FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED'S MOUNT ROYAL PARK, MONTREAL:

DESIGN AND CONTEXT

Janice Eleanor Seline

A Thesis in

The Faculty of Fine Arts

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

September 1983

Abstract

Frederick Law Olmsted's Mount Royal Park, Montreal: Design and Context

Janice Seline

This thesis is an historical examination of Frederick Law Olmsted's design of Mount Royal Park, Montréal (1874-1877). The park plan is considered as a product of ideas current in urban development and aesthetics of the period, social and health requirements of the citizens of Montréal, artistic and literary interpretations of the park site, and the architect's experience. The design is analyzed and its genesis traced through three phases - pre-design, design production and post-design - which span the latter half of the nineteenth century. Both planning and construction activity are considered, as well as critical and public response to the park.

Acknowledgements

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the inspiration and help freely given by the following persons through the long process of writing and researching this thesis: Christina Cameron, Parks Canada; Susan Buggey, Parks Canada; Jean Bélisle, Ellen James, Laurier Lacroix, Hardy George, Concordia University; Conrad Graham, McCord Museum; Loren Singer, Concordia University Library; Mary Tynan, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site; J. Russell Harper; Bernard Saul; Maureen McIntyre; my family and friends. The late Mary Henshaw Montserrat is fondly remembered for her sustaining enthusiasm, good humour and untiring support. I should also thank Beverly Granich, Karen and Jean-Marie Feuillet and Brian Foss for typing the manuscript, and Concordia University and the F.C.A.C. for financial support.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

1. View of the City of Montreal, taken from the Mountain. By Joseph Bouchette Jurr. D.S.G., on stone by L. Hague, London, 1831. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal.
2. Plan of properties proposed to be acquired by the Corporation of Montreal for a Public Park, 1867. The McCord Museum possesses a copy of this map. The Archives of the Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site, Brooklines, Mass. holds a copy used by Olmsted as a working document.
3. Anonymous. View of Montreal from Ravenscrag, Undated. Château de Ramezay, Montréal.
4. Plan of Mount Royal Cemetery, as laid out by Sidney and Neff 1852. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal.
5. Montreal, by Thomas Davies, signed and dated, lower right, Thomas Davies/Delin 1812; inscribed verso, Montreal, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
6. A View of the City of Montreal and the River St. Lawrence from the Mountain, by E. Walsh, engraved by John Bluck, published by R. Ackermann, London, 1811, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal.
7. Montreal from the Mountain, by William H. Bartlett, engraved by R. Wallis, for Canadian Scenery, London, 1839-1842. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal.

8. Montreal (From the Mountain) by James Duncan, published by Matthews Lithography, Montreal, 1843. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal.

9. View of the City from the Royal Mount, by G.H. Andrews, engraved by R.P. Leitch, published in The Illustrated London News, August 25, 1860.

10. Montreal Mountain Boulevard prepared for the Directors of the Montreal Boulevard Co., June 1858. McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal.

11. Boxer, F.N. Map of the City of Montreal showing the Victoria Bridge, the mountain and proposed Boulevard and the different Dock Projects, 1859. Collection of the McCord Museum. Also found at the Salle Gagnon, Montreal Municipal Library.

12. Mount Royal Park, Montreal. Area west of Beaver Lake, showing classic Olmstedian pastoral water/foliage composition. Photo: Janice Seline.

13. Mount Royal Park, Montreal. Northeast corner bordering Park avenue, showing broad expanse of turf bordered by trees. Photo: Bernard Saul.

14. Mont Royal Park, Montreal. Entrance to the park off Pine Avenue. Photo: Janice Seline.

15. Mount Royal Park, Montreal. Pedestrian entrance to the park corner of Pine Avenue and Peel Street, noting confusion of traffic and steepness of the grade. Photo: Janice Seline.

16. Mount Royal Park, Montreal. Lower mountain road,

still lacking the subleties which the architect intended. Photo: Janice Seline.

17. Mount Royal Park, Montreal. Road leading from Pine Avenue to the lower mountain road, showing the zig-zag pattern of its ascent. Photo: Janice Seline.

18. Mount Royal/Design Map/1877. Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., New York, 1877. Collection of the author.

19. A. de Grandpré, Around Mount Royal Park, (1905, Montreal). Detail. Collection of McGill University, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Photo: Maureen McIntyre.

20. Mount Royal Park, Montreal. Rustic railing and walkway along the lower mountain road, 1878. Photo: Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, McGill University, Montréal.

21. Mount Royal Park, Montreal. Distant view from summit with rustic style railing. Photo: Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum.

22. Contour plan of Mount Royal Park (scale 400 feet to one inch). Charles F. Goad, 1880. McGill University, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Photo: Maureen McIntyre.

Introduction

The large urban park was a product of the public-spirited aspect of nineteenth century western culture. It was an example of measures taken to remedy the widespread ill-effects of industrialization and rapid urbanization. Linked to the aesthetic ideas of the period, the park reflected the ideal that somehow art, and especially public art, could act as an uplifting, positive force in the daily life of ordinary people. The park was considered by many as much a work of art as a functional space for recreation. Could the public park fulfil the idealistic expectations which were its foundation? This question underlies the following account of Frederick Law Olmsted's design for Mount Royal Park, Montréal (1874-1877), one of two large parks to be established in the city in the 1870's, some five hundred acres of pastoral and wilderness scenery overlooking the city developing rapidly around its hilly site. Olmsted's work reflects the artistic and functional duality of the nineteenth century public park. The following thesis links his design to the socio-economic, cultural and aesthetic factors which shaped it. These factors are viewed as changing and extended rather

than a specific set of conditions due to the length of this early period of the park's development and realization, roughly sixty years.

The structure chosen for this exercise is loosely chronological - each chapter covers one of three phases of the genesis of the Olmsted plan. The first of these is the pre-design period (to 1874). Land use, urban development, artistic and literary interpretations of the eventual site, local and international movements supporting the establishment of large urban parks and the architect's background are examined as the context in which the park plan was developed. The second phase considered in the design phase (1874-1877) during which the architect created the Mount Royal Park plan, a time when he was most intensely involved with the municipal officials. The design itself and the factors which shaped its outcome are analyzed. The final chapter of the thesis covers the third period of Olmsted's direct influence on the form which the park was to take. The post-design phase covers the years from 1878 to approximately 1908, when the work of new planners was adopted. The extent to which the Olmsted plan was executed is traced and the park as it appeared through the 1880's and 1890's is examined through the opinions of its critics.

The thesis specifically touches many ideas current in urban development and landscape aesthetics in the latter half of the nineteenth century. An attempt has been made

to integrate little used documentary sources such as the architect's drawings and letters with the well-known published source material on the park. Use of maps and topographical views of the city, as well as newspaper accounts, petitions and critical writings has also been made. The intention of this thesis, finally, is to link the functional character of the park design with the aesthetic aspect, thereby complementing the existing historical accounts of the subject.

Chapter I

The Park Idea in Montréal: Development to 1874.

In attempting to understand how Mount Royal Park, Montréal, was created, it is not enough to simply credit the city councils of the 1860's with admirable foresight in acquiring the park land, or to pass off the large urban park as an idea imported from Europe into New York, taking on the character of a fleeting fashion among the highly competitive cities of nineteenth century North America. An understanding of the development of the park idea in Montréal emerges from a consideration of both local and international conditions in which these conditions came to exist. The local conditions include such factors as the evolution of the idea of open space in Montréal's urban landscape, land use on the site itself, as well as social, cultural and aesthetic ideas prevalent in the community during the decades preceding the park's creation. The ideology of other park movements should be considered as a background to both the local conditions and the architect's ideas. Montréal made the fortunate choice of

the American, Frederick Law Olmsted as landscape architect of its first large urban park. Olmsted was a leading innovator and practitioner in the establishment of public parks in North America. His experience and creative power were important factors in the realization of the Mount Royal park project. He was, in fact, an essential link between the local movement and its international context.

Olmsted himself insisted that his parks were conceived as works of art and that they should be conserved as such. Here, the conditions surrounding the park's creation - artistic, local and international - will be approached as art history, in a re-creation of the context of the work which will in turn serve to enrich an understanding of the park's eventual design.

Early Urban Development Patterns

The word Montréal is derived from the name that the French explorer Jacques Cartier gave to the island's principal landmark, Mont Royal. This low hill, called the Monteregian hills, rising in steep cliffs on its eastern sides is one of several that dot the fertile plain of the St. Lawrence valley. Cartier, on his second exploratory voyage to the New World in 1535, named the mountain after Monreale, Sicily, the see of Cardinal Hippolyte de Medici, one of the patrons of his expedition.[1] Mont Royal, Mount Royal has since remained a symbol of communal

aspiration and the main landmark of the city bearing its name.

The geography of the island of Montréal plays an important role in determining the evolution of the city's landscape. Jean-Claude Marsan traces the beginnings of Montréal's urban development from the settlement patterns of the colonial villages and fortifications of the French régime built up in the decades following Champlain's initial attempts at colonization early in the seventeenth century. The island and the shores of the St. Lawrence River surrounding it formed the nucleus of the western communities of New France, the farms laid out in long strips leading back from the houses of those who cleared and worked them, grouped in villages that hugged the riverbanks; the water providing access and some measure of protection. The first roads followed the shores of the river, linking the villages, more farms opening off these roads as land clearance progressed. The shores of the island were pioneered first and settlement moved inward toward the mountain center. The fortifications at Pointe-aux-Trembles (1675), Rivière-des-Prairies (1688), Senneville (1692) and Ville-Marie (1642), and the large seigneurial land grants for agricultural purposes, such as Verdun, Lachine, Belle-vue, ringed the island by the end of the seventeenth century. Grants of land in the interior of the island and roads traversing it linking the communities followed quickly.[2]

Marsan develops the definition of the concept "côte" as the basic unit of land organization in the early settlement patterns of New France. The "côte", a rural unit, was adapted to urban neighbourhood organization, the urban street patterns following the patterns set by the old rural roads and the layout of the fields. The word 'côte' can be applied to a hillside road, like Côte-des-Neiges or Côte-Ste-Catherine, but in the broader context of Quebec settlement patterns, its meaning more closely approaches "riverside" (coast), applied to the parcels of farmland leading inland from the river's edge. The subsequent settlements developed behind the riverside groups would constitute a second côte, linked to the riverside by roads called "montées". Thus, relatively flat areas of the island of Montréal, like Côte-de-Liesse or Côte-Vertu are also called "côte", and the peculiar manner of giving directions in Québec, "up" or "down", makes perfect sense if one retains a consciousness of one's position in relation to the river.[3] The cote is as such the basic unit of urban organization in Montréal, "l'unité la plus élémentaire et la plus homogène du système territoriale Montréalais... : elle constitue la base de l'organisation territoriale de la communauté humaine..."[4] The concept of "côte" aids an understanding of the urban development pattern around Mount Royal, and leaves one with an idea of the relative distance of the mountain from the harbour settlement of Ville-Marie, the fortified town

that formed the nucleus of the city of Montréal. The farming communities of Côte de-Notre-Dame-des-Neiges, Côte-Ste-Catherine, Côte-St-Antoine, and so on surrounded the mountain with settled farmland. The roads ringing the mountain were Côte-des-Neiges and Côte-Ste-Catherine, utilitarian highways linking the farms with the harbour. The growth of Montréal in the nineteenth century would result in the development of suburbs into the farmlands up the mountain's lower slopes above the city, and the expansion of the villages into suburbs. The pressure of this spreading urbanization led to changes in land use on the mountain and eventually begged the question of what should be done with the remaining arable and forested tracts of the mountain plateau. The development of suburbs around Mount Royal points to its isolation from the city centre - the site would remain, in the mind of the nineteenth century Montrealer, a place outside the city.

Early Open Spaces in Montréal

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the city of Montréal possessed several categories of open space - market squares, military parade grounds, cemeteries and open spaces adjacent to church buildings, and private, walled gardens attached to institutions such as convents, seminaries and hospitals. These open spaces were primarily utilitarian, but they also had secondary

social and aesthetic functions. The Champ-de-Mars, for example, a long military parade ground, was described by John M. Duncan as "a favourite promenade in the summer evenings"[5], and the gardens kept by the religious orders were described as beautiful by the Finnish traveler Peter Kalm,[6] refuges, no doubt, for contemplation, in addition to providing fresh produce and herbs to the institutions.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid economic development and urban expansion, in which the cultural influence of the English administration was manifested, in terms of urban development and in the proliferation of public squares. Dalhousie Square was the first of these to appear, created after the destruction of obsolete eastern fortifications of the city in 1819.[7] Place d'Armes was converted into a square in the true sense of the term with the demolition of the old parish church of Montréal upon the completion of Notre-Dame-de-Montréal. The site of the new church had been planned with this eventuality in mind in the 1820's;[8] Place d'Armes was planted with trees, furnished with a fence and fountain by 1848.[9] The conversion of other formerly utilitarian spaces into squares was carried out concurrently - the Hay Market became Victoria Square and Viger Market became Viger Square during the 1820's.[10] Later, in 1873, the Roman Catholic cemetery would be dug up and converted to Dominion Square.[11] These urban squares, green spaces with a primarily social and

aesthetic purpose, formed one type of direct predecessor to Montréal's first large urban park.

Changes in Land Use on Mount Royal

While the number of squares increased in the established urban centre, changes were taking place on Mount Royal. The uses to which the land was put multiplied as the city limits drew closer - the mountain was no longer simply arable and forested land, occupied by the small farms and orchards depicted by Joseph Bouchette in his view dated 1831 (Illus. 1). The wealthy bourgeoisie had begun to acquire large tracts of land on the mountain. They built villas - spacious, elegant country residences located not too far from the business of the city, fashionable and necessary to a comfortable life in the city. The large urban household depended on the produce of the country estate for a steady food supply, especially during the winter months, when markets were unreliable.[12] The villa was also a place of refuge from the heat, crowding and unsanitary conditions of the city in summer. In 1867, when the city was planning the acquisition of the Mount Royal land, there were several large estates on the mountain, for example, those of H.B. Smith, Stanley Bagg, John Redpath, Hugh Taylor, Benjamin Hall, Sir Hugh Allan, J. Frothingham and the lands of the Sisters of the Hotel Dieu.[13]

The villa estates on the mountain contributed to the general aesthetic appreciation of the mountain site. The siting of the villa was often planned to take advantage of views,[14] and the treatment of the landscape around it as a private park or garden demonstrated in tangible form the pleasures of outdoor recreation on the mountain. Sir Hugh Allan's villa, Ravenscrag, built in 1860, with its terraced grounds overlooking the city, provides an excellent example of the visual quality of the mountain location. A panorama of anonymous origin (Illus. 3) records the view from the entrance terrace and shows the formal gardening style of the Allan villa grounds, a style that Olmsted considered inappropriate for the mountain site in his eventual park design.

The farm and the villa on the mountain came to co-exist, by the 1850's with a public form of land use, the cemetery. Two large cemeteries were laid out: the Protestant Mount Royal Cemetery, established in 1850 on the north-east slope and the Catholic Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery, established in 1853 on the land of Dr. Pierre Beaubien, fronting on Cote-des-Neiges.[15] Cemeteries in Montréal had formerly been located beside churches within the city limits, but the need for more space, and the belief that the location of burial grounds in crowded urban areas increased the chances of contagion, led to the removal of cemeteries outside the city limits. Following the recent styles in cemetery design, (Mount Auburn

Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass. (1831) furnished an excellent prototype)[16] the new cemeteries were spacious, landscaped, and regarded as "parks for the dead". A visit to the cemetery was both a duty and an outing. An 1856 tourist guidebook to Montréal mentions both cemeteries as worthy of a visit for their picturesque qualities,[17] while a plan drawn for Mount Royal Cemetery in 1852 by Sidney and Neff confirms this character (Illus. 4). In this plan, the drives are arranged to reflect the topography of the site, the varied routes as well as the footpaths follow the rise and fall of the land in accordance with the English landscape style of J.C. Loudon, known for his cemetery designs. In a similar vein, small ponds and streams are preserved, created or enhanced. Associative, evocative names are given to the drives and paths and to the topographical features of the landscape, for example, Mount Hope, Primrose Path. Other drives were named after trees associated with death, like larch, linden, hawthorn, cypress and laurel. It is possible that the planting of such trees was planned, to add to the contrived symbolism of the landscape. That some effort at landscape gardening was in fact made in the cemeteries of Mount Royal along the general lines of the Sidney and Neff plan, or one similar to it, is shown in a guidebook description from 1875. The grounds are described as possessing many inviting nooks, garden seats, prospects from which views are to be enjoyed, and the few existing lakes and streams

"are made available in every possible way to add beauty to the scene..."[18] Such attention to views and local planting in the cemeteries provided both a rival to an additional prototype for the park on the mountain.

The International Parks Movements

By the mid-nineteenth century, the social changes wrought by booming industrialization and population growth had beset Montréal. While the conditions in Montréal had their own specific character, they cannot be considered unique. Working-class neighbourhoods grew too fast - overcrowding, inadequate water, sanitation, badly built housing, threats of fire and epidemics coloured the grim picture of workers' lives in Montréal as in other cities. The bourgeois classes, on the other hand, flourished, their neighbourhoods expanding, their social life demanding new institutions and places where they could congregate in style.

The idea of the large public park was new in the first half of the nineteenth century in Europe, and its popularity spread quickly to North America. It held a strong appeal for both the bourgeois and working class sectors of the population, promising improvements in the living standards of both groups. However, in cities with elected governments, large sectors of the working class were often disenfranchised, since property owners

generally formed the electorate; therefore the needs of the disenfranchised were often championed by philanthropic reform groups. The views of these reformers were coloured by a moral or religious or political stance, more often motivated by sentiment than self-interested necessity.

For the bourgeoisie, the large urban park provided aesthetic enhancement of the urban environment and a place of social interchange; as well, it proved materially desirable in terms of increasing property values of the land adjacent to the parks. The first large urban parks in London and Paris, for example, Regent's Park (completed c.1830)[19] and the Bois de Boulogne (begun 1853)[20] were converted royal hunting preserves. Landscape design of the private park had attained the status of a fine art in eighteenth century Europe. The nineteenth century saw this art drawn into public service, especially in the liberalized societies of England and France, where the bourgeoisie was the ascendant social class. Landscape architecture, in its new public role, became a profession. Aesthetic values formerly associated with the aristocracy were adapted by the bourgeoisie to its own uses. In England, the principles of landscape aesthetics were popularly summarized by the modes of the Sublime, the Beautiful and the Picturesque in the widely published writings of aesthetic theoreticians like Edmund Burke, William Gilpin, Richard Payne Knight, Uvedale Price, and later, John Ruskin. These modes were applied to park

design, as they were to landscape painting and romantic literature, which often extolled the beauties of nature.

As travel became easier, with better roads and railways, the bourgeois tourist, whose predecessor had been the aristocratic "grand tourist", could pursue the aesthetic pleasure of landscape contemplation. A proliferation of guidebooks like Black's Picturesque Tourist of England (1868)[21] directed the tourist to the choicest views. The urban landscape park could provide the bourgeois city dweller with similar pleasures at his leisure.

Parks sometimes had historical, as well as natural, aesthetic dimensions. A park which incorporated an old much-used site, such as a royal hunting ground or a battlefield, commemorated the past. Monuments to events or famous people were considered an important, evocative aspect of landscape. Historical subjects still occupied an elevated position in art and literature - nineteenth century monuments often encompassed mythical and biblical symbols suggesting the significance of history. These, set within nature's beauty, were a source of visual and intellectual pleasure, as well as educational and patriotic, excellent reflections of bourgeois cultural values.

The urban park became the setting for a fashionable social activity, the promenade. One walked or drove through the park to see and be seen. North Americans

envied this polite form of socializing, which was widespread in European cities. Driving and walking for pleasure had been the practice previously of the aristocracy in their private grounds, and the fashion in nineteenth century urban bourgeois life was simply a continuation of the old customs. The limited spaces in which one could "promenade" in North American cities became a major point in the argument for the creation of parks; the desire for such a setting was strongly voiced in New York[22] and in most other forward-looking cities, including Montréal. The promenade in the park could be considered the high note in a medley of urban enhancements demanded by an increasingly well-established bourgeois class. Other city improvement projects included the planting of trees, the creation of city squares, boulevards, sports and exhibition facilities and public gardens.

Beyond the intrinsic aesthetic and recreational values of such improvements, there were, as well, proven material benefits. Property values and taxation potential of the land adjacent to such projects rose as improvements were effected; fashionable neighbourhoods occupied exclusively by high-income groups were a common result of city beautification.[23] This polarization, underlining the already rigid stratification of nineteenth century Western society, was regarded by some bourgeois proponents of parks as a desirable effect.

While many parks were the result of conversion of private estates to public open space, new parks were also created. Some new parks, like Victoria Park in East London (1842) were set in slum areas where the need for them was great. Cities undertaking construction of new neighbourhoods began to include parks in their development schemes - Birkenhead Park near Liverpool (1843) is an example of such a new park created in a working-class suburb. The reasoning behind the creation of new parks incorporated the bourgeois values and financial motives described above, but it also acquired broader dimensions nourished by the social theorists of the nineteenth century. A number of social and political movements of varying degrees of radicalism were concerned with environmental improvement as a solution to the social ills accompanying urban poverty. An example of an effective movement of this type was the liberal Reform movement in Britain in the 1830's, which aimed at large-scale improvement of the living conditions of the working-classes. The Reformers waged a campaign for parks in London's poverty-stricken East End as part of their program. Victoria Park was a concrete result of their effort, and this park became a model of environmental improvement associated with social reform.[24]

The Reformers attempted improvements within the existing social fabric. Experiments with the founding of new communities were attempted by such utopian socialist

groups as those founded by Robert Owen or Charles Fourier. Both these movements insisted that environmental improvement was essential to social well-being, and their successes were used as fuel for the arguments for the establishment of large urban parks.

Robert Owen, a wealthy Manchester industrialist, set out to prove that misery and depravity were not the necessary results of industrialization. He and his supporters created a controversial industrial community, New Lanark, where workers were provided with a planned community, well-built housing, green spaces, schools and company stores carrying low-priced goods of reasonable quality. Briefly, in the post-Napoleonic War era, Owen mustered the support of several high-placed government officials for the application of his social theories in the public sphere. Through an attempt to establish an Owenite community at New Harmony, Indiana in 1825, the Owenites also had an influence in North America.

Of the North American utopian demonstrations, those of Charles Fourier were perhaps the most influential. The writings of Fourier were widely read and several Fourierist communities were founded, of which the New Jersey "phalanx" (founded 1842) and that in Wisconsin (founded 1844) were the most long-lived. As well as alteration of family structure and the value attached to work, Fourier's theories embraced the provision of an ideal planned environment which would help sustain social

order.[26]

American intellectuals became imbued with these new social theories and it was through them that many of the ideas concerning environmental improvement were brought to campaigns for the establishment of large urban parks in the late 1840's and 1850's. An influential group developed in New York city and included William Cullen Bryant and Horace Greeley, newspaper editors; Parke Godwin, journalist; Horace Bushnell, minister; Charles Loring Brace, founder of the Children's Aid Society; and Frederick Law Olmsted, then a published social critic.[25] These loosely affiliated individuals had the common goal of adapting utopian socialist ideas, mainly Fourierist, and radical theology, to the ideals of Jeffersonian democracy. They tested their thought through a variety of practical applications involving improvement of the living environment, often on a large scale.[28] The group was eventually influential throughout the United States in both intellectual and political circles. Their concerns embraced educational reforms, with the foundation of colleges and the planning of new campus forms as part of the program. Olmsted, for example, was interested in the idea of founding a national network of agricultural colleges, with the goal of improving the standard of rural life. The campuses of these colleges would provide a model of home-like comfort and landscaped surroundings for the student occupants. The group's educational concept

included an emphasis on recreation; not only colleges, but cities should provide public space where both "active", or physical, recreation and "passive", or contemplative, recreation could be enjoyed by all citizens.[29] Olmsted would uphold his belief in the benefits of recreation to the general well-being of people for the rest of his life. Central Park in New York City, was one of the group's most illustrious projects, the fruit of their idealism in urban improvement. Frederick Law Olmsted, collaborating with the English landscape architect Calvert Vaux, began to build his reputation as a landscape architect.

A less visionary, but perhaps more commonly understood argument for parks was that which earned them the label "lungs of the city". Open space, cleaner air and sunshine were regarded as essential to good health and as such a preventive measure against the epidemics feared by all city dwellers. The "sanative" benefit of parks was seldom questioned, and was widely expressed in most nineteenth century park campaigns, including the New York campaign for Central Park.[30]

The Park Idea in Montréal

These aesthetic, economic, idealist and sanative arguments appealed, in varying degrees, to both the working class and the bourgeois sectors of the cities' populations. In cities where large portions of land could

be made available at a cost which would not be considered prohibitive, groups of citizens banded together to petition for parks. In Montréal, the arguments for a park on Mount Royal developed over several decades; the seeds of the idea to be rediscovered in the local conditions are related to aesthetic, economic, idealist and sanative issues current in European and North American urban centres. A picture of the city's requirements was increasingly perceived by both voter and city council. The results were three large parks established between 1874 and the end of the 1880's, Mount Royal Park being the first and most developed, followed closely by Ile Ste-Hélène (1874) and later by Parc Lafontaine (c.1888).

Aesthetic appreciation of the mountain site appeared in the works of artists and writers from early in the nineteenth century. Their works furnish indications of the meaning which the mountain site held for Montrealers and as such deserve detailed analysis.

Mount Royal was a landscape subject popular among topographical artists working in Canada. The topographical view formed, in the early nineteenth century, a large proportion of the visual art produced in Canada, rivalled only by religious painting and portraiture. Artists devoted much effort to recording the appearance of the New World, both as a confirmation of its beauty and as proof of its civilization for those who had not seen it. The

artists' depictions of the mountain are as varied as

their individual styles and the purposes for which the views were intended. This variety invites interpretation of the meaning of the subject beyond the simple descriptive content of the pictures. The following works illustrate several types of interpretation.

Thomas Davies' Montréal (Illus. 5) of 1812, a view taken from the mountain, was probably composed from sketches, since it is unlikely that the artist was in Montréal that year.[32] The picture shows a conscious selection of elements, as if the artist were reassembling the scene from memory. He concentrates on the wilderness flora arranged around the rocks and trees of the ample foreground; the farms of the middle planes are denoted by disproportionately large cattle; in the city beyond, non-descript, block-like buildings surround the selected landmarks of the churches, against a backdrop of the river, the villages of the south shore, the forest's edge and the Monteregian hills. Davies' crystalline vision communicates the transition of the viewed landscape from wilderness to civilization to wilderness, giving a clear sense of the geographical location of the city within the wilderness. Here, Davies shows a wilderness that is not without beauty or interest, demonstrated by the care which he lavishes on the drawing of the flora.

The mountain interpreted as wilderness returned in the work of others. E. Walsh, in A View of the City of Montréal and the River St. Lawrence from the Mountain,

(Illus. 6), shows a tamed wilderness marked by the monument to fur-trader Simon McTavish, one of the first villa-builders on the mountain (died 1804).[33] Again the forested foreground is a substantial feature of the picture; the city appears distant while the river and its farther shore are simply streaks, shrouded in atmospheric distance. This composition conforms to the picturesque style, with its gentle reminders of the city's past, the people who built it and the primeval forest out of which it was hewn.

William H. Bartlett's Montréal from the Mpuntain (Illus. 7) shows a substantial mountain foreground in a more robust picturesque style, incorporating elements of the sublime, such as a large lightening-blasted tree trunk and a bleak, windswept tree clinging to a rock. One of the staffage figures appears to be kneeling before the scenery, while disproportionately tall steeples and a few larger buildings, among them Notre-Dame-de-Montréal, dominate an otherwise murky city far below the viewer, and the mountains on the far shore of the river sweep dramatically across the horizon. The distortion of the elements of the view, which was likely destined for a foreign market, combine here to play on the viewer's sense of the spectacular, lending an aura of the exotic to the scenery.

Other interpreters of "Montréal from the Mountain" emphasize the mountain's pastoral character, showing

farms, cattle or orchards in the foreground. Joseph Bouchette's View of the City of Montréal, Taken from the Mountain (Illus. 1), includes the city in the distant background, while the fruit harvest taking place in a rich, broad, rural setting occupies a large portion of the picture space. In James Duncan's Montréal (from the mountain) (Illus. 8), the orchards are exchanged for pasture and a farm house.

The topographical view focused on the city and the progress of its growth constitutes a third interpretation. In these, the mountain itself is of little interest, treated merely as a vantage point from which one could cast a satisfied glance over the city's development. G.H. Andrews' View of the City from the Royal Mount (Illus. 9) (1860) includes the city's latest improvements: the McTavish Street reservoir in the foreground, McGill University, the Victoria Bridge, Christ Church Cathedral and Notre-Dame-de-Montréal. The city is depicted as orderly, god-fearing and progressive. This third perception is also present in the illustrative insets of F.N. Boxer's map of Montréal of 1859 (Illus. 11) aimed, no doubt, at visitors or potential investors.

The topographers interpreted the mountain generally as a wilderness spot where nature in its primeval state could be appreciated, as a wilderness which reminded one of the country's pioneering past, as a pastoral setting bordering the activity of the city, or a vantage point

from which the city's progress could be surveyed. They provide evidence of the visual traditions associated with the mountain site, traditions which the park design would eventually incorporate.

While the historical significance of the mountain is suggested in a somewhat general manner in the topographical views, the historian François-Xavier Garneau articulated its specific meaning. In his acclaimed Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours (1845-1848), he attributed the first European appreciation of the mountain view to none other than Jacques Cartier. Describing Cartier's discovery of Hochelaga during the second voyage of 1535, Garneau says :

> Cartier se fit conduire sur la cîme d'une montagne qui était à un quart de lieue de distance. Il découvrit de cet endroit un pays sans bornes. Enchanté de la vue magnifique qu'il avait devant lui, il donna à cette montagne le nom de Mont-Royal, nom qu'elle a conservé et qui s'est étendu à la ville qui est maintenant au pied.34

Garneau's fixation on this moment as an inspirational climax in Cartier's voyage of discovery and his emphasis on the magnificence of the view are a romantic's projections of what was most likely a minor event. Cartier, according to documentary sources did use the word "belle" to describe the land he saw - he said, "Entre lesquelles montagnes est la terre, la plus belle qu'il soit possible de veoyr, labourable, unye et plaine..."[35] The beauty of the land seems to be interpreted in a sober

spirit of appraisal of its agrarian potential. However, the association of the mountain with the origins of New France remains popular and lends to the mountain site a specific historical significance. Once Garneau had sanctified the view with history, every citizen could look out over the limitless landscape and re-experience Cartier's discovery. Garneau himself, a pioneer of Canadian history, bemoaned the dearth of historical monuments in Canada, pointing to the European landscape with its many such reminders of the past, as an example which Canadians should emulate. In his Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833, Garneau revealed the extent to which the landscape inspired in him historical associations, both in Europe and upon his return to North America, as he travelled from Boston up through New York and Upper Canada toward his native country.[36] Given the popularity of Garneau's writings, it is not surprising to find letters in the newspapers pointing out the historical importance of the proposed park site :

> The question now is, where is the proper spot for a monument to Jacques Cartier? According to my mind, and I hope you will agree with me, that place is pointed out by history; Jacques Cartier has marked it himself. On the 20th October, 1535, Jacques Cartier ascended the Mountain, and when on top of it contemplated the extent and beauty of the surrounding countries, and he said : "I name this mountain Mont Royal."
>
> There is no contestation (sic) about it; he was the first civilized man who put his foot on the top of that mountain, and I think there

> is not a more fitting place for historical recollection to erect a monument to that chivalrous seaman than the very one on which he was standing when he solemnly named our city. It will probably be at the head of the new projected Park of the Mountain sic ...37

The aesthetic and historical appreciation of the mountain site was placed in a more practical and popular context by the groups of petitioners to the city council for the construction of a road or boulevard on the mountain. One such petition was made in 1844 and restated in more elaborate form in 1851. The texts of these petitions articulate the idea of the mountain as a place of public recreation, and they show the beginnings of the basic arguments for public parks, arguments which would be repeated and developed over thirty years leading up to the eventual design of the park. As such, the boulevard idea perhaps constitutes, more directly than the mountain cemeteries or the city square, the main precedent for Mount Royal Park.

The petition of December 4, 1844 carries the signatures of eleven citizens, among them one H. Taylor, apparently one of the major landholders on the mountain. The petition requested a road, but unlike ordinary demands for utilitarian routes, the citizens described their proposed road as an enhancement of Montréal, then the seat of government for the Canadas :

> ...It is desirable that nothing tending to advance its prosperity, to increase its attractions as a place for residence, or to promote the health of its Citizens should be

left undone...

They requested

> ...the establishment of wide streets or boulevards, on the French principle, (to) form at once a place for healthful foot or carriage exercise and amusement, and add to the embellishment of the City beyond almost anything that could be devised.
>
> That no City in America, nay in the world, presents such a fair field for the display and establishment of such boulevards as Montréal; Your Petitioners would most respectfully point out as a fit line for such improvements the base of the Mountain as overlooking the City and commanding from every point such lovely views of the surrounding country.

The cost of building the road, they pointed out, should be

> ...regarded as nothing when it is considered that the assessments which will be leviable on the lands on the line of the boulevard will hereafter become large, and will almost immediately pay for all the costs of the undertaking.

They added

> ...that many of the Proprietors of land in that direction are willing to give gratis sufficient land for the purpose.38

Here the elements of the case for improvement of the mountain are seen schematically, but publicly, articulated: healthful exercise and recreation; a place for pleasure driving; the beauty of the view; the enhancement of property values. The city council did not act on this petition, but the idea was not forgotten.

On April 10, 1851, the petition was restated, this time by a group of five citizens, Sir James Edward Alexander, John Day, Georges Desbarats, J. McCord and G. de Beaujeu, calling themselves the Montréal Boulevard

Committee. Their resolution to build a boulevard on the mountain, as outlined in the petition, was sanctioned by a public meeting. The city surveyor had been consulted as to the location and cost of that part of the road which would pass through city limits :

> ...the part that the City Authorities should undertake will cost but 1458 pounds in Q Cy: - a mere bagatelle, whether considered with reference to the aggregate amount of the City assessments annually levied, or to the magnitude and growing importance of Montréal.39

The remainder of the "Boulevard around the Mountain" would be financed and built by "Subscription or by the Formation of a Joint Stock Company"[40] Landowners on the mountain were still willing to donate the land for the road. It should be noted that this petition was presented a year after the land for the Protestant cemetery on Mount Royal had been purchased, which may account for the renewed interest in the project.

Aside from the increase in property values which the boulevard would bring, the petitioners described further advantages:

> ...the immense incalculable benefit the Citizens of all classes would derive from the Boulevard, in respect of the health and recreation of themselves and their families - the character and importance it would impart to our City, in the eyes of Strangers, and visitors from the neighbouring States - creating attractions and inducements for them to prolong their stay in Montréal, and to expend more money amongst us... A Boulevard, once made on the ridge of the Mountain, in front of the City, omnibuses would be immediately established, to convey every five or ten minutes, for the trifling sum of a penny, at all hours of the

> day; from sun-rise to sun-set during the summer months, persons desiring or requiring the fresh air and beautiful Scenery of the Mountain, to recruit their Spirits - The wives and children and particularly the infants of our Citizens of all Classes, not possessing the advantages of a Summer Country Residence, at present shut out from all access to the Mountain, and who often now pine away and die from their inability to respire the Salubrious air of that elevation in the Summer Season, could then lawfully share its full benefits - would then have free access to the Boulevard, and there reclining under the Shade of the Mountain Foliage, healthfully expend an hour or two inhaling a new existence.41

To the briefly stated advantages outlined in the 1844 boulevard petition is added a sentimental and paternalistic appeal for the well-being of "all Classes". However transparent this appeal may appear in juxtaposition to the financial benefits of the scheme, such arguments would be repeated many times to come, in more serious terms. Again, no immediate action was taken by the roads committee of the city council, but evidence of the continued existence of the boulevard committee's intents survives in the form of a map showing their proposal, drawn in 1858 (Illus. 10).

The map prepared by F.N. Boxer in 1859 (Illus. 11) presenting proposed city improvements, including the mountain boulevard and the Victoria Bridge opened in 1860, is a more revealing document. It shows Montréal's attractions as a place to visit, to live and to do business. It is decorated with two views of the city inset into the corner -- the prospects from St. Helen's Island

and Mount Royal's south side, both places soon destined to become parks, and both viewpoints from which the growing city could be surveyed with satisfaction. The views are comparable in attitude to the interpretation of "Montreal from the Mountain" by G.H. Andrews (Illus. 9). They show the spread of the city, the major buildings rising above the rest, presenting a strongly positive opinion of the city's bounding growth. The map itself shows the projected bridge, boulevard, canal projects, harbour improvements, all evidences of industrial prosperity and progress. Gardens and squares, like the Sulpician grounds on Sherbrooke Street and the Guilbault Gardens between Bleury and St. Urbain Streets nearer the river, are prominently indicated. The improvements projected for the mountain are more elaborately represented than those shown on the boulevard's committee's map of the previous year. The mountain appears as nearly virgin territory; as Ravenscrag was not built until 1860, nothing impeded the map-maker's depicting a grand entrance to the boulevard from the top of Peel Street. Such an entrance was very much in the minds of the park commissioners during the planning of Mount Royal Park. The route of the boulevard around the Westmount side of Mount Royal as well as its eastern mount, indicates the ambitions of some of its supporters. The boulevard, as presented here, rests like a crown on the crest of the mountain, overlooking the city, a vision of progress and harmony which contrasted sharply with the

realities of nineteenth century city life.

The boulevard petitions represent only a fraction of the requests for services pressed upon the municipal government by mid-century. The need for comprehensive city planning in terms of the regularization of services was becoming acutely evident. A cursory survey of Montréal newspapers shows many correspondents decrying the miserable state of the city's roads, the dust, the snow, the mud, as well as complaints about inadequate drainage, sewerage, light and water. The city council, itself in an early state of administrative development, had great difficulty setting priorities. The problem of water supply emerged as the most urgent. The consolidation of the responsibility for water services in the hands of the municipal administration was a major factor in strengthening the power of the city council to a point where it could undertake ambitious projects.[42] The city's preoccupation with water focused some attention on the mountain site, which acquired a strategic position in municipal politics as an important source of fresh water. The city took over the privately owned water works in 1845, a firm step in proving that elective government (restored in 1843 after a failed first attempt) could take on the responsibility of major services. The city built a reservoir in the present Carré St-Louis in 1849, then another, the McTavish Street reservoir on the lower slopes of Mount Royal, between 1852 and 1856, the latter

designed by engineer Thomas C. Keefer.[43] Water was necessary to public health, vital as a protective measure against fire, and imperative to industrial growth. The council's pressure to build another, even larger, reservoir on Mount Royal during the planning of the park[44] demonstrates that the importance, both practical and political, of the mountain as a water supply may have indeed served as an inducement to the city to secure its rights to the mountain by building the park.

The argument that parks, or more specifically, public access to mountain air and scenery, would be conducive to improved public health, put forward in the boulevard petitions, was part of the broader public health debate heard all over North America during the nineteenth century. In Québec, public health also had a serious political dimension. During the Rebellions of 1837, the radical faction opposed immigration to Lower Canada on the grounds that the overcrowded immigrant ships brought smallpox and cholera to the ports. Epidemics spread rapidly and Québec experienced several devastating outbreaks of disease in the course of the century. Associated with immigration, a phenomenon encouraged by the British colonial administration, public health became a volatile and potentially dangerous political issue. Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a radical leader during the Rebellions, was a campaigner for broad measures to control epidemics, both at the time of the Rebellions and in his subsequent

careers as doctor and politician. As mayor of Montréal from 1854 to 1856, he included in his inaugural speeches statements on the necessity for improved public health.[45] After the cholera epidemic of 1859, he published a pamphlet entitled "Practical views on cholera, and on measures to be adopted during an epidemic". As mayor, Nelson supported the idea of a boulevard on the mountain, although he does not appear to have taken action to build it.[46]

Once the idea of a park captured the public imagination, the health issue was easily attached to it. A letter appearing in the Montreal Gazette in 1867, part of an exchange of views concerning public health measures, summarizes the current debate as well as any other document:

> ...The delicate lungs of a child are extremely susceptible to malaria, and our city abounds with reeking cesspools, manure or garbage heaps, stinking piggeries and foul basements. A trip through St. Ann's Ward during the late three hot days would explain the reason for the great infant mortality there.
>
> I mention the ward because I am familiar with it.
>
> Filth abounds, and the abundance of poisonous odours prevailing there is astonishing. If an epidemic should occur, which God forbid, the death rate would be fearful.
>
> If any one doubts that the frightful mortality amongst infants in our city arises from its pestilent state, let him refer to the admirable tables of mortality compiled by Dr. Carpenter and published as a supplement in your valuable journal.

> We will find that the months of July and August are the most trying months. From 1855 to 1865 this has been the case : For these twelve years the month of June averages 47 deaths, and the month of July 74.
>
> Now it is clear to any one acquainted with sanitary matters, that the hot July sun acting upon the masses of decaying matter and the stagnant pools of our city produces this result.
>
> ...I am continually thankful that a kind Providence has enabled me to remove my child to the country during the summer months. I can note the improvement in his health and spirits the first week after he has breathed the pure country air...
>
> But the labouring man with limited means must remain and fight the battle with the destroyer. Pass through the suburbs and you will see many a weak puny little creature with sorrowful eyes and pale cheeks, whose little form is gradually wasting away simply because it is surrounded with a pestiferous atmosphere. Medicine will not cure this class of ailment. There are only two sure means of relief - pure air and death.
>
> We have the remedy in our own hands: abolish the wooden box drains through every street; oblige every owner of real estate to connect his property with the street drain by a tile drain; adopt a thorough system of scavenging (garbage collection); prohibit pigstyes, slaughter houses and distillery dairies from being maintained within city limits, and above all give us a noble park on the top of Mount Royal, from whose summit a succession of the most beautiful landscapes can be seen, and where the commons may go with their families to breathe the fresh air.47

By the late 1860's, arguments of this kind were published, not only in favour of a park on Mount Royal, but parks in the city's east end, on St. Helen's Island and in Pointe St. Charles.

The city council had been exploring the idea of a

park on the mountain since 1863, when the roads committee had been directed to report on the ways and means of doing so.[50] Although letters in the newspapers indicated public acceptance of the idea, no action was taken. By 1867, with calls multiplying for not only one, but several parks, the city council took another step. Patrick MacQuisten, the city surveyor, prepared a map of land to be acquired for the park, based on accurate surveys (Illus. 2), and the city council determined to apply for a loan of $400,000. from the provincial coffers in October, 1867. Although a first loan of $350,000. was authorized by the Quebec legislature in 1869, the actual acquisition of land began only in 1872.[49] By 1876, after a second provincial loan, a total of $789,422.07 had been spent on expropriations - most of the proposed acquisitions had been negotiated, with the notable exceptions of the John Redpath, Sir Hugh Allan and J. Frothingham properties on the south side of the park lands.

In 1874 the city council sent a committee to tour the larger parks in the "principal cities of the neighbouring republic"[51] in search of a designer for the new park. Frederick Law Olmsted, then already well-known for his work on Central Park in New York City was invited in November, 1874 to make a preliminary visit to the site. The choice of Olmsted may have been influenced by the reputation in Canada of his partner, Calvert Vaux, who in 1873 had created a plan for the grounds of the Parliament

Buildings, Ottawa.[52] After submitting a lengthy report outlining his impression of the site and a brief proposal of how he would approach the design, Olmsted was hired to plan the park and to give advice on the implementation of the plan. There is no evidence in the municipal records that any other landscape architects were considered, although there were a number practising in the United States and Canada. Those resident in Canada were, however, more properly landscape gardeners, like Richard Power, or architects, like John Howard. Mount Royal Park being one of the first large landscape parks in Canada, it was natural that the city council should look to the United States, where successful examples of the genre had already been built. The number of practitioners of the relatively new profession of landscape architecture was small,[53] and several of these men were Olmsted's collaborators, for example, Jacob Weidenmann and Calvert Vaux, or his competitors, like Horace W.S. Cleveland. That the city council managed to acquire Olmsted's services is therefore not surprising.

Frederick Law Olmsted - His Background

Olmsted came to Montréal as a mature landscape architect. He had committed himself to this profession relatively late in life, bringing to the North American practice the varied background of social theorist, writer,

publisher, world traveler, farmer and philanthropist. An examination of his early experience seems to indicate, in retrospect, his predisposition to landscape architecture as his life work.

Andrew Jackson Downing had been the first influential native-born landscape gardener in North America but his style had remained closely tied to that of the English landscape school through his associations with the English designers J.C. Loudon and Calvert Vaux. Downing's major contribution to landscape gardening in America was his popular book, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening Adapted to North America (1841), While the design principles set down in the treatise incorporate much of the style of J.C. Loudon's "gardenesque" school, not notable for strength of design, character or method,[54] the treatise was of value in that it served to popularize the idea that the North American environment could and should be improved. Downing's second notable contribution was his participation in the campaign for Central Park, New York City, particularly through his periodical, The Horticulturist. This crusade, coupled with William Cullen Bryant's journalistic campaign in the New York Evening Post, begun in 1844, resulted in the First Park Act in 1851.[55]

Downing died in 1852 before the design of Central Park came under discussion, but his proximity to the project must have encouraged his English partner, Calvert

Vaux, to take an interest in it. Vaux eventually went into partnership with Olmsted, who had long been involved with the group of intellectuals lending their support to the Downing/Bryant campaign. In 1858, Olmsted and Vaux submitted the winning design for Central Park. At that time, Olmsted was working as superintendent of the preliminary work on the park site. His "practical" experience had included a period of scientific farming on Staten Island, from which he learned about agriculture, but knew little success. His farming activity was the practical facet of his intellectual life as a social theorist. The manual work and science of rural life were enriched by his observations of social phenomena made while traveling. He published these observations in several books, including Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England (1852), A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on their Economy (1856), and A Journey through Texas or a Saddle Trip on the Southwestern Frontier, with a Statistical Appendix (1857).[56] In these works, Olmsted described social and environmental conditions of the places he visited, attempting to understand the causes and structures underlying them. The writings are solid examples of empirical thinking, conclusions drawn from experience rather than pure reason, a method in current use by social theorists of the period. Though his main interest was then social, Olmsted's early appreciation of landscape can be observed, landscape

understood in relation to the people living in it. One of his earliest impressions of parks is found in his account of a visit to Birkenhead Park in England. He appreciated the democratic character of this public park and the extent to which the park contributed to the quality of life in the community.[57]

Olmsted's experience with the planning and construction of Central Park and his continued involvement with the project familiarized him with the issues arising from major park projects and enabled him to address the practical politics and administrative aspects of the work. He never allowed the realities of municipal politics to dim his vision of the social advantages of the public park. If his essay Spoils of the Park, with a Few Leaves from the Deep-Laden Note-books of "A Wholly Unpractical Man"[58] is a testimony of bitter experience, it does not diminish in the least the accomplishment of Olmsted and Vaux in Central Park. While the New York park is Olmsted's best known work, and important to the Montréal project because Olmsted often referred to it when instructing the Montréal park engineers, some of his lesser-known works should also be considered as precedents to Mount Royal Park.

Olmsted's California sojourn of 1864-1865 had important consequences for the Montréal design. There he worked with wilderness and its preservation through the establishment of parks or preserves, which he felt should

make landscape of great natural beauty accessible to all people. This was a new idea in North America, without precedent in American national or state policy. After a difficult period on the work on Central Park and a taxing position with the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, Olmsted went to California to work as superintendent of the Mariposa Estate, a gold-mining property. An uprooted and idealistic Easterner, unaccustomed to the frontier life of the mining village or the seemingly barren and vast wilderness landscape surrounding it, he turned to his traveler's habit of observation and criticism of the environment and society in which he found himself, in an attempt to understand them and to determine his own role therein. The landscape and the inhabitants did not impress him at first, and the lawlessness and prejudices of frontier society seemed to him related to the untamed wild character of the surroundings. On the other hand, he appreciated the courage and independence of the people, a hardiness that he had not known in the east. He also came to love the grandeur of the scenery, with its mountains and vegetation so unlike the New England greenery which inspired his landscaping style.[59] He approached his new job as a social experiment, loosely analogous to those of Owen or the Fourierists, setting his mind on improving social conditions in the mining community and establishing it as a self-sufficient, long-term enterprise not wholly dependent on the fluctuations

of the gold economy, nor subject to the variation of the climate. Olmsted planned to bring a steady water supply to the estate, both for mining and agricultural purposes, thereby assuring its permanence as a community and hoping to "transfigure a semiarid, barbarous principality into a well-watered, fertile garden",[60] with the related positive social advantages.

Olmsted's determination to preserve the Mariposa Big Tree Grove and Yosemite Valley as state parks arose out of the same democratic idealism, as well as out of his enthusiastic rapture over the natural, primeval beauty of these areas, located not far from the Mariposa mining concern.[61] The ideal community he envisaged for Mariposa would have as its natural extension the best of the beauty of its surroundings, protected from private exploitation and accessible to all who might wish to enjoy it. Indeed the citizens of California had a duty to themselves and the rest of the world to preserve this unique paradise, much as the Swiss protected the scenery of their country. While the mining community improvements failed with the company, the idea of the wilderness preserves survived in the policy Olmsted helped to draft for the state legislature. The policy was not published at the time, but its principles formed the basis for later legislation by which steps were taken to preserve the sites. The ideas that wilderness should and could be preserved within the boundaries of a public park, and that primeval nature can

be the source of profound aesthetic pleasure were thoroughly fixed in Olmsted's mind following his California stay, and he brought these convictions to his design for Mount Royal Park, where he would boldly adapt wilderness features to the design of an urban park. Later, he would incorporate similar features into Boston's Franklin Park and the forested tract of Lynn Woods, Lynn, Mass.

Between the time of his return to the eastern United States in 1865 and his acceptance of the Montréal contract in 1874, Olmsted dedicated himself to the practice of landscape architecture and completed some of his major works. During this time he renewed his association with Calvert Vaux[62] and began a fruitful collaboration with the architect H.H. Richardson[63] and the landscape architect Jacob Weidenmann,[64] among many other professional, social, intellectual and political contacts. Many of these works would show common characteristics with the park which he would create for Montréal - this period was one of development, broadening, and concrete realization of the ideas gathered in the architect's long period of formation.

The works related to the Montréal park fall into three categories - the large rural-style park, the park system and the planned suburb incorporating parks as part of residential development. Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York was a single large rural-style park completed between

1866 and 1873, faithfully built according to Olmsted and Vaux's design. It showed the forest-meadow-water elements composed to produce the classic rural landscape effect which is often held as the designers' trademark. The park visitor is led through a sequence of scenery by a system of walks and drives designed to prolong and intensify the experience.[65] A similar combination of elements appears in the Mount Royal design. However, the rural scenery at Prospect Park, as in Central Park, was largely man-made. While, Mount Royal Park includes both man-made elements and areas maintained as they existed before the advent of the park, its more "park-like" areas do follow the classic principles of the Olmstedian rural park.[66]

By 1874 Olmsted had produced park systems, of which the Buffalo work was a successful, fairly complete example. The Buffalo system was a series of park spaces designed for various uses, for example, a Driving Park, a Parade Ground, areas characterized by water and meadow, all joined by parkways and squares. The concept of the park system is of some importance to the Mount Royal Plan as Olmsted insisted on an integration of the park design with the city around it.[67]

Developing this concept, Olmsted was also to include some elements of his suburban design experience in his plan for Mount Royal Park. He had contributed to the growing suburban planning movement of the 1860's and 1870's with his plans for the Riverside (Chicago) suburban

development (begun 1868), Staten Island (report, 1870, never executed) and Tarrytown Heights (1870) near New York City. The lots of varying sizes and shapes molded by the topography of the land and interspersed with green spaces or wide tree-lined streets, proposed for Riverside resemble the residential bordering scheme proposed for Mount Royal Park.[68] Such development planning also had precedence in European plans, among them the Birkenhead plan so admired by Olmsted. It was motivated, moreover, by the financial support which the sale of land lent to park improvements, a scheme often proposed by Olmsted and many other park designers.

With this experience behind him, Frederick Law Olmsted accepted the contract for the design of Mount Royal Park in November 1874. He would attempt to answer the city's requirements in terms of evaluating proposals for the services to be provided in the new park, and respecting the mountain's traditional historical and aesthetic importance. In addition to his great sensitivity to local conditions, the mute "genius loci", Olmsted would draw on his considerable wealth of design and administrative experience, and tenacity at seeing projects to completion, even at difficult odds.

Notes to Chapter I

1 John Irwin Cooper, Montréal: A Brief History (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969), p. 1-2.

2 Jean-Claude Marsan, Montréal en Evolution (Montréal: Fidès: 1974), p. 53-57.

3 Ibid., p. 58-61.

4 Ibid., p. 60.

5 Ibid., p. 162.

6 Société Historique de Montréal, Voyage de Kalm en Amérique, p. 55 as quoted in Marsan, p. 144.

7 Marsan, op. cit., p. 160.

8 Franklin Toker, The Church of Notre-Dame in Montréal: An Architectural History (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970), p. 32.

9 Marsan, op. cit., p. 161.

10 Marsan, op. cit., p. 160.

11 Edgar Andrew Collard, The Story of Dominion Square/ Place du Canada (Don Mills, Ont.: Longman's Canada, 1971), p. 11.

12 Anna Brownell Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1943), p. 39.

13 Archives of the City of Montréal, ts, Parcs et Traverses, dossier 1903. 1-A, "Extrait des Rapports Annuels de l'Ingénieur de la Ville, années 1873, etc., et des volumes: Finances, Grand Livre no. 1 et 2, années 1873-1879." This document also lists the acreage and the selling prices of these properties. See also Illustration 2.

The Archives of the City of Montréal is hereafter abbreviated AM.

14 Calvert Vaux, Villas and Cottages (1857; rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968).

15 AM, ts, Parcs et traverses, dossier 1903.1-A, and Collard, The Story of Dominion Square/Place du Canada, p. 11.

16 Norman T. Newton, Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belkap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 268.

Also Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the Rural Cemetery Movement", American Quarterly, 26, March, 1974, p. 37-39.

17 Edgar Andrew Collard, "Of Many Things...the mountain that seemed so far away", Montréal Gazette, 17 June, 1972, p. 14.

18 The Strangers' Illustrated Guide to Montréal-1875-A Complete Hand Book directing Visitors Where to go, When to go, and How to go through the City and Suburbs with a fine map of the city, (Montréal: Chisholm and Brothers, Publishers, 1875), p. 117.

19 Newton, op. cit., p. 224.

20 Ibid., p. 242-245.

21 Black's Picturesque Tourist of England (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1868).

22 Ian R. Stewart, "Politics and the Park: The Fight for Central Park", New York Historical Society Quarterly 61, 1967, p. 125-129.

23 Newton, op. cit., p. 223-230. Newton cites the development of Regent's Park, London as an example of this type of improvement carried out in a fashionable neighbourhood. Regent's Park became a prototype for the Birkenhead and Victoria Parks projects undertaken with the hope of improving working class neighbourhoods.

24 Ibid., p. 223-225.

25 Ibid., p. 447-448.

26 Ian Tod and Michael Wheeler, Utopia (New York: Harmony Books, 1978), p. 88-92.

27 Albert Fein, Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition (New York: George Brazillier,

1972), p. 8-9.

28 Ibid., p. 18-20.

29 Ibid., p. 24-27.

30 Stewart, op. cit., p. 134.

31 Phyllis Lambert, "A Selection of Documentary Prints of Montréal, with Notes on Urban Growth", in Mount Royal, Montréal, ed. David Bellman, racar, supplement no. 1, Dec. 1977, p. S11-S30. Views of Montréal from Mount Royal are published and annotated. All views interpreted here, except that by Thomas Davies are illustrated.

32 R. H. Hubbard, Thomas Davies (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1972), p. 134.

33 Lambert, op. cit., p. S14.

34 François-Xavier Garneau, Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours, 4th ed., 4 vols., (Montréal: Beauchemin et Valois, 1882), I, 24.

35 H.P. Biggar, trans. The Voyage of Jacques Cartier, p. 168 as quoted in Marsan, p. 27.

36 François-Xavier Garneau, Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833 (1854; rpt. Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1968), p. 208.

37 A French Canadian, "Monuments to French Heroes," Montreal Gazette, 4 Dec. 1867, p.1.

38 AM, ms, Parcs et traverses, dossier 1903. 6-10, petition dated Dec. 24, 1844.

39 AM, ms, Parcs et traverses, dossier 1903. 6-10, Montréal Boulevard Committee Petition, dated April 10, 1851, p.2.

40 AM, ms, Parcs et traverses, dossier 1903. 6-10, Montréal Boulevard Committee Petition, dated April 10, 1851, p.2.

41 AM, ms, Parcs et traverses, dossier 1903. 6-10, Montréal Boulevard Committee Petition, dated April 10, 1851, p. 3-4.

42 Cooper, op. cit., p. 27.

43 F. C. Smith, The Montréal Water Works: Its History Compiled from the year 1800-1912 (Montréal: 1913), n. pag.

44 Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., hereafter cited as FLO, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, hereafter cited as LC, the number attached refers to the number of the microfilm reel on which the document is reproduced. LC56, FLO to Louis Lesage, July 5, 1876.

45 AM, dossier 025. 24-5, Wolfred Nelson, inaugural speeches of 1854, 1855, 1856.

46 W. Nelson, Wolfred Nelson et Son Temps (Montréal: Editions du Flambeau, 1947), p. 200-201.

47 Sanitas, "Infant Mortality", Montreal Gazette, XC111, 181, 1 Aug. 1867, p. 2.

48 See, for typical opinions on the number of parks the city might need, and the case for a park in Pointe St. Charles : "Summary - this day", Montreal Gazette XC111, 225, 21 Sept. 1867, p. 2. "Summary - this day", Montreal Gazette XC111, 262, 4 Nov. 1867, p.2.

49 AM, ts, Parcs et Traverses, dossier 1903, Extract from the minutes of the Montréal City Council, March 11, 1863.

Patrick MacQuisten, Report of the City Surveyor, 1863 (Montréal: City Hall, 1863)

50 AM, Parcs et Traverses, dossier 1903. 2, Extracts from Rapports annuels de l'Ingénieur de la Ville, years 1873-1875, and Département des finances, Grand Livre no. 1 et 2, 1873-1879.

51 AM, Annual Report of the City Surveyor, 1875, p. 3.

52 John J. Stewart, "Notes on Calvert Vaux's 1873 Design for the Public Grounds of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa", Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin, VIII, no. 1, p.1-9. Vaux was invited to submit a design for the grounds with the full approval of Prime Minister John A. MacDonald and the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, who maintained a keen interest in landscape architecture. The good reputation of Vaux in such high government circles may have influenced the Montréal council's choice of his partner, Olmsted, as designer of Mount Royal Park the following year.

53 Newton, op. cit., p. 307.

54 Ibid., p. 261 ff.

55 Ibid., p. 267-270.

56 FLO, Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852).

A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on their Economy (New York: Dix, Edwards and Co., 1856).

A Journey Through Texas or a Saddle - Trip on the Southwestern Frontier with a Statistical Appendix (New York: Dix, Edwards and Co., 1857).

57 Newton, op. cit., p. 232.

58 FLO, Spoils of the Park, with a Few Leaves from the Deep-Laden Note-books of a "Wholly Unpractical Man" (Detroit, 1882).

59 Laura Wood Roper, FLO A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 24 ff.

60 Roper, ibid., p. 257.

61 Fein, op. cit., p. 38-39.

62 Roper, op. cit., p. 291-293.

63 Roper, ibid., p. 368.

64 Roper, ibid., p. 348.

65 The Plan of Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1874 by Olmsted, Vaux and Co. is illustrated in Roper, ibid., p. 296-297. A description of the architects' intentions for Prospect Park are found in "Preliminary Report to the Commissioners for Laying Out a Park in Brooklyn, New York: Being a Consideration of Circumstances of Site and Other Conditions Affecting the Design of Public Pleasure Grounds (1866)" by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, reprinted in Olmsted, F.L., Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City, Albert Fein, ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1967). The plan for Prospect Park is analyzed in terms of sequencing of its views in Jeffrey Simpson and Mary Ellen W. Hern, eds., Art of the Olmsted Landscape: His Works in New York City, (New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission and the Arts Publishers, Inc., 1981).

66 Charles E. Beveridge, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Theory of Landscape Design", Nineteenth Century, rpt. n. pag., n.d. Beveridge discusses the general design principles of Olmsted's work, relating them to their English sources and the inspiration which Olmsted found in ex-

periencing landscape.

67 Fein, op. cit., Figures 50-55. Olmsted's Sketch Map of Buffalo, 1876 showing the whole park system linked, three detailed plans - Delaware Park and Approaches, Buffalo (1868), The Front, Buffalo (1868) and The Parade, Buffalo (1868) by Olmsted, Vaux and Co. and a fourth detailed plan by Olmsted, Study Plan for the Improvement of Niagara Square, Buffalo, October 1874 are illustrated.

Olmsted's full discussion of the genesis of the parkway as an alternative to the medievalism of narrow traffic and waste-choked city streets, complete with references to the health and social hazards of the old ways of city planning appear in his "Report of the Landscape Architects and Superintendents to the President of the Board of Commissioners of Prospect Park, Brooklyn (1868)", prepared in collaboration with Calvert Vaux, reprinted in F.L. Olmsted, Landscape into Cityscape ..., op. cit., p. 129-164.

68 Fein, op. cit., Figure 21. The General Plan of Riverside, Illinois, 1869 by Olmsted, Vaux and Co. is illustrated. Fein discusses Olmsted and Vaux's interest in Llewellyn Park, New Jersey, designed by Alexander Jackson Davis, as a planned secular community. He describes Olmsted and Vaux's concept of the planned suburb as characterized by good serviceable roads, lots laid out in curved shapes, land designated for communal, aesthetic purposes.

Chapter II

Frederick Law Olmsted's

Mount Royal Park

The Design Phase, 1874-1877

The years preceding Frederick Law Olmsted's hiring by the Mount Royal Park Commission in November, 1874 bore witness to the development of high public expectations for the design of Mount Royal Park. Olmsted's standards for park design did not fall short of these expectations, and in some respects, his ideas surpassed his Montreal client's most grandiose visions. During the period from his hiring, to the public presentation of the plan in 1877, Olmsted both designed and participated in the construction of the park.

Frederick Law Olmsted assumed at the beginning of his relationship with the Mount Royal Park Commission that the normal development-design-construction sequence of any large public works project would be followed, that the plan he proposed for the completion of the work would be flexible enough to accommodate minor contingencies which might arise. However, events were complicated by numerous

setbacks, prolonging the design phase to a period of almost three years. From 1874 to 1877, Olmsted was involved not only in designing, but in researching, drafting and negotiating approval of his ideas, overseeing premature construction and reparation of damages caused by deviations from his instructions. As well, the client perceived unprecedented requirements for roads and water which he was requested to consider while he was developing and consolidating his plan. Difficult economic and political circumstances arose to hamper the purchase of the land on which the park was to be built as well as the financing of its construction. These realities had little to do with the ideals that inspired the park, either in the public mind or in terms of Olmsted's own ideals, but they had a great impact on the resulting design. The complete plan, represented by the Design Map of 1877 (Illus. 18) and explained in the pamphlet Mount Royal, Montreal, published in 1881,[1] was in effect an agglomeration of groups of plans presented by the architect in response to specific requirements arising during this development phase. Olmsted disliked such a piecemeal approach to landscape architecture, and fought to overcome its consequences in the overall design. However, many aspects of the resulting plan can only be fully understood through an examination of the conditions which engendered them. This chapter will consist of an examination of the development of the design through

several groups of plans, those concerning land assembly, access to the park, water requirements, roads and walks, park structures, planting and administration. The discussion of these, based on the architect's correspondence[2] and his descriptions in Mount Royal, Montreal, will clarify the practical necessities and contingencies underlying the 1877 design. The discussion should also bring to light some aspects of Olmsted's working method and his ability to address the practicalities of park-making, as well as his adherence to the aesthetic and social ideals which sustained his artistic purpose.

Preliminary Agreements

A general description of Olmsted's intentions for the Mount Royal Park design and a tentative time-table for its completion are elaborated in his preliminary report[3] and his contract,[4] both of November, 1874. The report was based on a visit to the site in November, 1874, and discussions with the Mount Royal Park Commission. The commission was then composed of three city councillors, Horatio Admiral Nelson,[5] a hardware dealer and manufacturer, who would be Olmsted's main contact with the commission and the city council which approved the activities of the commission, George Ansley,[6] and J.W. McGauvran,[7] whose views were rarely expressed in writing

to Olmsted. The city surveyor, Patrick MacQuisten, the engineer in charge of city road-building and associated projects, engineer W.L. Picton and William McGibbon, who subsequently became park superintendent, were the salaried municipal employees directly involved in the project. The personnel, taken from the ranks of the municipal organization, appear to have had prior experience in road-building and other public works projects. No one, it seems, had had significant experience in carrying out a major landscaping project. As well, the attentions of MacQuisten and Picton were divided between park work and other municipal works at the beginning of the project. Olmsted had thus to depend upon an inexperienced group to communicate his design ideas to the city council and to carry out his plans.

The timetable to which both parties agreed, as outlined in Olmsted's contract, was relatively simple, consisting of only a few main tasks and deadlines, described in general terms. It is doubtful that the client had a firm understanding of the demands of each task, in the light of the explanations which Olmsted would be compelled to write in the subsequent correspondence. The timetable included the following tasks and dates. Detailed topographical maps of the site and of the land immediately surrounding it were to be supplied to Olmsted by February 1, 1875. Based on this survey, and the assumption that all the parcels of land shown on the map of projected

purchases (1867) (Illus. 2) would be acquired, Olmsted agreed to supply the commission, by May 1875, with a plan of boundary revisions which would establish the shape of the park. This plan would be accompanied by a plan of approach roads to the park, upon which road crews could work during the summer of 1875. The commissioners had expressed the necessity of employing road-workers during the summer as a measure to relieve high unemployment, and Olmsted, in agreeing to supply these plans, was doing his best to comply with this request.[8]

The general plan of the park proper was not scheduled for completion until May 1876, in time for the projected public inauguration of the park. Olmsted insisted that he needed to study the site under summer conditions, to see the trees in foliage, in order to "mature" the design. He promised his services as "advisory landscape architect" until the delivery of the general plan. The completed general plan would consist of a large scale drawing (100'/1") of the whole property, with a more detailed plan (50'/1") for the "proposed little park district" and another for the parts of the property which should be sold for residential development of certain bordering areas, showing building lots and streets. The last two plans would be contingent on the council's approval of any recommendation for boundary changes. The drawings would be accompanied by a written report explaining the plans and giving advice pertinent to their execution.[9] The contract

represents the agreement of both parties, satisfying the working requirements of each as they were understood at the time of Olmsted's hiring.

The proposed park plan outlined in the preliminary report appears to have been equally satisfactory to all concerned. The plan shows what could be understood as the ideal version of Olmsted's expectations for the site. Olmsted here stated his intention to adapt his style of park design to the peculiarities of the Mount Royal topography. He was most enthusiastic about the site's potential for providing the social benefits of the large urban park: "the chief elements of value of all recreational grounds: a change of air" and scenery with "the power... to counteract conditions which tend to nervous depression or irritability".[10] These advantages could be provided through the combination of landscape elements which characterize most large Olmsted parks: broad expanses of open space, forested areas and water orchestrated into pleasing vistas, both visually beautiful and functional as recreation areas. Mount Royal possessed the additional advantage of height, providing spectacular viewpoints extending the vistas far beyond the borders of the park. Olmsted expressed his initial doubts about the formidable craggy impression that the mountain gave when viewed from below, but described how the land answered his elemental requirements for a successful park site once the heights were scaled:

> My doubts ... were rapidly lessened after I got above the craggy face of the mountain toward the city and found myself upon a surface but moderately broken and rugged and essentially an undulating and wooded tableland, from nearly all points of which broad and delightful distant landscapes are commanded.11

Providing the park visitor with a delightful landscape experience within the park boundaries would present few difficulties, in Olmsted's opinion. Roads and walks would provide access to the best that the site could offer. At this early stage he recognized the site's potential for a natural wilderness style of planting in harmony with the existing topography and vegetation and recommended that a minimum of landscaping activity be undertaken in the beginning:

> Operations ... should not be ambitious, and should be intended first, to relieve the surface of the mountain of the accidental and transient conditions through which it has at present an unnecessarily desolate and melancholy aspect; next, without destroying the essential picturesqueness of its natural features, to add a greater beauty of foliage; next to hold attention in directions where the finest views will be seen to best advantage and to furnish them with more harmonious and better composed foregrounds; next, to subordinate and as far as may be practicable obscure with suitable natural objects the construction necessary to the convenient use of the ground (as these must, in the end, be extensive and more or less too fine for harmony with its general character), and finally to avoid in these and all respects an ordinary conventional gardening style of work, as finical, unseemly and out of character with the genius of the place.12

Olmsted described in general terms the "small park", preferring not to comment further until he had accurate

topographical information. This was intended for the area now popularly known as Fletcher's Field, on the east side:

> It is fortunately situated to serve as a foil, through its natural amenity and the simple quiet, secluded and pastoral character which can be given it, to the grandly bold and rugged heights and declivities of the main body.13

Changes in the borders of the park would be minor: some relatively unimportant areas could be sold, while others should be acquired "with a view to keeping under your control the best landscape effects".[14] Some of the land sold would simply go to neighbouring property holders, while other areas might be laid out in residential lots. This form of speculation was standard practice in the planning of nineteenth century parks. It had proved successful socially, financially and aesthetically in New York and Birkenhead;[15] initially the idea seems to have aroused no objections in Montreal.

Access to the Park - Roads, Walks, Transportation

In the preliminary report, Olmsted identified the matter of approach roads as posing the most difficulty to the successful creation of a park on Mount Royal. The excessive steepness of the approaches on the south side would be a major impediment to lighter horse-drawn vehicles, if not simply dangerous. The south side was closest to the fashionable residential districts developing between the business section and the mountain.

It was from the south, via Peel Street, that the city council insisted the main approach to the park be established. There was an element of tradition in their insistence: some maps of proposed roads on the mountain preceding the Olmsted plan had shown the main access to the city from the south via Peel Street (Illus. 11). In his preliminary report, however, Olmsted proposed solutions to the access problem, which, he was to assume, were agreed upon in principle by the council. The solutions were complex and well-developed, even at this early stage. They reflected his desire to integrate the park into the existing urban fabric both practically and aesthetically. He predicted the need for routes into the park from the east, west and south sides, in order that the park be accessible to the developing neighbourhoods farther away from the city core. Major entrances on the east side via Bleury Street and University Street would provide access to populated areas and would be much less difficult to ascend, on foot or in a light horse-drawn carriage than the formidably steep upper reaches of Peel Street. Olmsted expressed his heartfelt antipathy to Peel Street, proposing an alternative, more circuitous route spiralling up the mountain-side via McTavish Street, around the reservoir towards the east, doubling back towards the west past Sir Hugh Allan's property into a series of turns on the park land between the Allan and Redpath estates.

All of the approaches would be longer than the straight, direct Peel Street, but they would be safe and comfortable for slow, light traffic. There was an aesthetic dimension present here as well: the "parkway" idea which Olmsted had used, for example, in his Buffalo plan (Illus. 16). In order that the park visitor's experience of the park be pleasant and restorative, the journey to and from the park should be quiet and an easy passage from the noise and annoyance of city traffic. The longer routes proposed by Olmsted would serve as such smooth transitions. As well, Olmsted, even at this stage, considered the possibility of street railway approaches and mechanical elevators, suggesting that the plan should provide for these eventual amenities. Entrances would also provide foot approaches, including at least "one broad easy walk to the top of the mountain having attractions peculiar to itself and several minor footpaths scaling the crags more directly".[16] As such the park would be accessible by a variety of conveyances catering to the particular needs of the users, including those of "feeble persons and young children".[17]

The realities of working with an inexperienced and little-prepared municipal organization were felt by Olmsted in the first stages of the Mount Royal Park project. The first major delay occurred in the production of the topographical survey which Olmsted had requested in his contract. Heavy snows impeded the surveying efforts

during the winter of 1875. A partial survey of the south and east sides adequate for the designing of the approach roads and lower drive from the Hôtel-Dieu lands to approximately the Allan property were supplied by September 1875, seven months overdue.[18] Meanwhile, the park commissioners urged Olmsted to send them the promised plans for the approach roads. Olmsted refused, insisting on the necessity of the survey. The architect's insistence was based upon his method of design. He could work only from a thorough understanding of the topography of a park site; the topographical survey would supply the primary data required to identify viewpoints, to establish sight lines, to consolidate the spatial integration of the park interior, to fix the location of safe, functional and aesthetically satisfying roads and footpaths.

Olmsted's use of topographical data was based upon the design principles of the English landscape style. In contrast to the older French and Italian styles, which imposed geometric, architectonic patterns upon the landscape, the English style was inspired by what some critics disparagingly call the "wiggly" lines of nature.[19] Landscape design should reflect the irregularity and infinite variation of natural forms: one way to apprehend the plethora of forms which nature offers was to study those given by the site. A site rich in natural variety, which required few additional, man-made features in order to furnish visitors with a concentrated experience of

nature's wonders, like Mount Royal, lent itself to intense study of its given forms. Olmsted, a relative latecomer to the English style, understood its pitfalls. He shunned the "petty sinuosities" which could result if the designer allowed himself to be led by the false idea that nature's irregular forms lack an underlying structure or implicit geometry. The abstraction of topographical data would inform him of the broad features of the site as well as local conditions, enabling him to understand its essential features and to effect their integration into the park design.

Olmsted, in Mount Royal, Montreal, described how existing topography was used as a starting point in the designing of roads and walks on naturally picturesque terrain. He explained, by way of illustration, a section of a road on the east side of the park, as shown on the Design Map (Illus. 18), as follows:

> Here, for example, you observe that a slightly darker shade upon the surface indicates a little swell upon the gentle slope of the Côte Placide. The road approaching it, if it were carried straight on, would either be made of steeper grade than is desirable, or this would be avoided at the expense of heavy cutting. The road, as you see, bends slightly away, therefore, and winds around the swell to the higher ground beyond it. Here, again, the road avoids a rocky ledge..."[20]

In order that such a sensitive response to given conditions be achieved and successfully combined with a purposeful, functional underlying structure to the design, it is evident that accurate topographical data was

essential.

Once Olmsted was in possession of the topographical survey, the design process was carried through in several steps, which can be reconstructed from existing sketches and letters. The large scale topographical map produced by W.J. Picton, of the City Surveyor's Office, who would later oversee the execution of Olmsted's instructions, was photographically reduced for easy handling. Olmsted proceeded to draw studies on tracing paper, placing the tracing paper over the reduced topographical map, using it as a guide. The roads drawn in these first studies follow closely the contours of the topographical map, the architect seeking a unity of easy grades, and directness of routes with enough "picturesque" crookedness to bring the visitor's attention to the intrinsic interest of the terrain. Olmsted's method of study is illustrated by two unlabelled drawings on tracing paper,[21] from a group of drawings for roads on the upper mountain of similar scale. The drawings show roads, walks and building locations, marked with topographical data (elevation levels and changes of grade). One drawing includes a complicated maze of criss-cross, crooked routes; another shows a distinct simplification and abstraction of the ideas begun in the first.

The most refined landscape effects would be the result of further on-site study. By 1876, Olmsted had established a close collaboration with the engineer, W.J.

Picton. In June that year, at Olmsted's insistence, Picton was assigned to devote all his working time to Mount Royal Park matters, and to answer directly to Olmsted. Olmsted sent him sketched studies for roads on the upper mountain, asking him to test the ideas by staking out the routes on the land itself.[22] The stakes were numbered to correspond with those marked on the drawings. The results of the staking out of the roads were related by Picton to Olmsted, with further information about the existing vegetation and topography. The route was then adjusted to preserve and take advantage of the best features of these local conditions, as illustrated in the following passage from a letter in which Olmsted discusses adjustments to the staked-out roads with Picton. References are made to a drawing accompanying the letter.

> Points A to B altered to avoid cutting, C to D to avoid large Pine trees, G to H to avoid filling - I to J to avoid large trees - K to L to avoid heavy rock cutting and large Pine - M to N to avoid large fill on side hill.[23]

Olmsted used topographical data in the initial phases of the generation of the design through to the final adjustment of his roads and walks to local topographical conditions, the finishing touches. The maps served as the medium of communication between designer and engineer, since Olmsted visited the site infrequently, and were therefore essential to the process of planning.

Consolidation of the Land Purchase - A Necessary Step

Implicit in the requirement for accurate topographical information was Olmsted's need to know that the land on which he was to work was actually in the possession of (or within reach of) his client. His contract stipulated that he would make recommendations for the purchase and/or resale of certain tracts of land on the borders of the park, and that his ideas for land assembly should be discussed and agreed upon before any design could be produced. As the production of the topographical survey dragged on through 1875 and into 1876,[24] it became evident to Olmsted that the survey was impeded by uncertainties surrounding the acquisition of certain large tracts of land which he had assumed would be included in the park.

The major source of uncertainty was the refusal of the Frothingham estate to accept the city's purchase offer. The Frothingham property consisted to two large adjacent tracts of land on the southeast side, bordered by the properties of Hugh Taylor and Benjamin Hall, and surrounding the smaller lot belonging to J. Law (Illus. 2). It was a major purchase and the effects of its loss on Olmsted's preliminary ideas for the park, and on work already started on the approach roads, would be disastrous. The Taylor property, a relatively narrow tract

of land, quite steep and densely forested, would be topographically isolated. The Law property would be completed isolated, while the Hall and Bagg properties would suffer fates similar to that of the Taylor land. The loss of the Frothingham property affected Olmsted's ideas for a major entrance to the park extending from University Street through the area. The loss would diminish the resale scheme for the residential development of the south east side. Both concepts affected the transition of the park into the fabric of the city, the accessibility which Olmsted recognized as crucial to the popular success of the design.

Olmsted tried to reason with the commission on these grounds through the year 1876, as he continued to labour over his design despite the uncertainty.[25] He delivered a study for the complete design, which included expropriation for the University Street entrance, in October, 1876. The study sparked more debate. By the winter of 1877, the City of Montreal was in severe financial straits and the council was not in favour of spending money on either land acquisition or park construction. The park commissioner, H.A. Nelson, related the mood of the council to Olmsted in the following letter, indicating that the entire east side of the park was threatened with extinction over the question:

> ...the most I have to tell you is there is not the least likelyhood [sic] of the city

> council acquiring more land except it may be for avenues, and we have the power to expropriate [sic] for such, therefore you had better not expect us to acquire more, the fact is, I hardly think one of the 27 aldermen would vote to purchase more land, but on the contrary the commissioners are requested to recommend the sale of all east of the mountain, say the Hôtel Dieu, Bagg, Lamontagne, Dulbick [sic], W.O. Smith, Hall property and as we shall soon consider this matter, we should like your suggestions in reference to it. I think we might sell all except that portion of the Hall property that lays north or beyond the new road, leading from Bleury Street to the mountain top, keeping the balance for park ground as well as all the Hugh Taylor property if we can afford it. Let me know what you think of it. The Frothingham estate will make no exchange, nor sell.26

Such a radical departure from the original concept of the park prompted a magnificent response from Olmsted. He brought together, in the following effort to dissuade the council from adopting the proposal, all the arguments for the acquisition of the Frothingham property. The response summarizes, as well, the rationale for the proposed land use around the south east border of the park, the parkways and residential lots which appear on the Design Map of 1877 (Illus. 18).

> You will remember that in 1874 I suggested to your Commission that it was not important that all the land which you wished me to lay out should be occupied solely for park purposes and that, as a measure by which the burden of your enterprise upon the taxpayers of the city would be materially lessened, I recommended the adoption of a policy which would have in view the sale of some parts of it. With reference to the particular district to which your present inquiry relates, I advised you that it would be best to extend branch parks or parkways through it in such a manner as to give the outer parts the advantage of frontage upon and direct

communication with the public ground.

You will also remember that I explained that the development of local landscape beauty and of a refined and finished character in any public ground within or near a growing city, (not the mere construction of roads and the giving of a place the name of a park) was invariably followed by a large rise in the value of the land, favorably arranged for building sites, having a frontage upon it, and that the method suggested of recovering a portion of the cost of improvement of such grounds had been successfully followed in London, Paris, Liverpool, Birkenhead, Sydenham and other places in the old country as well as in the United States.

The policy so proposed was unanimously approved and I received your instructions to prepare a plan adapted to it. I have accordingly since been engaged as rapidly as the information furnished me would justify, in studying and restudying questions of that plan and your letter comes to me as I am for the last time revising the outlines and subdivisions of the land to be disposed of.

Although, as the plan now stands, the extent of land proposed to be thrown out of the scheme (or sold to reduce the cost) is considerably more and the amount to be appropriated for public use considerably less than your Commission [illegible] .This [illegible] or desired, I have steadfastly adhered to the general line of policy agreed upon.

Until this moment I had not heard that the wisdom of this policy was questioned by any one. It has often been referred to by your Commissioners and others of the Council as if universally approved. But now, without mentioning by what arguments a reversal of it can be recommended, you advise me that a proposition is entertained to sell all of the property in question in such a manner as to deprive the city of all of the advantages designed to be secured by it and upon the question thus arising you ask my opinion.

With no other information than I had two years ago I can have no other opinion that I

> then had. The adoption of the proposition would greatly injure the value of the property proposed to be retained by the city; it would place the entrances to the park at a much greater distance from a large part of the people for whose use it is intended; it would throw away valuable resources and in the long run greatly increase taxation.27

This refusal on Olmsted's part to entertain the vascillations of the financially beleaguered city council seems to have delayed any immediate action. A depressed real estate market also worked in Olmsted's favour, encouraging deferral of the threatened sale [redacted] Olmsted worked during the winter and spring of 1877 to finish his design. He completed it before the council took any action on the matter. The Design Map (Illus. 18), presented by Olmsted at two public lectures in September 1877, included all the proposed lands on the south east side of the park except the Frothingham property, despite the uncertainty of their retention in the scheme.

Land assembly questions in other areas of the park were less contentious. Simple, minor exchanges of territory with the Mount Royal Cemetery and the H.B. Smith estate in the north west sector,[28] and minor expropriations from the Cross, Day, Redpath and Lomer properties on the south side[29] were agreed upon by May 1876, and it appeared that the commission would not have difficulty in settling with the property holders. These lands were required mainly to straighten the boundaries of the park or to include local desirable topographical

features.

Access Routes and Entrances - Further Development

In the development of the design, the planning of the approaches to the park would be the first step, as the preliminary report and the contract had indicated. Olmsted had agreed to supply plans for these roads, upon which road crews could be put to work in 1875, prior to the completion of the overall design. Plans for entrances from Bleury Street and the vicinity of Peel Street were supplied in 1875[30] while the western entrances, the completion of the Bleury Street extension and the University Street entrance were discussed through the design phase and presented as part of the completed plan in 1877.

The Bleury Street approach, as built during the winter of 1875-1876 consisted of an extension of Bleury Street into park land, a road turning easily up the gentle lower slopes under the eastern face of Mount Royal, hugging the cliff base around the back of the Allan and Redpath properties toward Côte-des-Neiges and the park. Also known as the "lower mountain road", it was to be the major carriage route into the park from the east - necessarily long, but wide and of barely perceptible grade,[31] and taking advantage, even at this lower level,

of excellent vistas and local pastoral and forest scenery. The plans for this road and for the entrance from the Peel Street area, connecting with it through the park land between the Redpath and Allan properties, were sent to the park commission in the fall of 1875, and recommended for adoption by the city council on October 13, 1875. An appropriation of $61,785. from the park loan was approved for the construction of these approaches.[32]

The design of the Peel Street connection was more controversial than that of the lower mountain road. Olmsted had made his disapproval of the extension of Peel Street up to the park clear in his preliminary report, proposing an alternate route via McTavish Street, ringing the McTavish Street reservoir, passing in front of the Allan property and connecting with the park road between the Allan and Redpath properties. The advantages of the McTavish Street alternative were greater safety, less wear on horse and harness, and a restful, picturesque ride up to the park, albeit a longer one. Once again, the views from this route would be spectacular and riders would have ample time for their contemplation. It would appear that Olmsted's solution to the Peel Street entrance received little acceptance by the roads department. A decision was made to build Pine Avenue right through the site of Olmsted's proposed entrance. Pine Avenue was built, in part, during the winter of 1875-1876. The effect of its location on Olmsted's planned entrance was the

removal of the connection of the park entrance to the approach road, now Pine Avenue, from the south east corner of the park land (bordering on the Allan property) to a point a few hundred yards west of Peel Street, making of the entrance an extremely clumsy turn off Pine Avenue (Illus. 14). Peel Street was extended to meet Pine Avenue with the predicted angularity and steepness, a badly considered extension of the prevailing grid pattern of the city streets (Illus. 15). Receiving word that the construction of this unprecedented highway had begun, Olmsted wrote to Park Commissioner H.A. Nelson recommending that he be allowed to make suggestions on the design of the road. He received the following response from Nelson, which shows the complete disregard for, or misunderstanding of, Olmsted's professional responsibility by Montreal city officials:

> Referring to what you say about the Peel Street entrance, I think you are labouring under some mistake about it and its connection with Pine Avenue. That connection is made by turning into Pine Avenue at the head of Peel Street and proceeding along it for perhaps 500 ft. and then turning to the right and making the winding road up to the mountain or road along the slope, by the very short route you gave us, and we are much pleased with it, and the fact is, it is now nearly ready for the metal, so we expect to use it by the 1st of May or so. You say "if we are at work on the line of that approach at any point" you recommend an immediate stoppage. Now we are sure you can understand the position. This Pine Avenue is intended to start from the Côte-des-Neiges Road in front of Cross, Day and Lamer's property and come through to the front of Sir Hugh Allan's property, so on to the front of the Hotel Dieu, so it is the Avenue that we use for the 500 feet I mention. I [illegible]

will find the arrangement quite right.[33]

Olmsted's immediate reaction to these events was to seek more accurate information concerning the grade of Pine Avenue.[34] On the basis of this information he concluded that the best had been made of the circumstances.[35] It was only upon viewing the results in May, 1876 that he would express hearty disappointment at the manner in which the work on the Peel Street entrance, the road on park land connecting this entrance with the lower mountain road, and the lower mountain road itself, had been carried out under the supervision of William McGibbon, a former military man.[36] The visual devastation of the area was great; this included harsh cuts into the mountainside contrary to the topographical sensitivity which Olmsted had recommended, excessive straightening and broadness of the routes, in short, the creation of park roads ~~which~~ "any competent farmer" might have built.[37] (Illus. 16, 17). He discovered that his advice had remained on the park commissioners' desks and that no one directly overseeing the work was aware of the refinements of the road-building process which he had advised. To avoid further similar unwanted alterations of his design, he recommended administrative changes to ensure that his instructions would not subsequently be so mishandled, and insisted that a competent engineer be made responsible for supervising the work. This supervisor would communicate directly with Olmsted, who would personally order the

construction work. These recommendations gave Olmsted the power to control further construction while he was involved in the projett. The advice was adopted,[38] and W.J. Picton, who had worked with McGibbon on the construction of the first roads under the faulty direction of the commissioners, was placed in charge of the work. The working relationship between Olmsted and Picton was close and their subsequent correspondence is rich in detailed advice.

The Peel Street entrance and the lower mountain road appear on the Design Map (Illus. 18) in more or less the form in which they were built. McTavish Street simply joins Pine Avenue and suggestions for the McTavish approach discussed above are left off the map. Unlike the Peel Street entrance and lower mountain road, which were built during the design phase of the park project, the remaining proposed park entrances were discussed during the design phase and appear resolved in the Design Map of 1877. The majority of these plans were not executed according to Olmsted's ideas, resulting in many of the divergences from the Design Map in the present existing park discussed in the chapter following.

The University Street entrance proposed in the preliminary report to be extended through the Frothingham estate was included in the October 1875 plan for the lower mountain road. The road was planned to curve through the Frothingham property, joining the lower mountain road

near the cliff base on the east side.[39] As construction proceeded on the other routes planned in 1875, the University Street proposal remained untouched. Olmsted began to receive indications of the controversy over the acquisition of the Frothingham property in March 1876, when he noted the absence of its survey on a topographical map sent by Picton.[40] He began to consider alternatives to the original proposed entrance and residential bordering scheme in the event that the property would not be acquired. The expropriation of an entrance road through the property seemed the most acceptable compromise throughout the prolonged argument over the acquisition of the property. The following excerpt from a letter to H.A. Nelson indicates the complicated compromises which even this simple solution would engender:

> A carriage entrance through the Hugh Taylor property [now the Royal Victoria Hospital grounds] is out of the question and it is absolutely necessary that you should have the upper part of the Frothingham property. A good public road through both properties and running back of Mr. Law's seems important. Such a road could be made, I presume, without the purchase of the large part of the Frothingham property. Obtain the upper part of the Frothingham property. If you do not obtain the lower part of it also I shall advise the sale of the Taylor property which is useless without it.[41]

This proposal formed the basis for the solution appearing in the Design Map (Illus. 18): the Taylor property laid out in building lots with a road running through it to join the lower mountain road. As has been indicated, however, Olmsted continued to argue for the

acquisition of the Frothingham property right up to the point of drafting the final design.

The area bordering on Bleury Street (which was eventually renamed Park Avenue from Sherbrooke Street north through the park and beyond) was to have been treated in a manner similar to the University Street area. The Design Map (Illus. 18) shows Bleury Street as a series of gentle curves bordered with residential lots which in turn border on extensions of park land. Bleury Street would be the transitional parkway which would join the lower mountain road. The Bleury Street area could eventually be serviced by a street railway, a form of public transportation only beginning to appear in Montreal which would benefit visitors to the cemeteries to the north, the residents of the area and the park users. A petition for such a railway had been published in 1876 and Olmsted had requested to plan for it in the park design.[42] The railway appears on the Design Map, running behind the building lots into the boulevard through the park further north.

Access to the west side of the park was to be gained through two entrances off Côte-des-Neiges, one from Shakespeare Road in the north west corner, which would join the roads on the upper mountain, as shown on the Design Map (Illus. 18). The other western carriage entrance branched off Côte-des-Neiges just above Cedar Avenue, a new road extending off Pine Avenue. Picton and

Olmsted worked out the location of this entrance in August, 1876, taking meticulous note of local topographical conditions.[43]

Water - Its Integration into the Design

The mountain site did not possess a natural body of water of any substantial size. A large, low peaty area did exist on the northwest side of the park land which may have once been a shallow lake. Olmsted had considered excavating a small pond in this vicinity as a picturesque element and as a collector for the park's water needs. This idea was overridden by a request to the City Council for a very large reservoir designed to meet the city's future needs. The request was turned down, viewed by Louis Lesage, engineer, of the water committee, as impractical, and a reservoir of 8 to 12 acres was agreed upon. Olmsted was asked to plan the appearance of the reservoir as part of the park plan.[44] The practice of including reservoirs in the design of large parks was known to Olmsted; Central Park boasted two large ones, which Olmsted and Vaux had worked around with some difficulty in developing the Greensward Plan. Olmsted regarded them as "deductions" rather than positive features of the plan.[45]

Olmsted proposed two alternatives for the form and

finish of the reservoir, based on differing aesthetic approaches. He needed a decision on the appearance of the reservoir in order to integrate it with the rest of the park, and presented the alternatives as follows:

> One is to treat it as a natural lake. In this case I should [try] to give it a good deal more of variety of outline than is indicated on Mr. Lesage's sketch, to introduce islands, points and bays. I should also wish to...plant in some [illegible] about it and to create a margin of turf, bushes, natural rock and sandy beaches. Anything like a [illegible] or a rigid stone edge would be out of the question. No gate house or other construction should be made conspicuous.
>
> If, therefore, any of the above requirements would...be inadmissible I should at once wholly abandon the idea of a natural form. The alternative would be a symmetrical geometrical figure as an ellipse or a circle or something like the enclosed...[enclosed is a sketch of a symmetrical trefoil shape like that appearing on the Design Map (Illus. 18)]... which would fit the topography very fairly. With any such figure, the shore would be, if not cut masonry, a perfect clear line; there would be no trees overhanging the water and there might be, if desired, a railing and any desirable building.
>
> I should propose in this case to plan a grand promenade of formal outline corresponding to that of the Reservoir and following it as closely as practicable.46

With this proposal, pregnant with implications for the design to follow, Olmsted tested his ideas with the water committee, obtaining their full approval of the second alternative, the formal symmetrical shape, an uncluttered mirror-like surface ringed by a carriage and pedestrian promenade.

47

The introduction of such a large, architectonic

element into the otherwise natural, wilderness character of the projected design might lead one to question the consistency of Olmsted's design principles. The reservoir/promenade combination worked well in terms of function; the necessary container of the city's water would double as a large reflecting pool around which visitors could walk, drive or ride in a sociable, structured setting, an agreeable contrast to the natural beauties encountered on the way into the park or on the continuation of a visit into the upper meadows and forests. Olmsted explained this feature in his plans for the roads on the upper mountain.[48] Precedents for the inclusion of such formal elements in otherwise natural park settings occuring in both Olmsted's work and in continental landscape design traditions further illuminate Olmsted's reasoning, for example in Olmsted and Vaux's Greensward Plan (1858) for Central Park.[49] The Mall, a straight, formal promenade and the architectonic style adopted for the "new" reservoir, with its high banks and circuit drive, were formal elements similar in function to the reservoir/promenade idea proposed for Mount Royal Park. The rationale for the Mall given in the Greensward Plan provides an interesting justification for its inclusion. The architects liken it to a mansion in a private park. It is a place of meeting for the "owners" of the park, the public, and as such a replacement for any grandiose and obtrusive building which might otherwise be

desired. This place of meeting, open to the landscape, encourages the "idea of the park itself... [to remain]... uppermost in the mind of the beholder".[50] With the "new" reservoir in Central Park, the designers made the best they could of a situation which was otherwise difficult for them to accept. The high embankments surrounding this body of water became a circuit drive from which the park and city landscape could be surveyed, again maintaining the idea of "park".[51] The democratic notion of the promenade as the public's "mansion", an elegant, architectonic feature which remains "landscape" while signifying "architecture", is an idea which transposes into public park design the design problems of integrating the architectonic into a natural setting. In England, Blenheim Palace, with Capability Brown's turf growing up to the walls of the Baroque building, is a demonstration of the unresolved classic problem.[52] Adoption of a "rustic" style of architecture, adapting architectural design to the natural setting, as Andrew Jackson Downing had proposed with his cottage designs, was one solution.[53] The other alternative was the frank inclusion of the formal element, integrating it by softening or graduating the transition of its geometry into the surrounding landscape, or of enhancing it by contrast. The older French and Italian landscape traditions showed innumerable precedents for such integration of formal, architectonic elements into rural settings. By incorporating geometric

form into his designs for Central Park and later Mount Royal Park, Olmsted demonstrated his acceptance of continental traditions generally regarded as opposed to the English tradition.

Despite this elegant and sophisticated solution to the reservoir design problem put forward by Olmsted, uncertainties as to whether the reservoir would be built became evident as the city's financial condition worsened.[54] Olmsted was given assurances that the reservoir would be built as proposed in the official adoption of his reservoir plan by the city council.[55] He was told to go ahead with the planning of the rest of the park accordingly.[56] Commissioner Nelson, however, doubted that it would be built in the near future,[57] a situation which must have been disheartening for the architect. Olmsted included the accepted proposal in the Design Map (Illus. 18) but made little mention of this major feature in his published description of the plan, describing it only briefly in the appendix.[58]

On the Design Map (Illus. 18), there appears a second reservoir, the "high-level reservoir", a small rectangular body of water set beside the road at the top of the Peel Street entrance. This reservoir was built without Olmsted's advice in 1876 as a replacement for the large reservoir which Olmsted had designed. It was badly placed in terms of the natural features of the location, intruding on the forested area beneath the dramatic crags,

its unimaginative geometric form violating the wilderness setting, and Olmsted deplored it.[59]

The Design Developed - Park Scenery

Once the council had approved the design of the large reservoir, Olmsted proceeded to develop the roads and walks in the park proper. Olmsted considered roads and walks metaphorically as the "knives and forks" necessary to the consumption of the "meat and drink of the entertainment" which the park would provide.[60] The entertainment consisted of two main elements: a rich variety of local rural and wilderness scenery, and a number of spectacular distant views which could be enjoyed from various elevations within the park area. The beauty of the local scenery could serve to enhance the visitor's experience of the distant views through a careful planning of the media of their presentation - the roads and walks. Olmsted outlined his concepts for this presentation in Mount Royal, Montreal. He insisted that to make anything less than art of Mount Royal's scenic beauty would be a great waste, that its health-restoring and recreational advantages would lose nothing to the artful design of roads and walks. These routes were conceived to lead the visitor through a sequence of landscape experiences which should enfold gradually for maximum effect:

> ... in more unobtrusive, home-like qualities of which the effects come to one less in a torrent-like way than as the gentle, pervasive dew falling so softly as to be imperceptible and yet delightfully invigorating in its results. Even this might be to some a question; but let any man ask himself whether the value of such views as the grandest the mountain offers is greater when they are made distinct spectacles or when they are enjoyed as successive incidents of a sustained landscape poem, to each of which the mind is gradually and sweetly led up and from which it is gradually and sweetly led away, so that they become a part of a consistent experience...61

Olmsted illustrated the effectiveness of this poetic presentation through a description of a typical carriage ride into Mount Royal Park, demonstrating the calming and delightful effect of the succession of sensations. The text itself has the effect of spiritual renewal. The visitor taking this ride, a "town-strained individual", moves from noisy urban streets into the suburban boulevards leading into the park, the driving becoming easy, without obstruction or worry. As the ascent begins, the scenery becomes more rural, broad pastures edged with dark bands of forest, bushes, wildflowers, "preluding the mountain". From slightly higher ground, a first vista becomes apparent - the city beyond the pastures and suburbs. The rider passes through a wooded stretch to a higher viewpoint from which distant hills are visible. Then, with a change in direction, the rocky steepness of the mountain's cliffs rising above the road becomes apparent, the forest thickening, perhaps affording glimpses of distant views through the foliage. The forest

begins to thin as the rider moves toward a highland valley, which, once reached, opens a broad view of the river valley stretching to the horizon. Higher still, into yet wilder forested tracts, the road more narrow and turning more sharply, the rider arrives at a point above the cliffs...

> Looking out over this deep foreground of forest, we should now have before us more extended views in all directions than we had had before in any. Did they offer for our enjoyment but a rolling surface of grass or an endless prospect of desert sand, with only sky and clouds to relieve its monotony of colour, the effect would be irresistible. As it is, what element of beauty could be added without crowding? What new object of beauty without disturbance? Yet, gradually led up to it from the streets, as I have supposed our friend to be, so that it comes in natural and consistent sequence, the impression could but carry to a still higher point the restful, soothing and refreshing influence of the entire work.62

The sequence of experiences preceding and following a visit to one part of the park was as important to Olmsted as the treatment of each area or viewpoint itself. Such sequences could be provided through the simple, artful building of a road or walk, once the main points of interest were identified within the park. The upper plateau which had so seduced Olmsted on his preliminary visit to the site would be the main body of the park and it is upon this area that he lavished his attentions. It consisted of a high valley, characterized by a broad expanse of turf which was to furnish, in its lower end, the site for the reservoir promenade. Its upper meadows,

former farmlands, border on the forested slopes of the mountain's eastern crown. These forests, furrowed with minor valleys, are bounded on the south and east by steep cliffs, which offered the architect a number of choice views, with the highest point of the crown as the most spectacular of all of these, since vistas from there extended in all directions. The road and walk system would be designed to offer the visitor access to the viewpoints, easy and pleasurable passage through the forests, proximity to the water of the reservoir and open areas of turf of which he could make free use.

The introduction of the reservoir/promenade affected the design of the entire upper mountain area. In his presentation of the formal reservoir design, Olmsted made certain that the council and commissioners were fully aware of the implication of their decision. The park commissioners had requested that Olmsted include a promenade element in the park design, a place for slow walking and driving where people could meet and socialize. Olmsted's first idea had been to make such a broad boulevard to ring the crown of the mountain.[63] Once the reservoir/promenade idea was approved, Olmsted modified his concept for the design of the upper mountain. The reservoir/promenade, as has been indicated, would be a formal geometric element occurring between the forested lower slopes and the wilder heights of the mountain's crown. Olmsted described the effect which the inclusion of

the reservoir/promenade, or Grand Promenade as it was henceforth called, would have on the design, citing the aesthetic, functional and short-term advantages of the scheme as follows:

> Its adoption will involve a change in the general theory of design for laying out all the upper part of the mountain. The element which I have hitherto considered a very important one, of a piece of truly park-like ground, broad, simple, quiet and of a rich sylvan and pastoral character, forming a harmonious, natural foreground to the view over the western valley and all in striking contrast to the ruggedness of the mountain proper, must be abandoned. This is much to be regretted, but as it has been determined upon, I shall turn the new conditions to the best account that I can, and in the arrangements which I shall propose you will find I trust much approach to compensation for what has been lost.
>
> First, as a place of social gathering, the locality will be a mile nearer the City than that previously proposed to be similarly used.
>
> Second, it will be a safer place for the congregation of large numbers of carriages and horsemen.
>
> Third, it will be available for its intended use with comfort earlier in the spring and later in the autumn, being sheltered from northerly winds.
>
> Fourth, horses having had a mile less of uphill work to do will reach it in fresher condition and visitors will find it a pleasant relief to turn out upon its level course on their way to the 'Crown of the Mountain'.
>
> Fifth, the material excavated from the reservoir, and not required in the construction of the promenade around it, will materially help to mend the defects of the road from Bleury Street up the mountain.
>
> Sixth, having proved a much more satisfactory course for horsemen than was previously practicable, there will be no need of

> constructing one on the upper part of the mountain, which will leave the latter a much safer place for the rambles of women and children.
>
> Seventh, the addition at this point of a broad level promenade drive, will justify a reduction of width, and the use of steeper grades and more frequent and rapid changes of course in the drive on the upper part of the mountain, the natural features of which will thus be less subject to injury, while road will be more harmonious in character with the scenery.64

All of the practical advantages thus considered, the main effect of the reservoir/promenade element on the park design would be that referred to in the seventh point. The drive on the upper mountain could now justifiably be treated in a more "picturesque" manner, that is, a manner more responsive to the surface topography, upon which the rider would move more slowly, and would in turn be led to a more intimate revelation of the natural delights of the upper mountain. All of this would be rendered more effective by the contrast with the formal civility of the Grand Promenade.

The upper mountain roads and walks were developed in two phases. The first phase, from Olmsted's receipt of Picton's photographically reduced topographical map in early March 1876 to the approval of the reservoir/promenade plan in July 1876, consisted of a general development of the concepts. The second phase, marked by the decision on the reservoir/promenade, continued to the presentation of a study for the full

design of the park in October 1876. In this second phase, the plan for the upper mountain was refined to include the aesthetic elements implied in the reservoir decision. Olmsted's establishment of direct communication with Picton after the disastrous road-building efforts of 1875-76 was most fruitful in this second phase of the design period, in that the excellent topographical information received from Picton enabled him to give precise instructions.

Five studies on tracing paper in the Archives of the Olmsted National Historic Site appear to date from the first phase of this design development. They are labelled March 1876, but their content and tentative matching with the correspondence indicate that their dates may be spread over a few months following March 1876.[65] Three of the five studies are of similar small scale, probably fitting Picton's reduced topographical map, while one other is of larger scale, the fifth shows only a fragment of a road. Olmsted began to plan a spring visit to the site in April 1876. In order that he be able to determine the accuracy of his plans for the upper mountain road, he sent a tentative study to Picton in April 1876, explaining it as follows:

> ... I do not want to come [to Montreal] until after I have made a complete study of the boundaries and approach roads...
>
> I send you herewith a tracing to fit your printed map, upon which you will find a series of points indicated thus [possibly the map was

> intended to be inserted here, not indicated on the letter draft]. Will you please have a stake set at each of these points and notify me when this has been done... the stakes should be numbered and lettered as indicated.66

The locations of the roads thus staked out would serve as reference points through the remainder of the designing of the upper mountain roads. Two of the aforementioned studies, both unlabelled,[67] seem to precede this first request for stakes. One, of large scale, looks like a tracing, while the second is more free in style and rich in detail, showing forked roads, some with "islands" set in them. In this second drawing, elevations and the grades of the main roads are indicated. Many of the ideas drawn here are eliminated in subsequent drawings and the Design Map (Illus. 18), the drawing thus representing an exploration of possibilities, prior to the solidification of the plan in the request for the first staking of the road locations.

A third study from the group shows the tentative placing of buildings and viewpoints in relation to the main road.[68] The road skirts a broad area which is probably the meadow, forking up to a viewpoint, possibly near the location of the present lookout. Here there is a loop for the stopping and turning of carriages. From here, a carriage would turn back to the fork, retracing its route. A left turn at the fork would take the rider back to the meadow and the road down; a right turn would take him higher still, to two further main viewpoints on the

south and east sides of the crown of the mountain, then to the crown itself. At each viewpoint, turning space is shown. This plan would necessitate much doubling back of carriage traffic on the routes. The grades of the roads, indicated on the drawing, range from 1 in 25 to 1 in 30, planned to be fairly uniform and gentle. The two-way traffic would have necessitated a consistently wide road.

Following the approval of the reservoir plan, the initial concept described above was modified. Olmsted had visited the site in May 1876 for the public inauguration of the park and Picton was most co-operative in supplying specific information for the refinement of the plan. A fourth drawing, labelled Mount Royal/Plan Showing Road Stakes/35,[69] showing the trefoil-shaped reservoir in place, closely resembles the upper mountain design configuration on the Design Map (Illus. 18). The road now rings the crown of the mountain, with concourses or stopping spaces at six main viewpoints. There is little need for two-way traffic on this ring road and its route follows the line of the cliff edge fairly closely on the south and east sides, a change from the previous drawing, where the road branched from a central axis to the several viewpoints. This modification represents the transformation of the upper mountain concept towards the greater "picturesqueness" which Olmsted cited in his description of the effects of the inclusion of the reservoir-grand promenade. In a letter of instruction to

Picton, he described in detail how the picturesque effect of this road should be achieved:

> ... The broad level drive of half a mile in length around the reservoir will at all times attract and hold a considerable number of visitors to the mountain and the adjoining ride will supply perfectly what was before imperfectly provided for in the crooked and steep ride proposed for the upper part of the mountain, a speeding course for horsemen. It will therefore be feasible to do without the bridle road as heretofore proposed and to lay out the drive on the more easy grade with less width and with less regard to ease of curve and grade. In the study of your working plans, you will accordingly be able to keep much closer than I should have before approved your doing to the natural surface of the ground, both by more indirectness of course and by steeper and more frequent changes of grade. A grade as sharp as one in 18 would be admissible for a short distance where, for example, within a hundred yards each way a change is practicable to one in 25 or better. I have assumed on the map a width in general of 22 feet. On all short turns the width should be fully maintained and where the road can be laid out at very little additional cost, either of the bed or in the slope on either side, its width may be enlarged to as much as 6 feet, care being taken that any increased width is accomplished by a curve as gradual as not to be readily noticeable. On the other hand a gradual reduction from 22 ft. to 18 will be admissible where anything important is to be gained by it either in economy of construction or avoidance of trees or other objects desirable to be retained.70

The circuit drive thus described was staked out in July of 1876 and Olmsted regarded it as complete,[71] informing Nelson that construction could proceed. Temporary roads on this route must have been opened in the summer of 1876, since a road system closely resembling that of the Design Map appears on a published map by C.F. Goad in 1880 (Illus. 22).

The elaborate walk system, as Olmsted conceived it at the outset of the design period, was designed for easy walking and visual delight. The concepts for the walks began to appear with the plans for the Peel Street entrance and lower mountain drive, Olmsted requesting that space be provided for the walks in building of these roads. Wide borders were to be left on the lower side of roads excavated into the hillside, to provide space for a walk separated from the wheelway by rocks and plants. The walk design would be highly responsive to local topographical conditions, and Olmsted recommended variations such as the following, as natural features dictated:

> The map therefore leaves the walk system open at all points for further study, but as where a high retaining wall will be required for the drive, no other course but that of the drive is practicable for a walk suitable for persons in delicate health or those carrying young children to the top of the mountain, the proposition is here advanced to provide for this requirement by a continuous platform overhanging the retaining wall like a balcony, to be supported by brackets and guarded by a strong railing of rustic timber work designed to be overhung with vines and creepers, which in order to show a suitable method for its construction are omitted in the sketches. The wall being thrown in shadow and also more or less [obscured] by vines, mosses and rock plants, will then mainly disappear together with the timberwork and there will be no more obtrusion of the artificial elements of the road upon the natural scenery of the mountain than is absolutely necessary to its convenient ascent. To guard wheels from the walk an irregular barrier of rocks is to be placed between the two and in pockets of soil between the rocks, shrubs and vines are to be planted.72

The walk system following the lower mountain drive appears, as recommended, on the Design Map(Illus. 18). This walk shows no stairs, a continuous, easy ascent for weaker people or baby carriages and wheelchairs. More direct routes via stairs branch off this access route, scaling the crags at three points, or leading up through the forest in the south west area.

These directed access walks give way, on the upper mountain, to a system of rambles through the woods and skirting the meadows which would be quite independent of the road system, meeting it only at its most picturesque outlooks, and giving access to the same main viewpoints. The Design Map (Illus. 18) shows a system of walks contained within the circuit drive radiating from two triple forks vaguely resembling the road system first drawn in the spring of 1876, taking advantage, possibly, of its easy grades. As well, a path is included which closely follows the cliff-edge outside the ring of the circuit drive. At several points the inner system of walks joins that outside the circuit drive via underpasses, such that pedestrians would not have to venture onto the drive itself.

Buildings and Minor Structures

The roads and walks were the main functional elements in the design of the park. Other necessities were the

various buildings which would house services to the park and its visitors, and the minor structures of railings, bridges and platforms which would be necessary amenities in the road and walk system. Olmsted advised the park commission that all such structures should be fairly unobtrusive elements in a landscape which would be dominated by its natural character. While he emphasized unobtrusiveness, he also advised a picturesque, "rustic" element in all of his ideas for such structures. "Rustic", for all the word's suggestiveness of country-style simplicity, had been developed by Olmsted and Calvert Vaux into a highly complex decorative style in, for example, Central and Prospect Parks. Due, probably, to these architects wide-spread use of it, "rustic" became naturalized as the "Adirondack" style in the United States. It was similarly popular in Canada, manifesting itself in such varied items as park furniture, lettering and coats of arms. However, "rustic" did have European beginnings as the appropriate decor of the hermitages of 18th century pleasure grounds. Olmsted felt that W.J. Picton should observe the rustic work adorning the New York parks at first hand, and arranged for him to visit New York in July 1876.[73] On this occasion, Picton would have seen park structures ranging from elaborate shelters and benches constructed of rough hewn wood in most fanciful forms, to relatively simple railings in similar materials placed in secluded woodland spots. There is

little doubt that Olmsted was suggesting that a similar style would be appropriate to the forested areas of Mount Royal, that the adoption of the "rustic" style would be a logical complement to the picturesque crookedness of the roads on the upper mountain.

The gallery walk proposed for the lower mountain road in 1875 showed the first indication of Olmsted's intentions for "rustic" style structures. (See quote, footnote 72.) The plans for the gallery walk were misplaced in June 1876, and Picton requested a second set, which was sent, a drawing accompanied by a more detailed description of how it was to be built than the first set contained. Materials suggested were cedar, larch or iron wood. The visual effect of the timber structures

> depends on the size and proportions of the parts. There is no objection to somewhat larger timber but if any one piece above the floor line is larger all the other should be so the proportions being [sic] preserved.74

Trimming below the floor line was to be rough, while above the floor line "stubs should be reduced to smooth faces so as to leave no suggestion of danger that dresses may be caught and torn in passing them".[75] Reinforcing the earlier advice, Olmsted insisted on the planting of vines, creepers and shrubs to grow over the artificial structures.

The "rustic" style was extended to the several timber bridges proposed - some to allow a road to cross a ravine, some to allow a walk or bridle path to cross under a

carriageway. The following description of one of the bridges planned gives an indication of the desired effect:

> It should be a span of at least 14 feet and no part of it should be [more] conspicuous than necessary. Very bold rock faced stone will be best for the abutments and a simple but very strong timber construction above. The [illegible] walls and slopes should be so managed that the passage of the walk will seem either to be through a natural gap (if this is practicable) or to have been forced by a sharp cut through the natural ridge. The top of the [illegible] should be hidden and the bridge [illegible] half hidden eventually by trees and shrubs planted in the slopes.76

The rustic style would also decorate the refectory planned for the eastern crown of the mountain. The Park Commissioners asked Olmsted to provide plans for a café and rest house early in the spring of 1876. He referred the architectural design to a New York architect, Thomas Wisedell, and a study was sent to the commissioners for approval in April 1876 with the following letter that described the style in which it was to be built:

> The house is to be designed to be built of wood in a common and inexpensive way, its effect depending on the form and general style adopted, which is not essentially different from that of the best old French farm houses of the Dominion. It is to be covered chiefly with shingles, except the canopy of the tower, which is designed to appear at a distance like a crown, and to be overlaid with tin, or if you can afford it, gilded copper. The architect has not quite met my intention in the tower, but you will recognize the general idea.
>
> I mean the tower to be high enough to be seen from and to command a view over the nearer part of the city, and I have arranged a large open Belvedere over the main body of the house at a height at which it is expected that more distant views will be obtained over and through the tops of the trees. It is intended that this

> place shall also be used for the refectory business.77

The design was approved, but never built, lost in the same financial restrictions and political wrangling that obscured the reservoir and grand promenade.

Olmsted also inquired of his acquaintance Waring, who once jokingly referred to his profession as that of "Privy Councillor", about the feasibility of installing Waring's invention, the ecological "earth toilet" in Mount Royal Park. His recommendations have an air of experimentalism about them. He was not certain of the equipment's ability to function in cold weather,[78] and Olmsted never brought the matter to the commissioners' attention.

Some "rustic work" was built in the park in 1876, including parts of the walk along the lower mountain drive (Illus. 20) and a platform for a viewpoint, probably that near the site of the present look-out (Illus. 21). The railings were solid constructions in round logs that recall illustrations for collections published tales of the Canadian backwoods or folksongs made in the heyday of the Group of Seven, when the wilderness reached its zenith as a Canadian national symbol.

Planting in the Park

Olmsted, in his preliminary report, made very few suggestions concerning planting in the park. He simply

advised that existing vegetation be maintained and that some minor planting would be necessary to obscure man-made structures, or to create pleasing foregrounds for views. This lack of emphasis on planting in the preliminary report and the prolonged planning discussion and construction of the road system may have left the commissioners with the impression that there would be little "gardening" to do on the site. Even today many park visitors mistake the natural wilderness appearance of much of the park as the work of nature alone, when, in fact, it has been much reforested and requires considerable care.

Olmsted's talent as a landscape architect was perhaps strongest in his work with plants and trees. His advice concerning the use of vegetation is most strongly articulated in Mount Royal, Montreal. Here he demonstrated that the design of the park depended heavily upon the arrangement of the vegetation; the planned and existing plant life in each area dictated to a large extent its usage and character. The concept of "topography" was shown here to be closely linked to what would be grown in a specific area, expressing its geological form and elevation, rather than the geological form per se. The "mountainness" of Mount Royal would be expressed through its vegetation rather than its rocks and height, which are not, in fact, spectacular.

Olmsted analyzed the topography in terms of vegetation from two points of view - first, as three

levels of elevation and second, as eight topographical divisions with specific local characteristics which determined planting and usage. From this dual analysis, the importance of Olmsted's ideas on planting for the appearance and usage of the park became fully apparent.

The analysis of the three levels of elevation reflects the changes intended in the visitor's perception of the mountain as he ascends. The contrast of each level would be made through changes in the planting. These levels are described as follows: the lower, more fertile elevation, the upper, more exposed "Arctic" elevation and the middle, forested level. In the lower elevations,

> ... the predominating trees should be such as attain their most perfect character only under conditions still lower, more fertile, and softer; the elms being the most characteristic of those available to you. These parks should also be planted (where screens or windbreaks are not required) in more open groups, and every fair opportunity taken to leave clean, unbroken surfaces of turf between the groups.79

The uppermost levels should be maintained, to enhance a strong contrast with that which would grow lower, with trees

> ... which are found to occur naturally in even more trying situations, certain scrubby pines (for instance, the Banksiana which grows near Ottawa) and firs, with the lesser birches, hornbeams and thorns.80

The middle regions should be forested with a variety of trees,

> ... white and red pines and hemlock, the canoe and red birches, the rock, mountain, Norway and moose maples, with underwood and

> thickets of rowans, wych-hazel, the native honeysuckles, wild currant, fragrant bramble, the Canadian rollbut, sumacs, clethra, rhodora and other thoroughly hardy and strong-growing shrubs. Then, lower still, oaks, bass-wood, butternut, ash, cherry, red maple and such variety of low trees, bushes, prostrate shrubs and vines as will be found necessary to obscure all places where the soil is too thin and poor for turf and the rock flat, scaly, and uninteresting.81

While keeping in mind the essential unity and contrast which the changes in elevation would lend to the mountain, Olmsted, in his second analysis, broke down the site into eight regions, each characterized by a specific topography, indicating how the intrinsic interest of each should be developed through planting and suggesting how each should be used by the public. The planting, to a large extent, dictated the appropriate usage.

The areas designated "crags" consists of the steep, rocky cliff faces along the south and east sides of the mountain. These areas would not be put to public use. They were meant to be viewed mainly from below, but their interest could be heightened by leaving the bolder rocks uncovered and hiding the more crumbly, feeble surfaces by planting low shrubs, vines, sumacs and yews. Planting should check erosion, but be kept low as tall trees would hide the bolder features and obscure the views from above.[82]

The upperfell, the rocky, relatively flat area above the crags with its superb views would be an excellent picnic area which would need little restriction of public

access. Planting would be of the "Arctic" type, therefore hardy and relatively sparse and little endangered by the movements of people.[83]

The area immediately below the crags, called the Underfell, and the Brackenfell farther west along the lower mountain road should remain as richly forested middle zone areas, with low skirting foliage encouraged among the groves of taller trees and the occasional ferny open space.[84] Roads and walks would pass through these areas and a few facilities for picnics or other group outings provided on weekends and holidays, but the fragility of the vegetation would call for restricted public access.[85]

The Glades consist of the broad area leading up to the western slopes of the mountain's crown, rolling, fertile, where Beaver Lake is now situated and where the reservoir and grand promenade were planned. Olmsted, in the main text of Mount Royal, Montreal does not mention the scheme for the grand promenade. Here, instead, he returns to his original conception of this area:

> ...the ground is smooth, little wooded, and the soil generally alluvial and peaty, moister than any other on the mountain. In fact it is a mountain meadow of severe exposure. The old house, now occupied by the superintendent, stands in the midst of it (destroying its most marked quality, and interrupting lovely distant views)...It is important that its simple attractive character should, as soon as you can afford it, be regained and made the most of. It needs no planting, except to restore a natural face to the bordering woods, where they have been ill-used. It can easily be made the finest

> spread of turf on the continent. But it will be best kept, when once well-formed, with sheep and not with lawn-like smoothness.86

The alternative treatment of this area, the grand promenade and reservoir, which Olmsted hoped would eventually be built, are included in the Design Map (Illus. 18) and briefly described in the appendix to **Mount Royal, Montreal**, the "Explanation" of the plan.

Broad areas of turf like the Glades are characteristic features of many large urban parks designed by Olmsted, including Central and Prospect Parks in New York and Franklin Park in Boston. In Franklin Park a viewpoint on a low rise opens out over an expanse of open space. The open space, through the artful arrangement of the treed foreground, the variation of the forest border and the distant view of the Blue Mountains, appears very broad and gives an impression of great distance (Illus. 28). The Franklin Park turf reminds one of the topography of the Mount Royal Glades, which would work in similar fashion were it not spotted with the still standing superintendent's house (now the Centre d'Art Mont Royal), large-scale sculpture, Beaver Lake, a restaurant, a ski lift, a recently-built mound of rocks planted with trees, and parking lots. The simple turf was proposed as an economical alternative to the grand promenade, a feature which would have been consistent with the style of the park.

The Cragsfoot is the area giving onto Pine Avenue

between the Redpath and Allan properties, characterized by the clumsy entrance to the park built in 1876, the "unfortunate zigzag road....by which its natural character is destroyed". Olmsted recommended that the harsh defacement of the rocks be hidden by dense forest growth close to the roadsides, to "induce a simple, calm forest effect".[87]

The last two topographical areas described make up the east side of the park. The slopes leading up to the Underfell and Crags, which Olmsted named the Piedmont, included ledges and rocks interspersed with stretches of relatively fertile soil. An orchard grew there. He recommended the planting of groups of lowland trees, with some low shrubs to hide the more formless rocks, leaving broad areas of turf between them.

> In forming the groups, species should be associated which are inclined to form soft and harmonious outlines together, and most, if not all, the trees of each group should be of one kind, and the adjoining groups not of trees of strong contrasting qualities, the object here being not local picturesqueness, but a softer charm enhancing the characteristic quality of the fells and crags.[88]

The Côte Placide area, the gentle sloping area below the more broken ground of the Piedmont (now popularly known as Fletcher's Field), would form a transitional element between the wilder areas of the park and the town. It would be an area of tranquil rural beauty, the name chosen to recall "the Parish Placide on the Red River of Louisiana and poor Evangeline".[89] Olmsted described its

role in the design as the establishment of proportion and distance in the landscape views:

> ...it must be well understood that it is only by comparison with the adjoining mountain-land that it has the character indicated. Its value is great, if properly used; as, with reference to your possible scale of scenery, it will represent the opposite note to the necessary sternness of the Upperfells. Also, if properly used, it will add greatly to the effect of the views down the great valley from the northern heights, for, with lofty trees along its border, it will give greater distance and obscurity to the buildings in the adjoining quarter of the town, and form a rich and consistent foreground, which, under certain atmospheric conditions, is hardly surpassed among all those of its class upon which the world has fixed the highest value.90

The Côte Placide would serve as a transition between the urban and rural environment; some parts of it were designated to be sold as residential lots, moderately extending the city into the borders of the park, softening the passage from busy cobbled streets to the tranquility of the park through quiet boulevards lined with trees and houses. Movement through this area would become progressively slower and easier, up the gentle grades of the lower mountain road entered off Bleury Street. The area would, as well,

> provide a measurably complete sylvan experience in itself for visitors who have not the time, or, in the inclement part of the year, physical endurance for the ascent of the mountain.91

Planting in this area would be of the type suited to lower elevations. The soil would need improvement and maintenance and clusters of elm, white ash and white oak

LEAF 106 OMITTED IN PAGE NUMBERING

help to maintain the mountain's natural vegetation.[94]

The correspondence preceding the presentation of the Design Map only hinted at the extent of Olmsted's intentions for planting in the park without elaboration of his plans. This advice was centered mainly on the creation of a nursery for starting young trees, the gathering of cuttings and seedlings, and ideas concerning maintenance and repair of existing vegetation during the construction period. This activity would be preparatory for the gardening activity which would ensue, dictated in loose and general terms by the design itself. Olmsted understood gardening activity as an on-going practice, one requiring patience and foresight, since the results of the landscape gardener's efforts would probably not be fully apparent during his lifetime. He attempted to instill an an attitude of patience and forethought in the Mount Royal Park Commissioners, with only partial success.

In terms of initial preparation for planting, Olmsted advised, during a visit to the site in August 1875, the creation of a nursery for park trees, with the hiring of a nurseryman to oversee it, recommending a site on park land east of Bleury near Rachel Street.[95] The land should be well-fertilized and deeply ploughed. He warned that the return on this investment would probably not be apparent for years to come, but that the effort and expense would be worthwhile in the long run.[96]

Olmsted's dislike of current tastes for exotic and

expensive horticulture did not prevent his supporting the introduction of a great variety of trees and shrubs which were not necessarily native to the area. For Mount Royal Park, he recommended three sources for young plants - exchanges of cuttings with other parks (he negotiated such an exchange between Mount Royal Park and Central Park), nurseries in Glasgow, Scotland and New York State, and collection of seedlings and cuttings growing wild on the mountain itself.

The list of cuttings received from Central Park indicates the extent of variety of flowering shrubs which Olmsted saw fit for the park. Few such shrubs exist within the park today, although private gardens bordering it do contain flourishing examples of spirea, forsythia and honeysuckle. The cuttings received were as follows:

1700	Spireas of 6 species
500	Lonicera fragrantissima (honeysuckle)
500	Lonicera tartarica (honeysuckle)
500	Weigelia hybrida
500	Forsythia viridissima
300	Forsythia suspensa
300	Philadelphus coronarius (mock orange)
300	Philadelphus grandiflorus
500	Deutzia scabra
500	Deutzia gracilis
500	Salix laurifolia (willow) 97

In September 1875, Olmsted sent a list of trees to be planted in the spring, which further indicates the variety he intended to introduce:

480	Hickory 1-2' high
2070	Hard maple 6" high
7200	Elm 6" high
260	Horse chestnut 1-2'
1750	Horse chestnut 6-10"

200 Butternut 1'
244 Oak 6"
380 Sweet chestnut 1' 98

In addition he requested in April 1876 that 1000 each of Scotch, Austrian and American white pines be ordered from a New York nursery.[99] White birch and sugar maple were as plentiful on the mountain in Olmsted's time as they are now, and he recommended that little be done to increase their numbers.[100]

The correspondence contains few directives concerning the arrangement of the planting; but those few given are consistent with the irregular, natural and picturesque effect which Olmsted desired in the planting required to mask artificial constructions such as the gallery walk and the bridges, already described, and the general natural effect which Olmsted desired be maintained in each of the designated topographical areas. An exchange between Nelson and Olmsted in 1877 contains Olmsted's recommendations for planting bordering the lower mountain, in order to repair the disfigurements caused by careless construction and landslides in the spring of 1876:

> As to your inquiring about planting, a little reflection will show you that if trees could be made to grow in rows at regular intervals on each side of the present wheelway of the half-built road up the mountain, they would simply call attention to and make more marked the present prominent, rude, artificial character of the cuttings and embankments between which it is carried. These have been made with such misunderstanding of the purpose with which the road was laid out that I believe that it would be true economy to tear out the whole work up and build it over again. But if it

> is out of the question as I suppose it is just now, there is little to be done until you begin the excavation of the Reservoir. Every spade full that comes from that should be used with the greatest possible care and judgement to hide and make less conspicuous the unnatural character of the embankment on which the road rests. When this has been done but not before it will be desirable to plant trees and bushes near it, not by any means in rows and at regular intervals, but naturally, in groups and clusters and thickets, with frequent glades and openings where distant views can be best commanded (under favorable circumstances).
>
> What you chiefly need at present is to be getting the proper assortment of trees and shrubs in proper permanent nurseries, particularly the Siberian trees and others which I recommended you to get as seedlings from Scotland. Planting such as you did last year without system or design is a waste of money.[108]

Closely related to the natural appearance of new growth was Olmsted's insistence on respect for existing growth. He firmly advised against the felling of trees to open temporary roads. Dead or decayed trees should be removed before the winter to encourage healthy growth. Living trees which had to be removed should have their roots uncovered. The freezing of the ground would kill the tree, which could be cut at the roots in spring, leaving only a small stump hole. Pulling stumps was too destructive of the desirable forest growth.[102]

In designing the upper mountain road, Olmsted considered large old trees as important picturesque landscape elements and took care to avoid cutting them. His instructions to Picton for the staking out of the upper mountain road indicated that several such trees

should be avoided, the course of the road adjusted to save them.[103]

Evidently the Park Rules Olmsted suggested for public conduct in Mount Royal Park included admonitions against destruction of plants. Even without extensive planting and improvement, the existing vegetation was abundant and enjoyed by the first users of the park.[104] Olmsted understood the fragility of the mountain's ecology and the rules, somewhat hopefully, were made to warn against any misguided belief that the wild plants would continually renew themselves even when a large number of people would roam at large amongst them.

Administrative Advice

In addition to his design work, Olmsted gave the Park Commission advice on administrative matters, ranging from rules for public conduct, long-term policies regarding monuments and recreation facilities to management of park construction, maintenance and personnel. Some of this advice was solicited by the Park Commission, but Olmsted gave freely of his opinions stemming from his prior experience with municipal administration as well, in order, often, to facilitate his working relationship with the Commission and in consideration of the best interests of the park.

The Park Commission requested from Olmsted a copy of

the rules for public conduct of Central Park for use as a model for the rules governing Mont Royal Park.[104] They asked him to advise them on the placement of monuments and recreational facilities, such as a cricket field, these put before council in the form of petitions by groups of citizens for privileges in the park.[105] Olmsted responded to these requests with his policy on such matters, fully describing the reasons for it. He was not opposed to the inclusion of a site for a cricket field or a toboggan slide in the park plan: however he cautioned the Commission against concessions to any one group in particular, to the exclusion of the general public. He pointed out that the granting of one such request would spawn many more and refusals would become necessary, causing unnecessary animosity.[106] A similar reasoning lay behind Olmsted's cautioning against the erection of monuments, however, these objections also had an aesthetic basis:

> ... The character of the monument and the object of commemoration not being stated, I can only briefly indicate a few general rules which I think should govern the city in determining questions of this class.
>
> The chance of getting a monument that will not in any position which would be selected for it be in some way out of place is a small one. A monument, that would appear appropriate and dignified in a public place of moderate extent [hemmed] in by buildings, will appear meanly and discordantly in the midst of natural scenery of large scale. The essential object of monuments is much better served if they are placed in the midst of the people in their daily lives, rather than in positions where [they are viewed as]

> holiday sights and seen incidentally to any different form of amusement. Regarded as ornaments it must always be remembered that the mountain is a mountain and all finished artificial ornaments upon it will be more or less incongruous. Any artificial object upon it should be placed there only and obviously to serve in some practical way the main purpose of enjoyment of natural scenery, and the less conspicuous it is the better.
>
> All funeral monuments and all with which would be sad associations, all monuments tending to kindle or keep alive difference of creed, of race, of politics or which would be provocative of antagonism of any kind should be excluded. Finally, no monuments should be admitted which are not works of art of a high and dignified type, such as may rarely occur.
>
> ... I am aware that what I have said would exclude all monuments and I must admit the possibility of public interests which would [illegible] this position. I can only say therefore that on general principle monuments should be admitted if at all with extreme caution and careful circumspection.107

Evidently the commission approved of this policy, since Nelson asked Olmsted to repeat it in the public lectures he gave at the presentation of the design in September 1877.[108]

The completed Design Map (Illus. 18) represented Olmsted's effort to make an integrated whole of the steps, some faltering, some self-assured, the compromises and the contingencies of three years of planning and construction in Mount Royal Park. Olmsted's plan illustrates the park defined by boundaries which he recommended, rather than those of the packages of land purchased. The large tracts of land which the city refused to acquire were rounded and dovetailed into the topography of the park land, requiring

of the city only minor purchases of bordering land. These purchases would be offset by the sale of residential lots, an aspect of the preliminary recommendations carried through to the presented plan. Olmsted's projected reservoir design, added to meet the city's water requirements, was shown, as was the smaller alternative reservoir, drawn as built. The roads and walks appearing on the Design Map include those built during the design phase and those which would complete the network of public accesses to the spectacle of the Park's viewpoints and the areas where nature could be enjoyed, exercise taken and the fresh mountain air freely breathed. Olmsted's design reflects his acceptance of given conditions and necessities as well as a final attempt to integrate all the elements of the fragments of plans supplied over the design period. His attention over these three years, his willingness to accommodate new requirements and to teach his methods to those who would be responsible for carrying out his plan, and his resistance to incursions on the basic principles of the design all bespeak a monumental effort on the part of one man working in a field as yet largely unfamiliar to municipal politicians. It was the effort of one able to maintain his social and aesthetic ideals in the face of trying conditions. The presentation of the design of Mount Royal Park in September 1877 marked the end of the design phase and Olmsted's direct involvement in the park's planning and construction.

Olmsted's publication of Mount Royal, Montreal four years later was the final act among his efforts to assure the implementation of the plan, an act which marked the post-design history of the park, to which our attention should now be directed.

Notes to Chapter II

1 FLO, **Mount Royal, Montreal,** (New York,N.Y.: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1881).

2 The manuscript material, correspondence and drawings related to Olmsted's work on the Mount Royal Park project are located in three places: The Library of Congress, Washington D.C., the Archives of the City of Montreal and the Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site, Brookline, Mass.

The Washington material is described in a pamphlet entitled **Frederick Law Olmsted A Register of His Papers In the Library of Congress** (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, 1977). The Papers have been microfilmed. Reels 30 and 56 contain material pertaining to Mount Royal Park, and are hereafter referred to as LC30 and LC56. The papers in each microfilmed file are photographed in chronological sequence, therefore references to individual letters are given by date and the names of the correspondents in the notes that follow.

The Montreal Olmsted manuscripts and correspondence are not classified with the more recent material pertaining to the park. The Olmsted letters are kept in room S-9 of the City Archives. The Olmsted material and other material from the City Archives hereafter referred to as AM, the reference completed, as above, with the dates, and names of the correspondents, as well as the appropriate dossier number.

The Brookline material used consists mainly of drawings. These are referred to as OA, with the full title of the work, if one is given. Untitled works are referred to as "untitled", with a description added to distinguish them.

3 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Mount Royal Park Commissioners (hereafter referred to as "Commissioners), Nov. 23, 1874, contract.

4 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 23, 1874.

5 Robert Rumilly, Histoire de Montréal, 4 vols (Montréal: Fides, 1970), III, see index for several references to the activities of this Montreal businessman and municipal politician. He ran for mayor and lost to Jean-Louis Beaudry in 1881 (p. 135).

6 George Ansley does not appear to have been involved significantly in the Mount Royal Park project. He earned no mention in Rumilly's history of Montreal politics, therefore his political career was probably of little import. (Rumilly, op.cit.).

7 Rumilly, op.cit., III, p. 91. John Wait McGauvran was active in municipal politics, but turned to the provincial level by 1878. His involvement with Mount Royal Park was thus limited and short-lived.

8 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

9 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, contract. (Appendix I)

10 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

11 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

12 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

13 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

14 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

15 Norman T. Newton, Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971) p. 229-232.

16 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

17 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms. FLO to Commissioners, Nov. 21, 1874, preliminary report. (Appendix I)

18 LC30, ms., FLO to Patrick MacQuisten, Montreal City Surveyor, hereafter referred to as MacQuisten, Sept. 18, 1875 and LC30, ms., MacQuisten to FLO, Sept. 28, 1875.

19 Newton, op. cit., p. 208-213.

20 FLO, Mount Royal, Montreal, p. 73-74.

21 OA, two unlabelled drawings from the group of five studies for drives on upper Mount Royal. The first is freely drawn, with many forks, curves, islands in the roads; changes in elevation are indicated. The second is dated verso March, 1876. A building near the reservoir site is lettered A; B is a curve where an alternate scenic route branches into the main drive; C is the site of the proposed refectory; D is a place where three roads meet; E is possibly a viewpoint near the present look-out. It is inscribed with the grades of the roads between these points - A to B uniform grade of 1 in 30; B to C uniform grade of 1 in 25; D to E uniform grade of 1 in 25. The study of grades seems to be the principal purpose of the two drawings.

22 LC30, ms., FLO to W.J. Picton, (hereafter referred to as Picton), April 24, 1876.

23 LC30, ms., Picton to FLO, Aug. 28, 1876.

24 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, March 28, 1876.

25 There are a number of letters referring to this argument, for example, LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, June 3, 1876; LC56, ms., Nelson to FLO, Nov. 1, 1876; AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Nelson, Nov. 3, 1876; LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, Dec. 3, 1876.

26 LC56, ms., Nelson to FLO, Feb. 22, 1877.

27 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Nelson, Feb. 23, 1877.

28 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Picton, March 18, 1876.

29 LC30, ms., Picton to FLO, June 1, 1876.

30 There are a number of drawings and profiles (a measured sectional drawing of a road) in OA associated with this plan:

- Mount Royal Park/Study of Roads and Lots in Lower Part. Sept. 28, 1875, lead pencil on tracing paper.

- Sept. 1875/Road up mountain as sent/43/Mount Royal ...and Entrance at Peel St., red and black ink, lead pencil on tracing paper.

– Untitled, ink and pencil on tracing paper, possibly University Street entrance.

– Package labelled 47/Mount Royal/Profiles/Peel and ... The contents of this package were not seen due to the fragility of the paper.

– Profile of road up mountain, Sept. 1875.

– Untitled profile.

– Mount Royal Park/MacQuisten's Profile of Road up Mountain No. 11, red ink on tracing paper.

31 LC30, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Oct. 7, 1875.

32 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., Recommendation by Park Commission to City Council, signed H.A. Nelson, J.W. McGauvran, October 13, 1875.

33 LC30, ms., Nelson to FLO, Jan. 17, 1876.

34 LC30, ms., FLO to Nelson, Jan. 20, 1876.

35 LC30, ms., FLO to Nelson, Jan. 29, 1876.

36 Rumilly, op.cit., III, p.56, 76. William McGibbon had been a soldier fighting the Fenian raiders before his hiring as Mount Royal Park ranger in 1874. Rumilly recounts several anecdotes about the harsh working conditions of the road building crews in the winter of 1875. McGibbon also used explosives so strong that Ravenscrag was hit by flying rocks.

37 LC30, ms., FLO to Nelson, June 6, 1876.
An abridged version of this letter was published in the Montreal Evening Star, June 10, 1876.

38 FLO, Letter, Montreal Evening Star, June 10, 1876.

39 LC30, ms., FLO to Nelson, Dec. 28, 1875. This letter mentions the University Street entrance in passing, referring back to the plans sent in October, 1875.

40 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, March 28, 1876.

41 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, April 8, 1876.

42 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, June 5, 1876.

43 Three letters in which the location of this lower Côte des Neiges entrance is discussed are : LC30, ms., Picton to FLO, Aug. 17, 1876; LC30, ms., FLO to Picton,

Aug. 19, 1876; LC30, ms., Picton to FLO, Aug. 28, 1876.

44 FLO brought up the question of the inclusion of a body of water in the plan in LC30, ms., FLO to Picton, March 18, 1876. It seems that a possible reservoir had already been discussed. To FLO's dismay, Nelson had indicated that a very large (20 acre) reservoir was under discussion (LC56, FLO to Nelson, April 11, 1876). Louis Lesage, water works engineer, decided that such a large body would be impractical, and settled for 5 acres. LC56, Lesage to Nelson, April 15, 1876.

45 Newton, op.cit., p. 279. Newton regards the two reservoirs as a "challenge", given features of the site which the designers had to work into their plan. Olmsted expressed his attitude to the reservoirs in Spoils..., op.cit., p. 395.

46 LC30, ms., FLO to Picton, June 17, 1876.

47 LC56, ms., Louis Lesage (water works engineer) to FLO, July 15, 1876.

48 AM, dossier PT 3-01-3, ms., FLO to Nelson, July 26, 1876.

49 FLO and Calvert Vaux, "Description of a plan for the improvement of the Central Park, "Greensward, 1858 (as reprinted, 1868)", reprinted in FLO, Jr. and Theodora Kimball, eds., Forty Years of Landscape Architecture: Central Park, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1973), p. 214-280. Bruce Kelly discusses the formal element in the naturalistic landscape as a general feature of a number of Olmsted parks in "Art of the Olmsted Landscape", an article in Art of the Olmsted Landscape, Bruce Kelly, Gail Travis Guillet and Mary Ellen W. Hern, eds., (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission and The Arts Publisher, 1981), p. 50-52.

50 FLO and Calvert Vaux, op.cit., p. 222. The Mall was initially called The Promenade.

51 FLO and Calvert Vaux, op.cit., p. 229.

52 Newton, op.cit., p. 214.

53 Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1850), rpt. Da Capo Press, 1968.

54 LC56, ms., Nelson to FLO, Sept. 27, 1876.

55 LC56, ms. A certified extract from the minutes of

the meeting of the Montreal City Council of June 23, 1876 was sent to FLO on Sept. 29, 1876 confirming the adoption of the reservoir plan.

56 LC56, ms., Nelson to FLO, Sept. 27, 1876.

57 LC56, ms., Nelson to FLO, Sept. 27, 1876.

58 FLO, Mount Royal, Montreal, op.cit., p. 79.

59 Ibid., p. 48.

60 Ibid., p. 80.

61 Ibid., p. 58-59.

62 Ibid., p. 63.

63 LC30, ms., Nelson to FLO, Jan. 13, 1876. Nelson refers to a verbal agreement with FLO on the nature of the initial idea for the drive on the upper mountain. "Referring to the Road on the top of the mountain, we presume it is you intention to make a Broad drive with Bridle road and a Foot walk along side the drive for a grand promenade and meeting or congregating place, I think you so said."

64 AM, dossier PT 3-01-3, ms., FLO to Nelson, July 26, 1876.

65 The five studies marked with March, 1876 dates in the Archives of the Olmsted National Historic Site, Brookline, Mass. (formerly the offices of Olmsted Associates and originally the home and offices of FLO during the Boston phase of his career; otherwise known as Fairsted) are identified as follows. The identifications and verbal descriptions are necessary due to the works' fragile and unphotographable state.

a) Mount Royal Park/Study of drives on mountain March 25, 1876.
Medium: pencil on tracing paper
scale: larger than the rest of this group.

b) Unlabelled study
Medium: pencil on tracing paper
Description: Free, detailed drawing, showing more ideas than appear on final plan for upper mountain drives. Changes in elevation and grade noted.

c) Unlabelled study, dated verso March 1876.
Medium: pencil on tracing paper
Description: Shows a road system for the upper

mountain which does not include the reservoir/grand promenade. The system here shown resembles closely in concept the walk system contained within the upper mountain circuit road on the Design Map (Illus. 18). The grades of the routes are indicated.

d) MOUNT ROYAL/PLAN SHOWING ROAD STAKES/35
Dated March 16, top centre.
Scale: 200'/1"
Medium: pencil on tracing paper
Description: Much of the road system within the park is shown in place. The reservoir/grand promenade is included, as is the refectory and south side look out. Numbers indicating the location of stakes which Olmsted requested be placed by Picton are present.

e) MOUNT ROYAL PARK/ROAD FROM RESERVOIR TO SECOND CONCOURSE
Medium: pencil on tracing paper, numbered in ink
Description: Fragment of road with footpath or bridle path running alongside it. Stake numbers included.

66 LC30, ms., FLO to Picton, April 24, 1876.

67 See note 65, drawings (a) and (b).

68 See note 65, drawing (c).

69 See note 65, drawing (d).

70 LC30, ms., FLO to Picton, July 26, 1876.

71 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Nelson, July 26, 1876.

72 LC30, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Oct. 7, 1875.

73 LC56, ms., Nelson to FLO, June 19, 1876. Nelson informs FLO that the Commissioners have granted leaves of absence to both Picton and McGibbon for their visit to New York.

For numerous illustrations of rustic style constructions in Central Park, see Bruce Kelly, Gail Travis Guillet and Mary Ellen W. Hern, eds., Art of the Olmsted Landscape, (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission and the Arts Publisher, 1981). A design for a rustic bird house by Olmsted and Vaux is reproduced on page 131, a large and intricate shelter shown on page 47 and a railing overlooking a pond found on page 71.

74 LC30, ms., FLO to Picton, June 10, 1876.

75 LC30, ms., FLO to Picton, June 10, 1876.

76 LC30, ms., FLO to Picton, August, 1876.

77 AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., FLO to Nelson, April 4, 1876.

78 LC56, ms., Frederick Waring to FLO, March 28, 1876.

79 FLO, Mount Royal, Montreal, op.cit., p. 43.

80 Ibid., p. 43-44.

81 Ibid., p. 44.

82 Ibid., p. 44-46.

83 Ibid., p. 56.

84 Ibid., p. 47.

85 Ibid., p. 57.

86 Ibid., p. 47-48.

87 Ibid., p. 48.

88 Ibid., p. 48.

89 Ibid., p. 49.

90 Ibid., p. 49.

91 Ibid., p. 49.

92 Ibid., p. 49.

93 Ibid., p. 50.

94 Ibid., p. 52-53.

95 LC30, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Aug. 30, 1875.

96 LC30, ms., FLO to Nelson, Sept. 16, 1875.

97 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, April 13, 1876.

98 LC30, ms., FLO to Nelson, Sept. 13, 1875.

99 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, April 24, 1876.

100 LC30, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Aug. 30, 1875.

101 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, March 26, 1877.

102 LC30, ms., FLO to Commissioners, Aug. 30, 1875.

103 LC30, ms., Picton to FLO, Aug. 28, 1876.

104 LC56, ms., William Robb to FLO, May 26, 1877.

105 Unidentified news clipping, reprinting a petition presented to the Montreal City Council by a committee of members of the Montreal Cricket Club, April 24, 1876, in LC56 sent by Nelson to FLO. This request, among others is mentioned also in AM, dossier PT 3-01-1, ms., Nelson to FLO, Dec. 31, 1875.

106 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, April 29, 1876.

107 LC56, ms., FLO to Commissioners, April 28, 1877.

108 LC56, ms., Nelson to FLO, July 20, 1877.

Chapter III

Mount Royal Park:

The Post-Design Phase, 1878 to c. 1905.

Because the Mount Royal Park design as Frederick Law Olmsted conceived it was never fully realized, the period following the 1877 presentation of the plan to approximately the turn of the century should be viewed as a "post-design" phase, rather than an "execution" or "construction" phase of the project. The passages of the design realized and still recognizable in the existing park date mainly from the design period. Subsequent construction was piecemeal, interrupted by long periods of inactivity. Olmsted himself felt compelled to rise to the defense of his plan, making an appearance in Montreal in 1881. The post-design decades were marked by changes in critical and public perception of the park; usage patterns developed which would have reinforced later construction efforts. The result was an underused, justifiably criticized park of unbalanced design which did not reflect in the least the intentions of the architect.

The "post-design" phase can be deemed at an end with

the advent of new planners. One of these was Frederick Todd, an associate of the Olmsted family firm, who first made an appearance in Mount Royal Park planning in 1904, with a design for a new Café and Lookout, (plan completed in 1905), an elaborate structure which was not built.[1] Todd had been working in Montreal on private contracts from about 1899, emigrating to Canada and setting up his own practise in Montreal by 1915. He contributed much to the beautification of Montreal's urban landscape and the later history of Mount Royal Park. Other planning activity included a revision of the design of the east side Fletcher's Field area of the park which Olmsted had designated for residential development. This plan, produced in 1908 by the Province of Quebec Association of Architects,[2] was antithetical to the unity of the park design sought by Olmsted. The area in question today closely resembles the 1908 plan, and is popularly perceived as an area separate from Mount Royal Park, called "Fletcher's Field" or "Parc Jeanne Mance". The renewal of planning activity signals a new phase in the life of Mount Royal Park which falls outside the sphere of this discussion.

The post-design phase of the development of Mount Royal Park can be divided into two convenient periods. The first is relatively short, from the 1877 presentation of the plan to 1881, when Olmsted judged it necessary to publish **Mount Royal, Montreal**, his description and defense

of the plan. These years were coloured by a serious economic depression which affected building activity both locally and abroad. The next two decades, which constitute the second period of the post-design phase were more prosperous; construction was taken up again, deviating significantly from the plan's directions.

The enthusiasm of social reformers for the park turned to criticism during the post-design period. Their disillusionment stemmed from the fact that the creation of the park did not seem to bring on the social improvements so desired by those who had fought for its creation. As such, the views of the critics did not deviate much from the ambitions of the original Olmsted plan, and it was precisely those aspects of the plan which would have furthered its social benefits which were accorded low priority during the post-design activity. The aesthetic improvement of the park was pursued in a superficial manner, while important practical considerations of mass accessibility were put aside. These trends set up much of the work undertaken subsequently, when the Olmsted plan would become obsolete and the ideas of twentieth century planners would take precedence.

Initial reception of the plan, 1876

In order to clarify the conditions surrounding the 1877 presentation of the plan, the park's initial

reception in 1876 should be considered. The park was publicly inaugurated on the Queen Victoria's Birthday, May 24, 1876, well before Olmsted completed his plan. Despite the few and imperfect improvements to the site which had been carried out during the winter of 1875-76, the journalistic accounts of the inauguration showed an appreciation of the principles of the park design, insofar as these could be understood from the work in evidence. The review in the Montreal Evening Star was especially lively. The journalist appears to have understood perfectly the aesthetic and social intentions of the park, these having, of course, been debated for decades in the press. These intentions were reiterated in the journalist's commentary and in the texts of the speeches that he chose to quote.[3] The park was viewed as a successful answer to all the popular requirements previously voiced. The road system promised to give access "for the multitude" to "grandeurs of scenery heretofore known perhaps only to an artistic few". The views were described in loving detail. The mountain site inspired patriotic contemplation of the past and future of the city. It provided a healthy and beautiful "free breathing space" to all classes of society. And so the praises of the park were sung.

Presentation and Council's response to the plan, 1877-1881

The enthusiasm of the journalists in 1876 contrasted sharply with the discouraging atmosphere of the public presentation of the completed plan in September, 1877. The presentation took the form of two lectures at which Olmsted showed large-scale drawings of the park plan, fully explaining it and handing out photographically-reduced lithographed copies of the main drawing (the Design Map, Illus. 18) to those attending. He also spoke generally on the subject of parks, their justification and the attitude which the public should adopt for their maintenance.

Olmsted had requested that invitations to his presentation be sent to a large number of the city's cultural leaders[4] and that the event be well-publicized. Despite the architect's urging, the audience was small and apparently disinterested. Olmsted suspected that political motives might have intervened to tone down the publicity for the presentation.[5] These motives would have been directly related to the difficulties which Olmsted had experienced through the latter months of 1876 and 1877 in his relations with the city Council, difficulties based in the severe economic straits plaguing the municipality. Municipal policies called for severe curtailment of expenditure in 1877.[6] In accordance with these policies,

the design as Olmsted presented it was fully approved by the Council,[7] while a request for funds for the continuation of park construction was refused soon after,[8] and work on the park ground to a halt by the end of 1877. This economic gloom enshrouded the park plan as the recession fell into full-scale depression, with recovery beginning only by 1879.

Park Construction to 1880

Until 1880, most of the construction in Mount Royal Park had been concentrated upon the building of roads and walks within the park boundaries. These were located mainly on the upper mountain plateau where the most spectacular views of the city were to be had, to the neglect of the bordering areas of the park and the completion of the approach roads. A comparison of the map of the park drawn by the Charles Goad Company in 1880 (Illus. 21) with the Design Map (Illus. 18) clearly shows a correspondence of the main roads existing on the upper mountain with those of the plan. These roads were most likely built according to the carefully adjusted routes staked out by the engineer W.J. Picton under Olmsted's guidance in 1876-1877. Picton was laid off in December, 1877 and did not return to work for the Mount Royal Park commission, an unfortunate result of the city's curtailment of funding for park construction.[9]

The upper mountain circuit was, in 1880, the only accurately executed feature of the Olmsted design. The partially completed walk system, even in the upper plateau area, only approximated that recommended. None of the buildings planned by Olmsted were built, not even the refectory for which plans had been purchased. The buildings shown on the Goad map were structures left standing from the pre-park era, as evidenced by their lack of relationship to the new road system. The Keeper's house, occupied for many years to come by the park superintendent, William McGibbon, remained standing, despite Olmsted's recommendation of its demolition.

It would appear, from the attention paid to the building and subsequent maintenance and improvement of roads and walks on the upper mountain, that the park commissioners regarded this area as a priority. The plans for the eastern and western peripheries, the creation of a residential and "little park" area in the east and the building of the grand promenade and reservoir in the west were untouched. This attention to the development of central heights encouraged unwittingly by Olmsted because he had occupied himself and Picton with the earlier construction effort, there was the beginning of an imbalance which would continue to develop in the decades to come.

More serious, perhaps, was the park commissioners' neglect of the construction of the multiple accesses to

the park and the settlement of boundary questions, which would have effected the integration of the park into the urban fabric. The reticence of the city at this time was probably due to the depressed state of the real estate market, but the delays seem to have led to a forgetfulness of the importance of these steps.

Olmsted had stressed from the beginning that the boundaries of the park should be decided as the first step in the park's creation; the building of access routes followed this step closely. An examination of the Goad map shows that even the minor recommendations agreed upon by the park commissioners in 1876 were unresolved. These included the disposal of the portion of land bounded by the fork of Cedar and Pine Avenues, of virtually no use to the park and not included in the Olmsted design. The boundaries of the Cross, Day and Beard properties had not been straightened, neither had the proposed adjustments in the northwest corner been carried out. The exchanges of property with the Mount Royal Cemetery in the northeast had not been effected, these involving larger tracts of land.

These unconcluded boundary settlements were only minor detriments to the design, compared to the complications surrounding the southeastern and eastern areas, where the effectiveness of the plan, functionally, aesthetically and financially, was severely compromised. The elegant suburban plan proposed by Olmsted for the

southeast corner was entirely disregarded. No gently curving roads had been laid out to soften the graceless straight line of Bleury/Park Avenue,, or to join the dead ends of University Street and Oxenden Avenue with the park roads. Neither had the east/west street of the eastern populated areas been extended to meet the lower mountain road. No road had been built through the Taylor property, the compromise alternative to the purchase of the Frothingham land for the park. The effect of these unsettled questions of boundary and access lay mainly in hindering the development of the essential access routes to the park from the southern and eastern popular quarters.. The several entrances proposed for the east side, which would have extended welcoming arms into the neighbourhoods, remained closed, while the main access to the park became the steep Peel Street, which connected directly to the fashionable residential areas and the business districts developing around Dominion Square.[10] The Bleury Street entrance was accessible via Bleury Street only, remaining unconnected to Rachel and other eastward streets and to the major University Street access. As such the utility of the eastern lower mountain road was minimal. In the west, there was limited access off Côte-des-Neiges, but with so little development of the interior of the west side of the park, Côte-des-Neiges must have seemed far removed from the roads and walks of the upper mountain, the park's main area of interest.

Finally, the financial benefits of the residential development project, conceived as a self-financing scheme for park construction, lay, in 1880, untapped by the City. This left the park open to short-term criticism as a burdensome expenditure, visibly adding nothing to the city coffers. The unbalancing of the design and frustration of access were problems which would become more serious in the ensuing decades, problems which complete execution of the design would have overcome. Olmsted's Mount Royal, Montreal contains a strong element of economic argument. This is due to the short-term conditions affecting the execution of the design.

By 1881, very little headway had been made in the execution of the plan, and it is at this juncture that Olmsted returned to Montreal in an effort to revive his plan.

Olmsted's Defense: Mount Royal, Montreal, 1881.

It is doubtful that Olmsted's plan would have received any attention at all, had he not published Mount Royal, Montreal. His contract had included an agreement that he supply a written explanation of the plan, and it was understood that the text of the presentation lectures given in 1877 would fill this requirement. The lethargy of the park commission through 1878, when no construction was carried out, left the publication of these texts in

question. The commissioners requested the manuscripts, offering to "reserve to themselves the right to publish said lectures at some future date, if found advisable."[11]

Olmsted understood the undertones of city politics well enough to ignore this request, foregoing until several years later the balance of the salary owing him for this final step in the completion of the Montreal contract (Appendix 2). He let the matter lie, expending little energy attempting to salvage the unfortunate circumstances of Mount Royal Park, turning his immediate attention to other personal and business matters. These were difficult years during which he ended his involvement with the New York Parks Commission. The New York work had been plagued by an unfavourable political and economic climate, not unlike that in Montreal. He left on an extended European tour in early 1878, returning to find conditions little changed.[12] Upon his return he began to redirect his work. He took on more work in Buffalo, renewed his professional relationship with the architect Henry Hobson Richardson and became deeply involved in the planning of the capitol grounds in Washington by mid-1878.[13] Major responsibilities in Boston would follow soon after, resulting in Olmsted's moving his practise from New York to Brookline, Mass.

The turning point in his career passed, his confidence in his aesthetic and social ideals renewed and the framework of his business life somewhat

restructured,[14] Olmsted invested new energy in the Montreal project with the publication of Mount Royal, Montreal. He initiated and distributed this pamphlet at his own expense, acting both within and outside of his contractual arrangement which called for his supplying of a written explanation of the plan (Appendix 2). By addressing his discourse to "The Owners of Mount Royal" rather than those charged with the construction of its park, he removed the publication of his text from the mercy of the politics and/or ineptitude of Montreal politicians and he chose to exercise a measure of critical freedom.

This political act, the publication of the description and justification of his park plan to the citizens of Montreal, was not unusual for Olmsted. He knew the effectiveness of publication campaigns, and around the time of the appearance of Mount Royal, Montreal was involved in several such efforts, notably the Niagara Falls preservation campaign, and the battle for Central Park, New York.[15] Like these and other campaigns, the Montreal publication should be interpreted as an act rather than a simple explanation. Olmsted's indignation at the inaction and disregard for his plan by the city officials is amply explained in the first few pages of the pamphlet, and he hoped that public awareness would aid in correcting the circumstances.

The actual recipients of the one hundred or so copies

produced were not in fact the general public. The list of recipients drawn up by Olmsted with the aid of Bishop Miles, his brother-in-law, Dr. T. Sterry Hunt, an acquaintance, and Samuel Dawson, Montreal bookseller, reads like a register of Montreal's cultural elite.[16] Olmsted is sometimes accused of elitism in his approach to park planning, and the Montreal publication offers an opportunity to address the problem. The readership sought by Olmsted was, more specifically, composed of those who would lead, teach or influence the culture of the park's general usership. It is justifiable to say that the people whose support he pursued were those whose tastes in entertainment, outdoor amusement and environment corresponded fairly closely to his own. Olmsted's class affiliations have been thoroughly established by his biographers and critics. He was born into, and lived his life among people whose social stratum could safely be termed "patrician", that is to say, a comfortable class of cultural intelligentsia. His moral and social code seems to have been most opposed to the "frontier" mentality, a narrowness of mind which he perceived as endemic in certain sectors of North American society, for example nouveau-riche capitalists in the north, exploitative plantation-owners in the south, gold-fevered miners in the west, opportunistic urban dwellers in the east and so on.[17] The "frontier mentality" was thus an attitude identifiable within all socio-economic sectors of society.

A question often asked is whether Olmsted's parks, and the social philosophy underlying them, ultimately served the tastes and interests of Olmsted's own socio-economic class or whether his ideas, and the works which were their fruit, were, as he and his supporters claimed, broad enough to serve "all classes".[18] The text of Mount Royal, Montreal appeals most to the readership whose immediate support Olmsted sought, that is to say, a certain cultural elite, and educational leaders motivated by humanistic rather than economic concerns. The support of this group would oppose the vagiaries of municipal politicians, themselves often excellent examples of "frontier mentality", opportunistically generous to the desires of the cultured or the needs of the poor only when their political needs required it. If Olmsted's appeal to this elite for the life of his project shows undue emphasis placed on aesthetic considerations, this does not mean that the design itself or the sympathies of the architect catered solely to the interests of the cultured.[19]

A brief analysis of the text of Mount Royal, Montreal demonstrates that in fact Olmsted did not lose sight of his social responsibility to the disinfranchised sectors of Montreal society. The text begins with a discussion of the role of the landscape architect as that of a professional serving society, somewhat like a doctor or a lawyer. Landscape architecture was, in the nineteenth century, an ill-defined profession. Olmsted played an

important role in establishing its reputation, through writings such as this. Here, he dismissed several popular misconceptions of landscape architecture: the association of landscape architecture with simple backyard gardening, requiring little planning, transitory and changeable; the idea that landscape architecture was an unnecessary indulgence of the rich; that the landscape architect worked to serve land speculators; that it was in the landscape architect's own interest to keep alive a "park boom" in times of economic hardship.[20] Implied in this argument and throughout the text that followed, was the following more succinctly expressed definition of the landscape architect's role:

> "[to make] the wholesome charm of simple natural scenery ... a matter of business-like study, [to effect] the permanent reconciliation of a certain practical degree of such charm, with the necessary conveniences of rest and movement of a vast multitude of people of all classes of the population of a great city..."[21]

The purpose of landscape architecture once defined, Olmsted appealed to his readers for unerring support and maintenance of his plan. He pointed out that the plan should be treated as a work of art, purchased for the public benefit. Once realized as a park, it should be jealously guarded against incursions and changes in fashion. He pointed to the European example of a park in Dijon by LeNôtre and how the citizens had maintained it in the form of LeNôtre's plan over more than a century.

The recreative, social and sanative advantages of the

large urban park, so hotly defended in the pre-park campaign in Montreal as elsewhere, were treated as fundamental to the general justification for the creation of parks throughout the text of Mount Royal, Montreal. Similarly, the responsibilities of building the roads and walks and the necessary connections of these with existing city arteries according to the plan were regarded as given,[22] and Olmsted seems to have trusted that the city would have carried these out in due course, once the economy had recovered.

The main thrust of Olmsted's defense, expressed as he explained the intricacies of the Mount Royal Park design, was two-fold, involving the detailed description of aspects of the plan which he felt were less obvious than the previously debated issues and mundane practicalities of park-making. He was most concerned with first, defining the specific aesthetic basis of his plan and second, the necessity and economy of this aesthetic basis. The result was an effective and moving treatise on the value of public works of art, in forms which would become part of ordinary daily life, alternatives to and of greater value than "the museums and galleries, which are the pride of other cities, and which millions have been thriftily expended to obtain".[23] The aesthetic argument and its economic justification were attached to a description of the final stages of the creation of the park and the aspects of the park which would eventually require

continued maintenance and public support. These included consistent planting and the resistance to incursions on the park area by additional building or planting projects. Olmsted provided the "owners" of the park with solid arguments to be used in resisting such schemes.

The description of the plan turned around these defensive arguments. Olmsted directed a large proportion of his explanation to describing the planting appropriate for wilderness and pastoral scenery and the transitions between the two. The planting arrangements formed the local beauty of the park. The distant views Olmsted regarded as Mount Royal's greatest natural treasure, a feature which few other cities could obtain even at great cost. The views should be treated with the greatest care, presented to the visitor in variable sequences from the most advantageous viewpoints. He took great pains to describe the psychological effects of a tour of a sequence of views. The explanations of the planting and the presentation of scenery were given in the most poetic terms that Olmsted could muster. He apologized for his inept poetic expression, and tried to compensate for this by occasional reference to great landscape poets like Longfellow and Burns. The result was a somewhat clumsy, but heartfelt and sincere, description of his intentions, couched in an approximation of the flowery literary style of his own times.

The effort at florid expression only partially

obscured the practical vision which balanced Olmsted's aesthetic sensibilities. He made continual reference to the economy with which the natural advantages of the site could be enhanced and communicated, underlining the point that to make anything less than art of the park would be inexcusable waste. The appendix to the main text of the pamphlet is a simple explanation of the design map, dealing with the roads, walks and service structures which would be the city's responsibility. These he treated as a matter of course, repeating much of what had been elaborated in the correspondence of the design phase. He showed here his attention to the needs of pedestrians, weaker persons, and those in wheel chairs, in the design of easily ascended stairs and alternatives to these in the form of a long easy continuous walk which would allow the weaker pedestrian to experience the highest views the mountain could offer.[24] Such attentions to the needs of the feeble did not preclude those of the able-bodied, who would use the park naturally for more vigorous forms of exercise. He addressed the problems of carriage accesses, naming the specific points of the design responding to the specific problems involved in "dovetailing the city into the park", underlining the desirability of easy grades for light traffic.[25] The appendix is a broad summary of previous arguments, warning that the aesthetic advantages could not be had without attention to these practical matters. The social advantages of the park would easily

issue from Olmsted's detailed attention to the mechanics of access.

The success of Olmsted's defense strategy in publishing Mount Royal, Montreal deserves to be evaluated, since this document remains the most accessible record of the architect's intentions. The pamphlet was acknowledged by a number of recipients and read with interest, but no one, least of all the park commissioners, seems to have used it directly as a guide for further construction activity. As such, the aesthetic argument and the general principle of the park design have enjoyed an enduring success, while the practicality of the plan fell into obscurity.

Short-run Effects of Olmsted's Defense - Later Construction

In terms of affecting the execution of the elements of the design requiring outlays of labour and construction materials, Olmsted's publication strategy was an abject failure. A comparison of the map of the park by G. de Grandpré, published in 1905 (Illus. 19) shows that the piecemeal pattern of improvements effected to 1880 continued through the 1880's and 1890's. Olmsted's plan might well have not existed, considering the work done on the roads, walks and service structures over these final decades of the nineteenth century. Access to the park was

only somewhat improved, and the imbalance in the development of the interior of the park solidified.

The Grandpré map clearly shows that Olmsted's recommended boundary settlements remained unnegotiated, and that the changes which were effected ran contrary to his advice. Developments in the southeastern and eastern borders only obliterated opportunities for suburban building in those areas and the construction of approaches to the park. In 1888, the city granted a perpetual lease of the portion of land (the Taylor property) between the Allan and Frothingham estates to the Royal Victoria Hospital, thereby foregoing residential development as described in the Olmsted plan.[26] The hospital itself was a fortunate compromise, both socially and aesthetically. It can be safely assumed that Olmsted himself approved of the hospital's location, because the Olmsted firm, the Olmsted, Olmsted and Eliot, supplied a plan for the grounds dated September 3, 1896.[27] The existing hospital grounds bear the signs of the advice of the younger partners, then John C. Olmsted and Charles Eliot. Olmsted was at the end of his working life, concerned with the establishment of a scientific arboretum on the Biltmore Estate project. He was also concerned that John and Charles Eliot develop a strong knowledge of arboriculture and bring this to the profession. Their collective preoccupation with tree science was brought into the hospital groundplans. Labelled trees are still found in

Olmsted parks, those of Olmsted Sr. and of his sons and their associates, notably the capitol grounds in Washington and Boston Common. The Royal Victoria Hospital grounds facing Pine Avenue boast an unusual variety of trees and shrubs, arranged somewhat like botany samples, many singly, as if in demonstration of their particularity and their ability to survive the climate of Mount Royal, a kind of living museum to Olmsted's largely unheeded advice for planting in the park. The hospital grounds still provide healthy, restful greenspace for patients and staff, an interesting and harmonious border for the park above, and an acceptable, if less profitable alternative to the residential development scheme. Other bordering properties did not fare so well.

The Frothingham property remained in private hands, given, finally, to McGill University in 1911 by Sir William MacDonald. University and Oxenden Avenue provided no connection for carriage traffic to the lower mountain road from the southeast. These routes were cut off by the new cog elevator running behind the Frothingham property. The elevator, christened the Funiculaire, built in 1884, certainly accelerated the ascent from Bleury/Park Avenue to the upper mountain.[28] Its connection to the new straight street railway running up Park Avenue increased its efficiency, for those who could afford the fare. Whatever advantage was gained by the Park Avenue railway

was offset by the isolation of the easternmost park land from the park proper. This area was thus doomed to ineffectiveness in terms of its integration with the park as a whole. The area suffered the incursion of the provincial exhibition grounds, which included buildings and a race-course as shown on the Grandpré map. It is presently covered with well-used athletic facilities, the crowdedness of this area east of Park Avenue contrasts with the tranquility of the west side. The eight-lane highway, which Park Avenue was well on the way to becoming by 1908 (Illus. 22), is still as effective as the Berlin wall in discouraging the use of the "Côte Placide" area by residents of the popular quartiers east of Park Avenue.

These developments would not have deterred the tourists and bourgeois residents approaching the park from the south. The Grandpré map shows new park services concentrated in the areas closest to the Funiculaire terminus and the southern accesses. Three service structures were built along the southern stretch of the upper mountain road overlooking the city, the Bellevue Terrace near the site of the present Chalet, the Belvedere or Northern Terrace near the elevator terminus farther east, and a restaurant between the two. Such a concentration of service structures on this side of the plateau offered the visitor the opportunity of prolonged views of the city, while less importance was accorded to the pastoral and wilderness views of the northern and

western prospects, which were marked by carriage stops only. The Olmsted plan had emphasized the variation of views in the placement of a rest house on the crown of the mountain and the provision of well-spaced stopping places, appealing to a wider range of taste. The carriage tour of the upper mountain replaced the grand promenade as the place for gathering and socializing, but it lacked the nicety of spacious walkways safely separated from the carriage road. A winter toboggan run and a feeble, formless "horse-ride" shown on the Grandpré map occupied the space designated for the promenade. This would have given over the summer use of the west side of the park to horse-back riders practically exclusively - access to the area does not appear to have been encouraged for pedestrians by the creation of foot paths.

A further development contributed to the imbalance of the design. Olmsted had forcefully discouraged connections, either visual or by road, with the cemeteries to the north. During the 1880's, several such connections had been built - two direct paths cutting through the road system, one from the lower mountain road in the east, another cutting across the mountain from the Funiculaire, and several adjoining paths; two roads, one a major carriage road leading past the ranger's house to the north border gave access to both cemeteries, the other forked off the lower mountain road in the northeast, leading to Mount Royal Cemetery. The effect of these connections

would have been to encourage associations of the whole north border of the park with the cemeteries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the preferred location for restaurants was the south side, where persons who could afford to use them could cast a satisfied glance over the vastness of the city in comfort, without reminders of illness and death passing before their eyes.

Critical Attitudes in the 1890's

The lack of development of effective access routes to the popular quarters of the city, the concentration of new development on the south side of the upper mountain corroborates the perception of several leading social critics of this later "post-design" phase of the park as serving a mainly bourgeois clientele. This perception ran counter to Olmsted's fundamental intentions, but it set up a chain of misinterpretation that lends support to the opinion of those present-day critics who argue that Olmsted's designs catered to the tastes of his own social class.[30]

The later critical perceptions seem to be rooted in a questioning of the advantages of parks by progressive reformers. Mayor William Hingston, one such reformer, in his inaugural address of 1875, heralded this sobering of utopian enthusiasm - parks were no longer considered an effective solution to the effects of urban poverty. In

reality, they would bring only a minor amelioration of one aspect of these problems. Hingston indicated that while parks were certainly needed and could not be used enough, the more pressing issues of poor housing, sanitation, health care, working conditions and education remained sorely and obviously unattended.[31]

Such ideas expressed by Hingston and others would become widely accepted by the late nineteenth century among progressive journalists and social reformers in Montreal. The new social criticism, associated directly with nascent labour movements fighting the poor working conditions and reduced wages left after the recession, included support for workers' needs through the documenting of social conditions associated with poverty.[32] This appeal was inspired by socialist ideology rather than the liberal reformism and utopianism which had attached so much importance to urban embellishment as social reform earlier in the century. These new critics no longer gave the creation of parks a high priority.

Jules Helbronner was a journalist writing for La Presse from 1884 to 1909, signing his pro-labour articles with the pseudonym "Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit".[33] In line with Hingston's (and others) opinions concerning the need for a pluralistic approach to social change, he addressed a wide range of problems in his articles and participated in numerous campaigns for the improvement of the worker's lot. Access to the city's parks was one such campaign, but

Helbronner chose to focus his attention on St. Helen's Island Park, which he perceived as 'le parc des petites gens, des travailleurs'. This perception was juxtaposed with the view that the mountain had become the preserve of the bourgeois. These 'heureux de la terre' had been provided with roads and bridges which permitted them to ride in their carriages to the summit of the mountain, there to breathe the fresh air and to enjoy its 'allées nombreuses'. Helbronner added that the city had spent approximately three times the amount spent on St. Helen's Island Park for the improvement of the mountain, 'qui profite peu a la population'. In arguing for better access to St. Helen's in the form of a free ferry, Helbronner indicated the inadequacy of access to the mountain for the ordinary citizen of Montreal. He suggested much about the commonly held perceptions of Mount Royal Park in the 1890's and the seeming exclusivity of its usage by the pleasure-driving bourgeois clientele.[34]

A second important social critic of this "post-design" phase of the life of Mount Royal Park was Herbert B. Ames. Ames, like Helbronner, attacked the problems of Montreal's poor and working classes in a pluralistic manner. He went about his task by compiling statistics and his activism was expressed through his political activities, rather than the journalistic efforts of his contemporary Helbronner. His best-known study was a statistical analysis of housing conditions, demography and

so on which led him to numerous conclusions about life in the working class quartiers of Montreal. The title of this work, The City below the Hill (1897)[35], implied a view of Mount Royal Park similar to that expressed by Helbronner, that of the park as the central and principal landmark of the lavish suburbs of the rich which had grown up around it, far away from the working class districts "below the hill". Ames agreed that parks were a necessity, but he expended very little energy analyzing them, concentrating rather on housing, labour relations, social problems such as alcoholism, health and other pressing issues.

The generations of social reformers preceding Ames and Helbronner, with their utopian views, had lent much support to the campaigns for the establishment of parks. These reformers had based their arguments on the benefits which urban green spaces would bring to those who needed them most. They had assumed that, once established, the parks would be easily accessible to "all classes" via public transportation or pedestrian routes, but their idealism and their zeal in simply calling for the establishment of parks proved their naiveté in trusting that accessibility would easily follow. Olmsted, one of the few landscape architects in North America with enough experience to anticipate this problem, had proved his sensitivity and social responsibility in his Mount Royal Park Plan, with its insistence upon easy and multiple accesses and provisions for weaker users. If the park of

the 1890's had acquired a reputation as "the mountain that seemed so far away", this perception developed not out of Olmsted's plan but out of its neglect. As the evidence of later construction efforts indicates, few of the most important elements of Olmsted's plan were in fact executed. His aesthetic arguments were accepted in principle - urban dwellers gained access to wilderness and rural scenery and a succession of landscape views of a most satisfying quality. But the urban dwellers who most enjoyed the park, who developed a taste and affection for its charms and defended it vociferously when necessary, were those who could afford to go there. Economics and a lack of foresight on the part of those charged with the responsibility were to blame for the fact that the park was not more popular. Landscape beauty can easily be the object of general human affection and understanding, especially when it is coupled with the real sensations of fresh air and the warmth of the sun. The capacity to enjoy such beauty was certainly not confined in any way to the refinements of taste of an educated nineteenth century bourgeoisie. The precept was fully understood by Olmsted in the planning of his parks, as his attention to a balance of aesthetics and accessibility in the Mount Royal Park plan clearly shows. That his plan was so neglected was, as Olmsted would have said himself, a "scandalous extravagance".

Long-term Effects of Olmsted's Defense

Olmsted's publication of **Mount Royal, Montreal** was a most successful strategy, in terms of establishing a lasting understanding of the aesthetic principles of the Mount Royal Park design, The thorough, strongly worded and defensive explanation of the rural/wilderness setting which Olmsted had intended to enhance and preserve has served as the basis for numerous aesthetic appreciation and histories of the park since Olmsted's time.

Samuel Dawson, the same bookseller who aided Olmsted in the distribution of **Mount Royal, Montreal**, was one of the first writers to appreciate the value of Olmsted text. The following passage from a guidebook to the city written and published by Dawson in 1882 indicates the classic "preservationist" argument which the text would be subsequently used to support and inform. Dawson says:

> "Under [Olmsted's] advice, the park has, for the most part, been laid out, as far as it has been laid out at all. In reality very little has been done excepting the construction of the roads, for the work of laying out such a park as this is not one which can be hurried. Indeed, any "laying out" in the strict sense of the word is very earnestly to be deprecated, for the mountain already possesses so many natural advantages that it is far easier to spoil it than to improve it by lavish expenditure of money. In an admirable little book written by Mr. Olmsted [sic] upon the subject of the artistic development of the property, he shows that it is only by following in the lines which nature has already laid down and by bringing these half-hidden, but characteristic beauties

> to light by the resources of art, that the most can be made of the wonderful possibilities of the place."[36]

The description of the park which follows this passage was closely based upon Olmsted's own explanation. The positive attitude towards the natural wilderness environment of the mountain which was so established was strong enough to maintain the park's aesthetic concept through several serious proposals for changes. These proposals included an application in 1885 for the creation of a botanical garden in the east end of the park which would have taken over approximately 85 arpents of the park area.[37] The Mount Royal Park Commission went as far as to approve the idea in principle but a public debate on the issue led to Olmsted's being consulted. Olmsted refused to entertain the idea and referred to Mount Royal, Montreal as a summary of his objections.[38]

William Robb, the city auditor and a sympathetic supporter of the park, requested extra copies of Olmsted's publication for use in the defense of the plan,[39] and the botanical gardens were never realized. Other projects which would have constituted serious aesthetic encroachments on the park included a proposal to build a model rural village on the mountain in the 1930's, an extension of the rural nostalgia popularized by the painter Clarence Gagnon,[40] and the plans for the "development" of the mountain as a recreation centre in the early 1960's. These plans and others were dropped due

to public outcry defending the Olmsted wilderness/rural aesthetic.

Writers like Edgar Andrew Collard, David Bellman, Jean-Claude Marsan and A.L. Murray have made use of Mount Royal, Montreal as primary documentation in the more recent historical publications on the park. The strength of their understanding of the park is based upon the force of the original description. The continual re-interpretation of the argument seems to have aided in the preservation of the aesthetic principles of Olmsted's plan. The most destructive encroachments on the park area have generally been associated with improving accessibility. Because inaccessibility has been a popular criticism since the Olmsted plan, numerous well-meaning attempts by city planners to correct the problems have met with general approval, but none have proved wholly satisfactory. These have included the building of Camilien-Houde Road (begun in 1922) over the north side of the park, which necessitated the blasting of a deep canyon and serious defacement of the topography; the building of several vast parking lots which waste space and ruin the expanse of the glades when they are empty and prove inadequate when they are full; the development of Park Avenue as a main traffic artery, ending with the addition of the Park-Pine interchange designed to facilitate traffic flow, but resulting in the complete frustration of pedestrian approach to the south-east corner. Even the

George-Etienne Cartier monument, designed by George Hill and erected in 1919,[42] seems, by its height and gigantism, to be designed to be viewed from a distance or from a speeding vehicle. It signals the existence of the park, but it is out of keeping with the idea of seductive intimacy of Olmsted's increasingly tranquil, leafy boulevards leading the visitor easily and quietly into the upper regions of the park. One could enumerate many more existing access inhibitors which have arisen from the initial disregard for the Omsted plan.

Conclusion

By the turn of the century, Mount Royal Park was barely a rough approximation of the design created by Frederick Law Olmsted a quarter-century earlier. This, as we have seen, was largely the result of the vacillations of local politicians and the social and economic conditions of the city. Olmsted, as a practitioner in the midst of these conditions, addressed them on their terms. His ideals, aesthetic and social, were sometimes obscured by the language in which they were expressed. In spite of the compromises, Olmsted managed to produce plans, and parks, which met his high standard of social utility and aesthetic quality. The park which would effectively serve its public would be easily accessible to the mass of ordinary citizens. It would be a place of natural beauty

which would attract and hold these same people to take their air and exercise, relieve their tensions, meet their friends. Both the accessibility of the place and its continued attractiveness depended on more than easy and numerous approaches. Olmsted urged a well-patrolled and well-maintained environment, for the peace of mind of the weaker users and the survival of plant life. His concept of the park was truly ecological in the sense that nature ahd the public, not often an easy mix, were meant to co-exist within its boundaries. The "damn landscape", as some period politicians were to call it, could not have survived to our day without citizen support and co-operation, excellent indicators of its popularity. Natural beauty, an object of general human affection and understanding was made physically and economically available to large numbers of people through the large urban parks and through its sister, the wilderness park. Art, in this case aesthetic enjoyment of landscape, was no longer the exclusive property of the monied classes. The Mount Royal Park plan demonstrates that Olmsted did not lose sight of these goals, while the lack of attention to its execution shows how easily the aims could be obscured. All was not lost, however.

The urban parks established in Canadian cities in the 1870's set standards for urban development in other cities, such as Winnipeg, Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria, in the decades to follow. The Olmsted "style", tangibly

demonstrated in Montreal, was developed and continued in the "City Beautiful" planning efforts of Olmsted's sons, associates of their firm and in the work of numerous practitioners of the newly established profession, landscape architecture. The large urban park and the planned suburb were debated and accepted in most major Canadian cities. The Olmsted firm enjoyed an enviable reputation in Canada through the first decades of the twentieth century, and many of their works exist to the present day, as yet largely unacknowledged as part of our cultural heritage. It is this vast production and its impact on the North American landscape which must be credited to Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.'s example. His contribution to landscape architecture, as well as to forestry and agricultural education, did not lie simply in voicing their necessity and advantages. He worked towards developing a theoretical basis for the profession, a social and political recognition of its potential through writing and practice, a methodology for the work, a variety of aesthetic approaches to design, as well as an educational system to support it. The recurrence of the word "practicable" in the writings of this man, criticized in his day for his "wholly unpractical" views, is perhaps indicative of his contribution. He brought into living, enduring form the major progressive trends of thought in nineteenth century urban planning and landscape architecture.

Notes to Chapter III

1 OA. Blueprint plans for a "Café and Lookout - Mount Royal Park for the Corporation of the City of Montreal", dated 1905, numbered 609.1a through 609.6a, signed Frederick Todd. The rejection of the plan was discussed in the Montreal Daily Witness, Nov. 1, 1904, p.3.

2 Improvements to the Fletcher's Field area of the park in 1908 proposed by the Province of Quebec Association of Architects included provisions for a large monument and outdoor theatre near the base of the Funiculaire, numerous athletic facilities for the locations presently featuring such amenities, straight tree-lined boulevards, and minor suburban development around the upper ends of University, Oxenden and Durocher Streets, where the city had no control over land development. Connections to the lower mountain road were proposed from these streets. Road connections from Rachel and Marie-Anne Streets to Park Avenue were pedestrian entrances only. Park Avenue appears as a straight boulevard divided into pleasure drive, car tracks and traffic road, flanked on either side by pedestrian walks, broken only by a "rond" where "Confederation Boulevard" (now Duluth Street) met Park Avenue. The Fletcher's Field layout is geometric and formal in style, in contrast to the rural naturalism of the Olmsted plan. There had been some discussion of retaining the original Olmsted plan. Richard Outhet of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects wanted to fight to support its retention, writing to the Olmsted Brothers firm about the matter. (LC, Manuscript Division, Olmsted Associates Papers, Job number 609, Richard Outhet to Olmsted Bros., Jan. 8, 1907).

3 "57 VIC. The Queen's Birthday", Montreal Evening Star, May 25, 1876, p.1. The journalist quotes speeches by Mayor William Hingston, Alderman H.A. Nelson of the Mount Royal Park Commission, Alderman F. David, also of the Commission, Peter Mitchel, Frederick Law Olmsted, Thomas White of the Montreal Gazette, in order of appearance.

4 LC56, ms., FLO to Nelson, July 24, 1877.

5 FLO, Mount Royal, Montreal, op.cit., p. 5-7

6 The recession had affected park work from the beginning of FLO's involvement, with the hastened early construction argued in terms of the city's need to relieve high unemployment. By 1877, the recession had deepened to a full-scale depression, with recovery beginning by 1879.- P.A. Linteau, René Durocher, J.- C. Robert, François-Marc Gagnon, Histoire du Québec contemporain de la Confédération a la crise 1867-1929. (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1979) p. 89-91.

Indicative of the curtailment of expenditure during this period, and the municipal commitment to deficit reduction was Mayor Jean-Louis Beaudry's inaugural address of March, 1878. Beaudry criticized the outgoing administration's expenditure on the lavish new city hall, a project begun in more prosperous times. In the same vein, Beaudry chastised the provincial government for spending on school buildings, indicating little distinction on his part between city embellishment and social services. (AM, dossier 025.24-5, Jean-Louis Beaudry, Inaugural address, March, 1878).

7 AM, Parcs et traverses Commission, Dossier 33-01-1, 3, Recommendation of Mount Royal Park Commissioners to the City of Montreal for adoption of General Plan, Oct. 16, 1877.

8 LC56, ms, FLO to Nelson, Nov. 1, 1877. Olmsted indicated his knowledge of the Council's approval of the plan and their decision not to continue construction. He advised minor variations according to local topographical conditions be made to the plan in the laying out of the building lots to be sold on the east side.

Also LC56, ms, Extract from the minutes of the Mount Royal Park Commissions' Meeting, Dec. 24, 1877.

9 LC56, ms, Ansley to FLO, Dec. 29, 1877. The Commission had ordered estimates for construction of roads on the upper mountain (2 miles) and two walks (east end and from Peel Street) from City Surveyor's Office. Ansley informed FLO that he had no time for the park construction estimates and regrets the loss of Picton. A postscript memorandum of the same date suggested that the Commissioners' request for the estimates had been rejected by Council.

LC56, ms, Nelson to FLO, Sept. 28, 1878. Nelson reported that no work has been done on park construction, one year after presentation of the plan, due to economic recession.

AM, dossier PT 3-01-1. Listed in this file are the

amounts voted by City Council for park improvements. In 1879, $300 was accorded to road repairs and $100 to the purchase of trees.

A bill from Percival St-George, surveyor, was submitted in 1881 for four years of services, which included the laying out of roads between the park and the cemeteries, a design for the Ranger's Lodge and surveys. The road-building does not appear on Goad's 1880 map and seems to have done after 1883, when money was voted for a "new road".

10 Robert Rumilly, Histoire de Montréal, 4 vols. (Montreal: Fides, 1970), III., p.91. Rumilly reveals that Horatio Admiral Nelson (also of the Mount Royal Park Commission) was directly involved in the construction of the luxurious Windsor Hotel, located on Dominion Square, which opened in 1878. The commissioner, as such, may have had a vested interest in assuring the completion of a main entrance to the park via Peel Street.

11 LC56, ms., Extract of the minutes of the Mount Royal Park Commissioners, October 17, 1878. Copy of extract sent to FLO, Oct. 21, 1878.

12 Roper, op.cit., p. 358-362.

13 Ibid., p. 367-378.

14 Albert Fein, Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition, (New York: George Brazilier, 1972), p. 41-52. Fein discusses the changing ideological climate of the United States after the Civil War as a background to Olmsted's social and architectural ideas. He observes in Olmsted's later career, through the 1870's and 1880's, a reaction to social Darwinism, the conservative ideology which stemmed from the idea that the strongest of any species naturally and rightfully survive. Olmsted's opposition to social Darwinism was expressed forcefully through his parks, which were built to serve weak and strong, poor and rich alike. Fein points out that even in botanical terms, Olmsted voiced his objections. He equated the fashion for exotic, rare plants in gardens as an equivalent of social Darwinism, rarity being viewed as survival of the fittest (p.54). Olmsted remained committed to a socially and environmentally functional form of landscape architecture to the end of his career, his ideals developing with those of his times.

15 FLO, Spoils of the Park: with a Few Leaves from the Deep-Laden Notebooks of "A Wholly Unpractical Man" (1882) is an excellent example of the architect's effort to publicize the point of view of the landscape architect

caught in the fray of municipal politics. Similarly, the Special Report of New York State Survey on the Preservation of the Scenery of Niagara Falls, James T. Gardiner ed. (Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen & Sons, 1880) with a chapter, "Notes by Frederick Law Olmsted", is directed at the New York State Legislature and deals with local, specific issues. The publication of Spoils... was an attempt by Olmsted to seek public support for Central Park outside the municipal political system, which was fraught with economic difficulty and patronage, posing grave danger to the existence of the park as Olmsted and Vaux had planned it. (Albert Fein, ed., Landscape into Cityscape, op.cit., p. 385-389). The Niagara Falls preservation project involved the seeking of political support in state and Federal circles because local vested interests were strongly opposed to park development of the site. A publication strategy aided in the success of this campaign. (Albert Fein, Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition, op.cit., p. 41-47).

16 AM, Parcs et Traverses Commission, Dossier 3-01-1, 3. FLO to S.G. Dawson, Aug. 2, 1881 and LC56, ms., FLO to S.G. Dawson, Aug. 15, 1881. The second letter lists recipients of Olmsted's Mount Royal, Montreal.

17 Robert Lewis, "Frontier and Civilization in the Thought of Frederick Law Olmsted", American Quarterly, 29, 1977, p. 385-403.

18 Geoffrey Blodgett, "Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architecture as Conservative Reform", The Journal of American History, Vol. 42, no. 4, March, 1876, p. 869-889. See also J. Meredith Neil, "Olmsted: A Dubious Heritage", Journal of Popular Culture, Vol. 8, no.1, 1974, p. 185-187. Lewis, op.cit. also presents an effective argument.

19 David Bellman, "Frederick Law Olmsted and a plan for Mount Royal Park", David Bellman ed., Mount Royal, Montreal, supplement no. 1, racar, December, 1977.

A.L. Murray, "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Design of Mount Royal Park", Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXVI:3, October, 1967, p. 163-171.

Both these recent histories rely mainly on the text of FLO's Mount Royal, Montreal for primary information concerning the design. Both writers give strong aesthetic analyses of the park design, and the visual and spiritual stimulation which the park visitor would be lead to experience. These bias are reflective of the emphasis of Olmsted's account of his own work, accepted by these writers without adequate criticism or exploration of the

context in which Olmsted's account appeared.

20 FLO, Mount Royal, Montreal, p. 7-8, p. 10.

21 FLO, The Spoils of the Park: With a Few Leaves from the Deep-Laden Notebooks of "A Wholly Unpractical Man" (1882), rpt. in Albert Fein, ed., Landscape into Cityscape, Frederick Law Omsted's Plans for a Greater New York (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1981), p. 437-438.

22 FLO, Mount Royal, Montreal, op.cit., p. 17.

23 Ibid., p. 63.

24 Ibid., p. 78.

25 Ibid., p. 71.

26 AM, ts., Mount Royal, Parc, Dossier 1-A 1903. 1-A Historique Général.

27 LC, Manuscript Division, Olmsted Associates Papers, Box B101, Job number 1777. The Olmsted firm at this time was legally composed of Olmsted Sr., his stepson John C. Olmsted and the talented Charles Eliot (who became a full partner in 1893, and died in 1897, Newton, op.cit., p. 330.) Correspondence concerning the job commenced February 18, 1895 and continued with sporadic advice after the plan was supplied until April 13, 1912. Correspondents were W.J. Robson and H.U. Meredith (of the Bank of Montreal and the Art Association of Montreal, whose personal residences on the southwest corner of Peel and Pine Avenue were laid out by the Olmsted firm between October, 1895 and 1915. LC, Olmsted Associates Papers, Box B24, Job 231).

28 AM, Mount Royal, Parc, Dossier 1903.6-3. The idea of a mechanized elevator on the mountain was proposed in 1875 by A.G. McNish and met with FLO's approval in principle. The elevator known as the Funiculaire was built in 1884 by Lefebvre, ship-builder, A.G. McNish and James Wright, engineers, remaining in operation until 1915. Remains of its foundations can be found today near the edge of the eastern plateau above the crags, while the depression excavated for its tracks remains in the Piedmont area behind the McGill University residences. A replacement for the Funiculaire christened "Montmétro" was proposed in 1933 by L.J. Décary, a tunnel and elevator scheme, never realized (AM, Dossier 1903.6-4).

29 AM, Dossier PT 3-01-1. Report listing park expenditures voted shows $35 000 allotted to park

improvements from 1883 to 1888. A large proportion of this was spent on the "new road".

30 Blodgett, op.cit., and Neil, op.cit.

31 AM, File 025.24-5. William Hingston, Mayor of Montreal, Inaugural address, March 8, 1875.

32 P.A. Linteau et al, op.cit., p. 214.

33 Jean de Bonville, Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit: Les travailleurs montréalais a la fin du XIXe siecle, (Montreal: Les Editions de l'Aurore, 1975).

34 Jules Helbronner, La Presse, Dec. 4, 1893, as cited in De Bonville, op.cit., p. 145.

35 Herbert B. Ames, The City Below the Hill, (1898, rpt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

36 Samuel Dawson, Handbook for the City of Montreal and its environs, with a plan of the City and a geological map of the surrounding country, (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1882), p. 47.

37 LC30, ms., Mount Royal Park Commissioners, report, July 5, 1885.

38 LC30, ms., FLO to D.P. Penhallow, July 20, 1886. FLO referred Penhallow to his views on the subject expressed on page 50 of Mount Royal, Montreal.

39 LC30, ms., William Robb to FLO, Feb. 26, 1886.

40 AM, Mount Royal, Parc, Dossier 1-A, 1903.5-2. Village Canadien.

41 See press clippings in related dossiers in AM, Mont Royal, Parc, Dossier 1-A 1903.6, Transport et circulation.

42 Aline Gubbay, Three Montreal Monuments: An Expression of Nationalism, Diss. Concordia University, 1979.

Appendix I

Architect's Preliminary Report

Mount Royal Park

Transcribed from manuscript material in the Archives of the City of Montreal.

209 West 46th Street
New York
21st November, 1874.

To the Honorable,
the Commissioners of
Mount Royal Park, Montreal.

Gentlemen,

I have the honor to comply with your request that I would repeat in writing the substance of certain observations verbally made to you last Monday, in regard to your property of Mount Royal.

As a general rule rugged and broken ground is the last that should be chosen for a public recreation ground in the immediate vicinity of a large city. It is unnecessary that I should show the objections to it: the simple fact that your property differs so greatly in its topographical characteristics from ground which would be generally and properly described as "park-like" raises a

sufficient presumption that it is unsuitable for a park.

The question whether it can by any means be economically adapted for the purposes for which you intend it is, therefore, just in order, and as it involves a consideration of the main features of a general design for dealing with it, it will be the chief object of my present communication to give you the conclusions of my judgement upon this question, and to indicate more or less distinctly the processes by which they have been reached.

The chief elements of value of all recreation grounds for the use of the general public of large towns are, 1st the change of air afforded, 2nd the power of the scenery to counteract conditions which tend to nervous depression or irritability, 3rd the ease and pleasure with which these advantages may be used.

Of the first two of these elements of value, Mount Royal, in its present unimproved condition, offers a larger measure than any other place equally near to so large a population of which I have knowledge, and by judicious means, as I shall indicate further on, its advantages of scenery may be heightened and its disadvantages lessened. The question, then, is, whether its possible value in these respects can be made available with due care, comfort and economy? My doubts on this point were rapidly lessened after I got above the craggy face of the mountain toward the city and found myself upon a surface but moderately broken and rugged and essentially

an undulating and wooded table-land, from nearly all points of which broad and delightful distant landscapes are commanded.

A survey of this district soon satisfied me that as far as roads, walks, seats and other conveniences of exercise, rest and refreshment are concerned, there is no extraordinary difficulty in providing within it all that is essential to your purpose except as it may arise from the necessity of unusual precautions against the bolting of horses and the slipping of heedless persons over the steep declivities, and of establishing, not merely security in this respect, but, a tranquilizing sense of security in the minds of all classes of visitors.

Passing this point as one of detail, it is a more important and difficult branch of the question whether, these advantages being provided, the use of them can be had by the people generally of the city, with moderate ease, comfort and cheapness? The conditions necessary to be considered before giving an answer will perhaps be better recognized if the inquiry is made from the point of a physician considering the case of a poor patient, feeble, timid and nervous; or of a convalescent to whom change of air and scene would be highly beneficial provided it could be had without too much fatigue, discomfort or exciting anxiety. First, then the physician has to reflect whether what is likely to be gained through quiet, pleasurable recreation while moving or resting in

the fresh air of the mountain is likely to be neutralized or worse, through the fatigue, worry and excitement that will be suffered in the journey to and from it? And, second, he has to consider whether this patient can afford the cost of the excursion? The conclusions, which, in course of time, will be reached in thousands of such cases, will be favorable or unfavorable to the chances of recovery, or of rapid, or prolonged and tedious convalescence, of the patient, according to the arrangements which you will determine to make. Considering what is practicable, I find two possible routes for ascending the mountain without going to the rear of it. One on the north and northwest side, the other on the north east and east. The first is more inviting near the base but in the upper half of it tolerable grades and curves, for a road of desirable breadth, can only be obtained at great expense and, the ground being valuable for another purpose, I am disposed to think, at least for years to come, it will be better to have but a single main approach-road and that on the east side.

Here, from the top of the mountain as far down, at least, as the McTavish monument there is no extraordinary difficulty in the way of preparing a road, two rods wide, by which a carriage may be driven up or down at a steady moderate trot, moving smoothly and quietly, while beautiful distant views are opening to the south and west through frames of foliage that shut out any discordant

nearer objects. A satisfactory connection might be made, though with more difficulty, between the mountain road at the monument and the nearest streets of the city now in use. But the grades of these streets are so much steeper than those of the roads above need to be, that, whether in ascending or descending, horses would be brought to a walk and in passing through them at those periods of the day when the park would be most attractive and its influence most beneficial, all the annoyances and dangers of a blocked street would often be experienced.

Those who have given little consideration to the subject will probably think that Montreal will hardly ever supply such a stream of travel to the mountain as I seem to imagine. I will remark therefore, that no experience of Montreal under existing circumstances will much aid in judgement of what will result from a perfection of proper arrangements for pleasure driving, as a few facts will indicate. For instance since the opening of the park drives in New York the number of persons keeping private carriages is estimated to have increased fully ten fold, the number and value of public carriages adapted to pleasure driving having also in the same period increased at a rate far beyond that of population and wealth. In Brooklyn the number of private carriages was thought to have doubled in two years after the opening of the park. A similar though less marked experience has been had in Buffalo, Chicago and other American towns. The value of a

pleasure carriage is, in fact, found to have been unknown as long as its use was limited to ordinary streets and roads.

Montreal is a prosperous city and rapidly enlarging its borders; the number of people able to keep carriages will in time be much greater than at present; the number able to employ public carriages will increase even more rapidly. The views commanded from the mountain - surpassing in expanse, beauty and variety those of any of the common tourist resorts on the continent - will, when they can be enjoyed with such ease and comfort as it will be practicable for you to secure, add largely to the numbers of the visitors staying in the city who will supply another element in the throng to be accomodated.

A reasonable consideration of these conditions and probabilities will satisfy you that if the future travel to the mountain is to be all or mainly directed into any one of the existing streets by which the vicinity of the McTavish monument is approached from the lower ground it would be wholly inadequate to carry it except in a way which would be extremely tedious, provoking and often alarming.

largely augmented for, to ascend a grade like that of Peel, or worse, of McTavish Street, two horses would be required to move a load such as one would take with equal ease above, and the rate of wear and tear not only of horses, but of harness, carriage and roadway, would be fully doubled.

Under such an arrangement the dividends to be obtained from the capital you shall invest in all your park arrangements will be seriously less than they will be if you make such other approaches as I trust to be practicable. What ought to be hoped for in respect to the cost of a drive will be evident from what is accomplished elsewhere. For instance, the ordinary charge for carriage hire in the streets of New York is nearly double what it is in Montreal but the Park Commissioners of New York have had no difficulty in causing a dozen or more carriages to be provided, comfortable low-hung covered vehicles suitable for weakly persons in which passengers are taken at a rate of fare of four cents a mile for a course of five miles, or of five cents a mile for a course of 2-1/2 miles. In Brooklyn and Philadelphia the Park Commissioners have done still better than this and the difficulty of doing better in your case is less in the topography of the mountain than in the way your city has thus far been laid out and built up.

My present object is rather to show what should be the line of study to be pursued in planning your proposed

improvements than to offer you even a suggestion of a plan for them but, to illustrate what I should hope to be practicable in respect to the approaches below the mountain, I will say that it might be something like this: To extend the road which I have suggested would be led spirally down the mountain-side from the southward with a regular moderate descent along the rear of Sir Hugh Allan's grounds and afterwards by a more devious course across the steep and broken slopes to the northward, until, in the rear of the Hotel Dieu, existing streets are reached running with an easy grade, in one direction, to the heart of the city, in the other, skirting its present advanced building line parallel to and on the side opposite the river front. It might then be further extended in the latter direction in the form of a broad boulevard or park-way exclusively for the use of pleasure carriages, crossing all the streets running from the river.

This being done, from whatever part of the City north of Victoria Square, carriages should be started to go to the mountain they would enter the park drive north of the steep foot-slopes and, until this drive was reached and they were disengaged from all other street traffic, they would nowhere be concentrated or add materially to the ordinary number of vehicles in any street, while the average time required for entering upon a smooth, quiet road with no liability to street obstructions would be

less than half as much as it would if the park drive was first to be found south of the Reservoir. For the accomodation of those living to the south of Victoria Square, special branch approaches would be required, one of which should be to the north of the Reservoir, another to the south of the McTavish monument. An additional sub-route of approach still further south is practicable through land not yet expensively improved, and two others from the Côte-des-Neiges road. Foot approaches should closely follow the main carriage approach and its laterals, but it is desirable that there should also be one broad, easy walk to the top of the mountain having attractions peculiar to itself, and several minor footpaths scaling the crags more directly. Whenever street railways shall be laid to the foot of the mountain, an inclined lift or elevator will likewise be desirable to save feeble persons and young children the hard toil of its ascent.

Reverting to the matter of the general aspect of the scenery of the mountain, I would observe that the distant prospects in all direction offer such controlling attractions that some of them being commanded from nearly all parts of the ground, the immediate local landscape conditions are of much less consequence than they usually are in pleasure grounds and that it is not undesirable that they should be subdued in character. Operations for their improvement should, therefore, not be ambitious, and

should be intended first, to relieve the surface of the mountain of the accidental and transient conditions through which it has at present an unnecessarily desolate and melancholy aspect; next, without destroying the essential picturesqueness of its natural features, to add a greater beauty of foliage; next to hold attention in directions where the finest views will be seen to the best advantage and to furnish them with more harmonious and better composed foregrounds; next to subordinate and as far as may be practicable obscure with suitable natural objects the constructions necessary to the convenient use of the ground (as these must in the end, be extensive and more or less too fine for harmony with its general character), and finally to avoid in these and all respects an ordinary conventional gardening style of work, as finical, unseemly and out of character with the genius of the place.

I omit the observations made to you verbally in regard to the desirableness of a small park proper, in distinction from the larger mountain and forest district of your ground because of the impossibility of doing justice to the subject without the advantage of demonstration on the site or over a sufficient topographical map. I will merely obseeve that you have, in addition to the ground which I have here considered, a small area of a different character and that it is fortunately situated to serve as a foil, through its

natural amenity and the simple quiet, secluded and pastoral character which can be given it, to the grandly bold and rugged heights and declivities of the main body.

Surveying the whole property with due regard for the considerations I have indicated, assuming that the treatment of the mountain top shall be such as I have advised, and that some such arrangements as I have also suggested shall be provided by which access to and the ascent of the mountain shall be made as rapid, cheap, convenient and comfortable as is practicable, it will be seen that there is no reason to doubt that a public recreation ground can be formed within the limits of your property which shall compare favorably as a means of health for the people who are to be invited to use it with that of any other city of the world.

You are to be congratulated upon the good judgement which has governed the selection of the parcels of land which you have had to purchase and in the good fortune which has allowed you to find so large an aggregate body of land on the immediate border of the city which could be acquired without charge for costly improvements. Parts of some of the properties which you have obtained may I think be regarded as relatively unimportant for your purpose and with a view to limit the cost of your undertaking may be otherwise disposed of. There are yet also, on the boundaries of your ground, some small patches, of which with a view to keeping under your control the best

landscape effects, you should, if possible, obtain possession. I can not at present accurately define the bounds of these fragments but have no doubt that those which I think may be dispensed with will exceed in market value those which I should recommend to be acquired.

I beg to express my obligations to Mr. MacQuisten, your city surveyor, Mr. Smith, his deputy, and Mr. McGibbon, your Superintendent, for their cheerful, zealous and valuable assistance in my examination of the ground.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

Fred. Law Olmsted.

Appendix II

Architect's Contract

Mount Royal Park

Transcribed from manuscript material in the Archives of the City of Montreal

209 West 46th Street,
New York, 23d Nov. 1874.

To the Honorable
the Commissioners of
Mount Royal Park, Montreal.

Gentlemen,

I herein transcribe the draft of a proposition made to you last Monday, with modifications as desired by you, and as I understand, then provisionally accepted.

Forecasting your undertaking I judge that the principal construction work for the next year should be that of a road and of one or more walks by which the mountain can be ascended, and as I much prefer before maturing a design for laying out the top of the mountain, to have an opportunity of more carefully studying its summer conditions, I make the following propositions:-

1st. I will furnish you before the first day of May next with a plan showing the changes I shall recommend to be made in the boundaries of your property, and a plan of approach roads and such other matters as it will in my judgement be feasible and desirable for you to operate upon during the working season of 1875; together with such general indications of the main features of a plan for the whole as will be necessary to an intelligent judgement upon the parts of the plan more fully matured and submitted for your adoption.

2d. I will subsequently furnish you with a general plan for laying out your whole property on a scale of one hundred feet to the inch; also, if any recommendations as to change of boundary are adopted, with a special plan for the proposed little park district on a scale of fifty feet to the inch; and another for certain parts of the property which you will be recommended to sell showing proposed streets and lots.

3d. I will also give you a general report describing and explaining the plans, giving the reasons for their several important features and advice as to the method of carrying them out.

4th. I will deliver all the above plans and the report before the first of May (or before they shall be required with reference to the opening of operations in the Spring) of 1876, and until I deliver them, will give you such services as advisory Landscape Architect as I

deem to be necessary, without special charge.

5th. On the presumption that the ground to be covered does not materially exceed five hundred acres (530) and that no change or addition to your scheme will be made adding essentially to my responsibility, I will receive as my full compensation for the above specified services a sum of money equivalent to Five Thousand dollars in United States currency, to be paid to me in New York, as follows: five hundred dollars on or before the tenth day of January 1875; five hundred dollars within thirty days after the delivery of the first plan and the remaining sum of four thousand dollars at the completion of this engagement (unless on evidence of progress in the mean time you shall on my application deem it just to pay one a part of the same on account). I shall also require that you reimburse me, for all outlays in necessary traveling expenses and other expenses incurred under your special instruction, from time to time and that all desirable aid and facilities shall be given me whereby my work when on the ground shall be better advanced and proceed more advantageously for your interest.

It will of course be a condition of this arrangement that you furnish me with a copy of the topographical map now in preparation, as you have agreed to do, in due time, say before the 1st of February next.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obt. servant,
Fred. Law Olmsted.

Bibliography

The bibliography is organized to reflect the main subjects touched by the thesis. These include Canadian urban history, the history of landscape architecture and Frederick Law Olmsted's life and work. An attempt has been made to limit the content of the bibliography to the specificity of the topic. A breakdown of the listing into recent and period sources seemed appropriate, except in the section pertaining to Olmsted, where much of the primary material has been recently edited and republished in various anthologies, but where the unpublished material is often equally of interest. Finally, the recent articles were separated from the book-length works for the convenience of the library user. A section listing bibliographic works was included due to the sheer volume of the material available on the broader aspects of the subject areas.

Recent Sources - General Books

Appleton, Jay. The Experience of Landscape. London: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

Bender, Thomas. Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975.

Bonville, Jean de. Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit: Les Travailleurs Montréalais à la fin du XIXè siècle. Montréal: Les Editions de l'Aurore, 1975.

Brown, Clement. Québec: Croissance d'une Ville. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1952.

Buckley, A.R. Trees and Shrubs of the Dominion Arboretum. Ottawa: Research Branch, Agriculture Canada, 1980.

Byrne, A.R. Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area before 1911. Studies in Land Use History and Landscape Change. National Park Series, no. 1. Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1968.

Cameron, Christina, and Jean Trudel. The Drawings of James Cockburn: A Visit through Québec's Past. Canada: Gage Publishing, 1976.

Clark, C.S. Of Toronto the Good. Toronto: The Toronto Publishing Co., 1898.

Collard, Edgar Andrew. The Story of Dominion Square/Place du Canada. Don Mills, Ont.: Longman's, Canada, 1971.

Cooper, John Irwin. Montreal: A Brief History. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969.

Copp, J.T. The Anatomy of Poverty: The Conditions of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

Dubreuil, G. and G. Tarrab. Culture, Territoire et Aménagement. Montréal: Georges le Pape éditeur, 1976.

Filteau, Gérard. Histoire des Patriotes. Montréal, 1938; rpt. Montréal: Les éditions de l'Aurore, 1975.

Gagnon-Pratte, France. L'architecture et la nature à Québec au 19e siècle: les villas. Québec: Musée du Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1980.

Gubbay, Aline. "Three Montréal Monuments: An Expression of Nationalism". Diss. Concordia University, 1978.

----------, and Sally Hooff. Montréal's Little Mountain: A Portrait of Westmount. Montréal: McCord Museum, 1979.

Hamelin, Jean. Histoire du Québec. St. Hyacinthe: édisem inc., 1976.

Hébert, Bruno. Monuments et patrie: Une réflexion philosophique sur un fait historique: La célébration commémorative au Québec de 1881 à 1929. Joliette: Les Editions Pleins Bords, 1980.

Hoffman, Andrew Ygal. "City Squares and Open Spaces with Special Reference to Montreal". Diss. McGill University, 1962.

Hubbard, R.H. Thomas Davies. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1972.

Hunt, John D. and Peter Willis, ed. The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820. London: Paul Elek, 1975.

Huth, Hans. Nature and the American: three centuries of changing attitudes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.

Hyams, Edward. Capability Brown and Humphrey Repton. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1971.

Jenkins, Kathleen. Montreal, Island City of the St. Lawrence. New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1966.

Jones, Barbara. Follies and Grottoes. London: Constable, 1953.

Kaufman, Peter Samuel. The Boston Municipal Parks System c.1875 - c. 1895. Providence, R.I.: Brown University, 1969.

Laidler, Harry W. History of Socialism. New York: Apollo Editions; Thomas W. Crowell Co., 1968.

Lanctot, Gustav. François Xavier Garneau. Ed. Lorne Albert Pierce and Victor Morin. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1923.

Linteau, P.-A., René Durocher, J.-C. Robert and F.-M. Gagnon. Histoire du Québec contemporain de la Confédération à la crise 1867-1929. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1979.

Lothian, W.F. A History of Canada's National Parks. 2 vols. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977.

Manning, Helen Taft. The Revolt of French Canada 1800-

1835. Toronto: The MacMillan Co. of Canada, 1962.

Manuel, Frank E. and Fritzie P. Manuel. Utopian Thought in the Western World. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1979.

Marsan, Jean-Claude. Montréal en évolution: Historique du développement de l'architecture et de l'environnement montréalais. Montréal: Fides, 1974.

Marx, Leo. The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Monière, Denis. Le Développment des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours. Montréal: Editions Québec/Amérique, 1977.

Mumford, Lewis. The Brown Decades. New York, N.Y.: Harcourt Brace, 1931.

----------. The Story of Utopias. 1922; rpt. New York, N.Y.: Viking Press, 1966.

Nash, Roderick. Wilderness and the American Mind. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.

Nelson, James Gordon, ed. The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow. Calgary: University of Calgary, Alberta Press, n.d.

Nelson, W. Wolfred Nelson et son temps. Montréal: Editions du Flambeau, 1947.

Newton, Norman T. Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.

Nicol, Eric. Vancouver. Toronto: Doubleday, 1970.

Noppen, Luc, Paulette, Claude and Tremblay, Michel. Québec - Trois siècles d'architecture. Québec: Editions Libre Expression, 1979.

Pevsner, N., ed. The Picturesque Garden and its Influence outside the British Isles. Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia II.

Reid, Dennis. Our own country Canada: Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979.

Rumilly, Robert. Histoire de Montréal. 4 vols. Montréal: Fides, 1970.

Russell, D.J. "H.B. Ames as Municipal Reform". Diss. McGill University, 1971.

Stein, Roger B. John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America 1840-1900. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Scott, M.G. American City Planning Since 1890. Berkley, Calif.: California University Press, 1968.

Smith, F.C. The Montreal Water Works: Its History Compiled from the Year 1800-1912. Montréal, 1913.

Stelter, Gilbert A. and Artibise, Alan J., eds. The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History. Carleton Library No. 109. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1979.

Students of the Toronto Island School. A History of the Toronto Islands. Toronto, 1972.

Thurston, Hazel. Royal Parks for the People. London: David and Charles, 1974.

Toker, Franklin. The Church of Notre-Dame in Montréal: An Architectural History. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970.

Tod, Ian and Wheeler, Michael. Utopia. New York,N.Y.: Harmony Books, 1978.

Tougas, Gérard. Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française. 3rd ed. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1966.

Trancik, Roger. Olmsted's Park System as Vehicle in Boston: Urban Open Space, History, Analysis and Proposals 1875-1975. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, Department of Landscape Architecture, 1973.

Tulchinsky, G.J.J. The River Barons-Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation 1837-1853. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Van Nus, Walter. "The Plan-makers and the city-Architects, engineers, surveyors and urban planning in Canada". Diss. University of Toronto.

Williams, M.B. Jasper National Park. Hamilton, Saskatoon, Vancouver: H.R. Larson Publishing Co., 1949.

Wurman, Richard, et al. The Nature of Recreation: A Handbook in honour of Frederick Law Olmsted. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, American Federation of Arts, 1972.

Recent Sources - Articles

Bellman, David. "Frederick Law Olmsted and a plan for Mount Royal Park." Mount Royal, Montreal, David Bellman, ed. Montréal: McCord Museum, 1977.

Beveridge, Charles E. "Frederick Law Olmsted's Theory of Landscape Design", Nineteenth Century. Rpt., n. pag., n.d.

Blodgett, Geoffrey. "Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architecture as Conservative Reform." Journal of American History, 42, No. 4, March 1976.

Buggey, Susan and John J. Stewart. "Lakehurst and Beechcroft, 'Roches Point, Ontario, Canada." Journal of Garden History, I, No. 2, 147-166.

Collard, Edgar Andrew. "Of Many Things...how Mount Royal became a Park." Montreal Gazette, 23 June 1972, p.14.

Collard, Edgar Andrew. "Of Many Things...the mountain that seemed so far away." Montreal Gazette, 17 June, 1972, p.14.

Davis, Chuck and Robert Watt. "The Origins of Stanley Park." In The Vancouver Book. Ed. Chuck Davis. Vancouver: Evergreen Press, 1976.

French, Stanley. "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement." American Quarterly, No. 26, March 1974, 37-39.

Jacobs, Peter. "Le Role historique de Frederick Todd."

Architecture de paysage, 1, No. 4, January, 1978.

Lambert, Phyllis. "A Selection of Documentary Prints of Montreal with notes on Urban Growth." In *Mount Royal, Montreal*, Ed. David Bellman. Montréal: McCord Museum, 1978.

Lewis, Robert. "Frontier and Civilization in the thought of Frederick Law Olmsted." *American Quarterly*, No. 29, 1977, 285-403.

Lubove, Roy. "Social History and the History of Landscape Architecture." *Journal of Social History*, 9, 1975, 268-275.

McKee, W.C. "The Vancouver Park System: A Product of Local Businessmen." *Urban History Review*, 3, No. 78, February 1979, 33-49.

Marsan, Jean-Claude. "Le Parc du Mont-Royal à cent ans." *Vie des Arts*, XIX, No. 75, Eté 1974, 17-22.

Murray, A.L. "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Design of Mount Royal Park." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVI, No. 3, October 1967, 163-171.

Meredith, Neil J. "Olmsted: A dubious Heritage." *Journal of Popular Culture*, 8, No. 1, 1974, 185-187.

Rettig, Stephen. "Influences across the water: Olmsted and England." In *Art of the Olmsted Landscape*. Eds. Bruce Kelly et al. New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission and The Arts Publisher, 1981.

Simpson, Michael. "Two Traditions of American planning:

Olmsted and Burnham." Town Planning Review, 47, April 1976, 174-179.

Smithson, Robert. "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Dialectical Landscape." Art forum, February 1973, 62-68.

Stewart, Ian R. "Politics and the Park: the fight for Central Park." New York Historical Society Quarterly, 61, 1967, 124-155.

Stewart, John J. "Notes on Calvert Vaux's 1873 Design for the Public Grounds of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa." Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin, VIII, No. 1, 1-9.

Zaitevsky, C. "The Olmsted firm and the structures of the Boston Park System." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 32, part 2, May 1973, 167-174.

Period Sources - General

Achintre, August and L.A. Crévier. L'Ile Ste-Hélène. Montréal: n.p., 1876.

A French Canadian. "Monuments to French Heroes." Montreal Gazette, 4 Dec., 1867, 1.

Ames, H.B. The City Below the Hill. 1898, rpt., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Black's Picturesque Tourist of England. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1868.

Bouchette, Joseph. The British Dominions in North

America. London: n.p., 1831.

Carré, W.H. Art Work on Montreal. Montréal: 1898.

Charles Eliot Landscape Architect: a lover of nature and of his kind, who trained himself for a new profession, practised it happily and through it wrought much good. 1902, rpt. Freeport, N.Y.: Book for Librairies Press, 1971.

Chisholm, C.R. Montreal Illustrated: Strangers' Guide to Montreal 1875. Montréal: C.R. Chisholm and Bros., 1875.

Cook, Clarence. A description of the New York Central Park. 1869, rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom Inc., 1972.

Dawson, Samuel Edward. Handbook for the City of Montreal 1882. Montréal: Dawson Brothers, 1882.

Desrosiers, Joseph. "Sur la montagne". Bazar, No. 14, 14 September, 1886, 165.

Downing, Andrew Jackson. A Treatise on the theory and practice of Landscape Gardening adapted to North America with a new to the improvement of country residences... 2nd ed. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1844.

----------. The Architecture of Country Houses. 1850, rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968.

Duncan, John M. Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819. 2 vols. Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1823.

Garneau, François-Xavier. Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours. 4 vols. 4th ed. Montréal: Beauchemin et Valois, 1882.

----------. Voyage en Angleterre et en France dans les années 1831, 1832 et 1833. 1854, rpt. Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1968.

Hand-guide to Montreal with a map of the city. Montréal: J.S. Brazeau, pub., n.d.

Jameson, Anna Brownell. Winter Studies and Summer Rambles. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1943.

MacQuisten, Patrick. Report of the City Surveyor, 1863. Montréal: City Hall, 1863.

Massicotte, E.Z. Le Bon Vieux Temps. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1924.

Mulvaney, C. Pelham. Toronto Past and Present, A Handbook of the City. Toronto: W.E. Caiger, Publisher, 1884.

Sanitas. "Infant Mortality." Montreal Gazette, XCIII, No. 181, 1 Aug. 1867, 2.

"Summary - this day." Montreal Gazette, XCIII, No. 225, 21 Sept. 1867, 2.

"Summary - this day." Montreal Gazette, XCIII, No. 262, 4 Nov. 1867, 2.

Vaux, Calvert. Villas and Cottages. 1857, rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968.

"57 VIC. The Queen's Birthday." Montreal Evening Star. 25 May 1876, 1.

Frederick Law Olmsted -
Writings and Recent Sources
(See also Recent Sources-Articles)

Barlow, Elizabeth. Frederick Law Olmsted's New York. New York: Praeger, 1972.

Fabos, Julius G., Gordon T. Wilde and V. Michael Weinmayer. Frederick Law Olmsted Sr., Founder of Landscape Architecture in America. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968.

Fein, Albert. Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition. New York: Braziller, 1972.

Kelly, Bruce, Gail Travis Guillet and Mary Ellen W. Hern, eds. Art of the Olmsted Landscape. New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission and The Arts Publisher, 1981.

Mitchell,Broadus. Frederick Law Olmsted: A Critic of the Old South. 2nd ed. 1924, rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1968.

Olmsted, Frederick Law. A Consideration of the Justifying Value of a Public Park. Boston: Tolman and White, 1881.

----------. A Journey in the seaboard slave states, with remarks on their economy. New York: Dix and Edward, 1856.

----------. A Journey through Texas or a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier with a Statistical Appendix New York: Dix, Edwards and Co., 1857.

----------. Civilizing American Cities: A Selection of Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscapes. Ed. S.B. Sutton. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971.

----------. Forty Years of Landscape Architecture: Central Park. Eds. F.L. Olmsted Jr. and Theodora Kimball. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1973.

----------. Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York City. Ed. and introd. Albert Fein. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1967.

----------. Mount Royal, Montreal. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.

----------. Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns. Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1870.

----------. Spoils of the Park, with a Few Leaves from the Deep-Laden Note-books of a "Wholly Unpractical Man". Detroit: 1882.

----------. The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted Vol. 1 The Formative Years. 1822-1852. Eds. Charles Capen McLaughlin and Charles E. Beveridge. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

----------. Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852.

----------. "The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees." Landscape Architecture. XLIII, No. 17, 1952, 20-23.

---------- and Calvert Vaux. "Description of a plan for

the improvement of the Central Park, "Greensward", 1858". Rpt. in Forty Years of Landscape Architecture: Central Park. Eds. Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Theodora Kimball. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1973.

---------- and Calvert Vaux. General Plan for the Improvement of the Niagara Reservation. New York: M.B. Brown, 1887.

---------- and James T. Gardner. Special Report of the New York State Survey on the Preservation of the Scenery of Niagara Falls and Fourth Annual Report on the Triangulation of the State for the year 1879. Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen and Sons, 1880.

----------, W.C. Ralston, George H. Howard and G.W. Beaver. The production of wine in California, particularly referring to the establishment of the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society. San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1865.

Roper, Laura Wood. FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Simpson, Jeffrey and Mary Ellen W. Hern. Art of the Olmsted Landscape: His Works in New York City. New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission and The Arts Publisher, 1981.

Stevenson, Elizabeth. Park Maker: A Life of Frederick Law Olmsted. New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc.,

1977.

Zaitevsky, Cynthia. Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Bibliographic Sources

Alex, William. Survey: Inventory of the Frederick Law Olmsted Office. ms. in the Francis Loeb Library, Harvard University.

An Olmsted Bibliography. Franklin Park Coalition Bulletin. No. 2, July 1978.

Archives de la Ville de Montréal. Files listed by subject under Mont-Royal, Parc, Dossier 1-A 1903.

Frederick Law Olmsted: A Register of His Papers in the Library of Congress. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977.

Germain, Annick. "Histoire urbaine et histoire de l'urbanisation au Québec: brève revue des travaux réalisés au cours de la décennie". Urban History Review. No. 3-78, February 1979, 3-22.

Stelter, Gilbert. "Current Research in Canadian Urban History." Urban History Review. No. 13, February 1976, 27-36.

Moe, Christine E. Frederick Law Olmsted, Landscape Architect, Urban Planner. Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, Architecture Series, 1979.

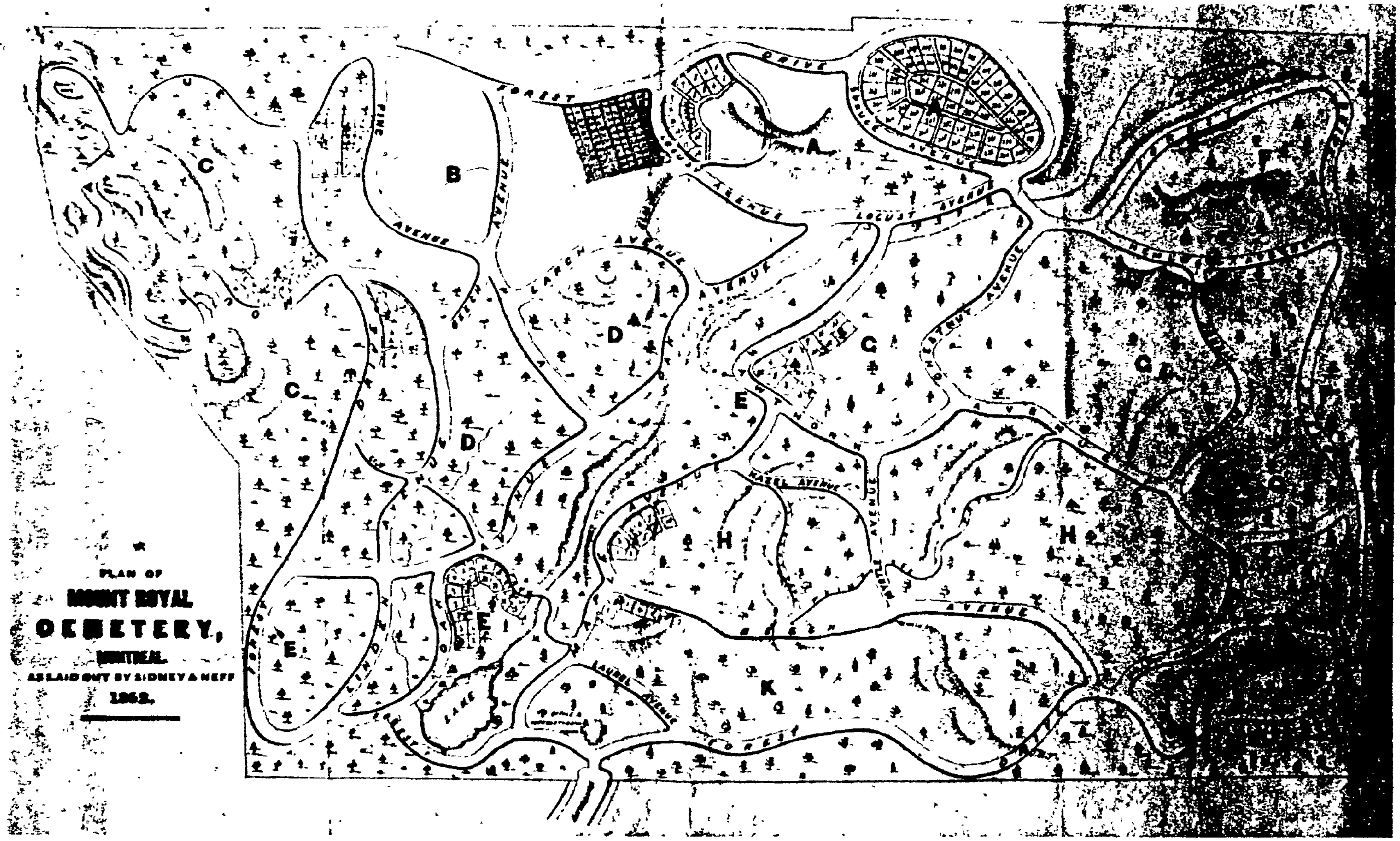
Van Nus, Walter. "Sources for the History of Urban

Planning in Canada 1890-1939." Urban History Review. No.1-76, June 1976, 6-9.

VIEW OF THE CITY OF MONTREAL.

COURT ROYAL

MONTREAL

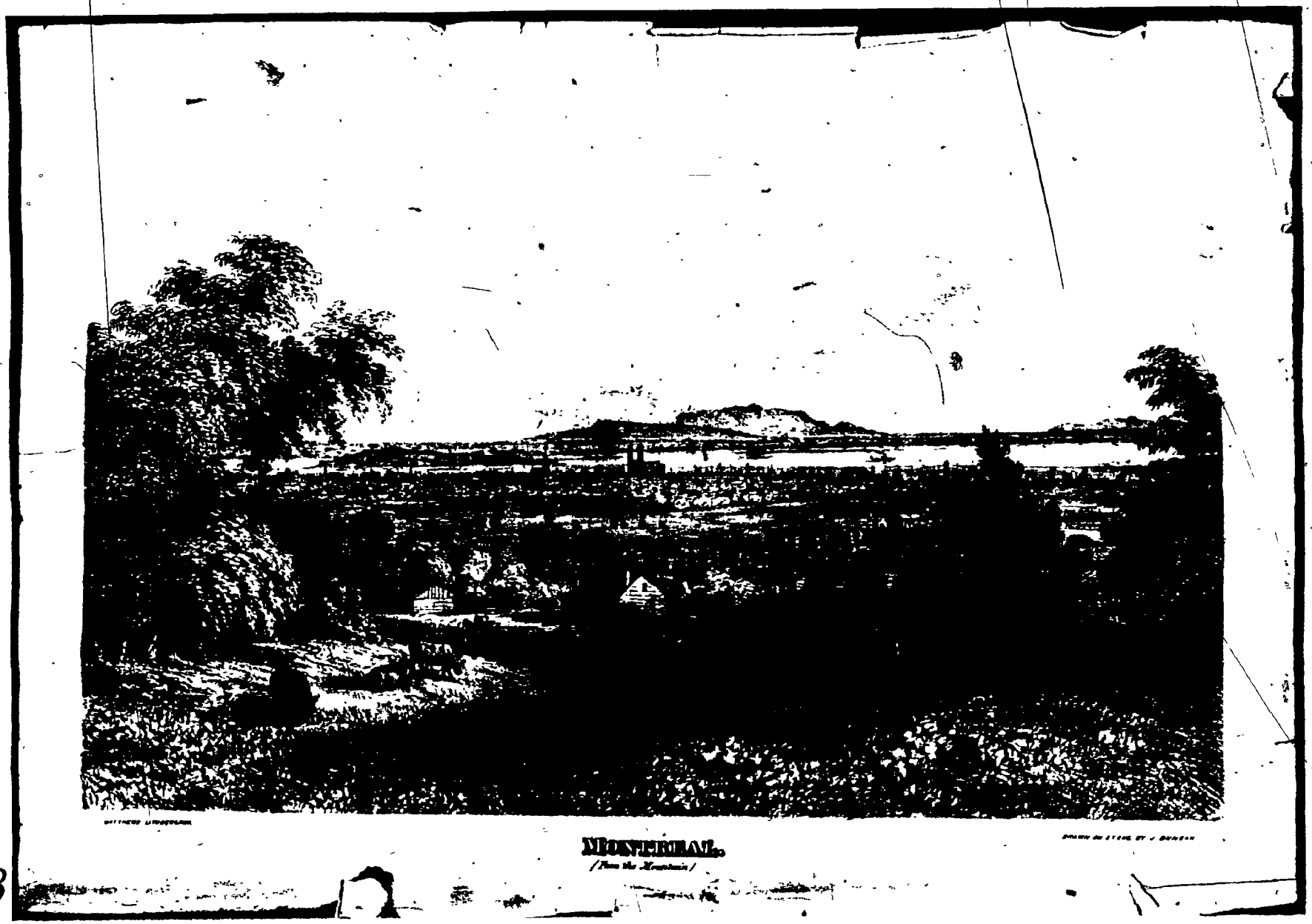

PLAN OF
MOUNT ROYAL
CEMETERY,
MONTREAL.
AS LAID OUT BY SIDNEY & NEFF
1852.
A
B
C
D
E
H
K
G
FOREST
PINE
AVENUE
DRIVE
SPRUCE AVENUE
LOCUST AVENUE
LARCH AVENUE
CHESTNUT AVENUE
HAZEL AVENUE
LAUREL AVENUE
LAKE

4

5

Engraved by John Hinds

6 A View of the City of Montreal & the River St Laurence from the Mountain

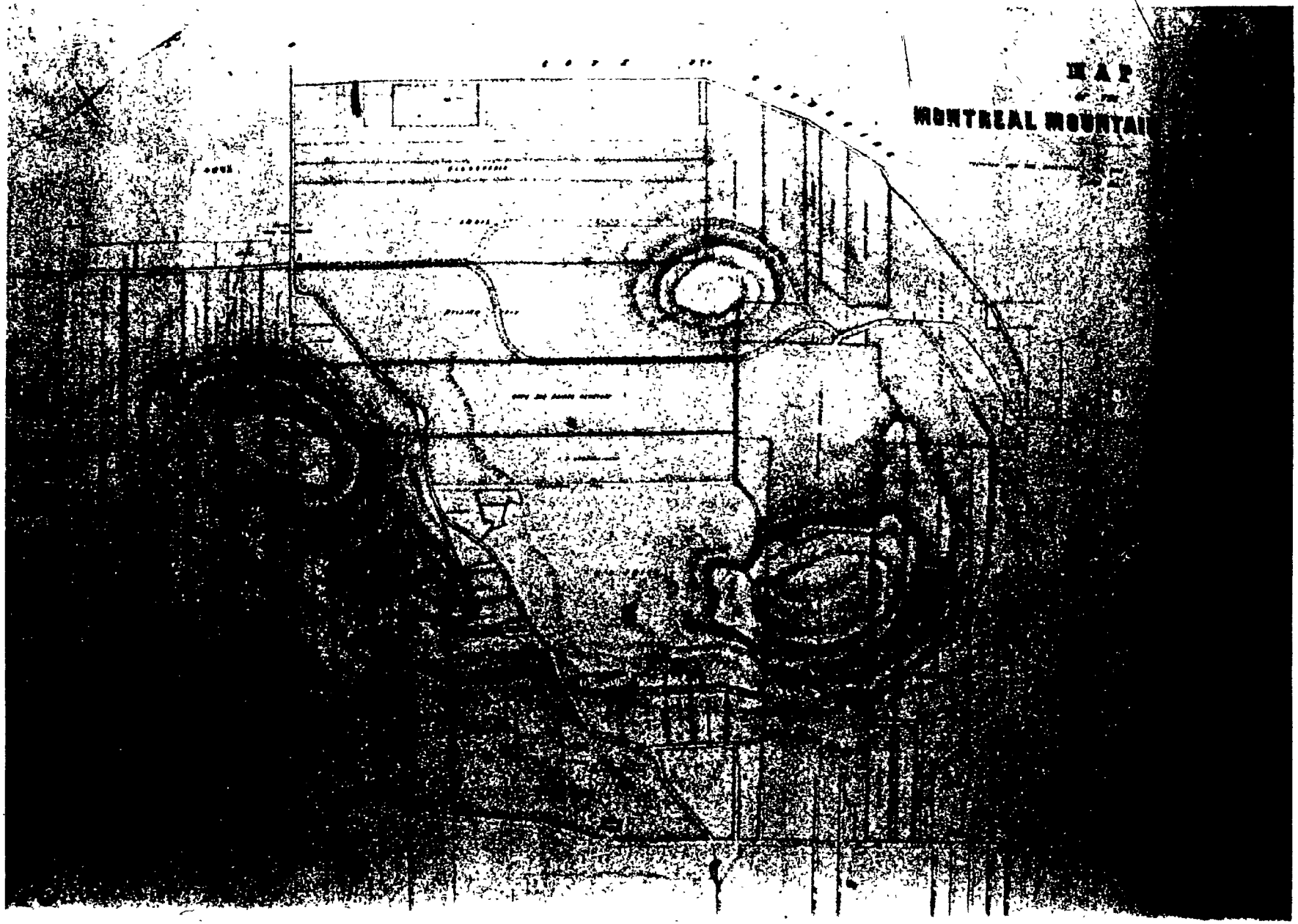


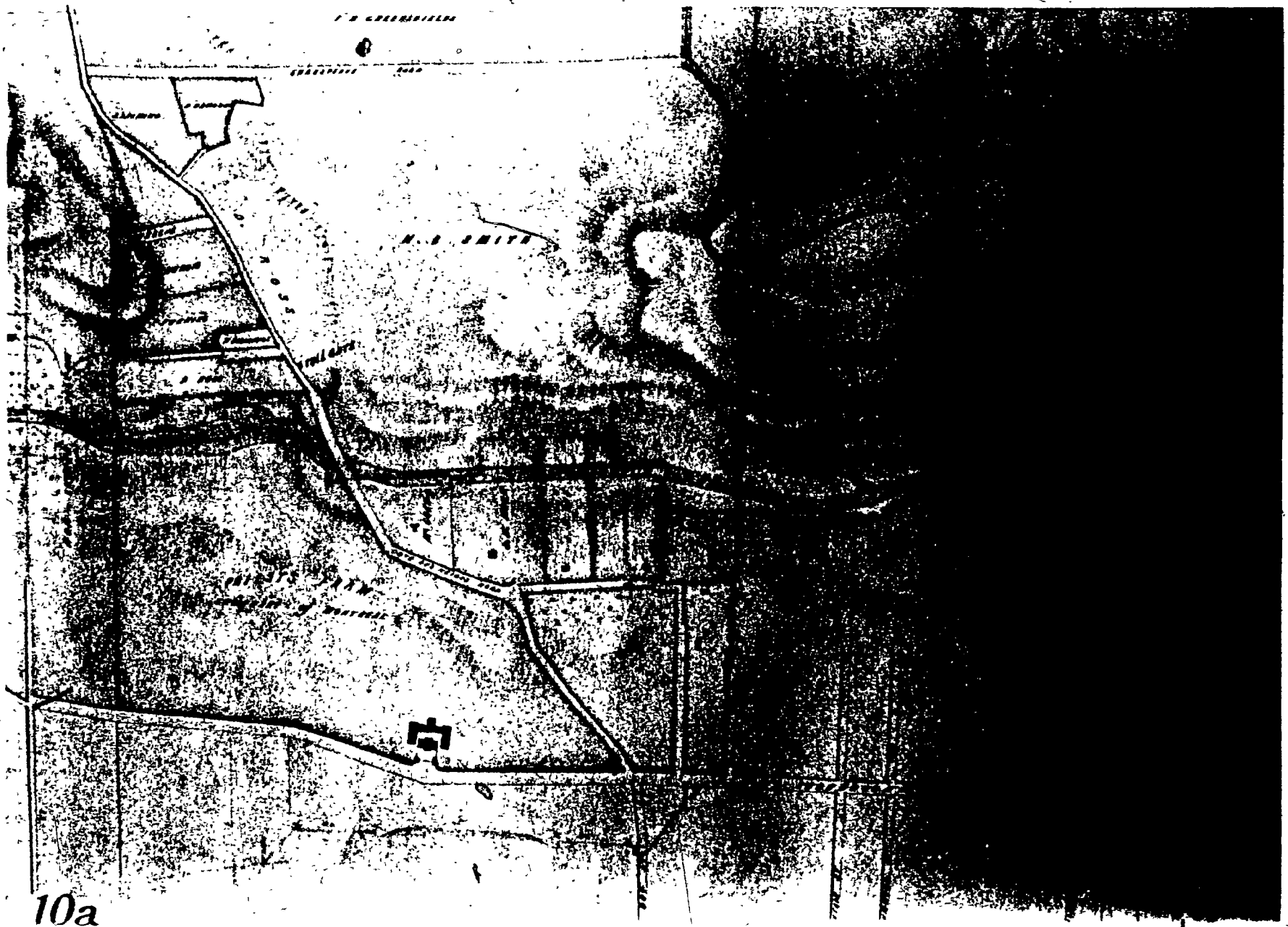
MONTREAL.
(From the Mountain)

VIEWS OF THE CITY OF MONTREAL, CANADA, EAST

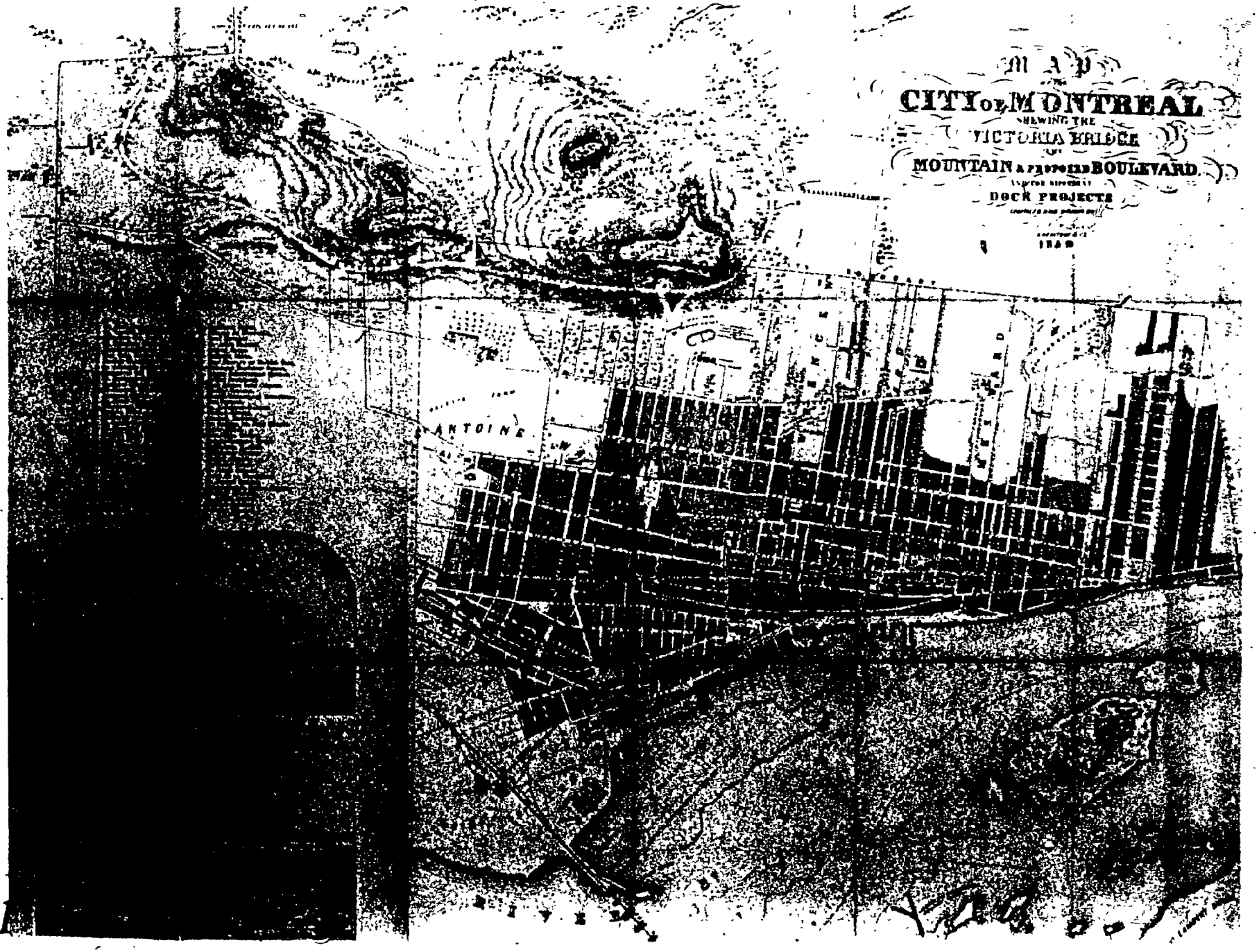
VIEW OF THE CITY FROM THE ROYAL MOUNT FROM VICTORIA BRIDGE OVER THE ST. LAWRENCE—FROM A DRAWING BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST W. H. ANDREWS

MONTREAL FROM THE ST. LAWRENCE, SHOWING THE MOUNT ROYAL—FROM A DRAWING BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST W. H. ANDREWS

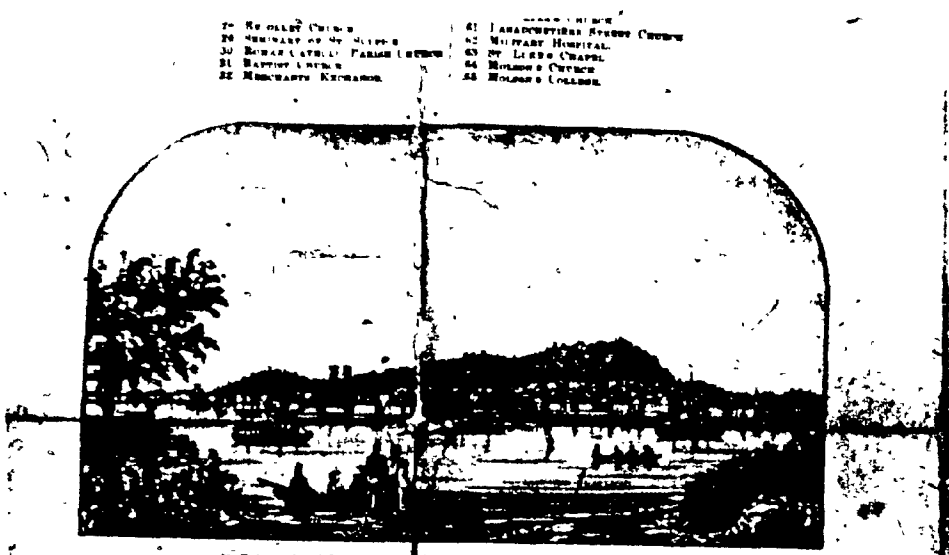

MAP
MONTREAL MOUNTAI



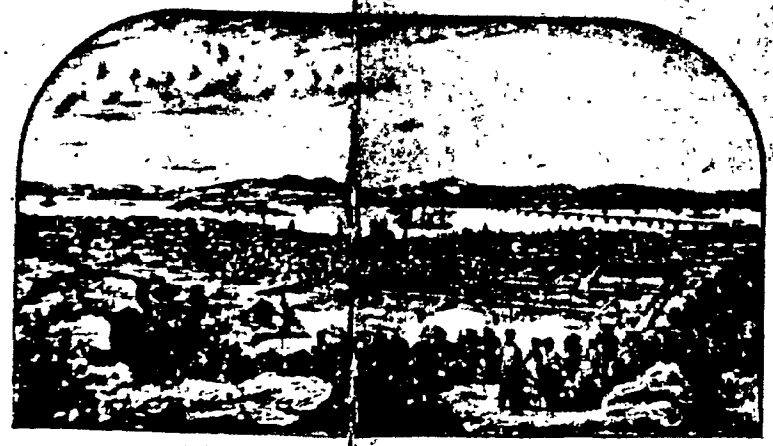
10a


MAP
CITY of MONTREAL
SHEWING THE
VICTORIA BRIDGE
MOUNTAIN & PROPOSED BOULEVARD
DOCK PROJECTS
1849
ANTOINE

11a



VIEW OF MONTREAL FROM ST HELENS ISLAND.



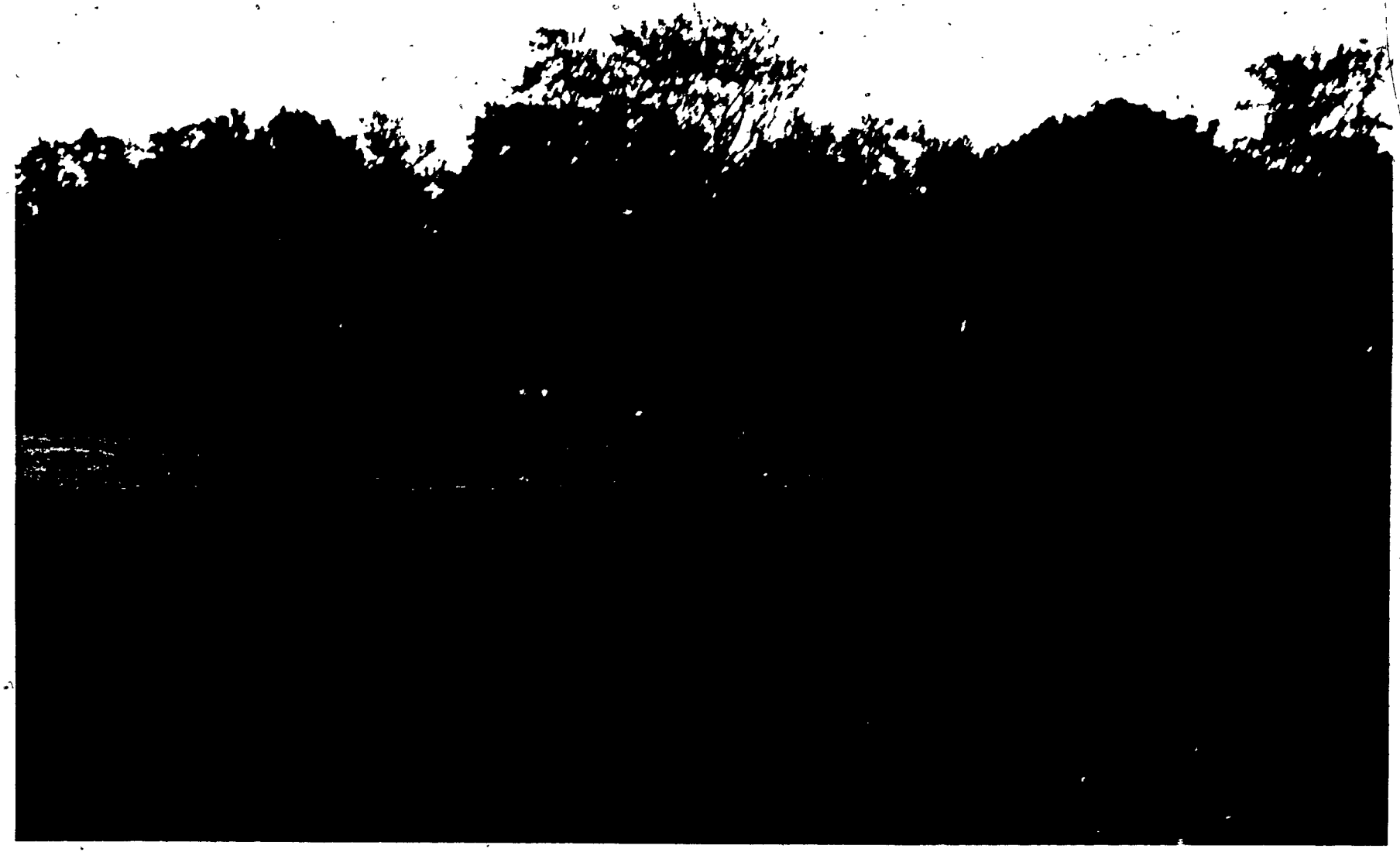
VIEW OF MONTREAL FROM THE MOUNTAIN

POPULATION ESTIMATED AT 90000

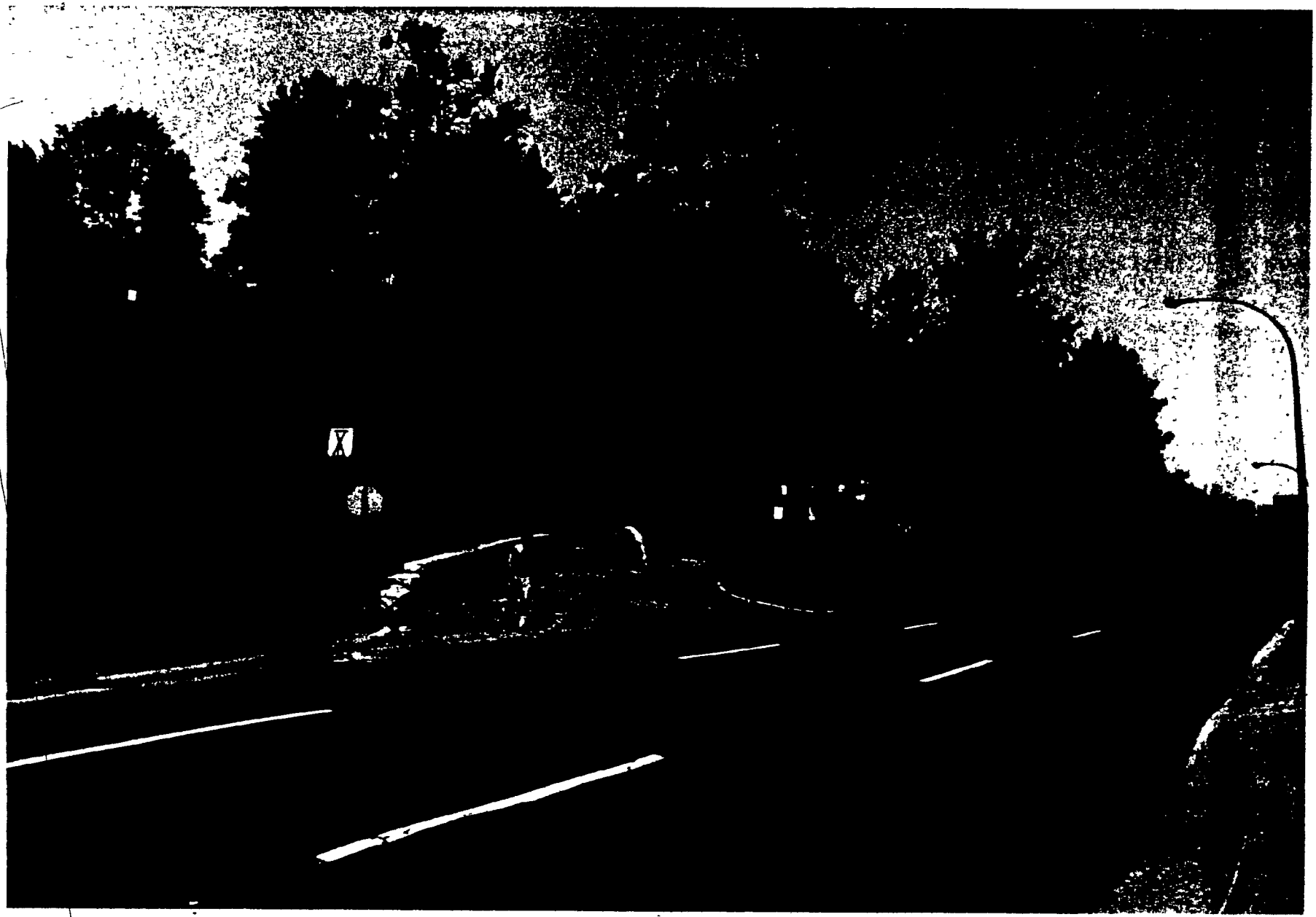
PUBLISHED BY JOHN LOVELL

11b

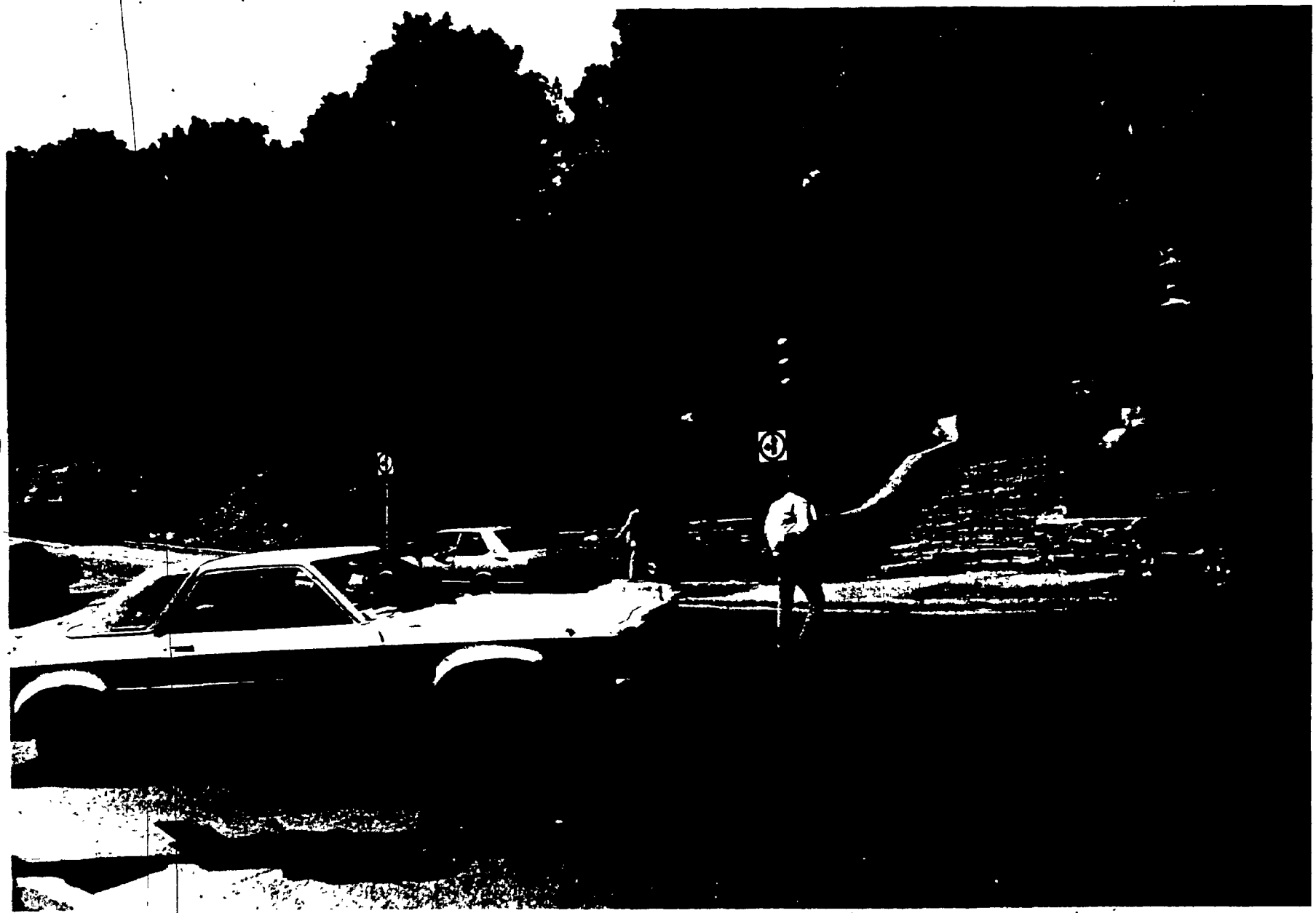
12

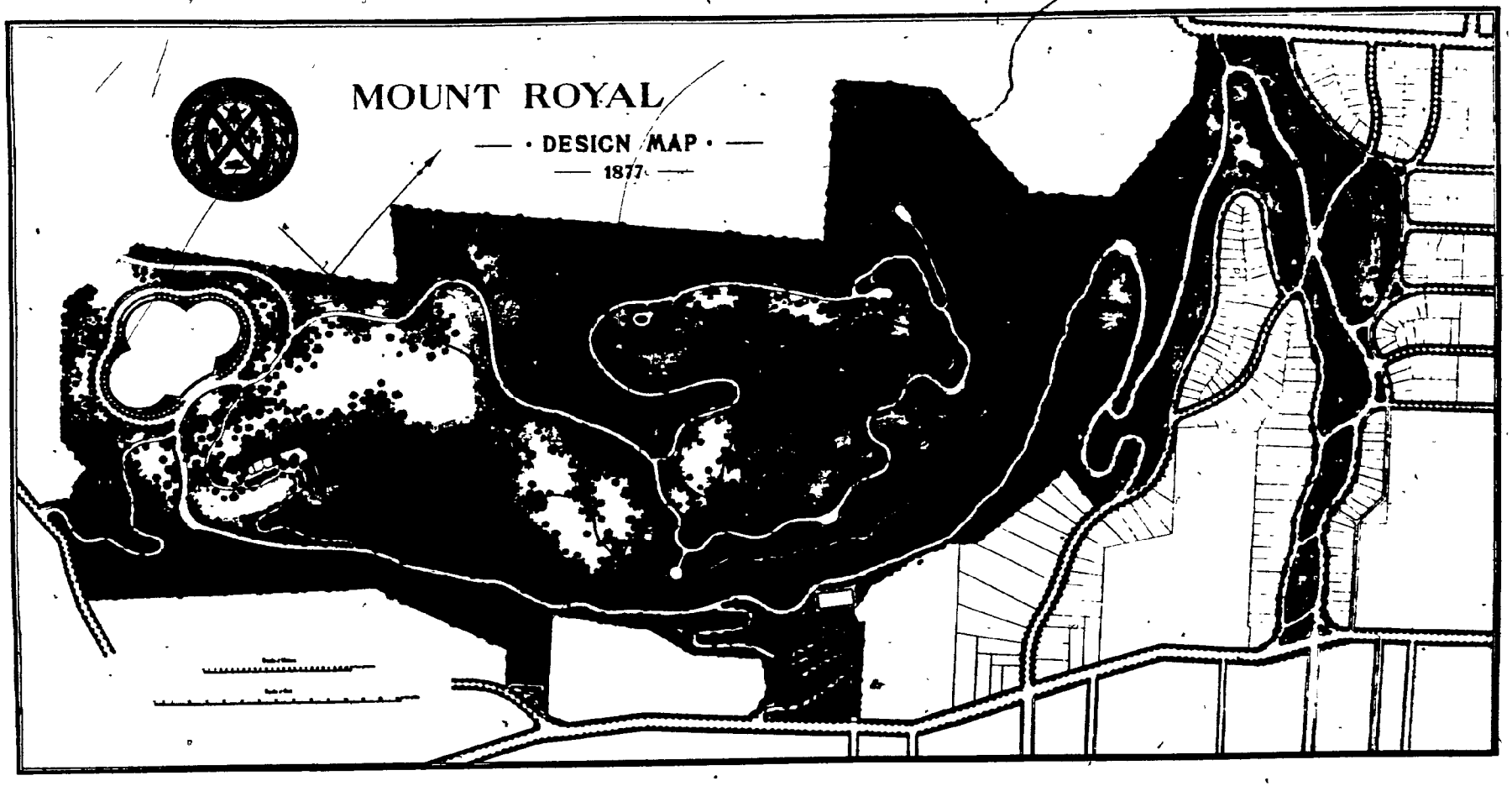


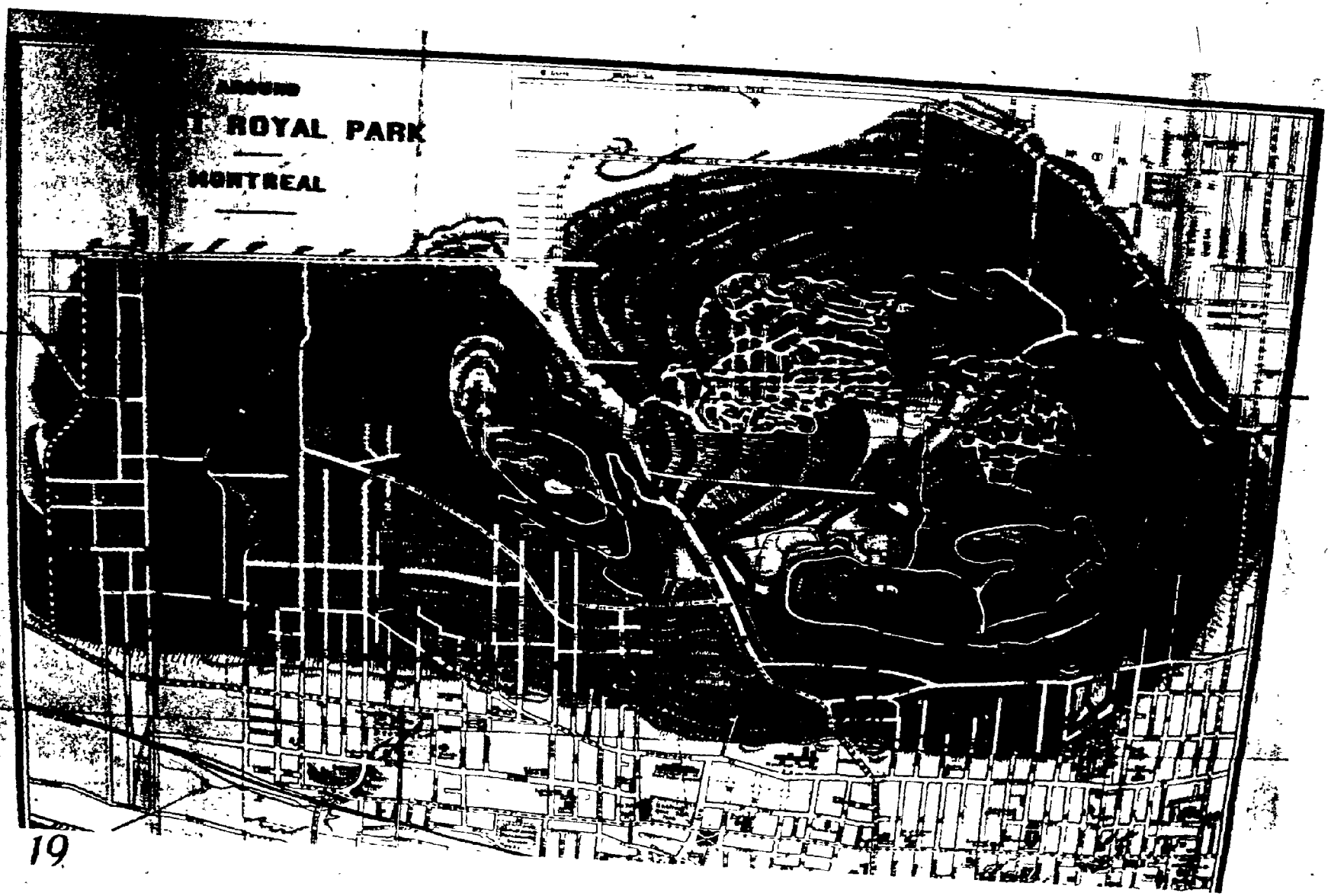
13



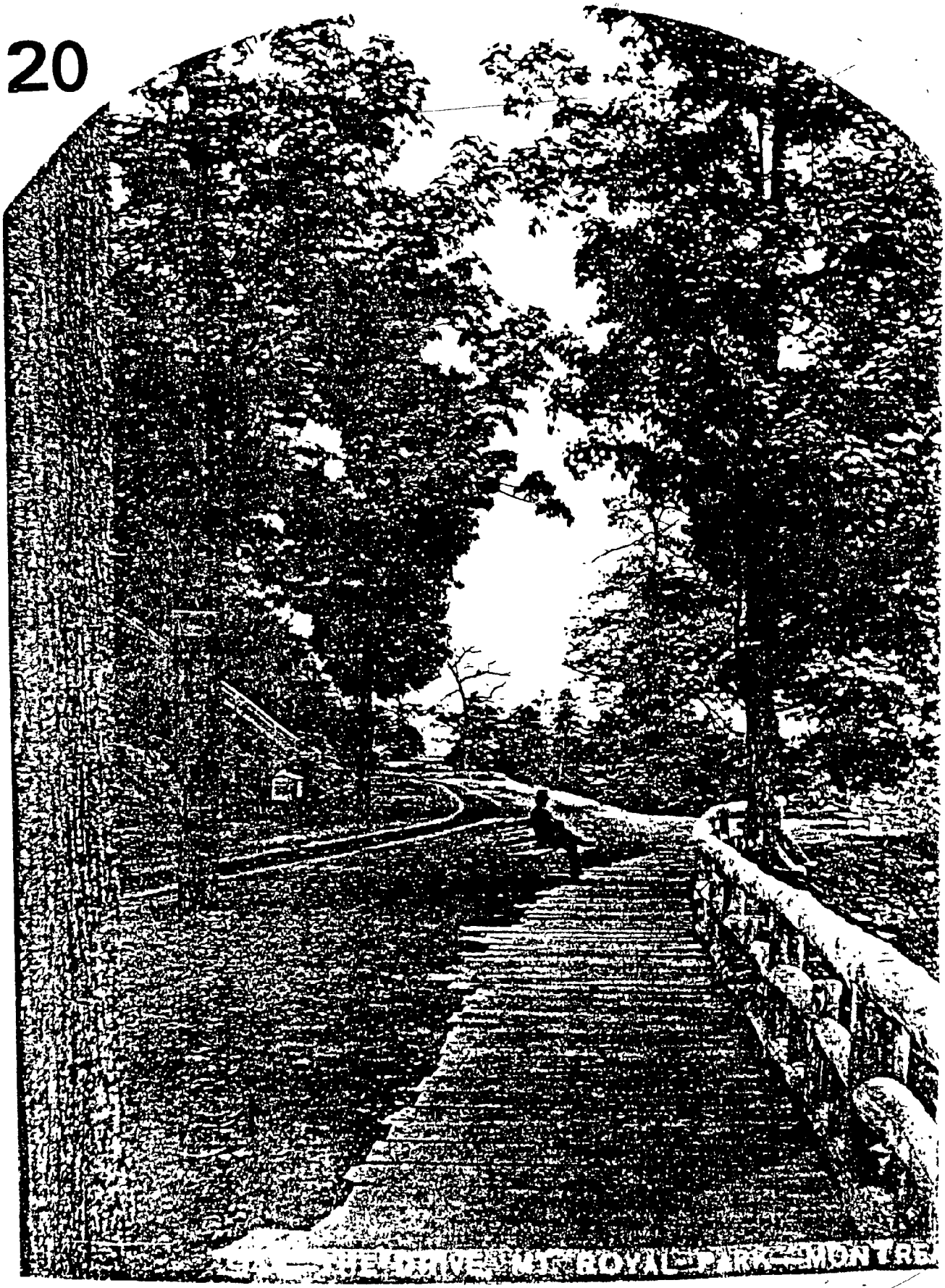
14



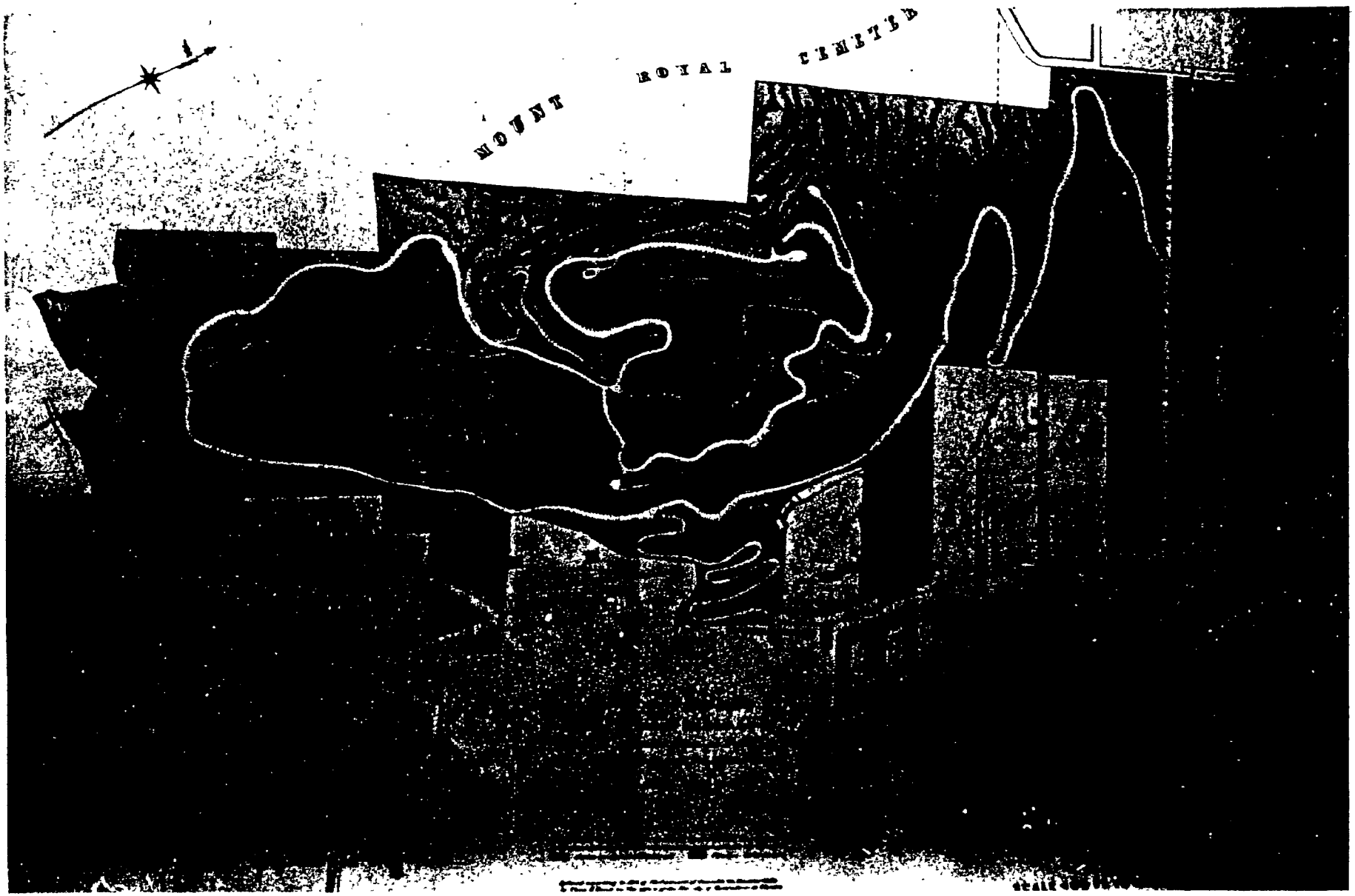

MOUNT ROYAL
DESIGN MAP
1877


ROYAL PARK
MONTREAL

20



21


MOUNT ROYAL LIMITED