Lakes Pulp and Paper Mill. Fort William anxiously sought annexation, and viewed the introduction of the LPB, expanded regionalism, and amalgamation as a process of achieving this end.³⁸ Contrary to popular myth, Fort William was quite aggressive, progressive, and enthusiastic towards regional planning. From James Murchison in the 1940s, to Dave Henderson in the 1950s, and David Thompson in the 1960s, Fort William sought out opportunity for growth and advancement, just not on Port Arthur's terms.³⁹ Indeed, all three figure prominently in the creation of the LPB.

DECENTRALIZATION AND THE LAKEHEAD RENEWAL AUTHORITY

In the post-war years, the twin cities experienced a diffusion of commercial, residential, and institutional components from their CBDs to the urban periphery, and on a lesser scale, to the intercity area. A shopping complex had been established in that

³⁷ Letter from Mayor N. Wilson to Wm. K. Warrender, Minister of Municipal Affairs, March 15, 1961. TBHMS A27/3/1 Saul Laskin Papers.

³⁸ OHI, David Thompson

³⁹ OHI, David Thompson: Thompson also credits Port Arthur City Planner Bones McCormack as a source of support and cooperation. McCormack assumed the position of Secretary of the LPB.

area in 1956, following other North American trends that favoured sites accessible to the automobile. Fort William's Simpson Street shopping district was the first casualty of intercity development as a slow erosion of retail developments occurred. The 1964 opening of Centennial Square Mall in Fort William's CBD aggravated the erosion of commercial developments on Simpson Street. In addition, supporting residential neighborhoods also experienced diffusion to the newly constructed suburbs west of the Fort William CBD.⁴⁰

Planning officials were inundated with requests from developers seeking residential and commercial permits outside of the CBD, particularly along Highway 11, 11A, and other arterial roads heading out of the CBD and into the new suburbs.⁴¹ Developers capitalized on the evolving decentralization of the two communities, while keeping an eye open to their possible amalgamation. For instance, The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company expressed a desire to construct a store in Port Arthur in 1961. Before committing to construction, Company officials requested a vigorous inventory of Fort William residential, commercial and industrial developments. A&P requested the same statistics from adjoining municipalities in order to make a correct decision regarding the future viability of their plans.⁴² The location of the new store was to be built outside of Port Arthur's business district along River Street.

The condition of the Lakehead's two CBDs did not go unnoticed by Parsons who, to the dismay of many, described the business districts as "very inconvenient and

⁴⁰ Kim Brodack, "The Evolution of Commercial Development in a CBD: A Case study of Simpson Street in Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1909-1989." HBA Thesis, Lakehead University, 1991.

⁴¹ OHI, David Thompson

⁴² Letter from D. W. Morrison to D.M. Martin, Clerk, City of Fort William. City of Thunder Bay Archives 4437-03-402 Shopping Centres *also:* OHI David Thompson

have little to attract a discerning public. They are the sickly children of poor planning and very bad performance. They are old and tired and in need of a good bath.”⁴³

Parsons’ solution was to conduct a joint renewal study that would encompass both CBDs, and later pave the way for Fort William and Port Arthur’s urban renewal schemes.

Initially the Lakehead renewal study began as an informal process whereby Parsons consulted with various planning boards, council members, housing authorities, and the Department of Municipal Affairs. David Thompson and Bones McCormack were active participants in the exploratory stages, accompanying Parsons to Toronto in May 1961. Once there, they met with A.L.S. Nash, Director of the Community Planning Branch, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, and John F. Brown, Redevelopment Officer and Parsons’ main contact. It had been proposed that separate renewal studies should be undertaken of Port Arthur and Fort William; however, that was viewed as counter-productive to Parsons goal of achieving a comprehensive, compatible, and integrative study that would benefit the future planning interests of a single Lakehead metropolitan area. Yet, Parsons also recognized that the two cities had “...similar yet separate problems of concern.”⁴⁴ It was becoming evident that including two urban areas, two political cultures, and two CBDs into a renewal study would be difficult. Nash and Brown agreed, yet instructed the Lakehead trio that:

the greatest benefit from such a study will be obtained if the study is proceeded with on a metropolitan or Lakehead basis...In view of the integrated nature of the Lakehead community it would appear both difficult and inappropriate to

⁴³ John Friessen, “Planner may have Points, But is our city that bad?” AO RG19-69 TB1 File 1961-1964

⁴⁴ Harry Parsons to John F. Brown, Redevelopment Officer, Department of Municipal Affairs, May 16, 1961. AO RG19-69 TB1 File 1961-1964

conduct a study that included only part of a total area.⁴⁵

By 19 December 1961, a formal application was made on behalf of the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur and the municipalities of Neebing, Paipoonge and Shuniah, under Section 33 Part V of the National Housing Act, 1954, to enter into an agreement with the CMHC to conduct a study relating to the condition of the Lakehead area. A similar request was forwarded to the provincial department of municipal affairs requesting the minister's approval for the plan. The Lakehead Planning Board noted in their application that:

There are certain areas and buildings in the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur and in the urban fringe areas of the Municipalities of Neebing, Paipoonge and Shuniah that are, through the conditions of the housing as a consequence of structural or location defects, appear to require conservation, rehabilitation, or urban development in varying degrees.⁴⁶

By 1962, approval for the renewal study had been secured through the CMHC and the provincial government. This was the first metropolitan study to be undertaken in the province with the assistance of the National Housing Act of 1954. The Lakehead Renewal Authority was created to steer the efforts of the study. The Authority consisted of three representatives from each of the five participating municipalities, as well as provincial and CMHC observers. Observer status was also offered to a representative of the Fort William First Nation. The Authority's mandate was to guide the activities of the renewal study, under the direction of the LPB and its director. Additional assistance

⁴⁵ John F. Brown to Colonel A.L.S. Nash, May 29, 1961. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁴⁶ Letter from J.F. Brown to A.L.S. Nash, April 27, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB4 File: Fort William – UR Study, 1961-1967.

was also provided to the LPB by Andy Morpurgo, the new District Planning Advisor for Northwestern Ontario.

From 1962 to 1963, Parsons conducted the Lakehead Renewal Study without incident. Parsons' vision for the Lakehead was firmly rooted in the belief that there would be "no bulldozing renewal projects" at the Lakehead.⁴⁷ However, by December 1963, Parsons had submitted his resignation and had left for Australia. With only a draft report partially completed, the status of the Renewal Authority was unknown. Parsons' departure was unexplained and abrupt. Associate director and urban renewal planner, Robin Whitelaw, assumed directorship of the Board. Officials at the Department of Municipal Affairs were dismayed as Parsons had "kept him [Whitelaw] in the dark."⁴⁸ With the sudden departures of Dant and Parsons in a relatively short time, Municipal Affairs officials became concerned that:

The trend here seems to be now toward a well paid personable Industrial Commissioner who should bring industries to the Lakehead. I have a feeling this is not going to bring the desired results: maybe I should tell them.⁴⁹

Further communication between Municipal Affairs and the planning board revealed numerous problems with the renewal draft paper that Parsons had left. At times the text of the report led to confusion and misunderstanding, a considerable number of tables of figures did not relate to the text, many reports that did not relate to urban renewal were included, and a complete lack of maps and illustrative material was

⁴⁷ Letter from Harry Parsons to J.F. Brown, May 31, 1963. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁴⁸ A.R. Morpurgo to J.O.E. Pearson, Field Services Division, January 13, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁴⁹ A.R. Morpurgo to J.O.E. Pearson, Field Services Division, January 13, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

noted.⁵⁰ Stanley H. Pickett, Advisor on Community Planning with the Department of Municipal Affairs, noted that the “report is written in an abrasive academic style which renders it useless as a document for public or even Planning Board and Council understanding.” In conclusion, Pickett stated that Mr. Whitelaw has been left with an “extraordinarily difficult and quite unnecessary task by Mr. Parsons.” The memo directed that all resources be given to Mr. Whitelaw in order to complete the report.⁵¹

One recommendation that did emerge from Parsons’ early draft was the suggestion that no significant areas of the Lakehead required an urban renewal program. The problem of blight was only confined to a few sporadic buildings “here and there”⁵² It would be interesting to ascertain how this conclusion was reached since both Port Arthur and Fort William based subsequent urban renewal schemes on the final version of the Lakehead Renewal Study, which stated that significant areas of the Lakehead area required urban renewal intervention. Indeed, it also seems to contradict Parsons’ earlier recollection of the Lakehead’s two CBDs as “sickly children.” Equally important to note is that his stance against “renewal bulldozing” is consistent with his assertion that the two CBDs needed a good bath, as he stated, not wholesale destruction.

Was there something about Parsons’ preliminary draft that disappointed city and provincial officials? Had they already determined what they wanted the proposals to be? One can only speculate. Noted planning consultant J.R. Bousfield offers one

⁵⁰ Letter from Joan Conolly to Robin Whitelaw, January 27, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁵¹ Letter from Stanley H. Pickett to A.E. Coll, Director of Urban Renewal and Public Housing Division, 27 January 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁵² Letter from A.R. Murpurgo to J.F. Brown, December 20, 1963 AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

explanation. In several municipalities Bousfield has worked with, the planning board became to be regarded as a challenge to council's authority.⁵³ Correspondence between Municipal Affairs and Lakehead officials suggest such a rift.

Minutes from the seventeenth meeting of the Lakehead Renewal Authority reveal that a technical committee was established to "edit" Parsons' report with the assistance of the CMHC and the Community Planning Branch, Department of Municipal Affairs. David Thompson, Robin Whitelaw and Bones McCormack were part of the technical writing team. An addendum to the minutes indicates that Municipal Affairs officials would produce a suggested outline for a condensed report. Meanwhile, LPB staff would prepare area maps "with particular attention being directed to the identification of renewal areas." Further, Municipal Affairs and CMHC officials directed that Whitelaw, Thompson, and McCormack were to submit a "short statement outlining what their particular municipality had expected to gain from the Lakehead Renewal Study."⁵⁴ Such a move might help to defuse the potential problems that Parsons' report had instigated. According to Pickett, the whole situation had led to "the planning board and the Councils (Fort William and Port Arthur) who I gather are clamoring for someone's head."⁵⁵ Director of Community Planning, D.F. Taylor, agreed with J.F. Brown's directives, observing, after thanking Brown, that:

It is indeed unfortunate that the draft prepared by the former director was so poor. The arrangements reached respecting technical committee seems like the only way out.⁵⁶

⁵³ J.R. Bousfield, *Subject to Approval: A Review of Municipal Planning in Ontario*. (Toronto) Ontario Economic Council, 1973, 6.

⁵⁴ Minutes of the Seventeenth Meeting of the Lakehead Renewal Authority, January 30, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁵⁵ Stanley H. Pickett to A.E. Coll, January 27, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁵⁶ Letter from J.F. Brown to D.F. Taylor, February 4, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

Not everyone was as critical of Parsons' report, as J.A. MacGowan of the CMHC mentioned to Brown:

I do have a feeling that perhaps Messrs. Thompson and McCormack are being overly critical of the work Harry Parsons left behind in that Mr. Whitelaw mentioned to me that these two gentlemen suggested to me that anything Mr. Parsons had developed should not even be considered for inclusion in the final report.⁵⁷

Further discrepancies were revealed in the final draft of the renewal study. Whereas Parsons had stated that there were only a few buildings of concern, the final study suggested that several areas be designated in the Official Plan as Redevelopment Areas. Planning Area 12, the Port Arthur CBD, was given priority for acquisition, clearance and improvement. Port Arthur was further encouraged to expand the boundaries of its CBD. Whereas Parsons found the CBD to be "dirty", the final study concluded that the entire CBD needed "direction, rejuvenation, reorganization, and particularly redefinition in an effort to encourage its consolidation."⁵⁸ These proposals went further than what Parsons was willing to accept. Fort William, meanwhile, was encouraged to redevelop its CBD on a two-block basis. Further, the acquisition and clearance of the area bounded by Miles, Archibald, Leith and John Streets was suggested, while clearance of slum property near the coal dock area was regarded as important.⁵⁹ So much for Parsons' claim that the Lakehead would not witness "renewal bulldozing." Despite the controversies that accompanied the Lakehead Renewal

⁵⁷ Letter from J.A. MacGowan to J.F. Brown, February 21, 1964. AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁵⁸ Extract – Lakehead Renewal Study – Port Arthur – 75,76,77: AO RG19-69 TB1 File: Urban Renewal – Lakehead #2 S217

⁵⁹ "Report Covers All Lakehead Communities," The News Chronicle 22 October 1964.

Authority, both Fort William and Port Arthur adopted the redevelopment recommendations and applied for assistance. External consultants would later utilize the report in their redevelopment plans.

REGIONALISM AND THE LAKEHEAD PLANNING BOARD

. During the next five years, the Lakehead Planning Board played an integral role in advising its constituents on the new regionalism that was sweeping the province. The provincial government of John Robarts, undertook a series of local government reviews in areas experiencing metropolitan problems. This included the Ottawa-Carleton, Niagara, Kitchener-Waterloo, the Lakehead, Peel-Halton, Hamilton-Wentworth-Burlington, Muskoka and Sudbury regions. Upon a request by the Lakehead communities, Minister of Municipal Affairs, Darcy McKeough, appointed special commissioner Eric Hardy to study the Lakehead. One of McKeough's objectives was to create local government units that were based on a sense of community identity, on sociological characteristics, economics, geography and history. His plan, he trusted, should result in creating a workable balance of interests.⁶⁰

Hardy presented his report in 1968, recommending "the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur and adjacent territories from the Municipalities of Shuniah and Neebing be joined to form a single Lakehead City."⁶¹ The Hardy Report utilized the Lakehead Renewal Study for much of its statistical and land-use planning. It anticipated that an amalgamated Lakehead city would experience growth problems stemming from its

⁶⁰ Darcy McKeough, "Darcy McKeough on Regionalism," *Civic Administration* March 1969, 38.

⁶¹ Lakehead Local Government Review Commission, *Review and Recommendations*, Toronto: Department of Municipal Affairs, 1968, 113.

intercity area. It also suggested that the new intercity area would compete with the established CBDs for investment. Despite the proposal of a unified Lakehead city, one could expect a divisiveness or duality to exist for quite some time.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated the varied forces that combined to promote greater regional cooperation at the Lakehead. Its major proponent was the Lakehead Planning Board, which in its early years, tried to convince the Lakehead communities to view themselves as one community with shared goals and needs. From 1947 to 1970, planning initiatives at the Lakehead attempted to ameliorate the dual nature of the region. Historical sentiments that had once prevented amalgamation slowly weakened as political leaders grasped the potential greatness of one Lakehead community

In this era, the Lakehead witnessed the erosion of the Port Arthur and Fort William CBDs. This phenomenon affected other North American cities as well. The difficulty at the Lakehead, however, was the challenge of integrating the old urban structures into a future unified city. Indeed, pressures of how to accommodate the annexation of surrounding municipalities into a future Lakehead city presented difficulties as well. The future of the CBDs was decided by the results of the Lakehead renewal study. Its completion was problematic, and its results would likely have been different had Harry Parsons not resigned. Despite the growing trend towards decentralization of the commercial shopping districts at the Lakehead, the renewal study emphasized the maintenance and redevelopment of the core areas. This thought was later included in the Hardy Report of 1968, and the Lakehead Official Plan of 1972.

Because of the decisions in this era, the future City of Thunder Bay would inherit a policy of core area maintenance that would fragment and polarize commercial development after 1970. Urban renewal programs would be established to preserve the vitality of the core areas, yet it is was this exercise that served to maintain a duality and divisiveness that regional planning efforts had tried to minimize.

CHAPTER II.

“To Hell with the Future, let’s get on with the Past:”

Renewal, Conflict, and Shopping Malls In Port Arthur and Thunder Bay.

INTRODUCTION

The Lakehead renewal study emphasized the redevelopment of several blighted areas in Port Arthur and Fort William. Redevelopment became synonymous with the expropriation, demolition, and relocation of existing urban structures in the mid to late-1960s. Indeed, urban renewal programs became infamous for what they destroyed, as opposed to what they “renewed.” The advent of citizen and neighborhood advocacy groups challenged traditional decision-making bodies. Deference to authority was replaced by combative and outspoken protest. Civic officials found themselves besieged when authorizing urban renewal programs. This was evident at the Lakehead.

The city of Port Arthur enthusiastically embraced urban renewal in its CBD. Concerned citizens quickly viewed this as an unholy alliance with private developers. Relations between city council and the public degenerated into accusations of private enrichment through public tax dollars.⁶² Redevelopment in Port Arthur’s CBD was problematic in other ways. By the time the Hardy Report had been delivered in 1968, Port Arthur had already secured funding for its urban renewal scheme, well ahead of Fort William which had yet to gather the necessary political support.⁶³ Because of Port Arthur’s redevelopment, some felt that Fort William’s commercial district would collapse

⁶² OHI Saul Laskin, Edgar Laprade, George Lovelady Jr. ALSO: Bill Merritt, “Urban Renewal : It’s already Cost a Packet, Sir!” News Chronicle 12 February 1972.

⁶³ OHI David Thompson

in a unified city. How could Fort William compete with Port Arthur and intercity? Others questioned the necessity of preserving Port Arthur's CBD in an amalgamated city.⁶⁴

The only method of achieving a unified city is to create one core area, not maintain two old ones. Therefore, urban renewal was seen to maintain old divisions while creating new ones. If the purpose of amalgamation was a single Lakehead community, why not have a single new core? An intercity location was viewed as the natural focal point of a single Lakehead city. Instead of maintaining a duality at the Lakehead, intercity development was viewed as a means of uniting the two cities into one.

Renewal efforts were threatened by increased the suburbanization and decentralization of the Lakehead. Before amalgamation, Shuniah proposed the construction of a shopping plaza on the periphery of Port Arthur's urban fringe, adjacent to the Lakehead Expressway. Its construction was contested bitterly by Port Arthur councillors. This act was viewed with cynicism, as several council members were also business owners in the Port Arthur core area. As such, the city's objections were seen as an exercise in self-interest, and not public interest.

Redevelopment continued after amalgamation in 1970 despite growing public dissent. Thunder Bay's ward system did much to elevate and antagonize bitter feelings toward amalgamation. The city was divided along old municipal boundaries, with five representatives being elected from each of the Port Arthur ward and the Fort William ward. One councillor was elected from the rural wards of Neebing and McIntyre. This system fostered an adversarial approach to municipal politics, a situation further antagonized by a strong voting block from Port Arthur. Indeed, three of Port Arthur's

⁶⁴ OHI Florence Koss, Rita Ubriaco, Ken Tilson

representatives were holdovers from the pre-amalgamation period. It was customary for them to decide on issues behind closed doors. Once a consensus was developed, they presented a united front. They were known as a “business bunch,” compared to the “lunch bucket” councillors in Fort William. Post-amalgamation politics saw the Port Arthur bloc routinely out-vote Fort William’s representatives. Saul Laskin, the last mayor from Port Arthur, could usually count on support from rural representatives and Grace Remus from Fort William. This situation was untenable as old jealousies surfaced. At the instigation of a Fort William councilor and businessperson, four of Port Arthur’s representatives were charged with conflict of interest and later removed from office. This event broke the Port Arthur voting bloc and the will of Mayor Laskin to remain in politics.⁶⁵ As Geoffrey Weller has commented, politics at the Lakehead was transformed from “inter-municipal rivalry [to] became intra-municipal rivalry.”⁶⁶

This chapter will discuss Port Arthur’s struggle with urban renewal. Complex social, political, and economic forces combined in the late 1960s and early 1970s to challenge civic leaders. Suburbanization, peripheral shopping mall development, grass-roots protest movements and historic jealousies made life interesting at the Lakehead. Amalgamation was intended to usher in co-operation and progress at the Lakehead. This, however, was not the case. A divisive ward system antagonized Thunder Bay’s new council, particularly on issues of commercial development. Meanwhile, Fort

⁶⁵ OHI Saul Laskin, Bert Badanai, Edgar Laprade ALSO: Peter Raffo, “Municipal Political Culture and Conflict of Interest at the Lakehead, 1969-72,” Papers and Records Volume XXVI (1998) Thunder Bay Historical and Museum Society.

⁶⁶ Geoffrey R. Weller, “The Politics and Administration of Amalgamation: The Case of Thunder Bay.” A Paper presented to the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, June 7-9th, 1982, 10.

William's leaders sat on the sidelines, watching Port Arthur struggle with urban renewal. Perhaps this was done in the hope of avoiding their neighbor's mistakes.⁶⁷

THE GENESIS OF URBAN RENEWAL

Urban renewal programs had an inauspicious beginning. From the depths of the Great Depression, Canada's federal government sought out solutions to alleviate economic and social ills. Particularly disturbed by the state of Canada's housing stock, federal authorities passed the Dominion Housing Act (DHA) in 1935. Similar to the "New Deal" in the United States, the DHA legislated against substandard housing (often referred to as blight) as a national priority. Resources were directed towards the construction and upkeep of housing. Officials believed this to have a "filtering down" effect that would stimulate the economy.⁶⁸ This was followed in 1938 with the National Housing Act (NHA) that clearly defined the federal approach to urban degradation and housing stock.

Canadian and Ontario legislation closely mirrored American trends. The United States' National Housing Act of 1938 followed US President Franklin D. Roosevelt's, "one third of a nation ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed," speech. This resulted in America's Federal Housing Act of 1937, a sequel to the public works projects of the early 1930s.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ OHI David Thompson

⁶⁸ David G. Bettison, *The Politics of Canadian Urban Development* (Edmonton) The University of Alberta Press, 1975, 61.

⁶⁹ Fern M. Colburn, *The Neighborhood and Urban Renewal*. (Washington) National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1963, 3.

By 1944 Canadian officials began to plan for the return of war veterans from Europe. On the eve of the end of World War Two, the NHA was passed, consolidating previous legislation and prioritizing the construction of post-war housing. Prime Minister King went one step further, establishing the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) as a Crown Corporation in 1945. Cabinet viewed the CMHC as a tool of economic stimulus, not social improvement.⁷⁰ The CMHC implemented the goals of the NHA. Further amendments to the NHA enhanced the powers of the CMHC, thereby creating a remarkable federal presence in provincial and municipal affairs. The CMHC increased the flow of capital that was available for loans, either directly or through private lenders.

Prior to 1949, national housing acts in the US and Canada emphasized the rehabilitation and construction of low-income housing. Amendments to US legislation in 1949 allowed for “write down” costs of land so that redevelopment by private interests would be feasible.⁷¹ This hybrid legislation married the interest of real estate developers and housing advocates, both of which viewed increased housing construction as essential.⁷² By 1954, the previous amendments had been expanded to include slum clearance and redevelopment, a precursor to the urban renewal tragedies of the 1960s. In the US, this was played out in primarily minority neighborhoods, creating high-density urban ghettos, compartmentalized and isolated from the environment. Increasingly, housing programs became associated with urban renewal,

⁷⁰ Donald J.H. Higgins, Local and Urban Politics in Canada, (Edmonton) Gage Educational Publishing Company, 1986, 107.

⁷¹ Fern M. Colburn, The Neighborhood and Urban Renewal. (Washington) National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1963,7.

⁷² Bernard J. Frieden and Lynne B. Sagalyn, Downtown Inc. How America Rebuilds Cities. (Cambridge) MIT Press, 1989, 22.

which was increasingly associated with slum clearance, dislocation and unrest. Indeed, many inhabitants of the affected communities felt as though urban renewal was “being done to them and not for them.”⁷³

By 1948 Ontario negotiated a joint cost-sharing program with the federal government. Subsequently, Ontario amended its Planning Act, Section 22 to allow municipalities to designate areas for redevelopment and devise a plan for implementation. Toronto was the first Canadian municipality to take advantage of funding for wholesale clearance and redevelopment of residential areas. While planners and bureaucrats freely described the affected areas as slum-like and blighted, local residents resented their arrogance. Residents’ anger coalesced into unprecedented citizen protest. Trefann Court, Regent Park and Lawrence Heights symbolized the flawed urban policies of the tri-government urban experiment.⁷⁴ It also signalled a shift in power between those who traditionally exercised power, and those who did not. Reform leaders such as John Sewell, David Crombie, and Karl Jaffray were subsequently elected to Toronto city council.

In 1956 section 33 (1)(h), Part V of the NHA was amended, allowing municipalities to enter into an agreement with the CMHC to:

make arrangements with a province or a municipality, with the approval of the government of the province, to conduct special studies relating to the condition of urban areas, to means of improving housing, to the need for additional housing or for urban

⁷³ Gretta Fry and Alina Zoltak, Strengths and Weaknesses of Three Downtown Revitalization Programs in Ontario, University of Guelph, Department of Consumer Studies, 1980.

⁷⁴ See: Albert Rose, Governing Metropolitan Toronto: A Social and Political Analysis 1953-1971, (Los Angeles) University of California Press, 1972; Graham Fraser, Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court, (Toronto) Hakkert, 1972; James Lorimer, The Real World of City Politics, (Toronto) James Lewis & Samuel, 1970; John Sewell, Up Against City Hall, (Toronto) James Lewis & Samuel, 1972.

redevelopment.⁷⁵

Symbolically, this revision abandoned the federal government's commitment to affordable housing. Federal officials still believed that new housing would be constructed, yet civic officials saw otherwise. Municipal officials favored CBD commercial redevelopment over housing improvements, believing a greater economic stimulus occurred. Federal legislation encouraged such activity, as the 1964 NHA amendments did not require a substantial housing component before or after redevelopment.⁷⁶ To compound the situation, Section 23 of the NHA was amended to allow the CMHC to contribute 50 percent of the costs of preparing and implementing an urban renewal scheme. Not only did the NHA encourage a lack of housing development, financial assistance almost guaranteed it.

The Ontario government announced its intention to parallel the federal initiatives. The minister of Municipal Affairs, J.W. Spooner, introduced the necessary provincial support for a federal-provincial cost-sharing program. In addition, the minister announced that "Whereas blighted areas previously had to have a substantial housing content in order to receive financial assistance, the new policy will include areas other than residential."⁷⁷ Spooner clarified the parameters of Ontario's initiatives at the Symposium of Planning, Renewal and Housing on December 16 and 17, 1964. Whereas Spooner scarcely mentioned CBD commercial renewal, he forcefully argued for renewal schemes that fully utilized the NHA's resources to "benefit people in lower income brackets, the people who need assistance the most." Furthermore, Spooner

⁷⁵ J.R. Bousfield, Subject to Approval: A Review of Municipal Planning in Ontario. (Toronto) Ontario Economic Council, 1973, 78.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 78.

⁷⁷ Press Release by J.W. Spooner, Minister of Municipal Affairs, July 16, 1964. TBA 2877.

demanded that “We must plan, we must build, we must rebuild, we must introduce new elements – not only in our downtown areas, but throughout the length and breadth of our municipalities.”⁷⁸ Funding for the planning and implementation of urban renewal schemes is illustrated in the following breakdown:

Federal Government	→	50%
Provincial Government	→	25%
Municipality	→	25%

At this point urban renewal schemes became synonymous with commercial redevelopment. Port Arthur, Hamilton, Toronto, Kitchener, Kingston and London were expected to be the initial beneficiaries of the program. All of them had adopted or were in the process of developing a renewal scheme that emphasized commercial redevelopment in the CBD.

In this light, Port Arthur’s renewal plans were not inconsistent with provincial trends. However, civic leaders continued to underestimate public distaste for the wholesale clearance of property, whether it was commercial, residential, or a combination thereof. The lessons from Lawrence Park, Regent Park and Trefann Court escaped many planning boards and civic leaders. By 1968, however, federal officials had begun a slow retreat from the growing debacle. Paul Hellyer, the minister responsible for the CMHC, led a task force to dissect the problems facing urban renewal. At many stops, Hellyer was faced with emotionally charged citizens who had been or were about to be displaced due to urban renewal. The Canadian federation of

⁷⁸ Remarks of J.W. Spooner, Symposium of Planning, Renewal and Housing, December 16,17, 1964. TBA 1620 File T-15-16-21-18 Town Planning / Urban Renewal, 1966-1969.

mayors and municipalities warned its members to defend their renewal plans, noting that at Hellyer's hearings, few if any municipalities "either justified the need for urban renewal or came to the defense of such schemes as being necessary."⁷⁹ Hellyer also noted that renewal funds were often utilized to tool up the municipal bureaucracy. As this trend continued, residents of redevelopment areas felt out of the loop, uninformed and unimportant in the process⁸⁰. A year later, federal participation in urban redevelopment ended. On 18 December 1969, the federal minister of Housing, and Port Arthur M.P., Robert Andras, stated his intention to formulate a well defined and logical long-term renewal policy. "Our basic concern," Andras explained, "is to see that the causes and not just the symptoms are dealt with and that existing or proposed new interventions are related and productive." Moreover, Andras acknowledged that the:

absence of clearly defined economic and social goals, including the provision of housing for the most disadvantaged groups, the program appears to have served a multitude of often contradictory purposes which were never foreseen in the original definition. For example, as a result of urban renewal activities to date, there has been a net loss in low income housing stock.⁸¹

Andras' intervention involved financial considerations as well. Potential federal commitments to renewal schemes exceeded \$400 million, two thirds of which are grants. Despite this, Andras indicated that six projects were to be built to completion, including Port Arthur's scheme. An additional twelve others were to receive funding for partial implementation.

⁷⁹ Letter from H.A. Lawless, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities to Members, 18 November 1968. TBA 4583 File: Urban Renewal 1966-1969.

⁸⁰ Boyce Richardson, The Future of Canadian Cities (Toronto) New Press, 1972, 69-70.

⁸¹ Robert Andras, Minister Responsible for Housing, House of Commons Address, December 18, 1968. TBA 4584 Series 117, File # 59-04 Urban Renewal 70-71.

Ontario had anticipated the federal action, arguing two months before the announcement that future federal initiatives not “be restricted exclusively to housing. Any attempt to do so can only be interpreted as retrogressive.”⁸² McKeough failed to realize, however, that commercial or residential renewal, if accomplished with a “bulldozer mentality” would fail. What many planners and politicians failed to understand was the essence of renewal. Its emphasis should be on people not buildings. By the mid-1970s Ontario realized this, launching the Ontario Home Renewal Program (OHRP), the Ontario Main Street Program (OMSP), and the Ontario Downtown Revitalization Program (ODRP). The ODRP revived the concept of urban renewal on a gentler scale. Its mandate was to arrest further decline and restore confidence in the city core. The ODRP typically increased affordable housing, created infrastructure improvements, conserved historically sensitive buildings and developed public facilities. The bulldozer mentality of the 1960s had finally been tempered.

PORT ARTHUR AND URBAN RENEWAL

The Lakehead Renewal Study legitimized Port Arthur’s desire for an urban renewal program. Planning Area 12, Port Arthur CBD, was identified as a prime candidate for redevelopment. Having established its CBD as a redevelopment area in its official plan, and by resolution of Council on 26 July 1965, Port Arthur applied to the minister of Municipal Affairs under Section 21 of the provincial Planning Act. Once approval was given, Port Arthur could enter into an agreement with the CMHC for assistance in the preparation of an urban renewal scheme under Section 23(h) of the

⁸² Letter from Darcy McKeough to Saul Laskin, 18 September 1969. TBA 4583 File: Urban Renewal 59-U-1, 1966-1969.

NHA. Application was also made to the province under Section 22 of the Planning Act for financial assistance. Both levels of government accepted Port Arthur's application on 14 October 1965. This allowed Port Arthur to hire external consultants to assess, define and propose a suggested redevelopment of the CBD.

Proctor, Redfern, Bousfield, and Bacon, Consulting Engineers and Town Planners, were hired to guide the renewal process. In their interim renewal report of February 1968, they suggested that the proportion of commercial floor space in the redevelopment area remain consistent with pre-renewal figures. Due to the Lakehead's sluggish and cyclical economy, an increase was neither wise nor beneficial to the project. However, one year later a W.W. Urban Consultants report identified a lack of commercial floor space. It was suggested that an additional 100,000 square feet of retail floor space be included in the project. The second report was accepted and became the basis upon which Headway Corporation devised its urban renewal proposal to the city.

According to Bert Badanai, a councillor from 1970-72, and 1996-1999, the 1969 Read Voorhees & Associates, "Population and Employment Projections" report was the basis on which many planning decisions were made.⁸³ Badanai describes the report as overly optimistic, predicting Thunder Bay's population to reach between 133,000 to 162,000 by 1990. The Lakehead Official Plan (Interim Report) identified a population of 150,000 by 1986. By 1969, however, it was well documented that the Lakehead area suffered from growth rates of below 1 percent throughout the mid-1960s. The birth rate was also in decline at a faster rate than the rest of the province. Finally, the rate of "in-

⁸³ OHI Bert Badanai

migration” was equal to the rate of “out-migration.”⁸⁴ Therefore it is questionable why council accepted the W.W. Urban Consultants figure.⁸⁵

By 1969, developers were in the planning stages to construct two shopping plazas on the periphery of Fort William and Port Arthur. Ample floor space was projected by the time Northwood Plaza would open in 1971. With the completion of County Fair Plaza in 1969, an additional 130,000 square feet would be added. It is reasonable to suggest that additional floor space was not needed.

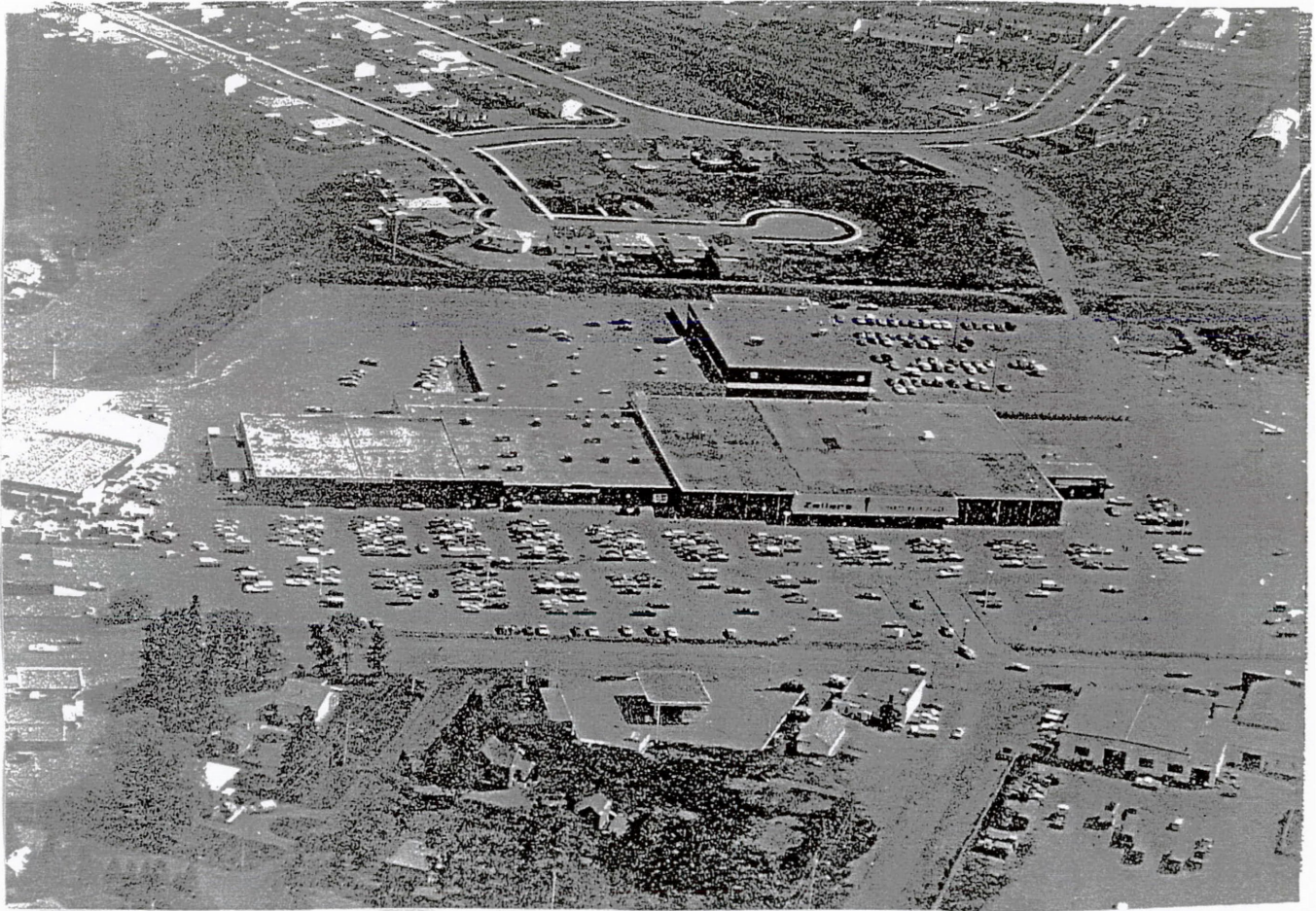
County Fair Plaza posed a serious risk to Port Arthur’s redevelopment. Expanding commercial competition along its own urban periphery prompted council to protest this development to the Ontario Municipal Board. Despite the fact that amalgamation was a done deal, and the plaza would revert to the tax base of Thunder Bay, council claimed that its protest was predicated on an environmental concern, not a competition issue. It was an argument few believed.⁸⁶

In its statement of findings, the OMB dismissed Port Arthur’s claim that improper surface drainage would affect the surrounding area. While this formed a large part of Port Arthur’s objections, A.H. Arrell, vice-chairman of the hearing, noted that Port Arthur did not even bother to have its city engineer provide evidence or testify to this fact. Port Arthur’s second objection was that the construction of the plaza would have a detrimental effect on its urban renewal project. To this point, Arrell pointed out that the zoning for a plaza was completely compatible with the official plan. Furthermore, Arrell

⁸⁴ Read Voorhees & Associates Ltd., Thunder Bay Urban Transportation Study: Population and Employment Projections, July 1969, 13-15.

⁸⁵ Saul Laskin commented that many decisions involving the Lakehead assumed that an amalgamated city would generate more growth. As such, that is one reason as to why the figure was accepted. OHI Saul Laskin

⁸⁶ OHI Florence Koss. By 1974 Ontario would issue Ministerial Zoning orders that limited shopping centres in many of the rural townships adjacent to urban areas. SEE: M.C. Urcha, “Shopping Centres: Their Development and Impact in Atlantic Canada,” Plan Canada 22:2 December 1982, 38.



Aerial view of County Fair Plaza and adjoining subdivision, circa 1970s.
(TBA 4863)

placed considerable weight on consumers' opinions. In general, the Lakehead populace supported the plaza.⁸⁷ Port Arthur lost its appeal and County Fair opened the next year.

In defending Port Arthur's opposition, Mayor Saul Laskin, who was also a merchant in the redevelopment area, claimed that he was simply defending good planning, stating:

I find it very difficult to discuss the Hardy Report at this time when this type of planning is allowed. It was based on the fact that we are going into improper planning when each community for their own self-preservation is allowing things to happen which is not in the interest of the whole. As long as we have four warring nations, each looking for their own place in the sun, someone or all may suffer in the long run. What may look like a short-term gain could be detrimental and very costly in the future and it was based on this premise that the Council of the City of Port Arthur in 1964 appealed to the Provincial Government to have a study made on the Regional Government and all its ramifications.⁸⁸

Member of Provincial Parliament, Ron Knight, also questioned council's motivation. Approached by members of his constituency, Knight was "shocked" to hear of the inferences and accusations that were being levelled at council. In order to clear up the matter, Knight requested council to provide answers to the following four questions:

1. Diagrams in the brochure entitled "Urban Renewal in your City" show clearly that major development in Stage 1 of the Urban Renewal program will surround a store bearing the name of the present Mayor of Port Arthur. Does the mayor have a conflict of interest as defined in the Ontario Municipal Act? If so has he absented himself from all discussion and voting on this matter in the City Council Chambers, as directed by the Act?

⁸⁷ Ontario Municipal Board, P6878-68, 10 October 1968. TBA 2877.

⁸⁸ Saul Laskin response to OMB Decision, TBMHS A27/2/1, Saul Laskin Papers.

2. Who exactly will profit personally and financially from the sale of properties allocated for Urban Renewal with public funds? Names and addresses.
3. Are the homeowners and business proprietors displaced by Urban Renewal, being justly compensated so that they can re-establish elsewhere's in Port Arthur?
4. Is it a conflict of interest for the Port Arthur City Council, which includes several downtown merchants, to officially oppose development of shopping centers in the adjoining municipality of Shuniah, thereby hindering the investment of 2-million dollars in private investment in one section of the future single Lakehead City, while promoting the investment of over 10-million dollars in public funds in another section of the same future single Lakehead city?⁸⁹

Examination of archival documentation has failed to locate a response.

However, some information is known through the public record. Three council members were merchants in the redevelopment area. George Lovelady operated a photo shop, Saul Laskin, a furniture store, and Edgar Laprade owned a hotel and sporting goods store. As such, all three had an interest in the future of the downtown. Laprade sold his hotel to the redevelopment authority, while records indicate that Laskin's wife, Adele, received \$25, 058.50 for property on South Cumberland Street.⁹⁰ All three did not absent themselves from votes in council respecting urban renewal.

THE PUBLIC RESPONDS

Toronto's struggle with urban renewal galvanized public debate and encouraged others to question the wisdom of their politicians and planners. Ordinary citizens such as John Sewall and David Crombie rose from the ranks of protestor to politician, in

⁸⁹ Letter from Ron Knight to Port Arthur City Council, October 1, 1968. TBA 2877, Urban Renewal.

⁹⁰ City of Thunder Bay Appraisal Sub-Committee Minutes, Meeting No. 27, February 10, 1972. AO RG 19-69 TB2, File: Project 18 Port Arthur, Minutes, Sub-Committee.

response to the argument over urban renewal. The late 1960s challenged those who were not a part of the problem to become part of the solution. Urban renewal in Port Arthur also created politicians from protestors. A reform council was elected in 1972 largely because of their suspicion to urban renewal.⁹¹ At the forefront of Thunder Bay's revolution were Florence Koss and the Thunder Bay Citizens Association.

Koss grew up in the east end of Fort William, a multi-ethnic neighborhood that taught her much about life, diversity and perseverance.⁹² Her involvement in politics began when she realized city hall was an "elite temple." Koss began to ally herself with persons who did not know how to fight for themselves as she always enjoyed a challenge. Eventually her activist inclinations coalesced with the Thunder Bay Citizen's Association, and a strong voice of ordinary people was created. She made a quick impression with the association, most notably for her straight talk and sharp wit. Koss was elected its president shortly thereafter.

The group was aware of Toronto's difficulties with urban renewal, particularly Koss who followed it with great interest. Indeed, it was hard not to, as John Sewall quickly became a media darling amid the renewal struggles. Koss and her association identified areas that, in their opinion, needed public airing. Their concerns were similar to other renewal debacles, too much secrecy, not enough housing components, public funds being used to subsidize private business, lack of citizen participation in the renewal process, and developer selection criteria. Koss was subsequently elected on 29 May 1972 as an alderman in the Port Arthur ward – her first attempt in politics.

⁹¹ OHI Florence Koss Also: Cory O'Kelly, "New Alderman Elected, Concern Expressed for Urban Renewal." News-Chronicle 30 May 1972. Paul Inksetter joined Koss in opposing urban renewal while Taras Kozyra was skeptical of its merit.

⁹² OHI Florence Koss

Her first order of business was to examine the developer selection criteria. Rumors abounded that Headway Corporation, a Thunder Bay Company, had ties to Mayor Laskin and Alderman Lovelady.⁹³ Both men flatly denied the charge and no evidence had been produced that would implicate them. It was true that Headway had been given exclusive development rights in the redevelopment area, and that the original urban renewal scheme did not mention or require that such a monopoly exist in order to proceed. However, this was a situation of default rather than by design. Headway Corporation was the only legitimate company to express interest in managing Port Arthur's redevelopment. The other proposals came from rather bizarre sources: a barber, a local hotelkeeper, and a Toronto development firm close to bankruptcy.⁹⁴ It was clear that none of the applicants had sufficient capital or expertise to implement Port Arthur's renewal program. Lack of interest was attributed to the Lakehead's stagnant economy, a situation that led potential developers to anticipate little profit or success.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the high level of retail tension in the city that amalgamation had failed to resolve, led many to doubt the efficacy of the proposed urban renewal effort.⁹⁶

Alderman Koss and the Citizen's Association repeated the charge that increased retail floor space proposed in the W.W. Urban Consultants report was damaging and unjustified. This was presented as a brief to council, entitled "Citizen's Association Study on Urban Renewal – July 1972." The brief reasserted that the supply and

⁹³ OHI Florence Koss Also: Cory O'Kelly, "New Alderman Elected, Concern Expressed for Urban Renewal." News-Chronicle 30 May 1972.

⁹⁴ OHI Saul Laskin, Edgar Laprade, Florence Koss ALSO: Cory O'Kelly, "New Alderman Elected, Concern Expressed for Urban Renewal." News-Chronicle 30 May 1972.

⁹⁵ OHI Saul Laskin

⁹⁶ Letter from James F. Harris to G.T. Steenson, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 15 November 1971. AO RG 19-69 TB2 File: Project #18, Port Arthur "General" Thunder Bay.

FLORENCE KOSS FOR ALDERMAN



WOULD YOU LIKE:



- to be really informed about Urban Renewal,
- to see a greater effort made to make amalgamation work smoothly to your benefit,
- to see the vacant seats filled by capable people with no personal axe to grind!

THEN

VOTE FOR A PROVEN CHAMPION OF THE CITIZENS OF THUNDER BAY . . . FLORENCE KOSS

President of the Thunder Bay Citizens Association broadly representative in membership in all wards of the City. She has been your active spokesman over the past two years for . . .

★ Information on the "Urban Renewal Scheme" which proposes to swallow up taxpayers dollars for a parking garage of questionable need. Should the land be used for housing, for senior citizens; parks, cultural activities and other priorities and other needs of the citizens?

★ Clarification of and strengthening of "Conflict Of Interest" legislation. (I would have voted to have Council investigate itself when Alderman Aedy put the motion last fall).

★ a true ward system to bring Aldermen closer to the people.

★ The development of Thunder Bay's mid-city area and of the Chapples proposed development. (Surely an employee-owned store should not be impeded from expanding so they can meet the competition of retail organizations with headquarters outside of Thunder Bay.)

ON MONDAY MAY 29th, 1972 VOTE FLORENCE KOSS FOR ALDERMAN

Willing to help Florence Koss? There's no big money behind her campaign, she needs your help. Tell your friends -- join her election committee. Give a dollar.

CALL 344-7394 OR 344-7095

Florence Koss' opposition to urban renewal led to her election win in the spring of 1972.
(Election flyer courtesy of Florence Koss.)

demand of retail development is a product of economic and population growth. Since the Lakehead was stagnant, an increase in retail space was not desirable. New revenue would not be generated as a redistribution of existing spending patterns would occur.⁹⁷

By 1971 the economic and population forecasts by the Lakehead Official Plan and the Reed Voorhees & Associates were proved to be overly optimistic. "The population of the Lakehead Planning Area is still 5,000 short of the population predicted in the Official Plan and 2,000 short of the minimum 115,000 projected for 1971," argued Koss.⁹⁸ Would this not diminish the necessity of increased retail floor space? Indeed, even the Urban Renewal Scheme Final Report of February 1968 recognized that "The objective must be a logically staged program in pace with the rate of economic growth, and in line with the municipalities ability to underwrite its share of the costs of renewal."⁹⁹ It was common knowledge that Thunder Bay could not meet these criteria. Indeed, it is doubtful that the urban renewal project would pass the criteria in Section 2.5.3 (b) of the Lakehead official plan, which states that "additional retail floor space is justified by reason of unanticipated changes in population growth, personal disposable income and retail sales per capita."¹⁰⁰

While the renewal project was languishing in debate, additional shopping centres were either approved for construction or completed. Thunder Bay Mall and Northwood Park Plaza contributed over 200,000 square feet of retail floor space, whereas Eaton had anticipated doubling its store to 150,000 square feet in conjunction with the urban

⁹⁷ Florence Koss, "Citizen's Association Study on Urban Renewal – July 1972," 4. TBMHS A27/2/1

⁹⁸ Ibid, 4.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 5.

¹⁰⁰ The Official Plan of the Lakehead Planning Area, Section 2.5.3(b)

renewal mall's completion. Despite provisions in the Lakehead Official Plan against further commercial intensification, and the 1968 Urban Renewal Scheme Final Report which warned that "the promotion of large centers offering a wide range of shopping goods will not be compatible with the growth of the downtown,"¹⁰¹ the Official Plan had no force since it was not officially ratified by council until 1972. In the words of Lakehead University History professor, Peter Raffo, "Thunder Bay was a planner's dream without a plan."¹⁰²

EATON'S AND THE PARKADE

Eaton's was the undisputed king of downtown retailing. Its presence was felt in Canada's core areas since its first store opened in 1869 on Toronto's Yonge St. Its position in Thunder Bay was equally important and vital to any renewal program. As early as 1967, Mayor Laskin publicly counted on Eaton's continued support, stating that the "success of our plan is built around your Company's position in the city of Port Arthur. You are the anchor in our business district and as you develop and grow and build it will have a direct bearing on the results of the plan for the downtown core...and as you know we have already taken steps to enlarge our parking with your assistance."¹⁰³ This was a commitment with profound implications.

¹⁰¹ Florence Koss, "Citizen's Association Study on Urban Renewal – July 1972," 6. TBMHS A27/2/1 ALSO: "Lakehead Official Plan Blocking Start of Plaza," The Times-Journal 14 April 1970.

¹⁰² Peter Raffo, Thunder Bay Oral History Amalgamation Project, 1995.

¹⁰³ Letter from Saul Laskin to L. Giles, Manager, Eaton's of Canada, Port Arthur, 3 January 1967. TBMHS A27/3/32 Saul Laskin Papers.

Eaton's participation in urban renewal projects was predicated on self-interest, not benevolent community service.¹⁰⁴ Eaton's location in the core areas of many cities gave it unprecedented advantage to dictate terms of urban renewal projects. In Port Arthur, this was the case as Eaton's proved to be an attractive anchor and legitimizing force. If Eaton's had not received parking concessions from the city, it was a foregone conclusion that Eaton's would relocate to the intercity area.¹⁰⁵ Laskin re-enforced this point a year later when questioned about the economic viability of the renewal scheme without parking: "Eaton's and Sayvette will spend their money in other places than Thunder Bay if they are required to construct their own parking facilities."¹⁰⁶ Therefore, when Eaton's announced plans for expansion, on 7 March 1971, it was another example of the giant retailer's impact on downtown redevelopment; a 474-car garage was now part of the redevelopment project.¹⁰⁷ By 14 December 1971, city council approved the debenturing of \$1.2 million dollars for construction of the parkade.

Port Arthur's project was based upon an enclosed mall concept, anchored by Eaton's at one end, and another department store at the other. It was hoped and later confirmed that Sayvette Department stores would be the other anchor. Plans were drawn up suggesting an accompanying theatre, hotel and convention complex that would link up to the mall. Principally, Headway's proposal called for a parking structure be built for \$1.2 million by the city that would form the foundation or support to an aerial extension of the mall. The parking garage would support a walkway that would join the

¹⁰⁴ OHI Lorne Kramble ALSO: Eaton has used its advantage to affect renewal projects in London, Guelph, Sarnia, Sudbury, Winnipeg and Hamilton.

¹⁰⁵ OHI Lorne Kramble Eaton's had prepared a study in early 1969-1970 that advanced such an idea if favorable conditions in the Port Arthur ward were not achieved. ALSO: OHI Steven Lukinuk

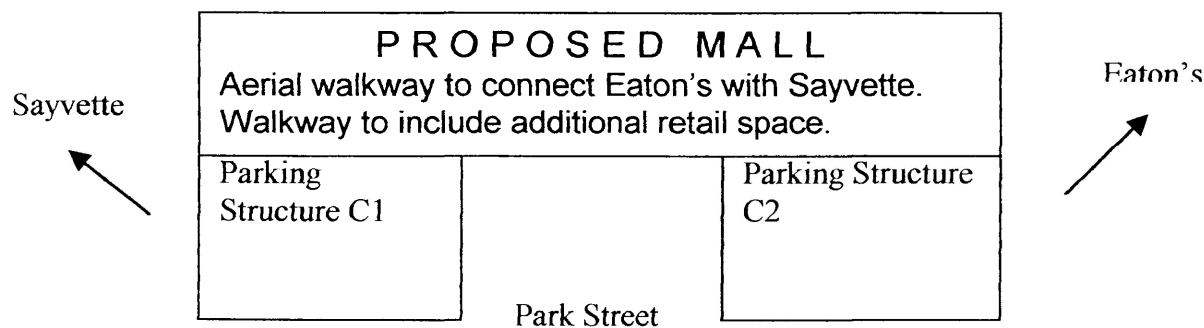
¹⁰⁶ Times -Journal February 12, 1972.

¹⁰⁷ OHI Lorne Kramble, ALSO: "Major Project set in Downtown Area, Eaton's Plans New Complex." Times Journal 8 March 1971.

two ends of the mall, with retail space of approximately 60,000 square feet provided on that walkway. Ground level entrances to the tiered car garage would include unloading areas, docking areas, and space for 450 cars, as well as stairwell and elevator access to the mall. Headway proposed a lease of 66 years whereby the city would be responsible to pay all expenses attributable to the parking structure and 25 percent of the property taxes attributable to parcels C1 and C2 (the parking structures) of the renewal project.¹⁰⁸ Needless to say this did not please many.

Objections to the parkade were fierce and quick. The Thunder Bay Citizen's Association questioned that a garage could have a life span of sixty-six years. Furthermore, if the parking structure supported a major component of the mall, why should the public subsidize Headway's obligation?¹⁰⁹

DIAGRAM OF MALL PROPOSAL



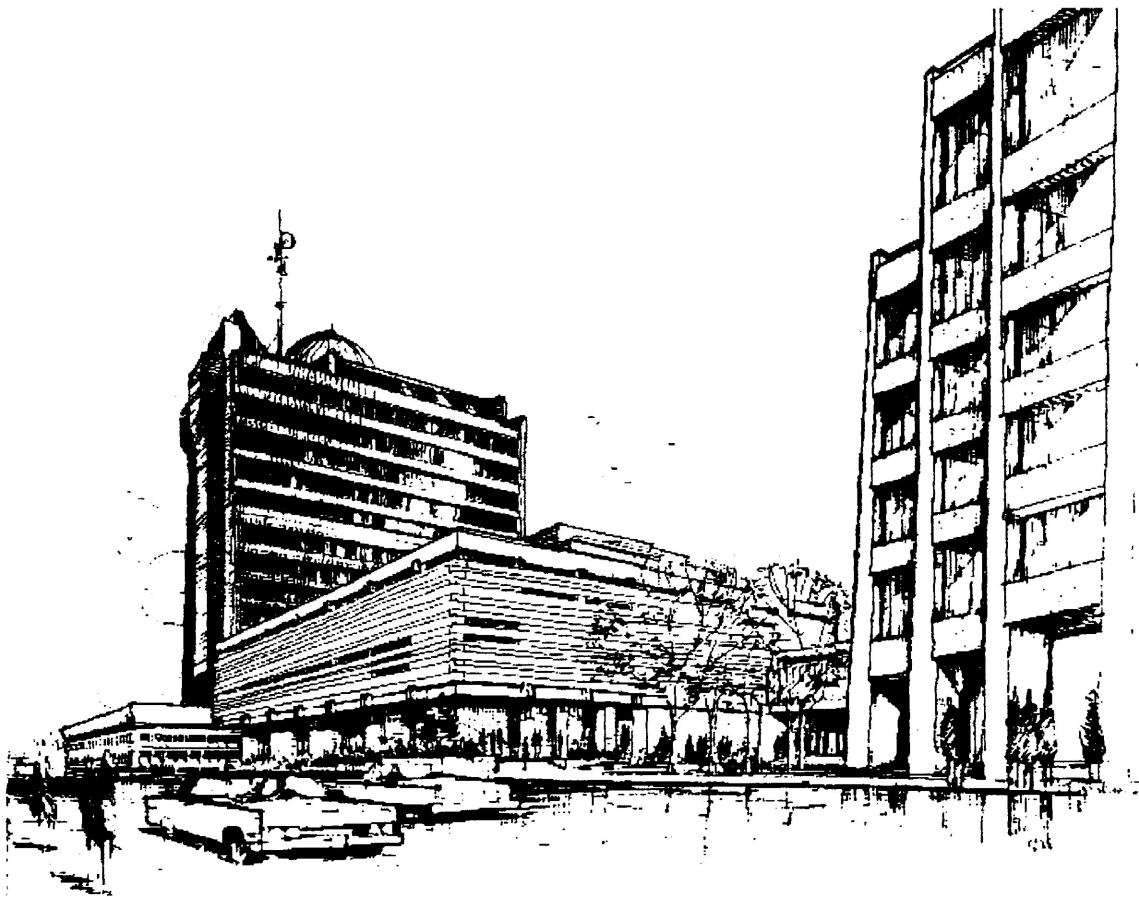
The \$1.2 million debenture issue required OMB approval. Therefore, opponents had one last chance to oppose the structure. Objections were therefore filed with the OMB

¹⁰⁸ Letter from John M. Kauzlarick to R. Tuokko, Director of Urban Renewal, March 28, 1972. TBA 4584 Series 112, Urban Renewal 1972.

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Ernest A. Tremblay to The Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay, 31 July 1972. TBA 4584 Series 112, File 59-U-1, Urban Renewal 1972.



Keskus Harbour Mall, 1998. Pictured is the infamous parking garage that supports the mall and its' walkway. (Photo: author)



Camberland - south

An artist's conception of the Port Arthur urban renewal project.

from the Lakehead Social Planning Council and the Thunder Bay Citizen's Association. Both groups argued that the parking structure was an overly burdensome expenditure for the city, and the subsidization of commercial enterprises was done at the expense of other priorities. The city refuted this, stating that the

parking structure does not constitute a subsidized basement for the retail shopping mall but as previously stated, the parking structure had always been contemplated, therefore in fact the retail shopping mall constitutes a roof to the parking structure at no cost to the city."¹¹⁰

The OMB approved the parkade on 15 March 1973. An appeal to cabinet by the Citizen's Association was unsuccessful, thereby clearing the way for Port Arthur's redevelopment project to continue. The new downtown mall opened its doors on October 30, 1974, to the accolades of shoppers. Its name was Keskus, Finnish for "meeting place;" an appropriate name for a project that divided so many.

CONTINUING DIVISION: CONFLICT OF INTEREST AND THE WARD SYSTEM

Before amalgamation, rivalry was an unpleasant fact at the Lakehead. At the turn of the century this was especially true with industrial development as the two communities fought to attract the prosperity of smokestacks. This rivalry transformed itself into other areas of life, such as sports. As was demonstrated in Chapter 1, there were detrimental aspects to this rivalry, which benefited no one. Co-operation in regional planning was seen as one solution, as was amalgamation.

Under Bill 118, the act to amalgamate the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur, was an interim method of electing representatives to Thunder Bay city council. The

¹¹⁰ "Summary Table of the Main Objections of the Thunder Bay Citizen's Association and the City's Point by Point Reply." AO RG19-69 TB3 File: Project #18 – Thunder Bay General Correspondence.

ward system was instituted, dividing the new city into four areas. Fort William, Neebing, McIntyre, and Port Arthur. Since the ward system maintained old boundaries, and representatives were elected to represent a specific area of the city, many policy issues were fragmented along a Port Arthur – Fort William bias.¹¹¹ This was especially true in Thunder Bay's first few years.¹¹²

Civic development policy makers continuously grappled with two strongly divergent realities. On one hand there was the historic record of two communities that grew in opposition to one another. On the other hand there was a responsibility to integrate the two urban structures and political cultures. Several projects and personalities challenged these realities.

Thunder Bay's first city council was anything but an exercise in unity. Divergent personalities and engrained political cultures clashed to create a combative, sometimes abusive, and comical experience.¹¹³ The old councils of Fort William and Port Arthur operated in distinctly different ways. Amalgamation forced two political cultures and types of personalities into a common council chamber. Whereas the Fort William councilors operated in a brash, populist style, Port Arthur councillors tended to be reserved and business-like. Thus, the modus operandi of the two councils was quite different.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately this led to greater antagonisms between members of council, often resulting in a shouting match across the chamber floor. This acrimony climaxed in Thunder Bay's "Conflict of Interest" case. This debacle absorbed the local and national media, and led some to question if and when amalgamation would ever work.

¹¹¹ OHI Ken Boshcoff, Dusty Miller, Saul Laskin, Ken Tilson

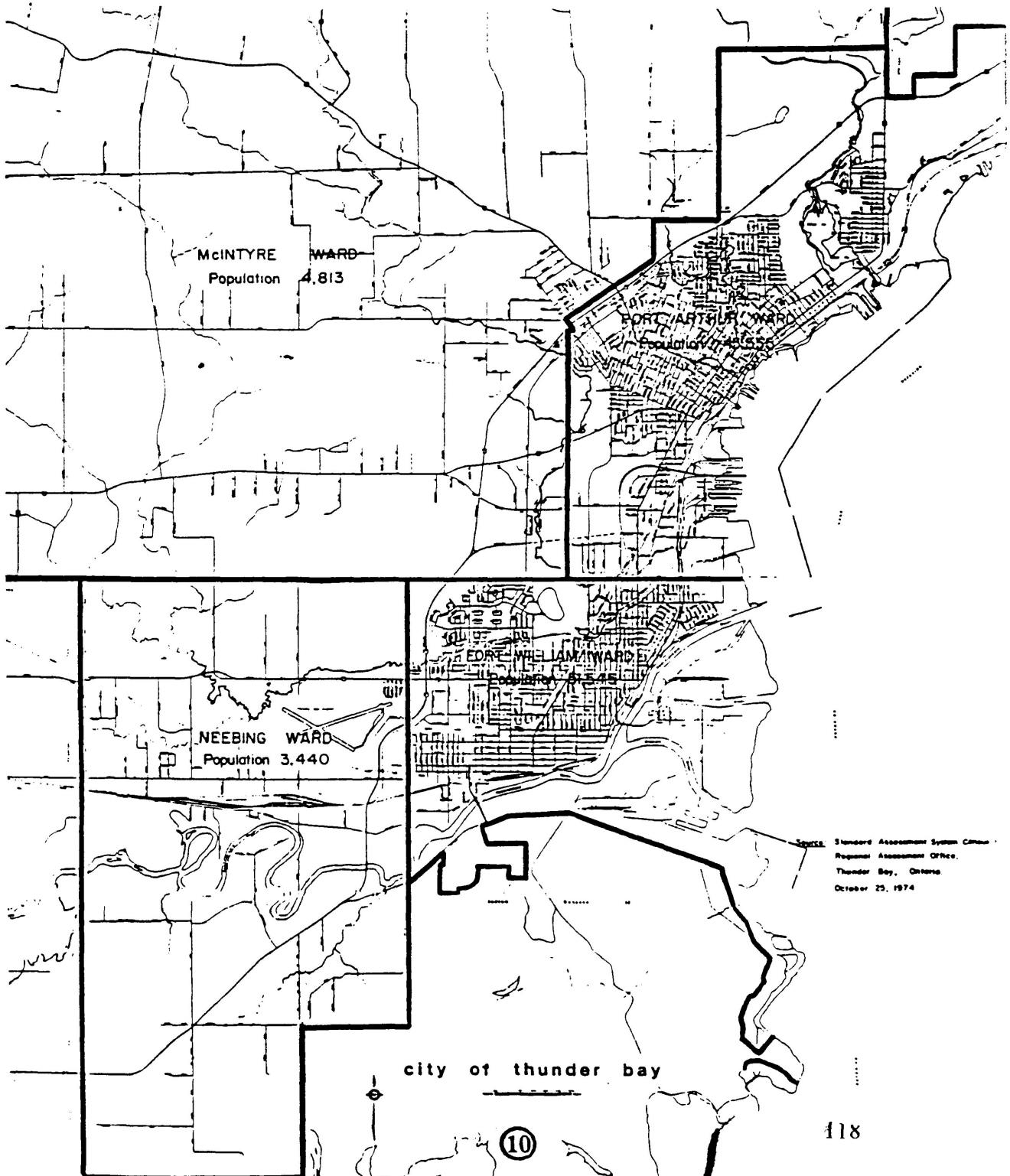
¹¹² Some would argue that this still goes on at the time of writing, e.g. new hospital site and water supply issues.

¹¹³ OHI Saul Laskin, Edgar Laprade; TBAOHP Don Lenardon

¹¹⁴ OHI Saul Laskin, Edgar Laprade, Bert Badanai

City of Thunder Bay, 1970 – 1975 Ward Boundaries

Map 1





Council-elect, 1970. Back row, L to R: Don Eady, Hugh Cook, Tom Jones, Saul Laskin, Grace Remus, George Lovelady, Edgar Laprade, Bert Badanai. Front row, L to R: Mickey Hennessy, Walter Assef, Ernie Reed (CEO), D.B. Morris (Clerk), Dr. Charles Johnston, Don Lenardon. Missing: Bill Morgan. (Photo courtesy of Saul Laskin)

On one level, the case was a well-known proceeding that attempted to discern whether four councillors used their position on council to acquire benefit for their private business holdings. On another level, it was a politically motivated attack on the solidarity enjoyed by these councillors and Mayor Laskin.¹¹⁵

The facts of the case are well-known. The motivations of the actors, however, are not so transparent. Tom Jones was a rookie councilor from the McIntyre ward when charges of conflict were filed against him. He ran a successful construction company and found himself drawn to Laskin's style of leadership on council. The city requested tenders for the construction of a vehicle storage garage. Jones submitted a tender, declared he had a conflict of interest and abstained from debating and voting on this issue. Subsequently, Jones was granted the contract on a 7-3 vote on 24 August 1971¹¹⁶ Council members recognized the appearance of impropriety, as Alderman Hugh Cook of the Fort William ward questioned Jones' integrity, and that of the entire process.¹¹⁷

Interest in the agreement, however, persisted until 23 November, when Aldermen Aedy, Cook, Assef and Hennessy voted in favor of a judicial inquiry to investigate council's awarding of tenders. It was suggested that an investigation into malfeasance and misconduct was needed to clear all counsellors of a "perceived" wrongdoing. Many of Port Arthur's representatives voted against the resolution, indicating that advice from the attorney general's office was forthcoming on the

¹¹⁵ Peter Raffo, "Municipal Political Culture and Conflict of Interest at the Lakehead, 1969-72," Papers and Records Volume XXVI (1998) Thunder Bay Historical and Museum Society 38.

¹¹⁶ "Jones Limited Wins Building Contract," The News-Chronicle 25 August 1971.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

matter.¹¹⁸ The next day, a Fort William businessman initiated what council refused to do.

Lloyd Hurdon, general manager of Chapple's department store, initiated a request for a judicial inquiry through his lawyer, Wally Bryan, a former Fort William alderman. Aldermen Bert Badanai, George Lovelady, Tom Jones and Edgar Laprade were named in the action. All named were businessmen from Port Arthur with the exception of Jones who represented McIntyre. Lovelady owned three photography shops, Badanai owned a car dealership, and Laprade operated a sporting goods store. Hurdon claimed that by mid-October, his concern was with Jones' conduct solely. When council defeated a motion to approve an inquiry on 23 November, Hurdon made the decision to include the other alderman in the civil proceedings.¹¹⁹

The four councillors never denied they sold goods or services to the city. All four claimed a conflict existed and abstained from the ensuing debate. What is striking, however, is the absence of Fort William councillors under the same cloud of conflict. It was common knowledge that Walter Assef sold paint to the city and Mickey Hennessey sold liquor at city functions, yet they were absent from Hurdon's allegations. The Port Arthur councillors who were charged were supportive of, if not loyal to Saul Laskin¹²⁰. The Port Arthur voting block routinely outvoted Fort William, as Laskin was able to count on Grace Remus from Fort William and Don Lenardon from Neebing for

¹¹⁸ "Council Rejects Judicial Inquiry," *The Daily Times-Journal* 24 November 1971.

¹¹⁹ "Hurdon Tells Why he Acted." *The News-Chronicle* 12 January 1972

¹²⁰ OHI Saul Laskin, Edgar Laprade, George Lovelady Jr.

additional support.¹²¹ The motivation for Hurdon's action lay beyond impropriety and conflict.

By January 1972, Hurdon's motivations became clear. Hurdon had been in negotiations to lease a parcel of land on the Canadian Lakehead Exhibition grounds in the intercity area. His plans included the construction of a new Chapples outlet, and a possible link to the Simpson-Sears plaza. The city was also eyeing this property for development plans of its own. However, relations between the City and the CLE were strained, possibly explaining the deal with Hurdon.¹²² Despite the city's claim of interest in the property, CLE President Norman Shields indicated that the city never approached the exhibition board with plans for the site before the Chapples bid.¹²³ By February 2, Hurdon reached an agreement with the CLE and signed a 50-year lease. Laskin was worried about the deal, not only for the long-term plans he had envisioned, but also for the vitality of the urban renewal project in the Port Arthur ward. Competition at this point would be detrimental when multiplied with the other plazas opening in Thunder Bay.¹²⁴

It was against this backdrop that Hurdon had plenty to worry about. It had only been three years earlier that Port Arthur city council had attempted to block the construction of County Fair Plaza. Since the Lakehead official plan had not yet been ratified, Hurdon's move to the intercity area would be significantly less complicated. However, he still had to deal with Thunder Bay city council, which in his eyes, was a decidedly Laskin stronghold. Alderman Don Lenardon supports such a theory,

¹²¹ OHI Saul Laskin

¹²² "Dirty Thinking: Laskin. City Not Blocking Lease of CLE Land." *News-Chronicle* 17 January 1972.

¹²³ "Chapples Bid Favored CLE President Says," *News-Chronicle* 18 January 1972

¹²⁴ OHI Saul Laskin

acknowledging that Hurdon's actions were motivated on purely political grounds.¹²⁵

Peter Raffo adds the following observations to Hurdon's involvement:

Indeed, Lloyd Hurdon's very involvement in the case raises several questions. He was well known as an opponent of amalgamation, and closely associated with the Fort William opposition group. His lawyer was the same Wally Bryan who had resigned as alderman in the South ward in 1970 because he did not like the way the council's business was being conducted under Laskin's leadership.¹²⁶

By 15 February 1972, proceedings against Badanai, Lovelady, Laprade and Jones concluded with their removal from office. Laskin was disappointed and disgusted at the turn of events. Laskin realized that the new brand of politics was not for him¹²⁷. Rather than compromise his principles, Laskin served out the rest of his term, never to return to politics. Council was irrevocably weakened. With by-elections set for the spring, a new dynamic on council was created. One of those new councilors was Florence Koss, a strong advocate of the Chapples' expansion and a friend of Hurdon.¹²⁸

Meanwhile, progress on Hurdon's application for a permit to build went slowly. Hurdon leveled allegations of political interference, without result¹²⁹. Hurdon even suggested that continued delays might force the closure of Chapples' Fort William store. A further council meeting on 27 April 1972 produced few results. Whereas Mickey Hennessey and Walter Assef supported granting Chapples a permit, a majority disagreed. Hennessey then claimed that some council members harbored "personal

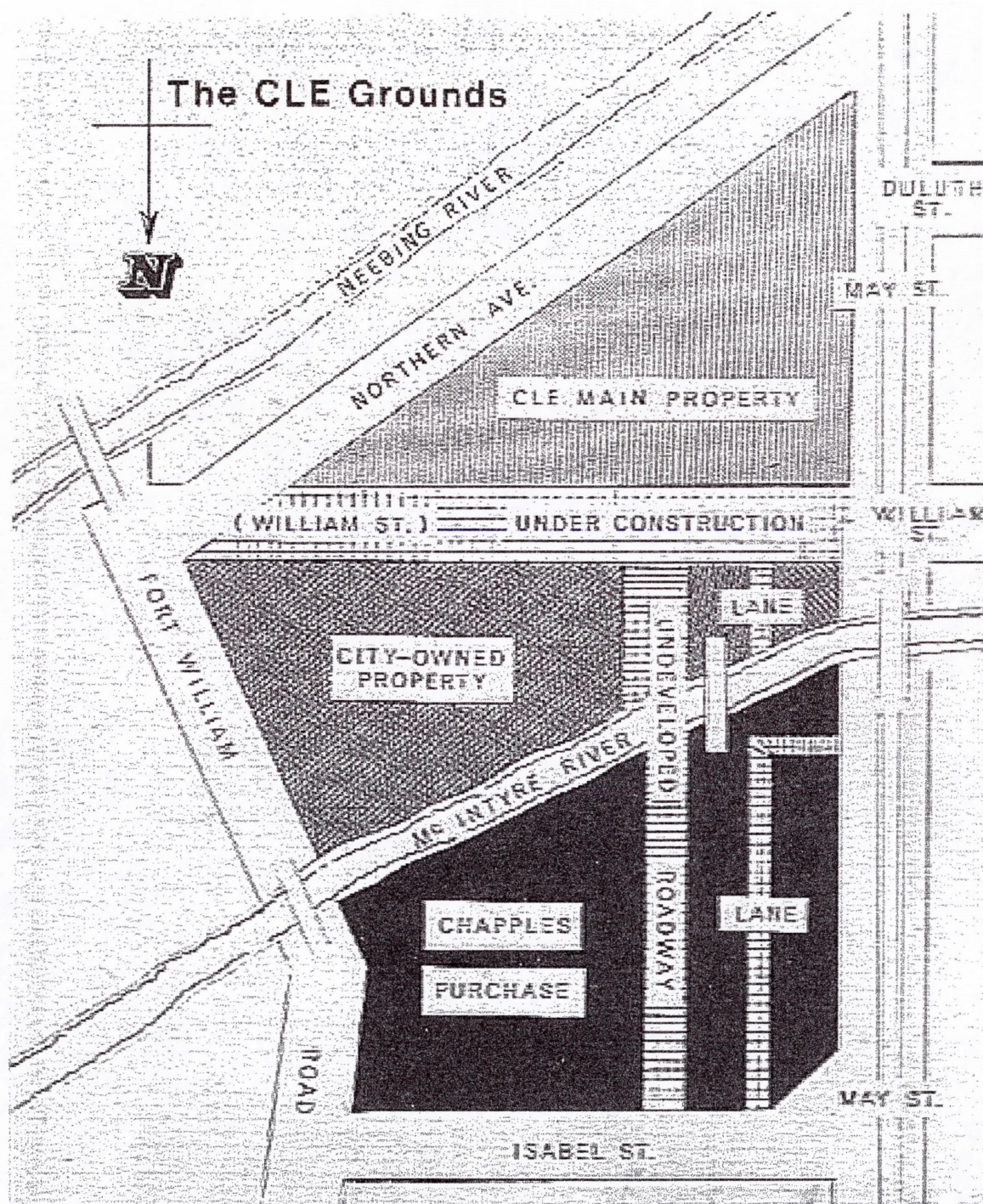
¹²⁵ Don Lenardon is quoted by Peter Raffo, "Municipal Political Culture and Conflict of Interest at the Lakehead, 1969-72," Papers and Records Volume XXVI (1998) Thunder Bay Historical and Museum Society 38..

¹²⁶ Peter Raffo, "Municipal Political Culture and Conflict of Interest at the Lakehead, 1969-72," Papers and Records Volume XXVI (1998) Thunder Bay Historical and Museum Society 38.. Raffo refers to the "Opposition group" from Fort William. The group consists of Walter Assef, Mickey Hennessey, Hugh Cook and Don Aedy.

¹²⁷ OHI Saul Laskin

¹²⁸ OHI Florence Koss Of note: Koss would later become President of the CLE.

¹²⁹ "Could Force Store to Close: Hurdon," The News-Chronicle 17 April 1972.



CLE tug of war: This property was highly fought over in the early 1970s by the City, Lloyd Hurdon, and shopping centre developers. (Map: The Sleeping Giant)

reasons” for denying the application, particularly Lenardon. The latter then asked for clarification of Hennessy’s charge to which Hennessy replied: “you’re just going along with the man across the table from you.”¹³⁰ The man across the table was Saul Laskin. Meanwhile, Hurdon claimed that his mall proposal would have a unifying effect on Thunder Bay, providing “a balance between the two cores and to keep both healthy...a strong mid-city development is necessary. And although it will make the mid-city area the strongest retail area in Thunder Bay it will put an end to for many years to the further proliferation of retailing.”¹³¹ Hurdon’s expansion was stalled indefinitely, on the pretext of environmental concerns to the adjacent McIntyre floodway.. In frustration, Hurdon surrendered and shelved plans for the mall.

Commercial interest in the intercity area continued to grow, much to the dismay of core area merchants. By 1977 Greater York Holdings, a development company, had purchased Hurdon’s lease on the intercity / CLE grounds, announcing plans to build a 70-store shopping centre. Council had little recourse but to accept Greater York’s proposal, since amendments that Hurdon had initiated earlier, allowed for such commercial development.¹³² Some councillors felt the mall to be incompatible to renewal efforts in Port Arthur, and the fledgling plans in Fort William. Councilor Roy Murray exclaimed that Thunder Bay needed “another mall like a hole in the head, ” whereas Councillor Lawrence Timko felt “for council to turn away a \$25 million

¹³⁰ Bill Merritt, “Chapples Still Waiting for CLE Building Permit,” The Times-Journal 27 April 1992

¹³¹ “Sees Unification in Shopping Mall,” The News-Chronicle 17 March 1972.

¹³² Rita Ubriaco, “Alderman refutes the view that council favored added mall.” The Chronicle-Journal 5 March 1981.

expansion would be ridiculous.”¹³³ Council’s blessing eventually resulted in the construction of Intercity Shopping Plaza by Campeau Corporation in 1982. Intercity would evolve to assume commercial hegemony in Thunder Bay, resulting in increased development in the area. To add injury to core area merchants, Intercity’s opening day promotion featured free bus rides to the mall from both downtown cores. This was an ominous portent of the future.

YOU WANT THAT WHERE?!

Amalgamation saw the Fort William ward become home to the separate and public school boards of Thunder Bay. In addition, City Hall, Police and Fire services were headquartered there. This left the impression among many Port Arthur residents that they were losing out in amalgamation.¹³⁴ To compound matters further, the provincial government indicated its intention to locate a new administrative and courthouse complex on the periphery of the Fort William ward.

This angered many, including Fort William’s representatives.¹³⁵ Fort William’s CBD was in decline and revitalization of the core area was needed. It made little sense to locate these buildings away from the CBD when it could realize many benefits from their placement in the core. Mayor Laskin echoed the sentiments of many citizens when he pushed for the government to select a location central to both cities. Laskin endorsed a plan to purchase the Canadian Lakehead Exhibition grounds and create a

¹³³ “Arrival of Intercity hassle-riddled.” *The Chronicle – Journal* 19 October 1982.

¹³⁴ OHI Ken Tilson

¹³⁵ OHI David Thompson

government centre that would bring the two communities together.¹³⁶ The CLE, however, was committed to Hurdon. Anger over the building debacle caught up to Jim Jessiman, the Progressive Conservative MPP for Fort William and architect of the government's site selections. Jessiman came under fire from the Port Arthur Conservative riding association President Wayne Kilby. At a riding meeting, Kilby condemned the pork barrel politics of Jessiman and blamed him for ruining amalgamation.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, the Fort William Conservative riding association supported Jessiman, and praised his commitment to his electors.

CONCLUSION

Under the capable leadership of Saul Laskin, Port Arthur entered amalgamation on a strong note. However, it soon became apparent that a multitude of obstacles would confront Thunder Bay city council, the least of which was its own members. Laskin was committed to good planning, realizing that these decisions laid the groundwork for a future city that was either integrated in purpose, or divided in distrust.

Whereas previous decades of politicians and planners could only plan for a united Lakehead city, the first council of Thunder Bay inherited one. Its problems were many and challenges great. More than any other issue, commercial development of Thunder Bay created strife, mistrust, and contradictions. New shopping mall developments challenged the vitality of traditional urban structures, and with it the very need for urban renewal. The fact that the Lakehead official plan was not officially

¹³⁶ OHI Saul Laskin ALSO: Cory O'Kelly, "Mayor Denounces Site Chosen for Mini-Park; Will Write to Minister," The News-Chronicle 6 May 1972; Editorial, "People in Both Wards Want New Look at Site," The News-Chronicle 11 May 1972.

¹³⁷ "Association Blasts Jessiman On Government Complex Site." The News-Chronicle 9 May 1972.

ratified until 1972 did not help matters. Civic leaders found their decisions questioned more often and more vehemently than ever before.

Planning decisions made during the first few years of Thunder Bay made an indelible mark on the urban structure as it exists today. For some persons, the opportunity to plan for the future was exciting. For others who clung to the rivalry and resisted change their motto could have been easily been “to hell with the future, let’s get on with the past!”

CHAPTER III.

“A Monument to Quick Planning and Little Progress:” Revitalization in the Fort William Ward.

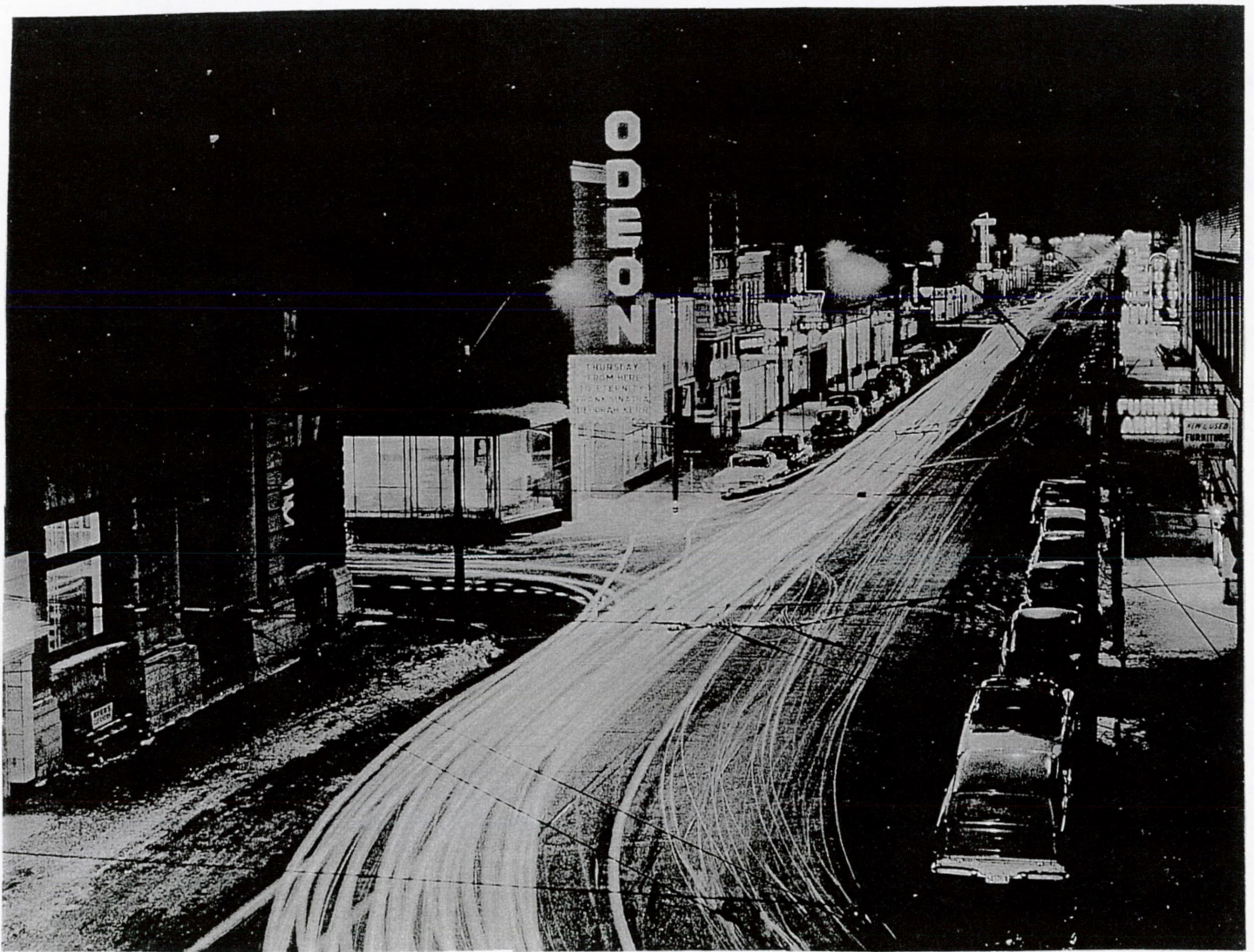
INTRODUCTION

By the mid-1970s, peripheral shopping mall development had started to dot the landscape of Thunder Bay. Increased concentrations of commercial development were appearing in the intercity area, and Port Arthur's core area was redeveloped, with Keskus Harbour Mall. The provincial government also added new developments to Thunder Bay, placing a new courthouse and administrative complex outside of Fort William's downtown area. It was against this backdrop that Fort William's CBD found itself in decline.

Consequently, faced with commercial, institutional, and industrial dispersion throughout the city, the municipal government dedicated itself to conserve the historic CBDs that it inherited. This policy was articulated in the 1972 Lakehead official plan which stated that, "It is the general policy of this plan to strengthen the two central business districts of Fort William Ward and Port Arthur Ward as compact and vigorous centers of commerce" To do otherwise, would create instability and loss of public confidence in amalgamation.¹³⁸ The revitalization of Fort William's CBD in the late 1970s is a demonstrable example of Thunder Bay's commitment to each of its CBDs.

Fort William's CBD (Planning area 5) had been identified under the 1964 Lakehead renewal study as a priority area for redevelopment. Fort William city planner,

¹³⁸ OHI David Thompson



Victoria Avenue facing west from Simpson Street, circa 1950s: A much busier and prosperous era. (Photo: TBA 4863 #346)

David Thompson, actively encouraged business and political leaders to support a renewal scheme; however, these groups were divided on the benefits of urban renewal.¹³⁹ Furthermore, the scheme pursued by Fort William was more complex and comprehensive than Port Arthur. This led to a delay in its completion. These events contributed to Fort William's losing out on funding. The federal government put a freeze on all projects not already implemented in 1968. The direction that housing policy and downtown revitalization were taking negated the "bulldozer" mentality of the 1960s. A new plan had to be developed.

The retreat of federal involvement in urban affairs led to Ontario's creation of three programs, in the mid-1970s, to supplement housing and downtown revitalization efforts. Significant to Fort William, however, was the Ontario Downtown Revitalization Plan (ODRP). It was designed to build on the strengths of urban renewal, and minimize the areas that did not work. Private sector involvement was encouraged in ancillary projects, but the major cost, implementation and management would fall to the local municipality. The program also had as its mandate a responsibility to serve cities of 125,000 persons or less. It was felt that in smaller urban centers the necessary private capital and interest did not always exist to redevelop depressed areas. This was true of Thunder Bay.

Thompson had anticipated the provincial program and had already gathered support for action. Building on the mistakes of Port Arthur's own project, Thompson invited the public to serve on "mini-teams" to discuss revitalization efforts. Each team had a role, such as looking at social issues, heritage preservation and design and

¹³⁹OHI David Thompson, Murray Hamilton, Steven Lukinuk

development. After a short consultation and study process, a street enclosure idea was proposed. It was based on a successful mall in Quebec City that had enclosed a street with a roof. Mall St. Roche had the amenities of a modern shopping complex and the charm of a bustling main street. This concept excited Thompson and his team members. It was accepted in principle by the core team and later, city council. The project came to be known as Victoriaville Centre and its existence has been questioned ever since.

From its inception, Victoriaville Centre has been dubbed “Thompson’s Mall,” and has been viewed especially by those from Port Arthur, as an unnatural and dysfunctional product of Fort William jealousy. Many opponents of the mall believed that Victoriaville simply had no place in a post-amalgamation Thunder Bay since Port Arthur had become the “natural downtown.” There were still others who resented the public funding of the centre, when, it was argued both the Port Arthur and Fort William cores were no longer the commercial centre of Thunder Bay. Rather, the intercity area was assuming commercial hegemony.

This chapter will look at planning in the Fort William ward. It will examine the motivations of its planners, politicians, and citizens in the renewal process. It will be demonstrated that Victoriaville Centre was not a product of rivalry, but a casualty of it. Victoriaville’s roots can be traced to the 1969 urban renewal scheme for Fort William. A two-and-a-half year process had determined that the Fort William core needed structural reorganization and rejuvenation. The Lakehead official plan later concurred with this evaluation and mandated the city to maintain the integrity of its two core areas. Revitalization in the 1970s was a consequence of these decisions, and not an

unthinking reaction to Port Arthur's urban renewal project. Rita Ubriaco, a newspaper columnist and former council member, sums the issue up nicely:

The other argument is the old insidious nonsense that Port Arthur's core was spruced up, and so as much has to be spent on Fort William's. Picture a married couple that cannot afford the necessities. He goes out and buys a boat, so she feels justified in charging a mink coat. The argument that Fort William has to have everything Port Arthur has or vice versa, makes as much sense.¹⁴⁰

It was felt by some council members that revitalization in the Fort William core was incompatible with other commercial developments in the city.¹⁴¹ This is not the case as opponents of the centre failed to understand the mandate of the ODRP. Whereas urban renewal's mandate allowed for commercial intensification, the ODRP emphasized social and economic outcomes that by design, made Victoriaville Centre more than just another mall or commercial enterprise. It was this gulf of opinion, between council and Thompson that painted revitalization efforts as futile and ill-advised.

FORT WILLIAM STAGGERS TOWARDS RENEWAL

Fort William began its revitalization efforts in 1964. The Lakehead Renewal Study was released that year and identified Planning Area 5 (Fort William CBD) for priority redevelopment. Combined with amendments to the National Housing Act, director of planning, David Thompson, was anxious to revive the downtown core.¹⁴² The proprietor of McCartney's Jewelers, Murray Hamilton, remembers Thompson's

¹⁴⁰ Rita Ubriaco, "Who Pays for Mall Important Question." *The Chronicle-Journal* 21 July 1975

¹⁴¹ OHI Taras Kozyra, Rene Larson, Don Lenardon, Lawrence Timko.

¹⁴² OHI David Thompson

energy and optimism as he educated both businesspersons and politicians to the possibilities of renewal.¹⁴³ In 1964 and 1965, Thompson recommended that council take immediate steps to apply for federal and provincial assistance, preferably “in co-operation with the city of Port Arthur, on a Renewal Scheme for the Central Business District including Simpson Street.”¹⁴⁴ By November 1965, council created an urban renewal consultant committee to interview prospective consultants interested in preparing a downtown urban renewal scheme. By February 1966, city council passed a resolution adopting the recommendation of the committee to engage Proctor, Redfern, Bousfield and Bacon, Consulting Engineers and Town Planners, to prepare a proposal for completing a downtown urban renewal scheme.

A request for assistance to the federal and provincial governments to undertake the renewal scheme was conditionally approved on July 13, 1966, with only minor concerns expressed by the senior levels of government. At issue was the “apparent” duplication of transportation studies in the Port Arthur and Fort William schemes. The CMHC took issue with the cost of \$36,000, especially as it viewed the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur as “one customer” and it should not have to deal with each separately.¹⁴⁵ The cost was minimal in the eyes of J.F. Brown, supervisor in the Redevelopment Section of the Community Planning Branch in Toronto. This issue, however, delayed the entire process, as Brown noted that, “We may be criticized for delaying approval on petty matters, thereby delaying the study by a good eight

¹⁴³ OHI Murray Hamilton

¹⁴⁴ David Thompson, “The Problem of City Growth – Fort William 1965,” A Brief Submitted to Council. TBA 1620 File: Fort William Planning Board.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from J.F. Brown to A.R. Morpurgo, District Planning Advisor, August 26, 1966. AO RG 19-69 TB4 File: Fort William UR Study, 1961-1967.

months.”¹⁴⁶ Ministerial approval was subsequently given but the traffic study was delayed until the following spring.

Over the course of the next eighteen months, a slow stream of consultants' reports were submitted. The process was taking longer than expected, in large part because of the evolving complexity of the renewal area. Adjacent to the CBD are the CPR rail yards. Anticipating that future rail and port requirements at the Lakehead may change, Thompson insisted, and was supported by the consultants, that engineering and economic feasibility studies accompany the renewal scheme. This report was later included as part of the Lakehead Transportation Study Review.¹⁴⁷

It became clear to Thompson that the study would not be completed until long after the urban renewal scheme was expected to be finished. As such, the study was modified to allow for the implementation of the renewal scheme independent of the rail yard's future use. By December 1968, a draft version of the downtown urban renewal scheme was available for public perusal. It was an ambitious report that suggested several ideas for private-sector involvement. A Kam centre (named for the Kaministiquia River) would be created with the acquisition and clearance of “blighted” properties. This centre would counter-balance the drawing power of Centennial Square shopping centre on West Victoria Avenue, thus rejuvenating the eastern portion of the artery. Attention was also directed to Simpson Street, the former sole highway between Port Arthur and Fort William. It was proposed that a block south of the Polish Legion would be cleared for private sector construction of a “Pacific-Plaza” development.

¹⁴⁶ Letter from J.F. Brown to A.R. Morpurgo, District Planning Advisor, September 27, 1966. AO RG 19-69 TB4 File: Fort William UR Study, 1961-1967.

¹⁴⁷ David Thompson, “Application from the City of Fort William for assistance in implementing a Downtown Urban Renewal Project...” TBA 4583 File: Urban Renewal, 1966-1969, 59-0-1 ALSO: OHI David Thompson.

The final urban renewal report was delivered in April 1969. It reiterated previous commitments to the construction of senior citizen housing, the Kam Centre, Pacific Plaza, and infrastructure improvements. Fort William council passed a resolution on 9 June 1969, approving the urban renewal scheme and requesting assistance from Darcy McKeough, the minister of Municipal Affairs. The application, however, was not approved. Federal attitudes towards urban renewal were also changing quickly. A task force was set-up by Paul Hellyer, the minister responsible for the CMHC, to review the goals and objectives of urban renewal the previous year. As part of that review, it was announced that all urban renewal programs not already implemented were indefinitely frozen from federal funding. The future of Fort William's core area was now in doubt.

This was a frustrating time for Thompson.¹⁴⁸ Much effort and time had gone into convincing council of the need for such a project. Former council members described Fort William's council as "kicking and screaming" their way into the urban renewal program.¹⁴⁹ Mayor-elect of Thunder Bay, Saul Laskin, supported the Fort William renewal scheme, and the council-elect for Thunder Bay passed a motion affirming this. For amalgamation to work, both CBDs had to be maintained, or as Laskin worried, "when we (Port Arthur) went ahead and they (Fort William) didn't, I knew it would cause friction."¹⁵⁰ In the newly amalgamated city of Thunder Bay, Thompson retained his job as director of planning. He described his new position as a "railroad promotion:" same

¹⁴⁸ OHI David Thompson

¹⁴⁹ Hugh Cook, TBOHAP.

¹⁵⁰ OHI Saul Laskin



Fort William Downtown Revitalization Plan, Victoria Ave East, from Brodie Street.

old job, just more track!¹⁵¹ His old friend and planner from Port Arthur, Bones McCormack, was retained as redevelopment officer much to Thompson's relief. The two enjoyed a professional and personal friendship for many decades, often bouncing problems off one another.¹⁵² Thompson would need this in the years to come.

THE FORT WILLIAM WARD AFTER AMALGAMATION

The loss of urban renewal programs paralyzed many merchants in the Fort William ward. Some let their properties decline, others closed up shop, and some felt no need for a merchant's organization as they "liked to do their own thing." This apathy resulted in an increasingly ineffectual merchant's association.¹⁵³ Leadership from the largest store in the area was lacking as well. Chapples department store general manager, Lloyd Hurdon, rarely co-coordinated in-store promotions with those of the outside merchant's. Moreover, when the association did go to Hurdon to discuss a promotion or other area business:

We [the merchants] would always come up with two plans. One that would be the consensus of the association, and another one to take to Hurdon. He liked to feel as though he was making the decisions. We knew that he [Hurdon] would turn us down on whatever we proposed, and usually he would propose what we originally intended.¹⁵⁴

The situation was particularly acute by 1972, as Eaton's closed its satellite store in Fort William, consolidating operations at its Port Arthur site. Confidence in the Fort William ward was shrinking. Despite the Lakehead official plan's promise of core area

¹⁵¹ OHI David Thompson

¹⁵² OHI David Thompson

¹⁵³ OHI Murray Hamilton

¹⁵⁴ OHI Murray Hamilton

maintenance, little was done or seemingly could be done to stop the bleeding. In the absence of provincial and federal funds for urban renewal, the city could do nothing but watch.

These events paralled the disarray the merchant's association was facing. By 1972, the merchants were told to act decisively by Alderman Don Lenardon, to "get off their butts" and do something as a group for their area.¹⁵⁵ The next day, Fred Payne, secretary of the Canadian Shoe Retailer's Association, criticized them. "Progress is always continuing...and what have you done to keep up with it? You only seem to meet once a year. That's not good enough! If you're going to sit back and watch all this change taking place without doing something about it, you're dead! Don't you people give a damn?"¹⁵⁶

The very next month, Murray Hamilton assumed the interim presidency of the association and reaffirmed the 1969 Fort William urban renewal study that had suggested the following:

In the block bounded by Victoria, Syndicate, John and Donald, the possibility of a mall type layout has been investigated. By using the existing Centennial Square Shopping Plaza, consolidating commercial frontage on Victoria Avenue, and the removal of the parking from the centre of the block to a peripheral location, an attractive shopping environment within the main shopping area can be created...the sidewalk [will] be widened, adequate canopies be provided, and planting and street furniture be introduced.¹⁵⁷

The response from the city was lukewarm, and reports and recommendations were meaningless without funding to implement them. The following year, the merchant's

¹⁵⁵ "South Core Merchants exhorted to Act," *News Chronicle* 22 March 1972

¹⁵⁶ "Fort William Merchants Ripped: Told They're Behind the times," *Times Journal* 23 March 1972.

¹⁵⁷ Proctor, Redfern, Bousfield and Bacon. "City of Fort William Downtown Urban Renewal Scheme, Draft Final Report, 1969, 16.

association staged Thunder Bay's first street mall, attracting crowds and renewed attention to the area.¹⁵⁸ Thompson, meanwhile, tried his best to incorporate smaller aspects of the 1969 report into the capital program and budget. A technical committee was struck to assist in this endeavor, and to prioritize a list of projects deemed feasible.¹⁵⁹ It was felt that the Arthur Street extension and increased senior citizen housing were reasonable goals. In the absence of federal or provincial involvement, these actions were more cosmetic than substantive.

THE ONTARIO DOWNTOWN REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (ODRP)

Thirty-three municipalities were left at various stages of preparing an urban renewal scheme in 1969, when the federal government cancelled its commitment to urban development. Therefore, Fort William was not alone in trying to resuscitate its CBD in the face of uncertainty. The Ontario government, meanwhile, commissioned Peter Barnard & Associates to review the strengths and weakness of urban renewal and make recommendation towards a new program. Released in 1975, Bernard suggested that downtown revitalization was best accomplished through the upgrading of municipal infrastructures, the rehabilitation of existing housing stock, and the conservation of older, historic buildings, and the provision of public services in core areas.¹⁶⁰ These approaches would preserve the existing urban fabric instead of destroying it.

Ontario launched the ODRP in 1976 with these stated intentions:

¹⁵⁸ "A Pleasant Stroll Downtown," *Chronicle-Journal* 4 October 1973.

¹⁵⁹ Policy Committee #4, 3 February 1971. TBA 4688 Series 117 File 16-18.

¹⁶⁰ Ontario. *Revitalizing Ontario's Downtowns: Guidelines for a new Program. A Study Prepared for the Province of Ontario.* (Toronto) Peter Barnard Associates, 1975, 16.

1. To revitalize core areas in smaller and medium sized Ontario municipalities with a maximum population of 125,000.
2. To stabilize or improve property and business tax bases within these downtown areas.
3. To make more effective use of existing municipal infrastructure in downtown areas.
4. To create a viable role for the downtown.
5. To finance specific revitalization proposals in downtown areas which will, in turn, stimulate the implementation of the remainder of the Municipality's Official Plan.
6. To replace non-viable commercial, industrial and residential land uses with new investments and to encourage maintenance of existing viable enterprises within the downtown area.
7. To sustain and / or improve social, cultural, and economic facilities and opportunities within downtown areas.

The ODRP clearly repudiated the “bulldozer mentality” of urban renewal. Whereas old buildings with architectural or historic value were routinely torn down, the ODRP thought their conservation to be essential to the fabric of downtown. As Thunder Bay Planning Officer, Jim McKeever, mentioned, “It is hard to create a vitality of yesteryear when you’re demolishing it.”¹⁶¹ The ODRP also promoted a greater sense of belonging and community that the old style of urban renewal tended to destroy. Whereas urban renewal was synonymous with commercial intensification, the ODRP’s aim was to stabilize and maintain the commercial competitiveness of downtown, while still integrating increased social and cultural opportunities. This was a subtle yet distinct

¹⁶¹ OHI Jim McKeever



Fort William's street mall was one attempt to revitalize the downtown core, circa Christmas 1973. (Photo courtesy of Murray Hamilton)

contrast from the urban renewal programs of the 1960s.

REVITALIZATION IN THE FORT WILLIAM WARD.

In late 1974, the Thunder Bay Chamber of Commerce and the Thunder Bay South Downtown Business Association, held a series of meetings entitled, "A New Look at Downtown Fort William." These meetings were open to the public and had the objective of identifying a strategy to alleviate core area decline. The meetings were well received and culminated on 18 February 1975, when over 200 people, representatives from government, businesses and other agencies, attended. The overwhelming response affirmed the community's commitment to revitalizing the area.

Because of the positive and encouraging reception received at the public meeting, Thompson established a "core team" to the Fort William ward revitalization study.¹⁶² The team consisted of members of city council, municipal administration and representatives of the business community. Reporting to the core team were six "mini-teams" which were to research and report on a specific aspect of the study. Application was open to the public to serve on these committees or serve as resource people. In addition, all meetings were open to the public; a lesson Thompson learned from the Port Arthur experience.¹⁶³ According to Thompson, this organizational approach it was believed,

would allow for a maximum opportunity for input, an opportunity for wide discussion, as well as an opportunity for those citizens who desired to contribute to become active participants. The objective of this approach was to ensure a proposal that had general public support, including the active

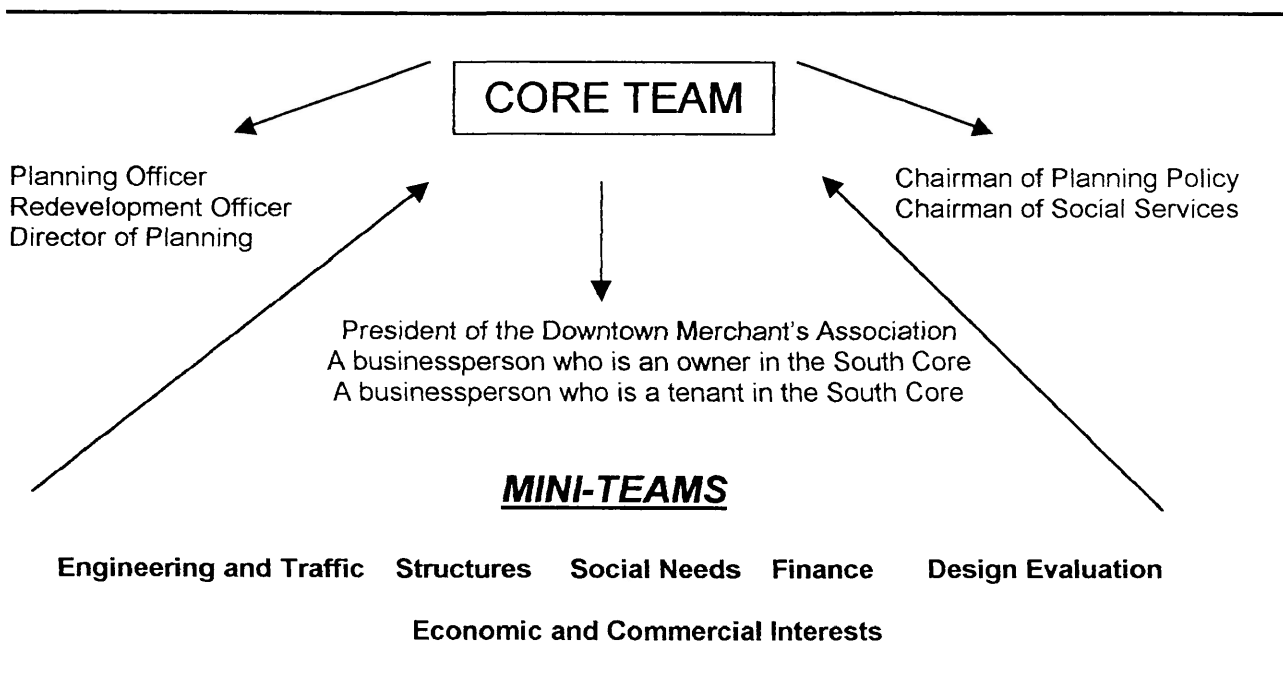
¹⁶² OHI David Thompson, Jim McKeever

¹⁶³ OHI David Thompson, Jim McKeever

participation of a Downtown Business Association.¹⁶⁴

The first meeting of the core team took place 27 February 1975. At this meeting, J.F. Harris, the consultant to Port Arthur's urban renewal project, was hired by the core team to act as a liaison with the provincial government, and to "interpret the hard facts of commercial life."¹⁶⁵ Harris' role was important for another reason; he

The membership structure on the core team and mini-teams is as follows:



suggested that a mall in Quebec City might fulfill Fort William's and the ODRP's requirements.

Mall St. Roche had been a bustling main street. However, decay had set in by the mid 1960s. A tri-government partnership revitalized the area by erecting a roof over

¹⁶⁴ David Thompson, "Victoriaville: A Resume." (From his personal papers) ALSO: OHI David Thompson

¹⁶⁵ Memorandum of Discussion, Core team Meeting, 27 February 1999. TBA 4725 File: 25014.

OBJECTIVES OF SOUTH CORE REVITALIZATION

South Core Study, Core Team, City of Thunder Bay

June 1975

TABLE 2

1. To conserve and enhance the historic downtown of the Fort William Ward to the benefit of the citizens of Thunder Bay.
2. To create an evenness of standard in amenity and service and maintain an attractiveness for the widely spread population of the City of Thunder Bay.
3. To provide an adequate retail service amenity and focal point for the immediately surrounding 50,000 people in particular, and the total population of the City in general.
4. To provide socially compatible public land uses and people places through standards of attractiveness, convenience and comfort.
5. To develop improved vehicular and pedestrian access and discourage through traffic, while at the same time protecting and enhancing the environmental qualities of the south core so that it remains an attractive place for people to work, live, and enjoy themselves.
6. To preserve the "Human Scale" of the downtown.
7. To conserve and rehabilitate the area and buildings of architectural value and character, creating a city centre with both activity and visual pleasure and, in these cases, ensuring redevelopment that is in harmony and in scale with the existing design.

St. Joseph Street. The new mall had the amenities of a modern shopping complex, but retained the charm of a bustling main street. This idea captivated the attention of the Thunder Bay committee, quite possibly blinding it to other ideas.

By 18 April 1975, a six-member delegation from the core team travelled to Quebec City, and evaluated Mall St. Roche's financial, structural, commercial, and aesthetic properties. The results were overwhelmingly positive, with only a few reservations expressed. City engineer, Tom Fell, was struck by the lack of a gimmick, "there is just nothing cheesy about it...no junky stores." Fell did express some concerns, however, regarding the infrastructure upgrades that would be needed if Mall St. Roche were duplicated in Thunder Bay: "Renewing the underground utilities before constructing a mall of this kind would be an expensive undertaking... On top of this, construction would have to be organized to keep the businesses in operation during the course of the work."¹⁶⁶ City planner David Thompson expressed satisfaction with the attractiveness of the mall, yet added "There is, of course, room for improvement... things like attractive public rest areas, and room for public services including a library outlet." Thompson recommended that the Mall St. Roche be referred to the design evaluation mini-team for discussion.¹⁶⁷ David Hamilton, president of the Downtown Business Association, was impressed with the merchants, who "are all actually rushing to renovate rather than locate outside the mall."¹⁶⁸ In addition, Hamilton noted that average sales in the mall had increased by anywhere from twenty-five to fifty percent

¹⁶⁶ Tom Fell, "Report of T. Fell, City Engineer, RE: Mall St. Roche." 2. TBA 4725 File: 25014.000, 1975 City Clerks Files.

¹⁶⁷ David Thompson, "Report of D. Thompson, City Planner, RE: Mall St. Roche." 2. TBA 4725 File: 25014.000, 1975 City Clerks Files.

¹⁶⁸ David Hamilton, "Report of D. Hamilton, Businessman, RE: Mall St. Roche." 2. TBA 4725 File: 25014.000, 1975 City Clerks Files.

since the mall's opening. Steve Splawski, city treasurer, commented that peripheral real estate sales increased dramatically¹⁶⁹, while planning officer Jim McKeever thought that "the success of the mall has spread to the side streets, but this success would have been difficult to achieve if the mall did not attract department stores."¹⁷⁰ It had four of them.

A consensus emerged from the core team that the enclosed mall concept should be adopted for discussion purposes, and as a conceptual benchmark.¹⁷¹ The team was confident in its research, and submitted a proposal to a special meeting of the provincial cabinet in Thunder Bay on 14 May 1975. Presented by Alderman Inksetter, the brief outlined Thunder Bay's commitment to preserving its two core areas as embedded in the Lakehead official plan. Inksetter also advised Cabinet that the core team was moving towards an enclosed mall concept, similar to Quebec City's. Inksetter concluded the brief by requesting funding for the design concept, assistance to improve infrastructure in affected areas, and legislative assistance where necessary to proceed with any enclosure of the CBD.¹⁷²

Concern had been expressed about the performance of the mini-teams in mid-April. Mini-team leaders were confused over their role and the requirements they were to fulfill. More disturbing, however, was the decision of some leaders not to hold team meetings.¹⁷³ Many of these problems were cleared up in the coming months. Mini-team leaders and team members articulated a picture of the south core that was home

¹⁶⁹ Steve Splawski, "Report of S. Splawski, City Treasurer, RE: Mall St. Roche." 2. TBA 4725 File: 25014.000, 1975 City Clerks Files.

¹⁷⁰ Jim McKeever, "Report of J. McKeever, Planning Officer. , RE: Mall St. Roche." 3. TBA 4725 File: 25014.000, 1975 City Clerks Files.

¹⁷¹ OHI David Thompson, Jim McKeever

¹⁷² "Brief for Presentation to Cabinet, 14 May 1975." TBA 4725, File: 25014.000, 1975, City Clerks Files.

¹⁷³ Letter from B. Mapledoram to J. McKeever, 15 April 1975. TBA 4725 File 25014.000 City Clerks Files

to civic, athletic, and cultural facilities.¹⁷⁴ P.K Mutchler, the chief librarian of the Thunder Bay Public Library, proposed a new municipal reference library in the enclosed mall project.¹⁷⁵ The social-needs team report of 28 May 1975 wondered if supporters of the Thunder Bay arts complex would consider a downtown location instead of Balmoral Street.¹⁷⁶ These proposals encouraged the core team which, like the mini-teams, recognized the interplay between cultural and commercial activities in the design of a viable and interesting downtown.

By the middle of June 1975, Alderman Inksetter expressed concern that the core team had only focused on one idea and concept; the enclosed street mall proposal from Quebec City. Thompson reiterated that the current proposal was only a “conceptual benchmark” to be discussed, and that nothing had been approved. Thompson then referred the matter to the yet-to-be created design evaluation mini-team for review.¹⁷⁷ Further dissatisfaction was revealed by J.F. Harris, who wondered if too much time had been spent in “involving public participation [which] had so far taken much of the time of the core team. Up to now this process has been of greater prime concern than the provision of technical answers, and some major decisions have ensued.”¹⁷⁸

Another “conceptual benchmark” was unveiled on August 1. Building on the only idea examined by the core team, Jim McKeever released three enclosed mall proposals. Indistinguishable from one another, the plans offered varying lengths of enclosure along

¹⁷⁴ OHI Jim McKeever

¹⁷⁵ Letter from P.K. Mutchler to David Thompson, 28 April 1975. TBA 4725 File 25014.000 City Clerks Files

¹⁷⁶ Social Needs Mini-team Report, No. 3, 28 May 1975. TBA 4725, File: 25014.000, 1975, City Clerks Files

¹⁷⁷ Minutes of the Core team Meetings, June 23, 1975. City Clerks Files . TBA 4725, File: 25014.000, 1975

¹⁷⁸ Memorandum from J.F. Harris to Core team, 31 July 1975. . TBA 4725, File: 25014.000, 1975

Victoria Avenue and differing cross-street inclusion. For the first time, an area in the CBD was identified for revitalization. In this case, it was Victoria Avenue, the major thoroughfare of the business district. This was done without previous consultation with the core or mini-teams. Some were beginning to feel that the planning department, and Thompson in particular, had already made up their minds on a revitalization plan.¹⁷⁹ In the six months of the core team's existence, only one plan had been discussed at any length. Other ideas were thrown to the mini-team level, which were inconsequential to the final decision.

The social needs mini-team, on 20 August 1975, had rejected the idea of a closed mall. Instead, team leader Rick Hankinson, proposed increased residential uses in the core, and bonuses to attract developers.¹⁸⁰ Hankinson's report to the core team was important in two respects. Up until this point in the process, no one had formally dismissed the street mall idea. Secondly, Hankinson's opposition tested the flexibility of the core team and their willingness to accept other proposals. Whereas Thompson had always referred to the street mall as a "concept," a "benchmark," or as "one possibility," the enclosed street mall, as a concept, was now rejected. Yet as the core team process went on, it continued to be the only option ever expanded upon, researched, and delivered for public consumption by Thompson's planning apparatus.

Further frustrations were revealed at the core team's meeting of 24 September 1975. Inksetter revealed that "the main problem was the principle that we were not committed to any specific design; but ever since the visit to Quebec City, we keep coming back to a covered mall concept. As a consequence, this has almost prevented

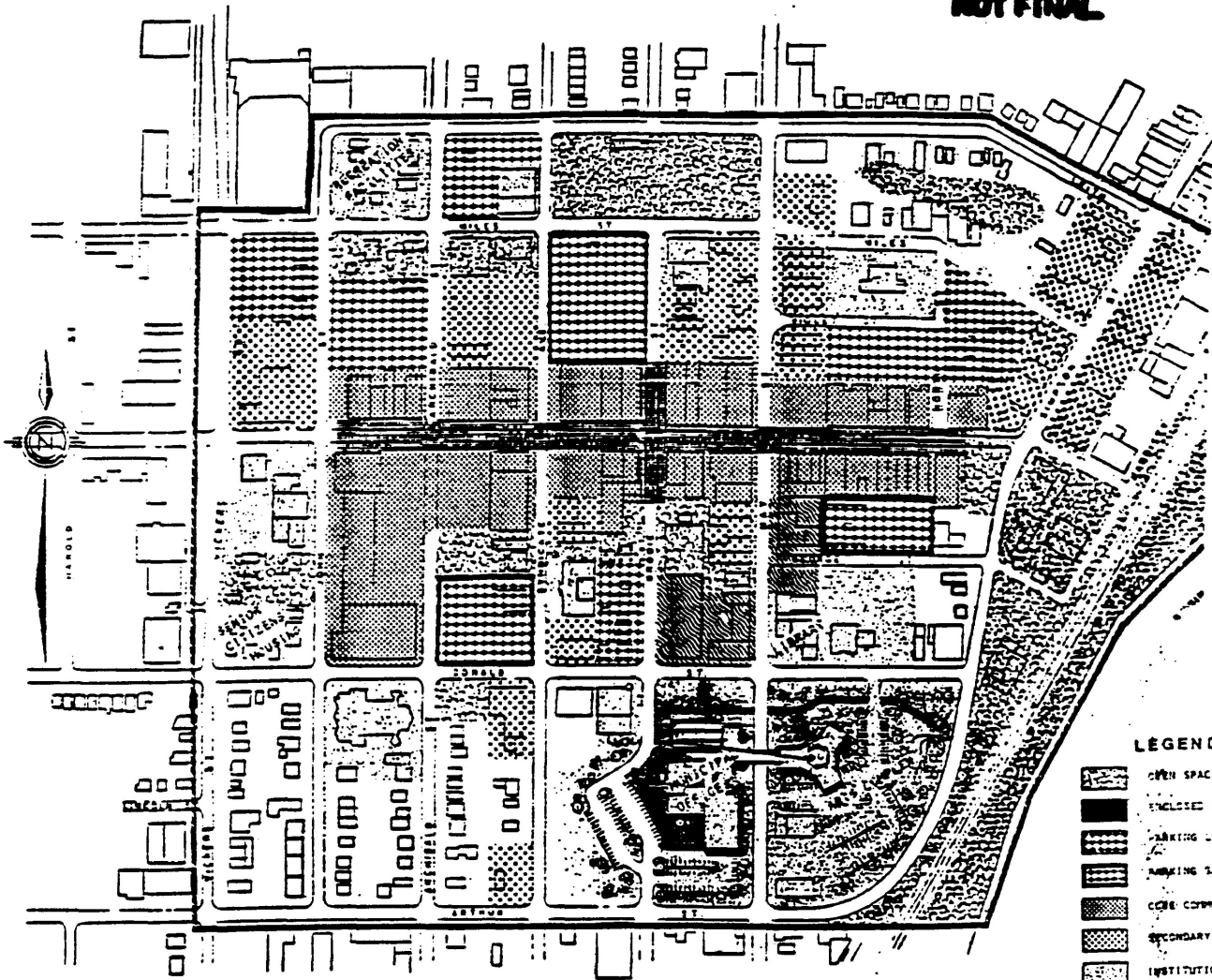
¹⁷⁹ OHI Taras Kozyra

¹⁸⁰ Minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Core team, 20 August 1975. TBA 4725, File: 25014.000, 1975

South core study: Concept "A"

Map 2

CONCEPT A
NOT FINAL



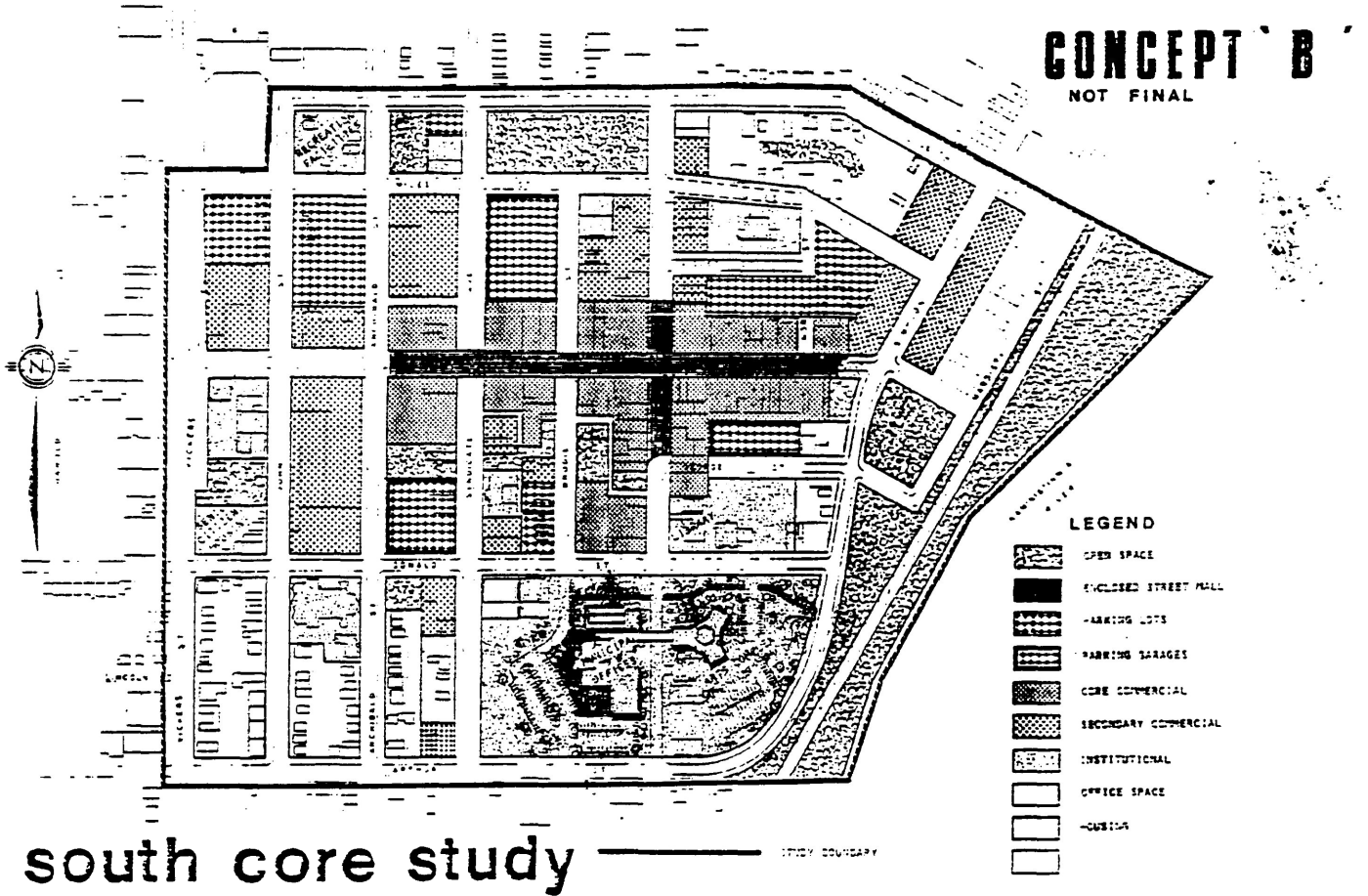
south core study

STUDY BOUNDARY

- LEGEND**
- OPEN SPACE
 - ENCLOSED STREETS
 - PARKING LOTS
 - PARKING GARAGES
 - CORE COMMERCIAL
 - SECONDARY COMMERCIAL
 - INSTITUTIONAL
 - OFFICE SPACE
 - HOUSING

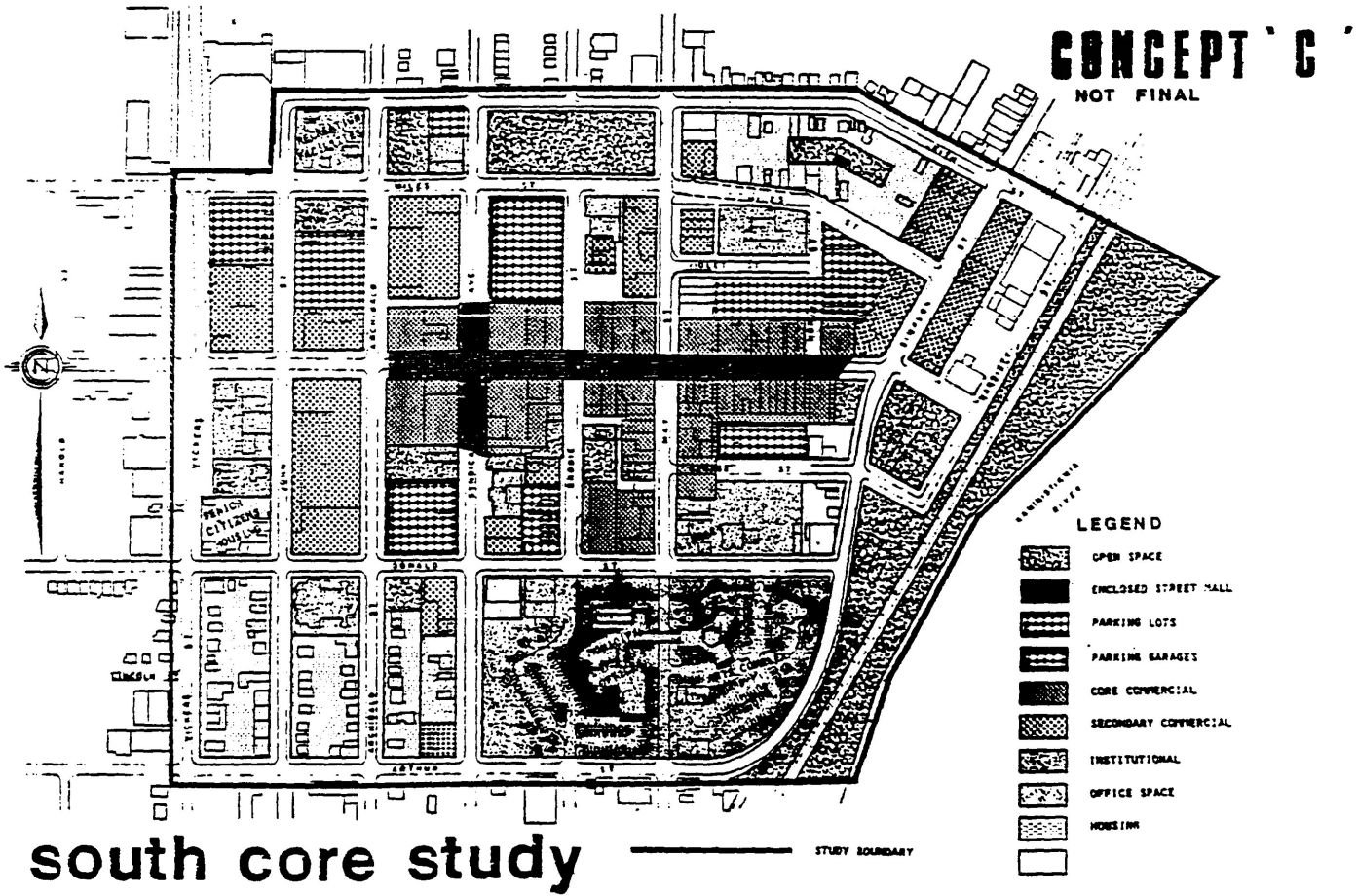
South core study: Concept "B"

Map 3



South core study: Concept "C"

Map 4



the team from discussing other factors affecting the downtown. The committee reached one decision, and that is the need to agree upon a concept that may or may not include a covered mall.”¹⁸¹

Just three weeks after a public meeting was held to canvass ideas for revitalization, Walter Kuch, an architectural student, presented a civic square concept, Hankinson reiterated the need for residential development, and Dale Ashby proposed that the Neebing River be diverted to follow a canal down Vickers Street and onto Victoria Ave¹⁸². None of these ideas was debated at the core team meeting on 24 September. The planning department, led by David Thompson, had no comment on the proposals. Even more bizarre, Jim McKeever presented the core team with four revitalization choices: an enclosed mall, a Keskus style mall, residential intensification, or a civic square¹⁸³. The new proposals were not brought to the planning department for study. In fact, they were not directed to the design committee of the core team. The choices that were presented were not choices at all. They were excuses not to say no to an enclosed mall design.¹⁸⁴

Thompson’s handling of the process was questioned a year later, after the street mall concept had been approved in principle by Thunder Bay. Thompson said that his goal was to promote consensus through an unstructured format. In this environment, it was hoped that there would be no win-lose situations which was not realized. As Rita Ubriaco has noted,

Instead of creating a “no losers” situation as was hoped,

¹⁸¹ Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Core team, 24 August 1975. . TBA 4725, File: 25014.000, 1975

¹⁸² “South Core: New Ideas.” *The Chronicle Journal* 31 August 1971.

¹⁸³ Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Core team, 24 August 1975. . TBA 4725, File: 25014.000, 1975

¹⁸⁴ OHI Rita Ubriaco



Bones McCormack (in the centre of the picture), inspects the construction of the Fort William ward revitalization project, circa 1979. (Photo: Murray Hamilton).

the unstructured format has resulted in no winners. Nobody claims responsibility for the one viable idea that has emerged... Therefore, the mall is like a child with too many possible fathers.¹⁸⁵

This confusion also frustrated council. When planning officials approached council, seeking permission to apply for funding from the province for their “conceptual scheme,” Councillors Florence Koss and Dusty Miller, wondered why the planning department, specifically planning director David Thompson and planner Jim McKeever, tied revitalization so exclusively to the covered street mall idea.¹⁸⁶ As Taras Kozyra recalls, “He [Thompson] wanted funding for a scheme which they [the planning dept.] could not describe, could not price, and could not show us. What was it we were supposed to approve?”¹⁸⁷ Councillor Remus suggested quick approval of the planning departments request, suggesting that Fort William had waited long enough to receive help for its downtown. Mickey Hennessey had no trouble endorsing Remus’ motion, stating, “We know we’re going to go for the plan and the submission.”¹⁸⁸ In the end, council conceded and the province approved Thompson’s “benchmark” in principle. Thompson shared Remus’ feeling that Fort William had waited too long for help. It was suggested that Thompson’s determination and singular focus during the 1975-1980 revitalization debate had sprung from the disappointment of losing his renewal scheme in 1969.¹⁸⁹ It was an idea not far from the truth.

¹⁸⁵ OHI Rita Ubriaco ALSO: Rita Ubriaco, “Mall Controversy Upsets Planner.” The Chronicle Journal 13 July 1976.

¹⁸⁶ Rita Ubriaco, “Covered Mall: City Seeks Funds But Hasn’t Seen Any Plans.” The Chronicle-Journal 29 June 1976.

¹⁸⁷ OHI Taras Kozyra

¹⁸⁸ Mickey Hennessey is quoted in Rita Ubriaco, “Covered Mall: City Seeks Funds But Hasn’t Seen Any Plans.” The Chronicle-Journal 29 June 1976.

¹⁸⁹ OHI Rita Ubriaco, Dusty Miller, Taras Kozyra, David Thompson, Ken Tilson, Saul Laskin

Revitalization was difficult in the Fort William ward. While a city prior to 1970, it had neglected crucial infrastructure upgrades.¹⁹⁰ These would not be rectified until the start of Victoriaville. The Fort William business district experienced periods of flooding, due in part to their combined sewage and rain water drainage system. A major component of Victoriaville was infrastructure upgrades to the sewer system and the burying of hydro cables. The first, especially, was essential to the long-term viability of the Fort William core. Revitalization encouraged increased private sector development as well. The Royal Bank completed a two-storey development for inclusion in the enclosed section, and two development groups, the Victoria and McKellar Groups, built a mall that joined the Victoria Avenue enclosure southerly to the parking structure. In addition, a new public bus terminal was constructed adjacent to the revitalization site. These combined activities took nearly two years to complete, and resulted in the disruption of pedestrian and vehicular traffic throughout the core. Because of the disruption, Chapples reported losses of nearly \$1 million. That, taken in conjunction with a fire that destroyed nearly half its merchandise was a devastating commercial blow. Combined with County Fair Plaza's expansion in 1978, the opening of Arthur Square in the Port Arthur ward and McIntyre Centre in the intercity, and Greater York's plans for the former Chapples' site, Victoriaville's viability was questioned before it opened.

¹⁹⁰ OHI Claude Smith, Dusty Miller, Saul Laskin

VICTORIANVILLE, 1980-1990

On 24 May 1980, Victoriaville Centre opened to a parade through the streets of Fort William's business district. Queen Victoria, played by Rita Ubriaco, and Mayor Dusty Miller, welcomed a new era to Fort William's core. The project was quickly coined, "Dusty's Ditch," a reference to the massive infrastructure upgrades that had paralyzed the core area. Miller later described the revitalization process as the "baby left on her doorstep,"¹⁹¹ while Rita Ubriaco, a member of the redevelopment authority, declared her involvement to be "the worst period of my life."¹⁹²

Victoriaville Centre quickly stumbled and became an embarrassment to civic officials. This was accentuated by the closing of Chapples department store, the only anchor the Centre had, on 31 December 1981, and the bankruptcy of the nearby Royal Edward Hotel. As well, the socio-economic demographics of the area led to the perception that the Centre was a dangerous place to frequent. After 1980, the percentage of residential, institutional, parks and open spaces all fell from their 1977 levels, putting into doubt the ability of the mall to rejuvenate the core. Councillor Lawrence Timko openly debated the idea of demolishing the mall, and predicted doom for the area, stating, "It's going to be difficult to attract someone to move in there, especially with the immediate competition from the intercity mall."¹⁹³ Lloyd Hurdon, meanwhile, was bitter about Chapples' closing, partially blaming city officials

¹⁹¹ OHI Dusty Miller

¹⁹² OHI Rita Ubriaco

¹⁹³ Gordon McLaughlin, "Chapples closure end of Victoriaville?" The Chronicle-Journal 2 October 1981.

Land Use Survey in Fort William's CBD

Land Use	1977 Hectare	1984 Hectare
Residential (low density)	10.8	8.1
Residential (high density)	1.8	1.9
Commercial	11.9	13.0
Institutional	3.2	3.1
Park & Open Spaces	0.6	0.4
Industrial	0.6	0.4
Vacant	0.7	0.8
Transportation / Utilities / Parking	8.7	9.6
Streets	19.6	19.0
Promenade	-	0.6

Source: South Core Opportunities, Community Planning and Department Division, City of Thunder Bay, 1985.

TABLE 3

who promised a 20 percent increase in revenues for anyone associated with the project.¹⁹⁴ "You see," said Hurdon, "our company never claimed it needed Victoriaville to improve our business, but there was a great deal of pressure for our acceptance."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ These figures were derived from the success of Mall St. Roche in Quebec City. Whereas Victoriaville had one anchor store, Mall St. Roche had 4. Jim McKeever predicted that duplicating its success was not reasonable in Thunder Bay without additional anchors.

¹⁹⁵ Gord McLaughlin, "Facelift proves Fatal for grand old lady." The Chronicle-Journal 7 October 1981.



Queen Victoria (Rita Ubriaco) greets Dusty Miller, Claude Bennett, Mickey Hennessey, and Shirley Trotter during the celebration of the opening of Victoriaville Centre, 24 May 1980. (Photo courtesy of Rita Ubriaco)

Further troubles surfaced in the promotion and operation of Victoriaville. The enclosure over Victoria Street, also known as the promenade, consisted of kiosk space leased by the city. The abutting stores were leased by private landlords, and the adjacent Victoria Mall and McKellar Group operations (beneath the parking garage) were managed separately. As such, consistent sales hours, promotions, maintenance, and co-ordination with stores inside and outside the centre did not exist.¹⁹⁶ The attraction and retention of nationally recognized stores in the core area did not materialize. The core team knew that Mall St. Roche's initial success was achieved with the help of four department store anchors. Yet, for some reason, the core team did not actively pursue or develop a plan to attract additional anchor tenants.¹⁹⁷

The dismal retail situation and lack of a unified management team had dire financial implications for the city. In order to repay its share of revitalization loans back to the province, a healthy return on the city's investment was needed. However, instead of receiving a dividend, the city was forced to subsidize the centre in order for it to break even. The city was ill prepared to assume control of a commercial centre and lacked the expertise to do so. Numerous reports and studies argued that the city should extricate itself from commercial management and let the core areas

¹⁹⁶ OHI Rita Ubriaco, Taras Kozyra

¹⁹⁷ OHI Jim McKeever, Rita Ubriaco,

Victoriaville Centre Deficits, 1984 – 1997

The following figures represent the amounts that the City of Thunder Bay had to contribute to Victoriaville Centre's budget in order for the Centre to break even.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Budget</i>	<i>Actual</i>
1984	\$144,200	\$110,616
1985	62,000	108,192
1986	72,600	(18,935) surplus
1987	(10,700)	(16,599) surplus
1988	0	(3,983) surplus
1989	12,000	36,195
1990	71,500	59,123
1991	140,200	152,650
1992	144,000	100,772
1993	122,300	75,198
1994	122,300	115,216
1995	117,900	130,889
1996	134,000	160,377
1997	67,200	45,617

SOURCE: Finance Department, City of Thunder Bay
TABLE 4

develop (or collapse), as free market principles would decide.¹⁹⁸ Other studies concluded that the enclosed mall concept did little to revitalize the core area, and that more attention should be directed to the core by municipal government (See Appendix E). In the ensuing years, municipal telephone operations, the District Health Unit, Bell Telephone, federal government offices, and private offices would leave the core area for intercity locations. Combined with the expansion of intercity retail developments, namely Intercity Shopping Centre, in 1982, Fort William's core suffered one setback after another.

Because of Victoriaville, however, Fort William's core did experience some reinvestment. Additions to the core included a new Royal Bank building, a 3 storey Victoria Group office building, the McKellar Group promenade, located under the new municipal garage, a Chapples home furniture store, and a transit terminal. Residential construction of senior citizen's buildings has maintained a population base in the core area. As well, infrastructure upgrades modernized the core area, establishing a sound foundation for growth that has yet to materialize.

CONCLUSION

Revitalization in Fort William's business district was a sixteen-year process that culminated on 24 May 1980 – the official opening of Victoriaville Centre. For David Thompson, revitalization in the Fort William ward was his career. Starting as a building inspector in the city of Fort William, Thompson ascended to become planning director for Fort William and later Thunder Bay. His involvement in the formation of the

¹⁹⁸ See John Winter and Associates, Retail Study 1988.

Lakehead Planning Board and the Lakehead Renewal Study was instrumental in maintaining the viability of Fort William's and later Thunder Bay's central business districts. In addition, his devotion to revitalization in Fort William led to a singular solution to core area decay – the enclosed mall concept. The process adopted for designing Victoriaville was flawed; in relation to both the control Thompson asserted, (or too little control) over the process and the too few alternatives that were considered.

It has been demonstrated that revitalization in the Fort William ward was a natural offshoot of the failed 1969 urban renewal report and, before that, the Lakehead Renewal Study of 1964. Furthermore, revitalization was recognized as an essential component of post-amalgamation Thunder Bay. As such, Fort William's efforts were consistent extensions of previous planning activities. The Lakehead Official Plan maintained the duality of the Lakehead through the conservation and maintenance of its' two historic CBDs. The ODRP, which financed Victoriaville, allowed Thunder Bay to commit to core area maintenance as set out in its' official plan. This has allowed Victoriaville to maintain a viable role for Fort William's CBD. The revitalization project enhanced existing municipal infrastructure. As part of the revitalization program, underground water, sewer, and electrical systems were brought up to standards, allowing for future growth and sustainability in the core.

The creation of Victoriaville was directed by the unique circumstances of Thunder Bay, the motivations and bias' of its planner, and the influence of wider planning initiatives in Ontario. Its significance and position in Thunder Bay's commercial, economic, and social structure has evolved over the past twenty years. While it is still viewed as a dysfunctional result of rivalry, it has been shown that it is was a consistent

extension of post-amalgamation efforts to integrate and ameliorate Fort William's core into the commercial and social fabric of Thunder Bay. Its' success in that venture, however, has been minimal.



City of Fort William and Thunder Bay planner, David Thompson, pictured at Victoriaville Centre, March 1998. (Photo: author)

CHAPTER IV: Conclusion

"I don't see much sense in that," said Rabbit.

"No," said Pooh humbly, "there isn't. But there was *going* to be when I began it. It's just that something happened to it along the way."

A.A. Milne's, Winnie the Pooh.

The communities of Fort William and Port Arthur were born in opposition to one another. Over time their respective identities were built and predicated on this division. Post World War Two residential, transportation, commercial and social patterns challenged the Lakehead's dual yet separate nature. Decentralization and suburbanization coincided with core area decay. The provincial government took note of these trends, instituting vast changes to rural and urban planning at the local level. Lakehead planners and politicians viewed these developments as one step towards integrating the two communities towards greater regional cooperation, and perhaps, amalgamation. It was clear that developments in one city would have adverse affects for the other. As such, regional planning evolved with the development of the Lakehead Planning Board.

By the mid-1960's, regional government had surfaced in Ontario, with the minister of Municipal Affairs, Darcy McKeough, appointing a commissioner to study the Lakehead area, among many others. The Hardy Report, also known as the Lakehead Local Government Review, suggested the amalgamation of Port Arthur, Fort William, and the adjoining municipalities of Shuniah and Neebing. Therefore, many forces and personalities combined to direct the Lakehead towards amalgamation. By 1970 the city of Thunder Bay was born. As such, the crux of planning decisions in the Lakehead area before, and immediately after amalgamation, has been directed to reconciling the

tensions that arose by creating one new city, while still maintaining two historic core areas. The Lakehead Official Plan, ratified in 1972, maintained a divisiveness between core areas, establishing the maintenance and continued preservation of both areas, often at each other's expense.

Commercial development after 1970 antagonized Thunder Bay along many lines. Whereas regional planners saw the benefits of a unified planning area, some politicians and the public still viewed themselves as being from "Port Arthur" or "Fort William." A divisive ward system of government contributed to the resentment and jealousy that emerged after amalgamation. Despite the fact that Thunder Bay was one city on paper, it was still two cities in the minds of some people and, paradoxically, on the part of the planners. Amalgamation was politically palatable if both historic cores were preserved. As such, the Lakehead official plan dedicated the city to their maintenance. Yet, this exercise confused and frustrated those persons who looked to the future and not to the past. Why maintain two old cores if you are trying to build one new city? Many looked to the intercity area as the site of a new core and city.

Revitalization in the Fort William ward challenged those who saw the preservation of the core areas as obsolete. Furthermore, critics of amalgamation viewed revitalization in the Fort William core as a consequence of rivalry. However, as this thesis has argued, Fort William's revitalization plans were a consistent extension of post-amalgamation efforts to integrate and ameliorate Fort William's core into the commercial and social fabric of Thunder Bay. Therefore, Victoriaville Centre was the logical continuation of both the Lakehead official plan and the former city of Fort William's own renewal plans. Despite the intention of the Lakehead official plan to

create an integrated and well-planned city, the continued preservation of core areas has maintained a divisiveness that still exists.

The planning process for Victoriaville, however, was flawed and failed to investigate the many possibilities for revitalization. Whereas the effort was crucial to the long-term viability of the core area, and fulfilled the mandate of the ODRP and the Lakehead official plan, Victoriaville has been a major disappointment. It has failed to revitalize the core area outside of the centre, and has been artificially supported by the infusion of municipal offices into the centre. Victoriaville has failed to act as neither a commercial nor a cultural draw for the area, requiring large subsidies from municipal government to survive. Key questions such as tenant attraction and retention, management coordination, and operating expenses were neglected during core team deliberations, despite words of caution from J. F. Harris and Jim McKeever.

On one hand, Victoriaville was the product of quick, inconsistent, confused, and poor planning. On the other hand, it is a logical and consistent extension of both the desire to maintain one of Thunder Bay's core areas, and of one planner's attempts not to repeat a mistake made 16 years before Victoriaville's opening.

EPILOGUE

The Fate of Thunder Bay's CBDs, 1985-1999.

Intensive commercial development of the intercity area continued after 1985. Several reports were undertaken by the City and Victoriaville's management to examine areas for improvement. Despite council's stated intention to promote and maintain the viability of Thunder Bay's two core areas, intercity was permitted to grow to the detriment of both CBDs. It is this conscious decision of council, to allow intercity development that seriously brings into question the ability and willingness of council to maintain a viable duality of core areas in a city of limited growth. Predictions of population growth and the concurrent need for increased retail space did not materialize. As such, a high proportion of retail space in the core areas has remained vacant.

Council abdicated responsibility for core area maintenance in the 1988 commercial study of John Winter and Associates. Winter chastised council for continuing to support Victoriaville in the face of market realities, namely intercity expansion. The report urged the city to "stop paying and cut its losses" with Victoriaville. Municipal involvement in the south core had led to a conflict of interest regarding dynamic proposals elsewhere, Winter concluded.¹⁹⁹ The Winter Report also recommended that council approve three new commercial developments in the intercity area, and that the north core and south cores be designated for government office

¹⁹⁹ John Winter and Associates, Commercial Study, Thunder Bay, 1988, 55. ALSO: David Froot, "Council Approves three major commercial developments," The Chronicle-Journal 13 March 1989; David Froot, "Give up on promoting cores for shopping, says consultant." The Chronicle-Journal 15 April 1989

List of Fort William / South Core Studies

TABLE 5

Year	Study
1964	Lakehead Renewal Study
1969	Fort William Downtown Renewal Study
1977	Thunder Bay South Redevelopment Plan
1978	Fort William – South Core Community Planning
1981	Economic Study – Victoriaville
1982	Thunder Bay Retail Study
1985	South Core Land Use Survey
1986	Victoriaville – A Resume
1986	Victoriaville Village: An Action Plan for Revitalization
1989	Commercial Study (John Winter)
1989	Community Improvement Plan – Victoriaville Village Area
1990	Victoriaville Commercial Area (Hope Report)
1990	C.A.U.S.E. Study
1992	South Core Sites Conference
1993	South Core Downtown Development Strategy
1993	Thunder Bay Retail Market (John Winter)
1996	Official Plan Review, Discussion Paper #7 – Commercial Development

activity. The city followed through on Winter's recommendations, except extricating itself of Victoriaville.

Winter followed his 1988 report with a subsequent analysis in 1993 in which council's decision to allow intercity development was lauded. Indeed, Winter went so far as to reiterate that council had full knowledge of its actions, and knew the "impacts on the north and south cores will be severe...and the approval of both these developments means that the north core and south core are, at least, denied any sales growth for almost a decade."²⁰⁰ Winter even proposed that Victoriaville Centre be turned into a casino!²⁰¹

By 1998, Eaton's vacated its store in Keskus Harbor Mall. From that point the mall spiralled into dismay and the Port Arthur business district slowly collapsed. Eventually, by November 1999, the mall and parking garage was demolished, with the latter being sold for \$1 to the Ontario Casino Corporation. Its design proved obsolete and its maintenance too expensive. A new casino is scheduled to replace the Keskus site by the spring of 2000.

Closer cooperation between the business improvement areas of Fort William and Port Arthur has been progressing well through the Downtown Areas Revitalization Committee.²⁰² Its role is to coordinate joint efforts to effect city, provincial, and federal policy to help the core areas. Instead of focusing on one core over the other, the committee's efforts were directed at finding joint solutions to problems that afflict both cores. The advisory committee's immediate impact was on the choice of casino location

²⁰⁰ John Winter and Associates, *Thunder Bay Retail Market*, 1993, 5.

²⁰¹ Jim Kelly, "Intercity seen as savior of city, jobs, taxes," *The Chronicle-Journal* 14 December 1993.

²⁰² The author served as Community-at-large Representative on the Committee.

for Thunder Bay, and the development of core area incentives to attract and retain businesses.

Meanwhile, Victoriaville Centre is experiencing some stability. While Port Arthur's core has collapsed, the Chapples building has been renovated for professional office space use, and the city-owned promenade is close to 100 percent occupancy. While some may argue that its current success is by default rather than by design, it is evident that revitalization in Fort William's core was a process, not an event.



Victoriaville Centre (Photo courtesy of Rita Ubriaco).

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